

Kua takoto te mānuka

Cultural identity as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending



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Ko Te Arawa me Ngāi Tahu ngā iwi

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NGĒRI: WEROHIA TE RĀKAU

Werohia te tao, te rākau
e te toa matataki e,
Werohia ki uta
Werohia ki tai
Werohia ngā mana whakarei
e noho poho kererū ana
ki ngā pae,
ki ngā rākau taratara e
E rere atu tō taiaha ki te rangi,
e rere atu tō taiaha ki te whenua,
Pīkarikari mai, ngangahu ana
whākanakana,
whēterotero mai rā auē!
Rere āwhiowhio nei te rākau e te
toa matataki e!
Takoto ai te mānuka, parahia te huarahi mō
tātou, mō Ngāi Māori
e ngunguru nei
Kia mau turuturu ki te kawau
mārō o Tū-mata-uenga!
Whakamihia ki te pō,
whakamihia ki te ao
Kia rewa ake tēnei kaupapa
ki te ao ahupūngao,
ki te ao tūroa,
ki te ao marama e
Turuki turuki, pāneke pāneke
Turuki turuki, pāneke pāneke
Whano, whano, haramai te toki,
haumi ē! hui ē! tāiki ē!

Wield your spear, your weapon
oh warrior
Wield your weapon inland
Wield your weapon on the coast
Challenge the authorities
who sit proudly abreast, perched on their
thrones, seated entwined on their barbed
branches,
Let your weapon take flight in the heavens
Let it also move on the earth
Move swiftly, with eyes dilated,
Glaring at the enemy, protrude your tongue
out in defiance!
Wield the weapon as the whirlwind, oh
warrior!
Lay down your challenge baton, proceed to
clear the pathway for Māori communities
who rumble with discontent.
Hold fast to the formation of the kawau
mārō of Tū-mata-uenga!
Paying tribute to the night skies, paying
tribute to the daylight
Let this issue surface
into this physical world
into this modern world,
into this world of light
Keep moving, move in short steps, move
little by little
Let it take hold!
let it be so!

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines, *'How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?'*. Developing a new line of inquiry into Māori youth offending, *te matataki* (the Māori ritual of encounter), the notion of liminality, and the theory of survivance (Vizenor, 1999) inform this multiple methods study where three main threads are addressed. First a review of governmental responsiveness to the disparate Māori youth offending statistics. Second an exploration of cultural identity trajectories, educational experiences, and cultural resilience factors for Māori youth who offend. Third an inquiry into an *iwi* (tribal) led remand service which seeks to enhance *iwi* identities of *taitemariki* (youths) who are remanded into the custody of the state. This research is timely as Māori youth are grossly overrepresented in youth justice. Māori youth account for 57% of all charges in the Youth Court for a serious criminal offence and 70% of all admissions to a youth justice residence in New Zealand. Foregrounding *Te Matataki* methodology and using thematic analysis, the overall findings with 29 participants (Key Informants, Māori youth, *Whānau* (family), and *Iwi Practitioners*) conclude that colonisation and state intervention impact on the transmission of cultural identities. Despite this, *ahikā* (family occupying tribal land), *whakapapa* (kin) and *kaupapa whānau* (non kin relations) resilience remain core to developing positive Māori identities and cultural connectedness for Māori youth who offend. Drawing on *whakapapa* pride and boldness, Māori youth who offend are afforded a strengths-based mechanism to resist racism, racial profiling, bias, and negative schooling experiences. Liminality in this study provides a space where Māori youth who offend can reclaim their *tinu rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), adopt strategies of survivance to resist colonialism, recreate, articulate, and enact their identities as Māori. The liminal space, theorised as a site of influence in this study, is where *mātanga-waenga* (experts of *mātauranga* Māori and liminality), can enhance positive Māori identities and cultural connectedness in Māori youth who offend.

E te Atua kaha rawa,
nōu te rangi,
nōu te whenua,
nōu te rangatiratanga
mō ake tonu atu.

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Ko Waingaehe te awa

Ko Rotokawa te roto

Ko Te Arawa te waka

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KUPU TAKA: GLOSSARY

Ahikā family who occupy tribal lands to ‘keep the home fires burning’

Ako to learn/teach, also a reciprocal teaching pedagogy

Aotearoa New Zealand

Aroha love

Awa river

Awhi care, nurture

Awhi rito leaves that embrace the centre blades of the flaxbush

Aumangea resilience

Hāngī traditional Māori meal cooked in the earth

Hāpori community/communities

Hapū sub-tribe

He Mihi acknowledgements, introduction, dedication

He murimuri aroha acknowledgement of family/important persons who have passed on

Hōhonu deep

Iwi tribe ‘e te iwi’ to the people

Kai food

Kaimanaaki caregiver in Study Three

Kaikaranga female caller during the pōwhiri process

Kaikōrero speaker, also translated as participant in this thesis

Kaitakawaenga conduit

Kaitakawaenga ā Ngā Ātea Tapu a conduit of the sacred space(s)

Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi face-to-face

Kapa haka Māori performing arts

Karakia prayer

Kaupapa Māori Māori way of thinking, or doing things based on Māori principles

Kaupapa whānau people who are connected through cause or mutual interest(s)

Kaumātua elder(s)

Kawa protocol

Kōrero talk, speech, converse

Kōrero Hōhonu in-depth knowledge or oral history

Kōrero Tuku Iho knowledge passed down from ancestors

Korowai Manaaki Oranga Tamariki Secure Residential Facility in South Auckland

Koha offering

Kōhanga reo the literal meaning is ‘language nest’ (Māori pre-school)

Ko te mana o te iwi the authority of the tribe

Kua takoto te mānuka the challenge has been laid down/presented

Kūmara sweet potato which Māori brought over in the migration

Kupu Taka glossary

Kura school

Kura Kaupapa primary level schooling conducted through the medium of the Māori language

Mahuru a (Ngāpuhi) social services remand care initiative for youth of Ngāpuhi descent

Manaaki care

Manaakitanga caring for others through the practice of hospitality

Mana essence, dignity, power, status

Mana Motuhake self-determination

Mana whenua authority from occupation on tribal land

Mana moana authority from occupation of coastal area(s)

Manawa ora hope

Manawa piharau sustained endurance like the lamprey

Manawaroa resilience (long endurance)

Manawa Tītī resilience like the muttonbird

Mana tamaiti looking after the intrinsic value of children, connection to whānau, hapū, iwi.

Manuhiri visitor(s)

Marae/Marae-Areare/Marae Ātea (Te) (the) courtyard or the threshold in front of the ancestral house to the entrance of the pā

Mārohirohi resilience

Mātanga expert

Mātauranga Māori traditional Māori knowledge and epistemologies

Mātanga-waenga a new term for this thesis, an expert of Mātauranga Māori and the liminal spaces

Matataki (a Tū) the face of the challenge (of Tū), traditional Māori ritual of encounter

Mauri life force, life principle inherent in all animate and inanimate things

Maunga mountain

Mihimihi greeting

Mitimiti a place in the Hokianga, a part of Ngāpuhi tribal area in Northland

Mōteatea traditional Māori songs/chants

Ngāpuhi Northern based tribe also referred to as Ngā Puhi

Ngā Kupu Whakatau acknowledgements

Ngēri a chant, in haka form without set actions

Noa free from restriction

Oranga Tamariki name given to legislation and the New Zealand Ministry for Children. Literally means children's well-being

Pā named village complex claimed by right of discovery and ownership, includes the complex of buildings surrounding the marae or courtyard and open area in front of the ancestral house the entrance of the pā site.

Pā harakeke flax bush, a metaphor for different generations in a whānau

Pākehā New Zealander of European descent

Pakuranga a suburb in South Auckland

Papatūānuku Earth mother

Pā whakawairua the mauri of a person or place

Patu wairua an attack or insult affecting a person's spiritual well-being

Pepeha tribal saying which connects a person to local landmarks

Pīpīwharau cuckoo (bird)

Pōhiri/pōwhiri is a welcoming ritual of encounter

Pou post or pole

Puao-te-Ata-Tu "Heralding a New Dawn". Meaning Daybreak, 1988 ministerial report for the former Department of Social Welfare (now Ministry of Social Development)

Pūrākau stories, storytelling grounded within Māori epistemology

Rākau stick or tree

Rangatira chief(s), chiefly 'e te rangatira' to the chief, leader

Rangatahi youth

Rangatahi Māori Māori youth

Rangiātea a place Māori (are said to) originate from in the Pacific, some say it is Rai'ātea in Tahiti

Ranginui Sky father

Reo language, short for te reo Māori, the Māori language

Rongo known also as Rongo-marae-roa, Rongohīrea, Rongo-mā-tāne who is the guardian of peace-making, healing, restoration, and recovery

Rotarota poem

Rotorua a city in the Bay of Plenty, mid North Island

Rūnanga tribal council

Tā sir

Taiaha traditional long wooden weapon used in the matataki

Taiohi youth or young people (other areas may use taitamariki or rangatahi)

Taitamariki youth, young people (preferred term to Ngāpuhi, similar to rangatahi)

Tangata Whenua people of the land (Indigenous people)

Tamariki children

Tangihanga (tangi) funeral following Māori protocols

Tapu sacred

Tātai hono an unbroken line of whakapapa or genealogy

Taumata a Ngāpuhi dialectual word used for the speakers' bench (also the taumata kōrero)

Tautoko support

Te Ao Māori the Māori world/Māori world view

Teka a baton/dart/crosspiece/peace offering which is laid down in the matataki ritual of encounter (taki in other tribal areas)

Te Arawa Māori tribe from the Bay of Plenty, Rotorua area, also the name of the canoe

Te Ao Hurihuri the modern world

Teina younger sibling (is used for young persons/mentees on remand in Study Three)

Te Kete Aronui basket of knowledge of love, peace, arts and crafts, ritual, philosophy

Te Kete Tūātea basket of ancestral knowledge

Te Kete Tūāuri basket of sacred knowledge and creation of the physical world

Te Mānuka-ahopū name given to the second warrior

Te Mānuka-tūtahi name of the first warrior

Te Manu-hahanga name given to a sole warrior who conducts the matataki

Te Marae-Areare-a-Tū-mata-uenga the courtyard or domain of Tū-mata-uenga

Te Marae-Ātea-a-Tū-mata-uenga as above (different tribal preference)

Tēnei au, tēnei au the first line of a traditional Māori incantation about the ancestor Tāne

Te Reo Māori the Māori language

Te Wāhanga part (wāhanga tuatahi – part one, tuarua – two, tuatoru – three, tuawhā – four)

Tī Hā! An intonation in which the warrior demonstrates a verbal sigh of power, energy, and personal magnetism

Tika correct

Tikanga cultural practices, method, plan

Tikanga Tuawhakarere cultural protocols from ancient times

Tino rangatiratanga sovereignty

Toa matataki warrior(s)

Tuakana older sibling (is used for the role of the mentor in Study Three)

Tuakiri identity literally ‘beyond the skin’

Tūhoe a Māori tribe in the eastern aspect of the North Island of New Zealand

Tū-mata-uenga guardian/deity of war

Tūpuna ancestors

Tūrangawaewae place of standing

Te Tiriti o Waitangi the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand’s founding document

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha name given to the third warrior of Te Arawa

Tuku aroha show love

Tuku mana show respect

Turuki, turuki move together

Waere(a) to clear and lift the sacred elements

Waharoa entrance way into a pā or marae complex

Wairua(tanga) spirit, spiritual (spirituality)

Waitangi Tribunal New Zealand’s commission of inquiry into breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi

Waka canoe, vessel

Wānanga learning according to traditional Māori ways of acquiring knowledge

Werohia te rākau wield your weapon (name of a chant which opens this thesis)

Whaea mother, aunty, term of respect for someone like a teacher

Whai oranga (seek) well-being

Whakahihiri i te hinengaro awaken the senses

Whakamā embarrassment, feeling small (internalised state of being)

Whakapapa genealogy, genealogical connections

Whakapapa whānau family due to genealogical ties

Whakapapa Māori Māori genealogy/blood ties

Whānau family

Whānau Hui family meeting with Māori cultural practices guiding the process

Whānau Ora government initiative to support whānau from a holistic perspective

Whakawhanaungatanga/whanaungatanga make connections/build/maintain relationships

Whangaparāoa Cape Runaway, East Coast

Whanaungatanga (a sense of) family connections with people who are related/not related

Whakataukī proverb (author not known)

Whakatauākī proverb (author known)

Whenua land

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Te Wāhanga Tuatahi

Te Mānuka-tūtahi:

The first warrior crosses the liminal space



Matataki

Traditional Māori ritual of encounter to establish intentions

PŪRĀKAU: THE CHALLENGE

Do you wanna see something Miss?

Don't tell my teacher aye.

As he sat down to talk with me,

he opened his belt bag and retrieved, what appeared to be a tool.

Have you seen one of these before?

It's a vice grip.

Don't you know what it is Miss?

You use them to pop¹ cars.

It's not mine though Miss.

I'm just holding onto it for my mate.

And so.

It had begun.

The vice grip had been laid down.

The baton of challenge had been presented.

The question was, what would my response be?

¹ 'Pop cars' is a colloquial saying that the participant used to refer to stealing cars.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Acknowledging the Challenge

Introduction

In 2018, I met the rangatahi Māori (Māori youth) in the pūrākau (story) ‘Acknowledging the Challenge’. As a participant of this study, at the time of our interviews, he had been sentenced in a New Zealand Youth Court for reasons associated with his offending. Like other participants in this study, he had had multiple brushes with the New Zealand youth justice system due to the serious nature of his offending.

Statistics reveal that rangatahi Māori comprise the largest percentage of the most serious youth offenders charged in a Youth or Rangatahi Court in New Zealand where the most serious offences are dealt with (Ministry of Justice [MOJ], 2020). Whilst the Māori population is approximately 16.7% of the total population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2020), in the 2019/2020 Youth Justice Indicator statistics, “[t]he Youth Court appearance rate for Māori young people was 8.3 times higher [57%] than that for European/Other” (MOJ, 2020, p. 7). Furthermore, in 2020, Māori adolescents represented 70% of admissions into an Oranga Tamariki secure government youth justice residence, (Oranga Tamariki, 2020). To drive meaningful change in the youth justice sector, the stories of rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau, hapū and iwi must be heard. This thesis is *my* response.

The New Zealand media has an insatiable appetite for problematising rangatahi Māori. There is a propensity for media to apportion blame claiming that rangatahi Māori are “dangerous” and “wayward” or “disengaged” and “lazy” (Kidman, 2015, p. 644). Consequently, a desire to ‘find the magic bullet’ to fix them has remained at the centre of media attention and wide social interest. As such, public officials and policy makers are fixated on ‘how to fix’ what is referred to as the ‘Māori [youth] crime problem’ (Tauri, 1999). However, rather than being

the hapless statistic that media would propose rangatahi Māori to be, findings in this thesis reveal a different picture, where challenging behaviours are reconsidered as mechanisms of survivance (Vizenor, 1999) and resistance characterises a challenge to colonialism and unfair systemic bias and racial profiling. The findings in this study suggest that a strong connection with grandparents, a level of fluency in te reo Māori and cultural pride is how rangatahi Māori who offend articulate their identity *as Māori*. Caught in the liminal spaces (a critical concept to this thesis), their story must be told as they deserve the best that education and New Zealand has to offer. However, the struggle to remain in the New Zealand education system is a real challenge for rangatahi Māori who offend.

Literature suggests that Māori adolescents who offend are the most ‘at-risk’ of disengagement from education (Becroft, 2006; Sherwood, 2015; Sutherland, 2011). Whilst education is seen to be a significant protective factor to reduce youth offending in New Zealand (Becroft, 2016; McLaren, 2000; Sherwood, 2015; Sutherland, 2011), Māori youth apprehended for serious offences must be in school to access these opportunities. Keeping rangatahi Māori engaged in education is vital not only for the community (Becroft, 2016), but also for the lives of rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau. Positive social and educational opportunities for all youth including rangatahi Māori who offend are needed to enable them to fully participate in society (Becroft, 2016; Sherwood, 2015; Sutherland, 2011). Without such opportunities, rangatahi Māori who offend may be susceptible to wider social issues in the future such as unemployment, poverty, and a trajectory towards adult offending (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Research into factors that may reduce Māori youth offending and how to support their (re)engagement in education is imperative. This study aims to contribute to this field.

Drawing on the voices of 29 Kaikōrero (participants) involving Kaikōrero who are key informants (sector experts), rangatahi Māori, whānau (families) of Māori adolescents who

have offended and practitioners of Ngāpuhi Iwi (tribal) Social Services, this doctoral dissertation presents three separate studies to address a research gap. In this study, I lay down a symbolic teka (baton) to challenge you, the reader of this thesis, to consider how cultural identity acts as a resilience factor in the lives of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. I ask you to consider the liminal spaces they occupy, and the key people and wider collectives who are *already* influential in their lives. Central to this thesis argument is the potential that mātauranga Māori, resilience, and a secure cultural identity provide as protective mechanisms to reduce offending in rangatahi Māori who offend.

A resilience paradigm is considered in this research, as it shifts the focus from rectifying problems to the consideration of positive factors in the lives of rangatahi Māori who offend. This study thus “becomes the focus of change strategies designed to enhance strengths” (Zimmerman, 2013, p. 381), rather than repetitive discourse which focuses on the tired media narrative of ‘the Māori crime problem’ (Tauri, 1999). The literature shows that offending is a broad and complex societal issue, which is multi-faceted and relies on multiple risk factors and intersecting variables related to the circumstances and characteristics of the young person (Hoge & Andrews, 1998, as cited in McLaren, 2000). However, to understand the complexities that rangatahi Māori and whānau face, their voices must shift from the fringes to the centre of important discussions which affect them. This thesis responds to these considerations.

Aims of this Research

This research supports a wider discourse about the importance of a secure cultural identity for rangatahi Māori sentenced in a New Zealand Youth or Rangatahi Court for a serious criminal offence. This research aims to be useful to a range of stakeholders, particularly hapū and iwi providers. Whilst the study originally used the word ‘protective factor’ in the question, it became apparent over the course of writing and research, that the wording ‘protective factor’

was problematic when describing Indigenous rangatahi Māori who offend. This is mainly due to the connotations associated with the ‘risk and protective factor’ paradigm which underpins risk-averse government policies that frame rangatahi Māori in deficit discourses (Stanley & De Froideville, 2020). The word ‘resilience’ was thus substituted. The risk and protective factor paradigm is further discussed in Chapter Two.

The Overall Research Question

How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?

Sub-questions

- What constitutes “cultural connectedness” and “cultural well-being” for Māori youth who offend and how can these serve as protective mechanisms to reduce offending?
- How do Māori youth who offend see their cultural identity as Māori and what negative or positive factors influence their perception(s)?
- How does Māori cultural identity develop for Māori youth who offend and what factors influence their cultural identity formation?
- What risk factors influence the trajectories of Māori youth who offend during secondary school and what role can education play in reducing recidivism?

Taku Tūrangā Ake – My Stance

Taku tūrangā ake means my position or my stance. Whilst positionality is used to describe a researcher’s identity in relation to the research topic, I acknowledge that my positionality in relation to the thesis topic is “multiply situated/positioned” (Lopez, 1998, p. 227). ‘Insider’ as a term is used to describe Indigenous Māori researchers who operate within a kaupapa Māori paradigm. However, not all Māori researchers situate their research within kaupapa Māori paradigms (L. T. Smith, 2012). Rangimarie Mahuika (2015) argued that assuming

one's 'Māoriness' in research creates binaries of insider/outsider or Pākehā/Māori in kaupapa Māori research (p. 41). She stated:

Such binaries not only fail to problematize notions of insider and outsider, Māori and Pākehā, but they prevent us from truly articulating ourselves, of sharing our ways of knowing and being and experiencing the world, with all their inherent contradictions. (Mahuika, 2015, p. 41)

Therefore, my stance in relation to the research is that I am neither an insider nor an outsider. Instead, I enter this research as both manuhiri and tangata whenua. Manuhiri is an appropriate construct to state my positioning as a researcher. I am privileged to enter my research participants' worlds as a respectful visitor or manuhiri. This positioning means that I do not assume to know all that their worlds represent. As tangata whenua, I am first and foremost Indigenous to this land and for that reason, I believe I have a responsibility to not turn a blind eye to issues that affect Māori. From this positioning, I acknowledge that who I am, where I am from, and why I, as an Indigenous Māori woman, have taken on this research are critical to understanding my stance in this thesis.

In line with Te Matataki methodology (theorised in this thesis), my ethical position as a researcher is 'kia tūturu', to be open and to be authentic (see p. 115 for more details and Chapters Five to Seven for Te Matataki methodology). Transparency in research is about being pono (truthful) and is associated with reflexivity. According to Creswell and Miller (2000), reflexivity allows a researcher to "self-disclose their assumptions, beliefs, and biases. This is the process whereby researchers report on personal beliefs, values, and biases that may shape their inquiry" (p. 127). In line with tikanga Māori, it is important to share about who I am and where I come from.

Where I come from is an eclectic mix of cultural privilege. I use cultural privilege to demarcate that my whakapapa and cultural heritage is both diverse and rich. It ties me to the communities in which I belong, live, and hold multiple positionings as a Māori woman, a wife, a daughter, a niece, an aunty, a sister, and a mokopuna. Geographically, my cultural heritage places me in the tribal regions of Te Arawa, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Raukawa te āu ki te Tonga, and Ngāi Tahu. My paternal lineage holds layers of history of settlement as tauiwi in Waiuku, south of Auckland. Through my maternal lineage, other layers of my whakapapa link me to Te Moana Nui a Kiwa to Rarotonga, Manihiki and Tahiti. Beyond the shores of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, I continue to trace my heritage to England and Ireland and other countries within Europe. Whilst I live on the East Coast of Te Tai Tokerau in a small coastal village of Ngunguru, my connection to Northland is not by chance. My husband is a descendent of Ngāpuhi and Te Whakapiko Hapū o Ngāti Manaia. However, the seat of my affection and where I belong remains with my home Rotorua. This place is where I was brought up and taught for many years and where my mother's family and my people of Te Arawa are situated. A relevant whakataukī which sums up how I tie to the communities in which I live, and the places from which I descend is *“He kāwai hue, he tātai tangata – Descent, like the runners of a gourd start off in one place, and who knows where they end up?”*.

By profession, I am a teacher. Although a lecturer at The University of Auckland now, it was my experiences as an educator in a range of educational settings with youth for over 20 years that fuelled my interest in this research topic. I entered the teaching workforce as a young passionate Māori woman with a desire to revitalise te reo and support our rangatahi Māori who were getting 'kicked out' of the education system. As a secondary teacher of te reo Māori, I have taught in Māori-medium, bilingual, and mainstream education in both New Zealand and England. However, a critical turning point for me was when I worked in a government youth justice residence and a care and protection facility as both a teacher and as a Team

Leader of the school. Having returned from an overseas experience of living in England, my prior teaching experiences involved working with rangatahi Māori in Māori-medium education in Rotorua. Working with rangatahi Māori in youth justice and care and protection residences, though challenging, was equally rewarding. My pedagogy as a teacher was flipped on its head, as I had to earn the respect and trust of the young people first if I wanted to teach them anything close to content knowledge, planning, or assessment. After being tried and tested, I became trusted to be the sounding board for some youth. But I was also the emotional punching bag, some days, for others who were frustrated with being detained in the system. Despite this, as I reflect on my time of working in these settings, I realised how much my heart was warmed by the small but significant successes in their learning. As teachers in these secure residential facilities, we recognised that to help the students achieve educational success, trust with us was critical. This was because they had to overcome fears of failure after exiting an educational system which had excluded them. I believe that my experiences in youth justice and care and protection have taught me so much about the importance of supporting rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. I quite often think that there is still much more to learn to stop the ‘ambulance at the bottom of the cliff’ approach. A thirst to know more, and a desire to contribute something to this conversation, has become my ‘why’ for this research.

Theoretical Concepts Underpinning this Thesis

This study draws on mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori and three constructs: te matataki, an ancient Māori ritual of encounter; the constructs of liminality (Thomassen, 2014; Turner, 1969; Van Gennep, 1960); and the theory of survivance (Vizenor, 1999).

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori as traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge and philosophy is derived from Māori communities including hapū and iwi. Shaped by inter-generational

knowledge and scientific observation, mātauranga Māori is deeply embedded within our Māori epistemologies such as our stories, traditions, cultural practices, carvings, and rituals. Mātauranga Māori informs our thinking, our tikanga (practices), our ontological understandings of the world, and provides guidance for current and future generations.

Situated within a Māori worldview and Māori ontologies, mātauranga Māori in this study enables Māori perspectives and ways of knowing and understanding to feature in the discussions and the analysis of the findings about rangatahi Māori who offend. I argue in this thesis that mātauranga Māori is critical to understanding the realities of rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau, as it privileges a Māori theoretical lens embedded within Māori ontological views. The Late Reverend Māori Marsden (2003) provides an apt understanding of a Māori world view. He said:

Man is both human and divine an integral part of the cosmic process and of the natural order. The Māori approach to life is holistic. There is no sharp division between culture, society, and their institutions. Because of his holistic approach the Māori avoids the disjunction between the secular and the spiritual, the compartmentalisation and isolation of one institution from another and the piecemeal approach to problem and conflict resolution. (p. 33)

A Māori world view entrenched within mātauranga Māori thus opens a broader discussion with, and about Māori youth offending in this thesis. Within this holistic world view and in line with kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori, the voice of rangatahi Māori who offend and whānau perspectives, which are nested within multiple realities are discussed.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa can be defined as principles or ground rules, whereas kaupapa Māori can denote a Māori way of thinking, or doing things based on Māori principles (Marsden, 2003). Māori

academic Anaru Eketone (2008) warns that many academics talk about kaupapa Māori theory, and kaupapa Māori practices as being one and the same. Where kaupapa Māori theory challenges hegemonic structures and Western notions, kaupapa Māori practices refer to a “Māori philosophical approach” (Eketone, 2008, p. 1).

Drawing on critical theory, Graham Smith (2003) theorised Kaupapa Māori theory as transformative praxis which challenges dominant and hegemonic Western structures. Leonie Pihama (2010) further argues that kaupapa Māori engages within a critical conscientisation and raises issues of power between the coloniser and the colonised. However, other Māori academics advocate that there are further interpretations of kaupapa Māori theory which can inform research, beyond the entanglement between the colonised and the coloniser.

Te Kawehau Hoskins (2017) has discussed the need for kaupapa Māori theory to move beyond critical theory as it poses a risk of creating binaries between the coloniser and the colonised which can inhibit the potential of kaupapa Māori. Eketone (2008) has advocated that kaupapa Māori is more aligned with a constructivist Native theory. Eketone reasoned that constructivism is based on multiple constructed realities which he believes is more fitting with Māori communities. Wiremu Doherty (2009) on the other hand has maintained that:

Kaupapa Māori theory does not interrogate what should count as Māori knowledge or the quality of Māori knowledge, but rather simply makes ‘space’ for the practice and validation of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing, and Māori ways of doing things. (p.20)

As praxis, Graham Smith (2003) has argued that, if kaupapa Māori theory is to take effect as a transformative approach, it must be entwined with mātauranga Māori, political and cultural conscientisation. In this study, kaupapa Māori theory makes ‘political space’ for mātauranga Māori to shape the research process, the research methodology and to also inform the analysis

of the findings (Doherty, 2009). Matataki (as mātauranga Māori) is emmeshed with kaupapa Māori to articulate the stories of rangatahi Māori who offend and to present a decolonising methodology called Te Matataki methodology (see Chapters Five to Seven).

Matataki

‘Wero’ is a Māori word that is commonly used to represent ‘challenge’ in some tribal areas of New Zealand. Alternatively, I have chosen to use the term ‘matataki’ in this thesis because it is fitting with my iwi and people of Te Arawa. As a word specific to Te Arawa, matataki literally means ‘the face of the challenge’ (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020). As a construct, a concept, and analogy, the practice of matataki is used prolifically throughout this thesis to discuss the ancient, sacred, and prestigious Māori ritual of encounter to establish the intention of visiting parties. In a matataki ritual of encounter a toa matataki (warrior), with taiaha (long-handed weapon) firmly in hand, advances forward to present a baton, which is referred to as a teka in Te Arawa or as a taki in different Māori tribal areas. As the toa matataki advances, he moves across the threshold of Tū-mata-uenga, referred to as Te Marae Areare a Tū-mata-uenga in Te Arawa. This refers to the ground and space that sits between himself and the visitors or manuhiri. His role is to challenge the incoming group(s) and to make clear the nature of engagement. He performs a series of moves which are all based on tradition. He is further prepared for battle and death if need be, if the visiting people(s) do not receive the peace emblems with diligence (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020). Hirini Reedy (1996) provided several descriptions of different types of matataki in relation to traditional Māori warfare. “Matataki atutahi – challenge to the death; matataki maunga-rongo – challenge of peace; matataki whakahoki – challenger who returns information to the main body; matataki ā Whiro – challenger chosen to fight a one-on-one battle to the death” (p. 79).

Through the matataki ritual of encounter, alliances are strengthened or severed, depending on how each party engages in this process. Matataki as a conceptual framework is used in several ways throughout this thesis. Matataki is used to consider methodological approaches in engaging with Māori in first-time encounters. Conceptually, this thesis presents a challenge about an issue that is gravely affecting Māoridom – the disproportionate Māori youth offending statistics. As a theory underpinning the findings in this thesis, I discuss how we must cross the marae areare as a sacred liminal space in te matataki ritual of encounter (see Figure 2 on page 82 for the visual image of the marae layout).

Liminality

Liminality, a derivative of a Latin word *limen*, is a stone that is placed at the threshold of a door, to allow passage from one space into another (Szakolczai, 2016). Liminality is also derived from the word *limes* which means “boundary or frontier” (Wood, 2016, p. 11). Arnold Van Gennep (a French social anthropologist) first theorised liminality in his 1909 writings *Les Rites de Passage*, which were translated into English in 1960. Van Gennep (1960) observed the rites of passage of different cultural ceremonial processes for individuals and groups. He theorised liminality in the context of commonalities across different points of transition. As “all societies use rites to demarcate transitions” (Thomassen, 2014, p. 3), Van Gennep (1960) theorised liminality as rites related to every place, state, social position, and age. Three distinct phases represent a ‘state’ of separation, an ambiguous state or transition known as the liminal, and a reintegration state (Van Gennep, 1960). Van Gennep (1960) named three states of transitional rites as “pre-liminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition) and post liminal rites (rites of incorporation)” (p. 11).

Victor Turner, a British cultural anthropologist, advanced Van Gennep’s theory of liminality, and introduced a liminal *personae* (‘threshold people’) who are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and

ceremonial” (Turner, 1969, p. 95). Of interest to this thesis, is Turner’s theory of liminality and how liminal people, as ‘*personae liminal*’ or threshold people, experience liminality where in-between spaces become an “institutionalized state” (Turner, 1969, p. 107). Turner stated that “what was in tribal society principally a set of transitional qualities ‘betwixt and between’ defined states of culture and society has become itself an institutionalized state” (Turner, 1969, p. 107). Bjorn Thomassen (2014), on the other hand, highlighted that people are always going through different “liminal experiences” whereby our humanity and social life would not be the same without them. Thomassen stated that “liminality is about how human beings, in their various social and cultural contexts, deal with change” (p. 84).

Whilst the concept of liminality is applied more in the fields of social and cultural anthropology (Thomassen, 2014), in more recent times, the concept of liminality has expanded into other areas. In children’s and adolescent geographies, liminality as a concept is used to highlight the different spaces that young people occupy in society (Wood, 2012, 2016). Wood (2012) examined the everyday politics of young people within secondary schools and argued that young people’s “in-betweenness” or liminality presents an opportunity to reveal their youthful perspectives, which she argued were different to adults. In adolescent politics, Wood (2012) further argued that liminality allowed a space for adolescents to engage in social action and to reveal “unique perspectives on social issues” such as racism and bullying (p. 344).

Drawing on Turner’s definition of liminality, McCallum (2011) theorised that the ātea of the marae “retains fluidity and an underlying liminality” even though it has strict protocol attached in ceremonial purposes (p. 91). McCallum further argued that, whilst the areare can be a space between on a marae areare, that this space is not necessarily designated ‘just’ to a marae setting. Instead, she articulated what is a commonly held understanding in te ao Māori, which is that “the ātea [areare] is not always the designated forecourt and can be represented

solely as the empty space between the two groups, regardless of where this encounter is located” (McCallum, 2011, p. 91). McCallum also referred to the space between the tangata whenua and the manuhiri as “no man’s land” where the warrior who performs the matataki has “complete control of this liminal space that he dominates” (p. 96).

In this thesis, I draw on the concept of liminality, but for different reasons. Using the marae-areare as a sacred space which exists between tangata whenua and manuhiri, I advance the notion of liminality as a way of theorising the in-between spaces that rangatahi Māori who offend occupy, and how their cultural identity acts as a resilience factor in these spaces to resist colonialism and re-narrate their own stories of survivance.

Survivance

The use of the word ‘survivance’ has evolved over time. Traditionally a legal term, survivance has been used in a range of fields, particularly as it relates to language, culture, and literary works. It is first important to note that survivance does not mean ‘survival’. Stromberg (2006) stated that:

While ‘survival’ conjures images of a stark minimalist clinging at the edge of existence, survivance goes beyond mere survival to acknowledge the dynamic and creative nature of Indigenous rhetoric. (p. 1)

Indigenous scholar Gerald Vizenor (1999) theorised survivance as a theoretical concept in 1994 in his analysis of literary works and the portrayal of Native American peoples. Vizenor (2008) argued that survivance is “an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however, pertinent” (p. 1). Vizenor (1999) rationalised that pervasive colonial narratives had led towards a narrow view of Native American peoples as being victims. Yet, this view did not coincide with traditional narratives as there were examples of survivance “in native stories, natural reason,

remembrance, traditions and customs” (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1). Like Native American peoples, stories of survivance are evident in traditional and contemporary Māori stories, chants, song, and art which reiterate Māori resilience, hope, and resistance to colonialism.

As a theoretical underpinning in this thesis, survivance represents resistance to active colonial dominance (Henry, 2018). Survivance as an action verb speaks to the agency of individuals and groups and how they respond to the contemporary challenges of historical acts of colonisation (Henry, 2018). Whilst survivance as a construct has wide application, in this study survivance is used to consider how rangatahi Māori who offend navigate liminality and overcome the challenge.

Te Reo Māori Used in This Thesis

The use of te reo Māori is critical to this study as te reo Māori is the vessel which carries Māori cultural practices, epistemologies, and ontologies from within te ao Māori perspectives. Whilst this thesis has predominantly been written in English to be accessible to a wider audience, I draw on mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori perspectives to discuss, theorise, and to answer the overarching research question, which is about rangatahi Māori, mātauranga Māori, and how rangatahi articulate their identities as Māori.

I take the position that te reo Māori as a language is deep and rich, and full of philosophical thought, which is founded in mātauranga Māori and ways of knowing and understanding. It is my hope that the reader will engage with the reo in the context within which it has been written. I have chosen not to italicise Māori words, to contribute to wider Māori language revitalisation goals which aim to normalise te reo Māori and to include it in everyday vernacular. As the methodology written for this thesis is grounded in the matataki, this study uses concepts and terms which are specific to Te Arawa. By using Te Arawa specific words related to matataki, this thesis also aims to contribute to the revernacularisation of the dialect

of Te Arawa. Where possible, te reo Māori concepts are explained. However, I understand that it may not always be possible to comprehend the depth of ideas as these can somewhat be diluted when translated. Where te reo Māori words or concepts have not been explained in this thesis, there is a glossary provided on page (p. ix) for non Māori language speakers.

Te Reo Māori Terms

Key Māori words and terms which are used consistently throughout this thesis are briefly discussed below. Pertinent to this thesis are the overarching words of kaikōrero, toa matataki, rangatahi, taiohi, taitamariki, whakapapa, tikanga Māori and tino rangatiratanga.

Kaikōrero

A literal translation of the word kaikōrero is speaker. As preferred by (Waiti, 2014), I too use Kaikōrero in place of the term ‘participant’ in the context of this study. The term Kaikōrero is more appropriate within a Māori world view and kaupapa Māori. Participants for the separate studies have been capitalised (for example, Rangatahi Kaikōrero One) to differentiate between participants and general discussion about rangatahi Māori who offend.

Toa Matataki

A Māori word meaning warrior, the toa matataki is responsible for carrying out the matataki ritual of encounter. I use toa matataki to refer to one of the four Te Arawa warriors who are used extensively throughout this thesis (Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha and Te Manu-hahanga).

Rangatahi, Taiohi, Taitamariki

Statutory definitions describe young people between 14 and 16 years of age as youth (Cleland & Quince, 2014). Rangatahi, taitamariki, and taiohi are used throughout this thesis and refer to the Kaikōrero who are teenagers. The New Zealand Youth Court is referred to as Te Kōti

Taiohi, whilst Ngā Kōti Rangatahi is used for the Māori youth court held on the marae. In Ngāpuhi, taitamariki is a dialectally preferred word used to describe young people or adolescents. Therefore, in Study Three, I use the Ngāpuhi word ‘taitamariki’ instead of rangatahi or taiohi for young people. Where the Kaikōrero have used taitamariki, taiohi or rangatahi in their verbatim quotes, these have not been changed or translated.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is translated as genealogy, or genealogical connections, and is a child’s birthright (Mead, 2013). According to Mead (2013), “whakapapa and tūrangawaewae help define a person in time, place and position” (p. 67). Central to identity, whakapapa refers to genealogy and the layers of generations, from the past, present, and future generations. Within a Māori world view, whakapapa is viewed as the thread which connects all living and inanimate objects, the physical, and spiritual realm, and our relationships to those to whom we belong (past, present, or future). Whakapapa allows us to position ourselves within geographical spaces in the form of tribal aphorisms known as pepeha. Whakapapa links us to the landscapes where our tūpuna lived and solidifies our relationships to our different tribal groups. It is through whakapapa that we establish and affirm who we are as Māori.

Tikanga Māori

Dependent on the context, tikanga Māori has varied meanings. Some Māori academics define tikanga Māori as law and practices (Mead, 2013; Mikaere, 2005). Māori Marsden (2003) described tikanga Māori as Māori custom based on traditions “that had been handed down through many generations and was accepted as a reliable and appropriate way of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals” (Marsden, 2003, p. 66). Mikaere (2005) argued that tikanga, as the first law of New Zealand, is a “complex philosophical framework” which influenced the social order which served whānau, hapū, and iwi, prior to encounter with non-

Māori (p. 248). Mikaere (2005) further argued that through the colonisation process, tikanga has been labelled as having no validity when compared with Western law and rules. However, government departments are required to incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Since the 1990s, there has been a commitment to intergrate tikanga into government policy as a response to Treaty of Waitangi obligations (Mead, 2013). In this study, tikanga Māori refers to Māori values and practices which are “deeply embedded within the social context” of te ao Māori and are understood as a means for social control and as a guide for interrelationships (Mead, 2013; Mikaere, 2005, p. 39).

Tino Rangatiratanga

The words tino rangatiratanga are translated as self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, or power (Moorfield, 2020). Tino rangatiratanga also refers to chieftainship and some argue that it is a term that was coined in the context of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi (Hill, 2009). However, the quest for Māori to exercise tino rangatiratanga is not a new phenomenon and is unlikely to settle until Māori autonomy is acknowledged in terms of organisation (tribal, pan-tribal, sub-tribal, and non-tribal structures) (Hill, 2009). Tino rangatiratanga is characterised in this study as it relates to whānau desire for sovereignty in issues that affect them and their children; second, in relation to state care; and third, in the liminal spaces that rangatahi Māori occupy. Chapter One now presents a new framework written for this study called *Ko te Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai Framework* (TAAM).

Ko te Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai Framework (TAAM)

TAAM as a framework can be translated to ‘Cultural Identity as a Sheltered Dwelling’. The Āhuru Mōwai is a shortened term for ‘te āhuru mōwai mō huakipōuri’. The āhuru mōwai is a safe and protected dwelling space where the development and growth of the unborn child

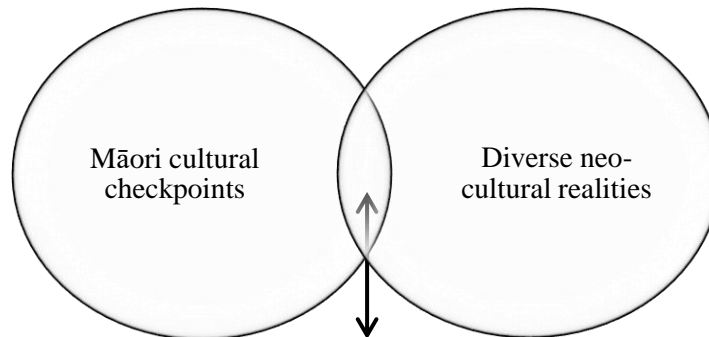
takes place in their mother's womb (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield, personal communication, January 26, 2021). This framework was initially designed to consider the interface of Māori identity literature which identifies traditional and experiential indicators of Māori identities (Durie, 2003; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McIntosh, 2005; Nikora, 2007). I have named traditional indicators as 'Māori cultural checkpoints' and experiential indicators as 'diverse neo-cultural realities'.

The first domain in this framework, Māori cultural checkpoints, considers identity literature which highlights traditional indicators as central to developing a secure Māori identity. These traditional indicators include (but are not limited to): Māori values, tikanga, whakapapa, te reo Māori and connection to whenua and tribal boundaries (Durie, 2003; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McIntosh, 2005; Nikora, 2007). The second domain in this framework is that of diverse neo-cultural realities. Based on experiential indicators of 'being Māori', I argue that diverse neo-cultural realities have been shaped from living in a colonised society, which include (but are not limited to): socioeconomic markers, role models, modern social and family groupings such as kaupapa whānau, location, marginalisation, and the negative effects of colonisation (Borell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005).

The third domain or the 'in-between' I have named as the liminal space in the TAAM Framework. The liminal space acknowledges the interface of both domains (Māori cultural checkpoints and experiential indicators). Like Webber (2008) use of Bhabha's (1994) 'third space' when discussing participants of dual Māori/ Pākehā heritage, I consider the interface between cultural checkpoints and neo-cultural realities as a potential space to influence a positive cultural identity and cultural connectedness in Māori youth who offend. For this study, the interface of these two domains do not rely on an 'either-or' discourse but acknowledges that both domains may facilitate "culturally anchoring resilience processes"

(Sanders & Munford, 2015, p. 88) which can potentially support rangatahi Māori who offend to develop a secure cultural identity.

Figure 1: Ko te Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai Framework (TAAM)



The interface: The liminal spaces of influence to enhance a secure cultural identity and cultural connectedness for rangatahi Māori who offend.

Thesis Overview

This thesis is presented in four wāhanga (parts). Each wāhanga is named after one of the four Te Arawa toa matataki introduced earlier in this chapter.

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi: Te Mānuka-tūtahi

Brokering the uncharted territory in part one of this thesis, Te Mānuka-tūtahi enters the liminal research space to present Chapters One to Four. Chapter One has outlined the study rationale, researcher positionality, how te reo is used in this thesis alongside how the key underpinnings (te matataki, liminality and survivance) inform this study. A new conceptual framework ‘*Ko te Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai*’ (TAAM) has been presented to shape the discussion of the critical spaces of influence for rangatahi Māori who offend. In Chapters Two to Four the fields of youth justice, state care, Māori offending discourses, education, identity, resilience, and well-being are canvassed.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua: Te Mānuka-ahopū

In advancing the research challenge, Te Mānuka-ahopū presents the research baton and foregrounds ‘Te Matataki methodology’ in the second part of this thesis; Chapters Five to Seven. Here, key understandings of how mātauranga Māori underpins Te Matataki methodology as a new methodological approach are presented. The tenets of this methodology, the research methods, and ethical considerations are discussed in these chapters.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru: Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha clears the pathway for the research findings from three separate studies in the third part of this thesis. Chapter Eight summarises the findings of Study One which involved six Key Informants in youth justice, alternative education, social services, and law. Chapters Nine and Ten investigate how rangatahi Māori charged in a New Zealand Youth Court or Rangatahi Court, explore, develop, enact, and articulate their cultural identities. Chapter Eleven concludes with Study Three which presents the findings of an iwi-led remand service called Mahuru. Study Three illustrates how an Indigenous approach to remand care can enhance cultural connectedness in rangatahi Māori who offend.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā: Te Manu-hahanga

Bringing the thesis to a conclusion, Te Manu-hahanga takes the research findings forward to deliberate existing research. Four key arguments are presented in part four to answer the overarching research question ‘*how can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?*’. Chapter Twelve concludes this thesis with the research limitations, implications for practice and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

Canvassing Youth Justice

Introduction

Whilst statistics report a reduction in youth offending for most ethnic groups over the last decade, the numbers of Māori youth apprehended for a serious offence and charged in a Youth or Rangatahi Court are still disproportionately higher when compared with other ethnic groups (MOJ, 2020). In 2019/2020 Māori youth accounted for 810 (57%) of all appearances in the Youth or Rangatahi Court. With statistics overtime continually disproportionate for Māori, it is important to understand what discourse shapes a governmental response to reduce these statistics. This chapter reviews such discourse.

First, this literature review pursues the task of examining the ways in which youth offending discourse shapes our understanding of governmental preventative youth offending policy and interventions to reduce the disparities between Māori and non-Māori youth who offend. I then examine the discourse associated with the risk and protective factor paradigm which is highly influential on preventative youth offending policy in New Zealand. Following, this review considers the wider discourses associated with Māori offending in New Zealand. Here I highlight current scholarship which argues that there is a need for an Indigenous criminology to quantify the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous peoples in settler colonial states such as New Zealand, Australia, and Canada (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). In finishing, as research and statistics indicate a strong connection between children exiting care and protection and entering youth justice, this chapter considers Indigenous peoples' concerns with state care and interventions within settler colonial countries such as New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. A review of the 1989 Oranga Tamariki Act, plus issues to do with institutionalisation, care and protection and remand care are considered in this section.

Youth Offending Discourse

When addressing youth offending, the crucial question is what causes offending and how should we respond? Terrie Moffitt (1993), a developmental theorist, has suggested that we need to be able to distinguish between the ‘types’ of offenders in order to understand the causes of offending. Moffitt (1993) proposed a theory of two types of offenders, which she named as ‘persistent life-course offenders’ and ‘adolescent-limited offenders’ which are also known as ‘Persisters’ and ‘Desisters’ (Cleland & Quince, 2014). According to this discourse, adolescence is a time of risk-taking and therefore adolescent-limited offenders will generally ‘age-out’ of the justice system and will eventually desist from further offending without further intervention (McLaren, 2000).

However, for a smaller group of youth, they will “come to the attention of the authorities earlier on in life” (McLaren, 2000, p. 9) and will continue to commit most of the crime over several years, and well into adulthood (Moffitt, 1993). Moffitt argued that as persistent life-course offenders, they are likely to start offending in late childhood and early teens with a general trajectory towards incarceration as an adult (Gluckman, 2018; McLaren, 2000; Moffitt, 1993). Therefore, based on this premise, through distinguishing the types of youth offenders and behaviours through longitudinal studies, we can identify those who may be deemed more ‘at risk’ than others, and implement interventions to disrupt the trajectory of offending during the course of adolescence (Gluckman, 2018; Moffitt, 1993). The Risk Factor Preventative Paradigm was designed to identify what would determine some adolescents to be more at risk than others of becoming persistent life-course offenders.

Risk Factor Preventative Paradigm

Popular amongst policy makers is a dominant discourse known as the Risk Factor Preventative Paradigm (RFPP) also known as Risk Factor Analysis (RFA) (France, Freiberg,

& Homel, 2010; Haines & Case, 2008). The RFPP identifies prominent risk factors that increase the probability of child and youth offending behaviours (Haines & Case, 2008). The RFPP is accompanied by associated strategies and measures that are designed to counteract such risk factors through targeted intervention (Haines & Case, 2008). Based on the notion of early intervention and prevention, the RFPP and RFA have been dominant features in public policy since the early 1990s in Western countries including New Zealand (France et al., 2010; Gluckman, 2018).

In the context of youth justice policy and policing in New Zealand, investment through early intervention and prevention has aimed to improve the life outcomes of targeted subgroups of society; including those deemed to be most at-risk of “becoming future social problems” (France et al., 2010, p. 1193). The thinking behind the early intervention and prevention paradigm posits that intervention earlier on in one’s life is key to reducing the social and financial costs associated with offending and the harm it inflicts on the individual, state, and society (Gluckman, 2018; Haines & Case, 2008). Therefore, the state’s ‘social investment’ to reduce recidivism remains a high priority for government (Gluckman, 2018). The ‘social investment approach’ (discussed later), based on risk and protective factors, has become a focus of addressing adolescent offending in the New Zealand context.

Considering the over-representation of rangatahi Māori charged and apprehended in the Youth Court for a serious criminal offence (57% in 2020), rigorous research into the risk and protective factors specific to ‘Māori’ youth is limited (Becroft, 2005). Yet, a substantial body of literature from New Zealand exists which identifies and discusses—in depth—risk factors of youth offending in general (Ary, Duncan, Duncan, & Hops, 1999; Becroft, 2006; McLaren, 2000).

To better understand the underlying causes of criminal offending in New Zealand, the 2009 Government-led initiative, *Understanding the Drivers of Crime*, identified the following risk

factors: “family dysfunction; poverty; child maltreatment; poor educational achievement; harmful drinking and drug use; poor mental health; severe behavioural problems amongst children and young people; and the intergenerational transmission of criminal behavior” (MOJ, 2009, p. 3). Whilst the above list of risk factors is not exhaustive, what various longitudinal studies have highlighted are over-riding domains related both to the individual and their surrounding environment as major risk factors of offending (McLaren, 2000). These domains can be labelled as *individual/personal*; *social* (family; peers); *school*; and *community* (Kiro, 2009; McLaren, 2000; MOJ, 2009; Sherwood, 2015).

Literature has revealed that risk factors may increase the probability of offending, they are not necessarily causative (MOJ, 2009). This is because establishing the causation of offending in general remains a highly debated and ongoing subject (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). There is no one ‘factor’ that can be singled out as the cause of offending. Furthermore, one isolated risk factor alone, is unlikely to lead to offending behaviours (MOJ, 2009), and not all youth who are exposed to identified risk factors of offending will go on to commit a criminal offence (Hema, 1999).

In considering the merit of the RFPP, McLaren (2000) reported that persistent life-course offenders often present with multiple issues in their lives and these risk factors may change as they move through adolescence. Hence, the RFPP is utilised to identify protective factors that can potentially mitigate these risks and reduce the probability of reoffending (MOJ, 2009). Zimmerman (2013) offered that “[r]isk-protective models indicate that promotive factors operate to moderate or reduce the association between risks and negative outcomes” (p. 3). Hema (1999) claimed that protective factors may reduce the likelihood of offending altogether.

There are several protective factors that have been identified in governmental policy, literature, and research to reduce offending. Hema (1999) suggested that studies have

identified three groups of protective factors as located to the *individual, social bonding, healthy beliefs and clear standards* (p. 6). Amongst these protective factors, education has been identified as one of the “big four” of protective factors against future criminal offending (McLaren, 2000). Indeed, the Youth Court in New Zealand deals daily with young people who are not a part of the education system (Becroft, 2006). Yet, despite statistics suggesting that over half of those who attend Youth Court for a serious criminal offence identify as Māori, to date, cultural identity and cultural connectedness has not been identified as a protective factor as a part of the RFPP.

Whilst domains have reported “[a] lack [of] cultural pride and [a] positive cultural identity” as a risk factor, McLaren (2000) noted that Maxwell and Morris’ (1999) study did not identify cultural identity and cultural pride as a protective factor (p. 37). McLaren (2000) stated that cultural identity “did not make it through the analysis as one of the key protective factors” (p. 25). However, it is integral to this study to understand the wider debates with risk type frameworks for Māori. This will now be discussed in the next section.

Māori Offending Discourse

To gain an appreciation of the impacts of the risk and protective factor discourse for Māori offending in New Zealand, this review now briefly considers the historical context of why Māori are concerned with the RFPP. In the 1990s, the Department of Corrections adopted a The Risk, Needs, Responsivity model (RNR) from Canada to assess offender risk to future offending (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Regarded as the premier of offender assessment, the RNR has three principles: 1) it is used to identify ‘risks’ associated with offending; 2) to addresses offender needs; and 3) to implement responsive treatment to address the identified needs (Polaschek, 2012). The design of the RNR aims to identify higher risk offenders according to a set of descriptors usually related to all the anti’s anti-social attitudes, anti-social associates, anti-social temperament/ personality, and anti-social behaviour (Andrews & Bonta

1998 as cited in Polaschek, 2012). From here, responsive treatment (such as Cognitive Behavioural Therapy) can be implemented to address the offenders' needs and to mitigate risks of future offending. Couched within a social investment approach to identify risks and to reduce the overall cost to the state (Gluckman, 2017); the RNR model has been influential to the development of risk assessment tools used to assess dynamic risk factors of a person's future 'risk' to offending in New Zealand. With the introduction of the RNR and overseas risk assessments, there were concerns about the lack of acknowledgement of ethnicity, and a bicultural approach suitable to the New Zealand context (Webb, 2018).

The Department of Corrections responded by including a Māori-specific tool to assess Māori offenders' 'cultural needs' through the Māori Culture Related Needs (MaCRN) criminogenic assessment framework. The MaCRNs was apparently designed to assess the 'cultural needs' of Māori offenders and the tool included six constructs *1) Limited or lack of whānau contact; 2) Whānau-related stress; 3) Whānau social influence to crime; 4) Whakawhanaunga; 5) Cultural tension; and 6) Cultural identity* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). The use of the MaCRNS was problematic for several reasons. It first presupposed that Māori and non-Māori reasons for their offending are the same (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). It also undermined the validity of different worldviews and Māori experiences of cumulative, intergenerational trauma resulting from colonisation (Webb, 2018). Māori criminologist Robb Webb (2018) criticised the genesis of this tool for its insinuations that "the lack of a secure identity could result in cognitive difficulties, negative emotions and antisocial behaviour" (p.10).

The genesis of Māori critique about the MaCRNs was inherent in a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. In a Waitangi Tribunal claim in 2005, Tom Hemapo, a staff member for the Department of Corrections, raised concerns about the implications of this tool (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). Subsequently Hemapo lodged a claim (known as Wai 1024) in 2005 to the Waitangi Tribunal which brought the Māori Culture Related Need (MaCRNs) assessment tool

under severe scrutiny and criticism (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). Hemapo claimed that the MaCRNs disadvantaged Māori offenders by the ‘type’ and ‘length’ of their sentences (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005, p. 2). Hemapo stated that the tool generated bias through higher scores of risk being attributed to Māori offenders based on selecting ‘Māori’ as their ethnicity (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). These concerns were related to how the MaCRN led to assumptions that, if a Māori offender did not get a high score on the MaCRN (a high score indicates their cultural needs were being met), they could attribute a lack of Māori cultural identity as a critical factor to explain their reoffending (McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). Hemapo argued that the major design flaw of the tool (into which Maynard et al., 1999, had leading input into) was the underlying assumption that cultural identity, or a lack thereof, was listed as a ‘criminogenic’ need (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). The insinuations of the MaCRN thus inferred that repeat offending could be linked to a lack of ability on the Māori offender’s part to retain their culture (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). This deficit discourse ignored systemic and societal issues and colonisation, as a result differential treatment for Māori and non-Māori offenders was embedded (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). McIntosh and Workman (2017) stated that the MaCRNs:

identified culture as the property or element that is particular to Māori offenders and sets them apart from Pākehā offenders. In doing so, it excluded consideration of such factors as the colonisation experience, over-policing of marginalised communities, stop-and-search processes and systemic discrimination as contributing to Māori overrepresentation. (p. 731)

Subsequently, there were questions around the design of the tool and the extent to which it had received input from Māori communities. Several issues were highlighted in this report about the MaCRNs. Whilst there are too many to list here, what is important to this discussion,

is the problematising of Māori who offend as inherently at risk *because they are Māori*. Webb (2018) stated that:

Explaining the higher rate of Māori criminality as the result of a higher association with risk factors, works to simply designate being Māori as a risk factor in itself. (p. 17)

This in turn raised on-going concerns about systemic bias for Māori apprehended for offending.

Systemic bias was also a concern in Moana Jackson's (1988) seminal report, *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System – He Whaipanga Hou: A New Perspective*. Jackson (1988) challenged the state regarding institutional bias, race-based policing, discriminatory judicial sentencing, and over-policing as compounding issues affecting the over-representation of Māori in the justice system. He further critiqued the “socio-psychological” approach which focused on individual offender characteristics whilst ignoring contextual and historical factors which may have contributed to the offending (p. 14). Jackson (1988) stated:

[a] Māori conceptual framework would attempt to provide these explanations. It would consider the offender, the pressures placed upon him and the roots of those social structures which create the pressures. (p. 15)

Māori criminologists such as Tauri (1999), Mihaere (2015), Webb (2012), McIntosh & Workman (2017), and Quince (2007), alongside Jackson (1988), have also challenged the mainstream discourses associated with Māori in the criminal justice system and causation of offending. These academics have argued that discourses about Māori offending and causation cannot be viewed in isolation from the negative relationship Māori have with the state and the wider issues associated with colonisation. The basis of such arguments also includes systemic bias towards Māori in the system, the effects of marginalisation, and the socioeconomic

disadvantage Māori experience through the processes of colonisation (Mihaere, 2015; Quince, 2007; Tauri, 1999; Webb, 2012; Workman & McIntosh, 2013).

Furthermore, a singular focus on issues such as poverty and social dysfunction as factors of ‘Māori’ offending, ignores the fact that colonisation has directly impacted on the socioeconomic status of Māori (Quince, 2007). Tauri and Webb (2012) have thus critiqued the lack of Māori-specific research and iwi input into state policy and programmes in addressing Māori criminal offending. They have argued that ‘bicultural’ crime control policy formulations are symptomatic of the state’s tokenistic efforts to integrate Māori cultural frameworks in interventions (Tauri & Webb, 2012). These issues raised by Tauri and Webb in 2012 are still pervasive in the justice system today.

In 2018, thirty years after Jackson’s (1988) influential report, former Justice Minister Andrew Little announced a system-wide reform of the justice sector. Minister Little employed an advisory group called *Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora* to conduct a system-wide review of the New Zealand justice system. This review is recorded as the biggest government undertaking to reform the justice system in over thirty years (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019a). The substantial qualitative study was held across New Zealand and the advisory group engaged in ‘conversations’ with different groups of the public (including Māori) to gain public opinion about how the New Zealand criminal justice system could be improved (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019a). In short, their findings reported the need for reform. Like Jackson’s (1988) report, the findings also indicated similar issues such as discrimination, systemic bias, high rates of reoffending and institutional racism in the New Zealand justice system (Te Uepū Hāpai i Te Ora, 2019a). Therefore, in their 2019 report, *Turuki, Turuki: Moving Together* the advisory group recommended that centralisation of tikanga Māori and te ao Māori perspectives in all operational aspects of the justice system were needed to address the over-representation of Māori in the justice system. This thesis contends that it is also necessary to

consider Māori world views and the impacts of colonisation. Indigenous criminologists such as Cunneen and Tauri (2016) argued that it is time for a revisioning of an Indigenous criminology theory for understanding Indigenous offending.

Indigenous Criminology

Māori and Indigenous criminologists are sceptical that governments are positioned to address the over-representation of Indigenous and Māori peoples in the offending statistics in comparison to other ethnicities within the current Western criminologies. Whilst the term ‘criminology’ is understood as the study of people and the reasons why they offend/or commit crime, Agozino (2004) described criminology as both an “enterprise” and a “technology” used by imperial countries as a mechanism for controlling ‘others’ (p. 344). Agozino (2004, 2010) alongside others (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016) contend that there must be a shift in how we understand criminology. Agozino (2004) argued that we need more than an Indigenous take on Western models, and that Indigenous knowledge should be available as a counter-criminology. He stated:

it is not enough to indigenise already existing criminological schools, including progressive criminologies. Instead, western criminologists should remain open to chances of learning from the experiences and struggles of others as well through an exchange of knowledge contrary to the modernist assumption that technology must be transferred from the west to the rest of us. (p. 356)

Webb (2003) and Cunneen and Tauri (2016) have argued that Western criminologies do not consider the experiences of Indigenous peoples from Anglo-settler countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Therefore, Indigenous criminologists have advocated for a counter-colonial and Indigenous criminology (Agozino, 2004, 2010; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Webb, 2003), as current governmental analysis of offending behaviours neglects the

impacts of colonial and neo-colonial policy making (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Cunneen and Tauri (2016) identified two issues that an Indigenous criminology could address, the first is the inclusion of colonisation as a key component of any “theoretical and analysis framework” and the second is a perspective conducive to Indigenous people’s desires for self-determination (p. 151). Ways in which the government have been responsive to the needs of Māori within the system will be considered next.

Governmental Responses to Offending

This study acknowledges that a Māori world view and a Māori lens is needed to investigate the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the youth justice system. Therefore, in 2017, I submitted an Official Information Act (1982) (OIA) request to the MOJ to enquire about how the government is responding to the high Māori youth offending rates. I wanted to ascertain governmental responsiveness to Māori offending in the last ten years. The purpose of this OIA was to consider how discourse shapes New Zealand youth offending policies.

Graham Cowle, on behalf of the MOJ and in response to my OIA request, stated that “policies between 2006 and 2009 [for The MOJ] did not have a specific serious Māori youth offending focus” (G. Cowle, personal communication, June 26, 2017, p. 1). However, he noted that from 2009 onwards, three key strategies had an ‘integrated’ Māori youth offending focus. These key strategies were identified as: 1) Addressing the Drivers of Crime, 2) Te Kōti Rangatahi (the Rangatahi Court) and 3) the Youth Crime Action Plan (G. Cowle, personal communication, June 26, 2017). As this study is particularly focused on understanding the RFPP, the next section will consider the first strategy 1) Addressing the Drivers of Crime.

A brief understanding of the social and political climate at the time that the Drivers of Crime initiative was implemented is needed to examine the assumptions behind the discourses underpinning it. Then we can expose its internal contradictions and evaluate the likely or

potential social effects. In 2009, reducing youth offending was a major governmental focus through the Drivers of Crime policies of the first John Key Government. Lynch (2012) argued that the National-led government at the time was highly influenced by penal populism and had used a ‘get tough on crime’ approach to pursue votes (Lynch, 2012). Te Puni Kōkiri (2011), a partnering Ministry involved in the Drivers of Crime policy, suggested that policy development to reduce crime had tended to prioritise international evidence-based research from countries like Canada, the UK and the USA over what ‘works’ with Māori who are in the criminal justice system. Te Puni Kōkiri (2011) stated that this (overseas) research was not situated in a Māori world view, could not be assumed to work well in Māori communities, and (to date) had had little bearing on reducing Māori offending and imprisonment rates.

In short, the Drivers of Crime approach has influenced youth offending policy, yet there is critique of this Westernised framework in that it does not fit the New Zealand context, nor does it take into consideration the cultural needs of Māori and the impacts of colonisation (Stanley & De Froideville, 2020). Academics thus agreed that the state’s response to address the offending rates of Māori offending in general within cultural paradigms is deficient (McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Stanley & De Froideville, 2020). Beyond the policy’s rhetoric, it is important to understand the political mechanisms at play at the time that the policy was created.

When the Drivers of Crime was initiated there was a social investment focus with specific targeted interventions to prevent offending through “contributed funding to decisions for specific purposes to be provided to youth in the youth justice system” (G. Cowle, personal communication, June 26, 2017). The Treasury (2017) stated that with social investment, “[m]uch of the focus is on early investment to achieve better long-term results for people and help them to become more independent. Social investment aims to reduce the number of New Zealanders relying on social services and the overall costs for taxpayers” (para. 3).

Alongside social investment, neoliberalism, and socioeconomic policies (like ‘Rogernomics’) in the 1980s, have also influenced policy settings and the delivery of services in our justice system in New Zealand. Neoliberalism has been described as

a “set of market-liberal policies and practices [that] extends the market-place into communities and has three main tenets which is to provide ‘free trade’, ‘free mobility of capital’ and to reduce the role of the state in the marketplace. (Bargh, 2007, p. 1)

The benefits a neoliberal policy setting for government is that it appears to satisfy Māori aspirations for tino rangatiratanga and a ‘by Māori for Māori’ approach (Kiro, 2001). However, there are a range of issues associated with neoliberalism for Māori in terms of their relationship with the state. In the context of Māori and health policies, Kiro (2001) argued that “Māori should be wary” of the devolution of services to Māori, iwi authorities as providers, as devolution only provides limited opportunities for improvements to be made with restricted funds (p. 124). The issues arising for Māori here is in relation to the government’s responsibilities and obligations as a Treaty partner to honour the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Bargh, 2007; Kiro, 2001). Whilst neoliberal policies create a devolution of services, it is pertinent to consider that the obligations to the Treaty move beyond the ambit of the state.

The other issue arising from neoliberal policies for Māori is government distrust in the capability of Māori to address societal concerns within Māori cultural frameworks. Bargh (2007) stated:

A key feature of neo-liberal policies is this conflict between not wanting to be or appear paternalistic, wanting to be seen to allow people the freedom and empowerment to govern themselves, but at the same time distrusting the abilities of some peoples, particularly Indigenous peoples to do so. (p. 14)

It could thus be argued that policies that are underpinned by neoliberal ideologies pay scant regard to an Indigenous world view. Considering neoliberal ideologies, developing innovative approaches that make transformative and meaningful changes for Māori are unlikely without input from Māori communities themselves. In the context of this study, addressing the Crown-Māori partnership, particularly as it relates to understanding the issue of Māori children and young people being taken into state care, is complex (Fitzmaurice, 2020). To understand state care in New Zealand, the overarching legislation, known as the Oranga Tamariki Act (1989), will now be briefly discussed.

The Oranga Tamariki Act (1989)

The revised Oranga Tamariki Act (1989) – also referred to as the Children and Young Person’s Wellbeing Act (1989), is fundamental to understanding care and protection and youth offending legislation in New Zealand. In July 2019, several significant amendments were made to different sections within this Act which are pertinent to this study, namely Section 7AA briefly outlined below, and s.238 (1) (d), and s.396 relating to remand.

Section 7AA (s.7AA) is a new section in the Oranga Tamariki Act (1989) which states specific responsibilities of the Chief Executive of Oranga Tamariki in response to the well-being of Māori young people in state care. Section 7AA (1) outlines the responsibilities of the Chief Executive of Oranga Tamariki “to recognise and make a practical commitment to reducing disparities for Māori in line with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to policies, practices, and services for the well-being of Māori children and youth”. In s.7AA (2)(b), there is also direct reference to “supporting mana tamaiti, the whakapapa of Māori taitamariki and their whanaungatanga responsibilities to their whānau, hapū, and iwi”.

Other changes to the legislation related to partnership with Māori. S.7AA (2) and (3) stipulated the importance of the Chief Executive on behalf of Oranga Tamariki forming strategic partnerships with Māori or iwi organisations/authorities with the responsibility to

respond to invitations to partner with iwi or Māori organisations to improve outcomes for Māori children.

A notable feature of Section 7AA (2)(vi) is the responsibility of the Chief Executive to “provide, and regularly review, guidance to persons discharging functions under this Act to support cultural competency as a best practice feature of the department’s workforce”. Whilst this would appear to be ‘new’ legislative thinking, it is anything but novel. Instead, these changes are re-languaging of already made recommendations in *Puao-te-Ata-Tu*, a 1988 report for the Minister of the then Department of Social Welfare. Recommendation nine of *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* envisioned that staff training in aspects of Māori culture should be fundamental to all core services of the then Department of Social Welfare.

The background to *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* was from 1984, when Minister for the Department of Social Welfare at the time, the Honourable Ann Hercus, directed that a series of hui (meetings) be convened following accounts of institutional racism and other issues amongst Māori in the Auckland District Office of the Department of Social Welfare (Hill, 2009). Consequently, in 1985, an advisory mechanism – namely, the Māori Perspective Advisory Committee led by the Tūhoe leader John Te Aniwanīwa Rangihau – was implemented. Charged to report directly to the Minister of Social Welfare on the operational aspects, policy, and service delivery of the Department of Social Welfare, the committee produced a report in 1989 named *Puao-te-Ata-Tu: Heralding a New Dawn*. The report was and continues to be a seminal commentary on child welfare in New Zealand. The report highlighted institutional racism within the Department of Social Welfare consisting of a hierarchical system which denied Māori equal access to services and income support (Workman, 2015). This report was the impetus for systemic changes within the child welfare system including the genesis of the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act (1989) (this had several revisions and is now known as the 1989 Oranga Tamariki Act) (Fitzmaurice, 2020).

The 1989 Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (CYF) was rated as first class in the world because of the introduction of the ‘Family Group Conference’ and diversionary measures in New Zealand youth justice, which saw fewer young people prosecuted for offending (Quince, 2007). Thirty years on, there is critique that the Act has not been fully realised as whānau Māori, hapū, and iwi continue to remain sidelined at multiple levels of the decision-making process (Boulton, Potaka-Osborne, Cvitanovic & Williams-Blyth, 2018; Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2018). To understand this critique, it is important to have a base understanding of what led up to this change of legislation at the time, including the issue of state care in New Zealand.

State Care

Māori and Indigenous peoples in settler countries like Australia and Canada have a harrowing and disruptive colonial past of state intervention. This stems from the removal of children and young people from Indigenous family structures and being placed into residential care or other community care settings (Blackstock & Trocme, 2005; Boulton et al., 2018; Cunneen, 1999). The reasons associated with the removal of Māori and Indigenous children to state and residential schools needs further research (Blackstock & Trocme, 2005; Cunneen, 1999; Tauri, 1999). However, state intervention in New Zealand families has been a heightened issue in recent times (Fitzmaurice, 2020). Urgent hearings at the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2823; 2891) about the removal of Māori babies (0–3 months) from their families highlights the perilous situation our state system is currently in (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2020).

Oranga Tamariki, New Zealand’s Ministry for Children, currently services 30,000 children nationwide, including 6,400 in care or custody of the Chief Executive in kinship or community placed homes, in addition to around 2,000 young people who are taken into secure care and protection facilities or into youth justice residences (Office of the Children’s

Commissioner, 2020). In 2020, the Children's Commissioner reported that 71% of children in custody for care and protection and 80% of young people in youth justice residences are Māori, despite Māori children only representing 25% of their overall demographic (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020). The Oranga Tamariki Act (1989) defines the circumstances in which a child or young person would be placed into care or protection. These instances include care for suffering of any kind, such as abuse (sexual, physical, emotional), neglect, maltreatment, exposure to family violence, or protection if the child/young person was behaving in an unsafe way that could impair their mental, emotional, or physical well-being. Of interest to this research is the Māori youth offending trajectories from state care, and the impact that care and protection placements have on Māori children who become Māori youth offenders.

In New Zealand, it is reported that 'persistent' offenders, or young people who have a history of repeated offending, have a background in care or protection (Henwood, George, Cram, & Waititi, 2018; Stanley, 2017). In the 2014/2015 and 2018/2019 *Ministry of Youth Justice Indicator* statistics, 88% of male and 91% of female young people referred to a Family Group Conference (FGC) had previously been reported to have care and protection concerns (MOJ Youth Indicators, 2020). Whilst an offending trajectory is not representative of all young people exiting care and protection, the statistics are indicative of the high turnover of children who exit state care only to cross over into the youth justice system, to become what are termed "crossover youth[s]" (Henwood et al., 2018).

Several studies have sought to explain the causes for crossover youths and how to prevent the trajectory from care of the state along a 'pipeline' to eventual adult prison or the so-called 'prison pipeline' (Gluckman, 2017). Stanley (2017) carried out interviews with 105 participants (8 women and 97 men; 47% Māori) who had experiences of state care in New Zealand between the 1950s and 1990s. Findings indicated that placement instability ($n = 71$),

such as being moved around numerous foster or residential homes, led to social instability as well as victimisation in residential settings. Stanley (2017) stated that:

This New Zealand research shows, however, that each explanation is also intrinsically connected to state-led victimization and criminalization processes. That is, children's routes to custody were determined and enhanced by the response they received from state institutions and workers. (p. 62)

One concern, beyond the state-led trauma of such inadequate 'care', is the role of practitioner bias in identifying children and young people deemed to be 'at risk' (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019). In a recent study of practitioner bias towards Māori, Keddell and Hyslop investigated practitioner risk perceptions in social work practices and the removal of children from families. Keddell and Hyslop used two vignettes with practitioners (one portraying children with Māori and the other with non-Māori ethnicities) to examine practitioner bias. The findings showed that practitioner risk perceptions and inherent biases were skewed towards rating Māori children at higher risk than non-Māori children, despite identical care and protection circumstances being portrayed in the vignettes (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019). Research such as this highlights the partiality of practitioners to skew judgement of Māori as being more problematic than their non-Māori counterparts. A final point of discussion in this literature review is the state of remand care for rangatahi Māori who offend.

Remand

Remand care in secure youth justice facilities is a mounting concern due to the percentage of rangatahi Māori who enter these facilities (80%) alongside the length of time they remain in them on remand awaiting sentencing (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020). There are also concerns about more 'seasoned' offenders, mixing with and influencing those who may be adolescent-limited offenders (Henwood et al., 2018; Moffitt, 1993). The 2018 Office

of the Children’s Commissioner’s State of Care report, *Maiea te Tūruapō: fulfilling the vision supporting young people with at-risk behaviour to live successfully in their communities* highlighted the need to find alternative community solutions and more suitable community options (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2018).

In relation to young people taken in to care on remand, Section 238(1)(d) of the Oranga Tamariki Act (1989) states that iwi social services, cultural social services, and child and family support services are at the same level of approval as the government organisation of Oranga Tamariki. Section 396 of the Act states that “the Chief Executive may, from time to time, on application made to the Chief Executive, approve any incorporated body (being a body established by an iwi) as an iwi social service for the purposes of this Act”. The Children’s Commissioner advised that the changes to legislation mentioned earlier (Section 7AA) mean that the Chief Executive of Oranga Tamariki will now need to work more closely and in partnership with iwi to find culturally appropriate solutions for rangatahi Māori and whānau for community placements (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2018). However, to see true partnership, the findings from the *Ināia Tonu Nei* (2019) report stated that there must be power sharing:

[P]ower sharing ensures that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is given its full effect. This means the Crown must share power with Māori (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019b, p. 14)

To understand the impacts of risk and protective factors in the lives of rangatahi Māori who offend, we must take an ecological perspective whilst considering the impacts of colonisation. Indigenous criminology has the potential to present a counter-colonial narrative on the current risk discourse.

Summary

In finishing, this chapter has considered the RFPP and the issues associated with this paradigm as it pertains to Māori youth offending. The discourse associated with Māori offending and the need for an indigenous criminology has also been explored to understand the wider implications of colonisation on Māori offending policy. As Māori youth who offend under the age of seventeen are considered the responsibility of Oranga Tamariki, this chapter has further considered the government's response to preventative measures to reduce offending, state care and remand. To further understand the causes of offending, we must consider the role that education plays in the educational trajectories of rangatahi Māori who offend.

CHAPTER THREE

Education in the Margins

Introduction

Chapter Three presents a brief review of the educational landscape in New Zealand for rangatahi Māori excluded from the education system. Whilst disengagement from education is not characteristic of all youth offenders in New Zealand (Sutherland, 2011), for the 10% to 15% of youth offenders who present in court for a serious criminal offence, up to 70% of these youths are not enrolled in any formal education (Becroft, 2016). This chapter thus provides a brief overview of the 1988 Tomorrow's Schools policy which led to changes in legislation (The 1989 Education Act; The New Zealand Government, 2020). This chapter briefly reviews research which explores the causes of disengagement and exclusion from mainstream education for rangatahi Māori and Indigenous youths who offend in other settler countries like Australia and Canada. Finally, this review briefly canvases Alternative Education, as Māori apprehended for offending are unlikely to re-engage back into mainstream education.

Tomorrow's Schools Policy

In 1988, a taskforce led by Brian Picot produced the Picot Report, formally known as *Administering for Excellence: Effective Administration in Education*. The Picot report gave rise to the Labour-led government policy known as Tomorrow's Schools, which saw the greatest restructure to the mainstream education system and legislation (The 1989 Education Act) since the 1877 Education Act. Based on neoliberal philosophies, the core aim of the Tomorrow's Schools restructure was to circumvent centralisation through the devolution of systems of the Department of Education and regional boards in favour of "self managing schools" (Fitzgerald & Knipe, 2019, p. 144). Tomorrow's Schools moved governance,

administration and management to local schools which would operate as autonomous entities with elected boards of trustees. “Within this devolved system schools were afforded a wide range of administrative responsibilities, including resource allocation, staff appointments and buildings and equipment. Control however remained firmly invested in central state agencies such as the Education Review Office (ERO) and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA)” (Fitzgerald & Knipe, 2019, p. 144). Schoone (2016) reports that the Tomorrow’s Schools policy gave rise to alternative education movements in the community.

Schoone (2016) stated that the implications of the Tomorrow Schools policy and the neoliberal marketplace for marginalised students is that access to education has been made more difficult. “In this current consumer market of education, marginalised students become less attractive to schools” (Schoone, 2016, p. 16). However, the 1989 Education Act binds the Crown to provide 13 years of free formal education to every child and young person in New Zealand, including rangatahi Māori who offend (Baragwanath, 2009). In a neo-liberal environment, school results such as National Certificate in Education Achievement (NCEA) grades, school-rankings and attendance statistics become measures for the neoliberal ‘user pays’ environment (Schoone, 2016, p. 16). Students who do not perform affect school ratings and thus are seen to be a liability to the local school (Schoone, 2016, p. 16). Unfortunately, for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending, many of whom experience stand-downs, suspensions, or exclusions, their local school may not be as accommodating to their needs or educational rights. Māori children and youth who are apprehended for a serious criminal offence are therefore more likely to suffer disadvantage with their rights to education diminished (Becroft, 2016).

In their review, the Tomorrow’s Schools Independent Taskforce (2018) reported that there were systemic issues with the current self-governing model which is not working overall for many Māori learners. The report also stated that “the system is not working well enough for

our most disadvantaged children and young people. This is not fair or just” (Tomorrow’s Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018, p. 11). They recommended that we needed to give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and that we need “cultural and structural transformation” (Tomorrow’s Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018, p. 11). This review echoes the current disparate educational statistics for Māori youth in mainstream education.

First, rangatahi Māori engagement and academic achievement is not equal compared with other ethnic groups. The negative educational statistics report on the disparate achievement rates in NCEA qualifications. Achievement of NCEA Level Two or above for Māori students in 2019 was 64.7% compared with other ethnicities; Pacific 73.7% and European/Pākehā 82.0% (Education Counts, 2020b). Likewise, in 2019, there were lower rates of retention in high school through to senior levels, with only 69.6% of Māori students remaining at school till 17 years of age compared with 81.6% for Pacific and 83.2% for European/Pākehā students (Education Counts, 2020a).

What is even more concerning is the continual disproportionate over-representation of Māori youth in the stand-down, suspension, and exclusion statistics compared to other ethnic groups. Māori students in 2018/2019 were stood down 2.4 times more than their non-Māori counterparts, suspended 8.3 times more than their non-Māori peers, and excluded at 3.2 times more than non-Māori students (Education Counts, 2020c). According to Education Counts (2020c), stand-down, suspension and exclusion statistics give an indication where disengagement is present and behavioural issues exist. In reviewing the disciplinary suspension statistics, the two areas of highest suspension rates were assaults on other students, and continual disobedience with staff (Education Counts, 2020c). Whilst stand-down, suspension and exclusion statistics are not specific to Māori youth who offend, they illustrate the uneven playing field between Māori and non-Māori youth in education.

However, beyond disciplinary action, school attendance rates are of grave concern across all year levels, as there has been a downward trajectory since 2015. Regular attendance in 2019 was only 58% overall, with Māori students recording the highest absence rates (Ministry of Education [MOE], 2020b). In a 2019 attendance survey carried out by the MOE (2020b), truancy was identified as a key reason for unexplained absences, however, the issues were reported as more systemic than one-off. The 2015 Programme for International Student Assessment survey asked 15-year-old students a range of questions measuring “schoolwork related anxiety, sense of belonging, motivation, and experiences with bullying and unfair treatment by teachers” (MOE, 2020a, p. 3). Of interest to this research are the experiences of bullying, and unfair teacher treatment. Bullying included name calling, physical threats, being left out, rumours being spread, theft or damage of belongings. It is therefore likely that many students truanted school to avoid bullying. Teacher unfairness included being overlooked, harsher discipline, unfair grading of assessment, being “ridiculed in front of others” (MOE, 2020a, p. 6). The MOE (2020a) review suggested two reasons for teacher unfairness which included unsuccessful student-teacher relationships and teacher bias in treating students who are frequently absent more unfairly.

Disengagement from Education

Disengagement and alienation from formal education has been identified as a risk factor for persistent youth offending (Becroft, 2016; McLaren, 2000; Sherwood, 2015; Sutherland, 2011). A lack of educational achievement impacts on adolescents’ opportunities for better employment, income and access to stable housing; for adolescents who offend, the likelihood of reoffending is increased, with research finding links between offending, unemployment and poverty (Fergusson, Lynskey, & Horwood, 1997; Workman & McIntosh, 2013). Drawing on the risk and protective factor paradigm, alienation from the education system has been identified as a probable risk factor for a pathway of persistent criminal offending (Poa &

Wright Monod, 2016; Sanders, Liebenberg, & Munford, 2020; Sutherland, 2011). Sanders et al. (2020) examined longitudinal data ($N = 495$ adolescents) to determine the impact that exclusion had on involvement in criminal justice. These findings suggested that delinquency influenced exclusion (and vice versa), and they urged schools to further focus on positive relationships between students and teachers to mitigate risks of exclusion. In exploring the causes of Māori youth offending, one must take stock of the negative schooling experiences which alienate adolescents with offending behaviours from the education system (Sanders et al., 2020; Sutherland, 2011).

Kaupapa Māori specific research about the educational experiences of rangatahi Māori who commit serious criminal offences is limited, but other studies have explored the mainstream educational experiences of adolescents in alternative education and in residential care settings in New Zealand, Australia and Canada (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011; Huxford, 2015; Moodie, Maxwell, & Rudolph, 2019; Sutherland, 2011). Sutherland (2011) examined mainstream schooling experiences with twenty-five adolescents (19 male, 6 female; between 14 and 16 years old) on remand or supervision within three government secure residences in New Zealand. Eighteen of the twenty-five young people were of Māori descent. The findings suggested that teachers who cared about their welfare, had a “mutual respect” and “took the time to explain things to them” had a positive influence on the young people (Sutherland, 2011, p. 16). Negative schooling experiences, on the other hand were laced with frequent punishment, unfair treatment, and little understanding of the value of the subjects taught (Sutherland, 2011). Findings further indicated “feelings of boredom, unfairness, humiliation and favouritism; excessive use of physical force; being yelled at, harassed and misunderstood; and racism” (Sutherland, 2011, p. 15).

Moodie et al. (2019) conducted a systematic literature review across six mixed methods studies, eight quantitative and thirty-two qualitative studies examining experiences of racism

of Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal students in mainstream schooling. Their findings highlighted that, across the literature, racism was found to be a stable feature of the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students (Moodie et al., 2019):

The ...effects [of racism] includ[ed] school withdrawal, deidentifying as Indigenous, emotional distress and internalisation of negative beliefs about Indigenous intelligence and academic performance. These experiences then shape[d] the school choice and school engagement strategies of those students when they themselves become parents. (p. 274)

Hare and Pidgeon (2011) discussed the experiences of 39 First Nations adolescents in public schooling in Canada. Like Sutherland (2011) and Moodie et al. (2019), Hare and Pidgeon's (2011) study found that racism underpinned negative secondary schooling experiences for their participants, which impacted on engagement in education and subsequent educational plans after compulsory schooling. The study also found that despite deficit theorising of Indigenous youths as lacking family support, the Anishinaabe participants stated that "Indigenous family and community structures, family networks continue[d] to be a source of modeling that youth can draw upon" (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011, p. 106). This contributed to what Hare and Pidgeon (2011) referred to as "warrior philosophy" to overcome adverse situations (p. 105). The third finding suggested that the youths demonstrated agency through their resistance to public schooling by opting for alternative schooling (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011). Alternative schooling was found to be more culturally situated within their First Nations communities because of the common values based on respect, kinship, belonging and support (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011).

Alternative Education in New Zealand

Alternative Education (AE) in New Zealand is designed for 13- to 15-year-old students disengaged from formal mainstream education. There are approximately 120 AE programmes which provide education to 1,888 students in New Zealand (Schoone, 2020). Originally a grassroots initiative in the 1990s, AE was inspired by and led from within communities in response to disenfranchised youths excluded and alienated from mainstream education (Schoone, 2016). In the 2000s, the government formally recognised AE when they started funding students, then ten years later funded registered teachers (Schoone, 2016). However, AE is still under-resourced (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018). The 2009 Health and Wellbeing Survey of 335 AE students (aged 13 to 15 years) enrolled with 47 AE providers found that Māori (50%) were the most represented ethnic group engaged in AE (Clark et al., 2010). The findings from this survey found that there was an unequal access to and distribution of resources and healthcare for students in AE and limited opportunities for training for AE tutors, compared to mainstream schools.

Huxford's (2015) study with six Māori participants enrolled in AE found that disengagement from mainstream education resulted from absenteeism, behavioural issues, and low teacher expectations, which impacted on students' sense of self-efficacy to achieve. Early intervention was identified as imperative to re-engagement back into education (Huxford, 2015). According to Huxford's participants, AE had been instrumental in re-engagement with education and AE influenced greater student motivation and achievement (Huxford, 2015).

In other research, Poa and Wright Monod's (2016) study with six Māori participants, who had offended, investigated the impact of re-engagement in education through the government Youth Guarantees programme. The government Youth Guarantees programme was implemented into policy in 2009 for those aged 16 and 17 years who were not engaged in education, training, or employment, to prepare for transitions to employment. The findings of

this study indicated that a sense of self-worth after goal attainment, a sense of belonging and pride in their provider, acknowledgement of their social and economic issues and social worker support to address issues prompted the participants to continue in education and desist from criminal offending (Poa & Wright Monod, 2016). This study, like Hare and Pidgeon (2011), found that inclusion of their culture enabled the participants to feel a sense of belonging in their learning environment (Poa & Wright Monod, 2016).

Summary

Alternative education may provide a critical first stage for rangatahi Māori who offend to re-engage back to education (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018). Clark et al. (2010), Huxford (2015) and Schoone (2016) also conclude that AE is an important factor in re-engaging students who have fallen out of the mainstream education system. Overall, research shows that AE and Youth Guarantee programmes are important to re-engaging adolescents who offend back into education. They must be culturally cognisant of the needs of their learners, provide a sense of belonging, ensure relationships with tutors who care and one-to-one learning opportunities, all of which are important (Clark et al., 2010; Poa & Wright Monod, 2016; Schoone, 2016). Tutors have been recognised as key to (re)engaging youth in education (Clark et al., 2010; Schoone, 2016). However, as Clark et al. (2010) noted, the access to health, social services and educational opportunities for AE learners must be on a par with services provided in mainstream education.

Māori Identities, Resilience, Cultural Connectedness and Cultural Well-being

Introduction

To provide the conceptual and theoretical understandings needed to discuss identity development for rangatahi Māori who offend, this chapter reviews literature about adolescent and ethnic identity development, the salience of a positive Māori identity, cultural connectedness and well-being and how these factors influence resilience in Māori adolescents. In this review, both Western and Māori cultural identity theories, models, and research are discussed. As mātauranga Māori is a central underpinning of this study, te reo Māori notions of resilience are included. Finally, this chapter finishes with a review of literature which discusses cultural well-being models and barriers to developing a secure cultural identity.

Adolescent and Ethnic Identity Development

There are several Māori, Indigenous and international theoretical models which inform cultural identity formation and development (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966; Phinney, 1989, 1992; Rata, 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Earlier identity theorists such as Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966) examined how identity for adolescents was developed from within a psychosocial perspective. Erikson (1968) theorised identity formation for adolescents and argued that identity development occurs during adolescence where a conflict takes place between identity versus role confusion, and resolution of the conflict in relation to the expectations of others. Much of Erikson's work was influenced by the role of the ego, which drew on the research of Marcia (1966).

Marcia's (1966) work explored the role of ego identity development alongside one's commitment to identity. Marcia (1966) developed a model based on four stages of identity

development. He labelled the stages as: *Diffusion* (has not acknowledged identity crisis and has not explored identity); *Foreclosure* (has made a commitment but has not explored their identity); *Moratorium* (is exploring identity, but no commitment made) and *Achieved* (has experienced identity crisis, has explored and made a commitment). Whilst Marcia's (1966) model explored personal identity, ethnic identity was not included in this model.

Earlier ethnic identity research primarily focused on an individual's "knowledge about" their own ethnic group and "their sense of self" in relation to it (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1993, p. 34). However, identity characteristics in different ethnic groups change, dependent on the cultural and political contexts in which their identities are maintained (Berry, 1993). Macfarlane, Macfarlane, and Webber (2015) argued that we have seen dramatic changes in different social and cultural constructs (knowledge, language and identity) in the last 50 years. Therefore, in understanding the development of an ethnic identity, we must consider the role that ethnicity, race, and ancestry play in developing a secure cultural identity and how these are used in the reporting of Māori youth offending statistics.

Government policies have used several terms over recent decades to define who is Māori, including race, ethnicity and, more recently, descent. Race, a politically charged term in New Zealand, typically refers to physical characteristics such as phenotype, based on one's genetic makeup (Webber, McKinley, & Hattie, 2013). However, this term was discontinued in earlier political movements in the reporting of statistics (the 1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act) due to the dissatisfaction of quantifying Māori according to blood quantum measures (Kukutai, 2011). The term 'race', though widely used internationally, does not have the same traction in New Zealand as it does in other countries. Instead, in more recent decades, ethnicity, and nowadays the term descent, have gained traction (Kukutai, 2011). Ethnic identification in official information is measured differently dependent on terminology used,

whether it be Māori descent (ancestry) or Māori ethnicity (cultural affiliation) (Kukutai, 2011). Kukutai (2011) argued that varied classifications and definitions of Māori used in the census are entwined with both political and bureaucratic motivations, which tend to favour a dominant group narrative.

Alongside navigating the political constructions of identity-making, our understandings of identity formation can also be informed by Tajfel's (1974) social identity theory, which stated that identity is formed in interpersonal relationships with others and group membership is fundamental to identity formation. Social identity consists of a psychological aspect, which informs the assumption that "people strive for a positive social identity", and the socio cultural aspect, which "describes how people cope with a negative social identity" (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019, p. 132). These aspects can be explained in four components of social identity theory.

Tajfel (1974) theorised four interlinking components of social identity as social categorisation, social identity, social comparison, and psychological distinctiveness. Tajfel (1974) proposed that these processes informed how an individual sees themselves and their social identity as a member of different group(s), and whether they hold a positive or negative self-image as a result. According to Tajfel (1974), *social categorisation* is the process by which an individual categorises groups, and this process allows for the distinguishing and assignment of group behaviours to individuals. Here a person's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and actions shape the labels ascribed to these groups in society. The second process, *social identity*, is seen as the process by which one's self concept is established, based on what you know about the group to which you belong and the "emotional significance [you] attach to that group" (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69). The third process, *social comparison*, is where one compares their own characteristics with that of a different group. Tajfel (1974) argued that this comparison must be 'tested in reality' and he stated:

[T]he characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as status, its richness or poverty, its skin colour or its ability to reach its aims) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotations of these differences. (p. 71)

A social comparison process proposes that it is within the social contexts that we belong, and the meanings we ascribe to these groups, shape our versions of how we see ourselves. If we belong or do not belong to these groups, social comparison influences whether we have a positive or negative self-concept based on our comparison of ourselves to these groups (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019).

The final process Tajfel (1974) described is *psychological distinctiveness*. As the social context is in part responsible for how one develops one's identity, social identity is shaped by how we respond to ascribed negative identity labels of the group to which we belong (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019). Social identity theory postulates that a perceived threat to our status (as an example, being stigmatised), or a conflict in values can lead to three responses: *individual mobility* (the person exits the group), being *socially creative* (the person changes the comparison group) or taking *collective action* (the person seeks to improve the status of the group) (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019). Particularly pertinent to this study is collective action, about which Tajfel (1974) argued that action signifies a need for psychological distinctiveness to be formed. Here "new forms of distinctiveness need to be invented or created through action" (p. 84).

Therefore, in considering how rangatahi Māori who offend construct their social identities, this study must consider the psychological aspect of how they perceive their own identity and their belonging (or not) to different cultural, social, schooling groups and communities. Second, the societal structure in which positive or negative labels are ascribed to their groups of belonging must be considered, as they are shaped and informed by social, cultural, and

political contexts. Like Tajfel's (1974) social identity theory, Marcia's (1966) work has also informed the work of ethnic identity theorist Jean Phinney (1989).

Phinney (1989) developed a MEIM (Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure) of 14 items to conduct quantitative research about ethnic identity formation across several cultural groups of adolescents. The MEIM measures three aspects of ethnic identity: *positive ethnic attitudes*, *a sense of belonging* and *ethnic identity achievement* (Phinney, 1992). Phinney and Ong (2007) later refined this model to the MEIM-R (Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised) which measured two additional factors of ethnic identity: *exploration* and *commitment*. Phinney's (1989) work is important to this study as the interview schedule used with Rangatahi Kaikōrero was influenced by this model to understand the complex layers of ethnic identity development for rangatahi Māori who offend (see Appendix 3). Phinney's (1989) three aspects of ethnicity signify psychological importance and are relevant to this study:

These [aspects of ethnicity] include (a) the cultural values, attitudes and behaviors that distinguish ethnic groups; (b) the subjective sense of ethnic group membership (i.e., ethnic identity) that is held by group members; and (c) the experiences associated with minority status, including powerlessness, discrimination, and prejudice. There are certainly other important aspects of ethnicity, such as political, economic, and historical factors, that are relevant in other contexts. (p. 919)

Whilst the work of Erikson (1968), Marcia (1966, 1980), Tajfel (1974), Tajfel and Turner (1986), Phinney (1989) and Phinney and Ong (2007) are not Māori specific, they have been widely tested and have informed significant adolescent identity research internationally and have informed other identity research such as Rata's (2012) study.

In New Zealand, Rata (2012) created the *Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework* to discuss ethnic identity development for Māori adolescents. The framework used stages of the pōwhiri process (welcome ritual) which have been aligned to stages of Māori creation, namely *Te Kore* (*the nothingness*), *Te Pō* (*the darkness*), *Te Whai Ao* (*the pre-dawn*), and *Te Ao Mārama* (*the world of light*). *Te Kore* represented those who have no desire to connect with their Māori identities; *Te Pō* represented a desire to engage, but there was limited participation; *Te Whai Ao* symbolised an attempt to engage in their culture and aligns to Marcia's (1966) moratorium stage of ethnic identity development; and *Te Ao Mārama* represented a place in which a secure Māori identity was achieved. The *Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework* in Rata's (2012) study suggested that there is a fluid transition through which Māori identity is negotiated. This framework provides a useful cultural construct for my study in considering identity formation in Māori youth who offend.

Traditional Māori Identities

Tuakiri is the Māori word for identity (Moorfield, 2020). The base word of tuakiri is *kiri*, which is the noun for skin. *Tua*, on the other hand, serves as a prefix in the word tuakiri and means 'beyond'. From a literal translation from within te reo Māori, identity is not just a construct which is internal to the individual, but identity goes 'beyond an individual's own skin'. Durie (2003) affirmed the notion of a Māori identity as external to the individual, he stated that "[i]dentity is not primarily an inner experience or personal conviction, rather it is a construct derived from the nature of relationships with the external world" (p. 50).

Traditionally, Māori identity was located from within the broader collectives of the whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). Māori identities locate us in relation to our whenua or physical environment, Papatūānuku. The central thread which ties all these connections together is whakapapa and this is embedded within Māori epistemologies. Jackson (2007) summed up a solid understanding of whakapapa as being intergenerational. He said:

Whakapapa is like a history of repetitious beginnings. Each new event, each generation of ideas and actions that shape human lives is a product of those that have gone before. Nothing exists in isolation or arises spontaneously in a vacuum of immaculate conception. Instead, the present and the future are only the past revisited – ka puta mai, things come into being, are born of something else. (p. 173)

Whakapapa, which was briefly introduced on page 16, is a key underpinning of this study and is discussed throughout this thesis. Whilst whakapapa informs identity development for rangatahi Māori who offend, modern constructions of Māori identities from living in neo-colonial socio-cultural realities also inform this thesis. “Socio-cultural theory... is [defined as] an interdisciplinary scientific entity which seeks to understand the nature of the interaction between two principal constructs social and cultural” (Macfarlane et al., 2015, p. 20). Therefore, socio-cultural realities can be considered within the societies and contexts in which one lives and the cultural experiences which shape their everyday experiences (Macfarlane et al., 2015).

Modern Constructions of Māori Identities

A growing body of literature and research in New Zealand has investigated socio-cultural influences and how these impact on developing a secure cultural identity for Māori (Borell, 2005; Cliffe, 2013; Gillon, Cormack & Borell, 2019; McIntosh, 2005; Rata, 2012; Webber, 2008, 2011). Webber (2011) and Watson (2020) identified that a secure cultural identity is a salient factor to educational success; Rata (2012) found that a secure cultural identity contributes to well-being for Māori youth in secondary education. Whitinui (2007), on the other hand, argued that kapa haka as a pedagogical approach supports Māori students to feel culturally connected which contributes to a secure Māori identity. The benefits of engaging in Māori language and culture were also found in other studies (Rata, 2012; Watson, 2020; Webber, 2011;).

Borell's (2005) study with Māori youth in South Auckland challenged notions of a secure 'Māori' identity. She argued that, whilst traditional indicators have been used to map a secure identity, such indicators excluded a whole spectrum of Māori society. Instead, Borell argued that other 'experiential indicators' such as poverty, violence, dysfunctional parents, and families have become more relevant precursors and markers of Māori identity over time for some Māori (Borell, 2005). These identities have been constructed within the wider discourses of institutional racism, negative statistics and the negative portrayal of Māori in the media (Borell, 2005). Borell's study highlights the wider social issues in identity formation for some Māori who are marginalised from both Māori and mainstream societies. The findings from this research are relevant to this thesis as some of these experiential indicators align with risk factors associated with youth offending.

Like Borell (2005), McIntosh (2005) argued that experiential indicators were relevant to understanding Māori identity constructions. McIntosh stated that identities presented as either insider self-expressions or were imposed by outsiders. McIntosh (2005) theorised that Māori identities in a modern day society were either '*fixed*', '*forced*' or '*fluid*'. *Fixed* identities are based on traditional indicators of Māori society (such as speaking te reo Māori and knowledge of whakapapa). McIntosh theorised that fixed identities are based on obligations and expectations that one would 'know' what being Māori is. A *forced* Māori identity, situated in marginalisation, is formed in circumstances which lead to deprivation such as poverty, a lower socioeconomic status, poor educational outcomes, and government dependency. It is thus important to consider how much our identity-making as Māori, particularly our racial-ethnic identity, "when conceptualised as a lived social identity – is laden with power relations" (Webber, 2011, p. 18). *Fluid* identities, on the other hand, mix traditional indicators with modern constructs to create a hybrid fusion of identities. Examples can be seen in the media and the music industry which may mix hip hop with Māori language (McIntosh, 2005). This

study considers hybrid identities, and how rangatahi Māori who offend recreate, articulate, and enact their identities in the liminal or in-between spaces they occupy.

Liminality, Hybridity, and Identity

Van Gennep (1960) originally developed the concept of liminality in relation to rites of passage. He argued that liminal states were more pronounced in rites of passage during times of transition (which include the transition from adolescence to adulthood). Turner's (1969) concept of liminality considers the person in the liminal as being "be-twixt and between" places (p. 95). Thomassen (2009) discussed three dimensions of liminality: subjects, temporality, and spatiality. For Thomassen (2009), liminality was contextual to: 1) subjects, which included groups, individual and whole societies, 2) temporality, which included periods and epochs, and 3) spatiality, which included places, areas, zones, regions, or countries. In the context of children's geographies, Wood (2012) posited that school classrooms and playgrounds represent spaces of liminality where they are neither adult nor youth spaces and instead represent in-between spaces, which allow for adolescent negotiation and agency. Liminality provides a useful construct in this thesis to understand the stages of identity-making for rangatahi Māori who offend. As the stage of adolescence is considered to be a time of flux (Erikson, 1968), this thesis is particularly focused on how exclusion from education and the liminality of offending create an in-between place that rangatahi Māori who offend end up occupying and then how, in turn, this shapes their cultural identity as Māori.

Discussions of a 'third' space have been theorised in relation to hybrid identities (Bhabha, 1994; Webber, 2008). Homi Bhabha (1994) theorised what is known as the 'third space' as a construction to understand the hybrid spaces where cultures can overlap. In this sense, where more than one culture exists, they intersect, creating a 'third space' (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha (1994) argued that cultures are not contained, instead he said that "[the] 'purity' of cultures are untenable" (p. 55). Drawing on Bhabha's (1994) notion of a 'third space', Webber (2008)

theorised that people of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage can create new ‘hybrid’ identities and negotiate a third space through exploring the ways in which adults with both Māori and Pākehā heritage explore their identity and navigate two cultural world views. Hybridity, according to Webber (2008), “is emancipatory in that its existence releases hybrid individuals from a sense of partial participation and location within their cultures of origin” (p. 31).

In her study, Webber (2008) described how her participants of dual heritage used this third space to remove insider and outsider tensions which are present in society. Webber (2008) stated that the participants in her study felt a stronger sense of control in this third space. In her study, participants spoke about having to navigate both worlds, the difficulties associated with belonging, the inclusionary and exclusionary measures faced and their sense of not ‘fitting’ in to either culture at times.

Akin to the participants in Webber’s (2008) research, Māori youth who offend bridge a cultural fault line between Māori and Pākehā societies and, because of this, they potentially face dual marginalisation. This thesis seeks to understand how rangatahi Māori who offend traverse these social complexities and how they exercise tino rangatiratanga or sovereignty in these borderspaces that they occupy (Wood, 2016). How rangatahi Māori who offend see their identities as Māori is thus important to this study, as is understanding how cultural connectedness and cultural well-being influences a positive cultural identity.

Culture, Identity, Whānau Connectedness and Well-being

There is a plethora of Māori well-being models that include Māori identity as a core element of well-being and are used in different sectors. Te Whare Tapawhā and Te Wheke models have particularly seen traction in the New Zealand health and education sectors for some time now (Durie, 1998; Pere, 2017, as cited in Ministry of Health, 2017). Durie’s (1998) Te Whare Tapawhā model parallels the four walls of a house which is used as a metaphor to represent

Māori health and well-being. The four walls represent spiritual, mental/emotional, physical, and extended family aspects as central to well-being for Māori. Pere's (2017) model Te Wheke proposed that the head and the body of the octopus are a symbol and metaphor of whānau health, and the eyes represent the health of the individual, which together create well-being for the person. The eight tentacles of the octopus represent spirituality, the mind, physical well-being, extended family, life force in people and objects, the unique identity of individuals and family, breath of life from ancestors and healthy emotions (Pere, 2017, as cited in Ministry of Health, 2017). Many studies have identified that a positive cultural identity influences health and well-being for Māori whānau and adolescents (Durie, 2001). In mental health, Williams, Clark, and Lewycka (2018) identified that a secure cultural identity for Māori acts as a protective factor for positive mental health outcomes. Together, well-being, cultural connectedness, identity, and resilience inform this study about rangatahi Māori who offend.

A statement of “[c]onnectiveness refers to the interrelated welfare of the individual, one’s family, one’s community, and the natural environment” (Mohatt, Fok, Burket, Henry, & Allen, 2011, p. 444). Based on a resilience and a strengths-based approach, cultural connectedness is defined in terms of how connected or integrated a person is with their ethnic culture (Snowshoe, Crooks, Tremblay, Craig, & Hinson, 2015). One of the strengths of drawing on a resilience construction of cultural connectedness; is that it shifts the focus from observing deficits and considers instead how particular characteristics of culture can/do influence well-being (Snowshoe et al., 2015). What scholars note is how connectedness is related to a holistic view of well-being (Kingi et al., 2014; Snowshoe et al., 2015; Stuart & Jose, 2014).

Cultural connectedness and well-being for rangatahi Māori and Indigenous adolescents elsewhere must also be considered in tandem with social stratification and marginalisation, as

the struggle with colonisation and the historical impacts of our colonial pasts still exist. Academics report that well-being factors are negatively affected because of colonisation (Mohatt et al., 2011; Reid, Varona, Fisher, & Smith, 2016; Stuart & Jose, 2014). Therefore, cultural connectedness for Māori must be viewed as a fluid construct, as Māori experience connectedness in multiple ways in a modern era (McIntosh, 2005). As Māori are not a homogenous group with the same lived experiences, and live in both urban and rural settings, cultural connectedness may be evidenced differently in a range of settings. Socially, cultural connectedness may be evidenced through kaupapa Māori whānau relationships (Joseph, 2007), kapa haka (Whitinui, 2007) or gang connections due to kinship (Snowshoe et al., 2015). Cultural connectedness could be evidenced in other ways, however, what is important is that cultural connectedness is identified as a protective factor which influences a positive ethnic identity and well-being (Stuart & Jose, 2014; Walters, 2016).

Studies have reported that well-being for Māori is holistic. The *Te Puawaitanga o Ngā Whānau* report summarised several Māori well-being models and identified six markers of flourishing whānau (Kingi et al., 2014). Overall, this report supported the notion that a secure cultural identity and whānau relationships were fundamental to strengthening resilience in whānau Māori (Kingi et al., 2014). According to Kingi et al. (2014), the markers of flourishing whānau include cultural connectedness and a secure identity. The six markers included *whānau heritage* (knowledge of whakapapa, cultural and language skills and connection to land); *whānau wealth* (wealth to support sound standards of living); *whānau capacities* (such as the resources to participate fully in society, such as wealth, health, education); *whānau cohesion* (such as practices of whanaungatanga such as communication, wānanga); *whānau connectedness* (such as contributing and participating in society such as sports, committees); and *whānau resilience* (such as future planning, transmission of knowledge over time) (Kingi et al., 2014).

Stuart and Jose (2014) used longitudinal data from the Youth Connectedness Project to examine whānau connectedness for Māori adolescents in relation to ethnicity and cultural engagement (knowledge of cultural practices). Their findings suggested that Māori adolescents' well-being declines during adolescence, although it is important to note that this is a universal finding during adolescence because it is a period of such transition and development (Stuart & Jose, 2014). Despite this, their findings illustrated that ethnic identity and whānau connectedness provided protective elements during adolescence (Stuart & Jose, 2014). Cultural connectedness in relation to resilience and the context of the whānau (family) must therefore be considered, including Western resilience theories, to the extent that they are congruent with a Māori world view.

Resilience

There are multiple definitions of what resilience represents and this is discussed widely in literature. Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) suggested that resilience is a protective factor which enables adolescents to have the opportunity to 'bounce back' from adverse conditions. Similarly, O'Dougherty Wright and Masten (2015) stated that resilience "refer[s] to individuals who 'bounce back' after significant stress and adversity" and that both the "nature of the threat" as well as the "quality of adaptation" following exposure to the threat need to be considered (O'Dougherty Wright & Masten, 2015, p. 4–5). Literature has further identified that a resilient temperament can be a protective factor for youth who commit serious offences (Hema, 1999). However, O'Dougherty Wright and Masten (2015) noted that defining positive resilience adaptation is becoming increasingly difficult due to different cultural and contextual situations. A different definition suggested that resilience is ecologically bound, meaning that the resilience to overcome can be external to the person (Zolkoski, Bullock, & Gable, 2016).

Zimmerman (2013) stated that resilience research in youth development focuses on contextual, social, and individual promotive factors which can interrupt developmental trajectories that can lead to negative affect. The New Zealand Pathways to Resilience Study investigated a number of key risk and protective variables with Māori, Pacific and Pākehā youth who were ‘multiple service users’ (enrolled with more than one government agency) due to extenuating circumstances in their lives (Sanders & Munford, 2015). The study reported that Māori had the highest levels of risk, yet they scored on the higher levels of contextual resilience than did other cultural groups. Differences between Māori, Pacific, and Pākehā resilience processes were evident, with the results alluding to the potential of cultural identity as part of the “culturally anchoring resilience processes” (Sanders & Munford, 2015, p. 88). Sanders and Munford (2015) suggested that these cultural processes may act as a “key resilience resource available to Māori and Pacific youth” (p. 87). Whilst this study was not Māori-specific, it highlighted the significance of cultural identity as a key variable for Māori youth, which is a factor relevant to this thesis.

However, where culture, resilience and youth development have been investigated across a range of cultural contexts, some resilience vocabulary has not necessarily translated well into other cultures (Panter-Brick, 2015). Feldman and Masalha (2007) stated that “[c]ulture is perhaps the most neglected topic in the study of risk and resilience” (p. 2). As this study is grounded in mātauranga Māori, it is important that concepts of resilience are considered first within Māori and Indigenous notions of resilience.

Māori academics agree that Indigenous peoples have different cultural conceptions of resilience and well-being (Penehira, Green, Smith, & Aspin, 2014; Waiti, 2014). However, before I proceed with Indigenous discussions of resilience, I first draw on te reo Māori words and Māori pūrākau, whakataukī and whakataukākī which are used to describe resilience.

Resilience Definitions in Te Reo Māori

There are multiple Māori words used for resilience and these can change, dependent on the context and the dialect used in different tribal areas. Moorfield (2020) stated that *aumangea*, *manawaroa*, and *mārohirohi* are translations for resilience. *Aumangea* is translated as resilience based on determination and focus, whereas *manawaroa* as resilience refers to endurance (Moorfield, 2020). *Mārohirohi*, on the other hand, refers to resilience in the context of physical fitness and stamina (Moorfield, 2020). Ngata (1993) further recorded *manahau* as an example of resilience when faced with misfortune. However, to gain a full appreciation of resilience within a Māori paradigm, it is important to enter the repositories of *pūrākau* Māori or Māori storytelling.

Māori notions of resilience, strength, and endurance are drawn from *whakataukī*, *whakatauākī* and *pūrākau*. Take the proverbs of “He manawa tītī”, a muttonbird’s heart, and “He manawa piharau”, a lamprey’s heart as examples (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 94). The tītī or muttonbird, though a delicacy to eat was also known for its “exceptional power of sustained flight” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 94). Likewise, the piharau or lamprey is known for its “sustained endurance” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 94). Often, these proverbs are used in everyday conversations with speakers of the language to encourage someone to be strong in the face of adversity.

Māori epistemologies further speak to resilience in which the characteristics are found in nature and through the acts of *tūpuna* or *atua*. The retelling of *pūrākau* from my *iwi* tell of my *tūpuna*, and chief Te Roro o te Rangi, who, when faced with a challenge of life and death, said the following *whakatauākī*, “Ruia taitea, ruia taitea, kia tū ko taikākā, ko ahau anake” (“Peel away the bark and outer softwood to reveal the hardwood at the heart of the *rākau*”). This was translated as, “Let those with weak hearts run while I stand alone and fight”. In this *whakatauākī*, Te Roro o te Rangi was referring to a deathly battle between his people and

those of another tribe, Tūwharetoa. Aware of his imminent death, Te Roro o te Rangi knew that it would take courage, resilience, and fortitude to remain steadfast in the battle till the end. Though death be the outcome, his mana would remain intact following this battle.

Another Māori scholar Lisa Watson (2020) recently detailed a Ngāti Hine tribal whakataukī about the migratory patterns of the tuna in her doctoral thesis. Watson said that through endurance, the tangariki (elvers) make their way back from the Pacific Islands to local waters in Northland in New Zealand to spawn. Watson (2020) stated that the tangariki needed to swim upstream to cross over to the waterfall to spawn. She related this journey of endurance to a pathway of resilience for Māori adolescents in relation to overcoming exceptional circumstances in education.

Indigenous views of Resilience

Boulton and Gifford (2012) noted that research from within kaupapa Māori perspectives regarding resilience is still somewhat limited. Ware (2009) stated that most research on resilience with regards to youth development has focused on Western samples with little focus on cultural capacities. Waiti (2014) acknowledged that there is a lack of resilience models from an Indigenous perspective for research with families and individuals. The significance of this point, which is pertinent to this study, is that resilience research with Māori youth who offend must go beyond the scope of Western resilience research, to consider culturally relevant contexts which align to a Māori world view. Therefore, this study draws on available and pertinent definitions for resilience from within both Māori and Indigenous contexts.

Indigenous critique of resilience theories is that the literature is based on the deficit theorising of Māori as needing to ‘cope better, bounce back and be resilient’, alongside the “acceptance of responsibility for our position as disadvantaged dispossessed peoples” (Penehira et al., 2014, p. 103). In New Zealand, Penehira et al. (2014) argued that resilience definitions should consider the adaptation of protective mechanisms to resist colonisation and to retain self-

determination. In Australia, Scarpino (2007) argued that the understanding of resilience has become bound up with risk and protective factors and should instead be considered as a “lifelong process” in which “Aboriginal ways of knowing” are considered (p. 49). Penehira et al. (2014) argued that the greatest example of Māori resilience is evident when Māori ‘traverse’ a continuum between reactive and proactive strategies to effect change. They defined resilience as having two categories—the first has a focus on reactive strategies for survival and, the second involves the, taking up of proactive activities to move towards a desired position (Penehira et al., 2014, p. 104).

Alongside individual and family resilience, a Māori and Indigenous discourse about resilience considers other important aspects such as colonisation, cultural traditions, and beliefs (Waiti, 2014). Te Rito (2007) argued that whakapapa was central to resilience for Māori. He argued our relationship with the environment as tangata whenua grounds us to the earth and it is this sense of groundedness that causes us as Māori to be resilient. Other literature has also pointed to “culturally anchoring resilience processes” for Māori, as evident in the collective or the whānau (family) system (Sanders & Munford, 2015, p. 88). Māori tend to be more whānau-oriented, leaning more towards inter-dependence, rather than independence (Penehira et al., 2014). Based on this consideration, resilience for Māori youth who offend may be external, rather than internal to the individual (Waiti, 2014).

As a wider whānau collective structure, ahikā is discussed further in this research as a site for resilience. Baker (2010) stated that Ahikā “by necessity often became the repositories of expertise on culture and language and its transmission. They kept the ties to the land warm for their urban relatives, thus providing those living away with a tūrangawaewae on which to stand” (p. 66). What is evident is that studies have indicated that having supportive and significant people in the lives of Māori adolescents enhances their resilience (Hema, 1999; Waiti, 2014; Walters, 2016; Watson, 2020; Webber, 2011).

Waiti (2014) investigated whānau resilience strategies to ascertain “resilience mechanisms in whānau”, the “cultural underpinnings of resilience” and to draw on the findings to “construct an evidence based framework” (p. i). Emerging from this resilience research, Waiti found that there were commonalities across resilience literature in his study with whānau. But what was novel in his study was how whānau drew on both already identified factors which mitigate risk and adversity (education, income) as well as cultural identity and Māori cultural constructs to overcome adversity (Waiti, 2014). Another outcome of Waiti’s (2014) study was The *Whakaoranga Whānau Framework* which considers four areas for whānau resilience: 1) *Whanaungatanga factors* (networks and relationships); 2) *Pūkenga factors* (abilities and skills); 3) *Tikanga factors* (meanings, values and beliefs); and 4) *Tuakiri- ā- iwi factors* (secure cultural identity) (Waiti, 2014). In considering the notion of resilience in the collective sense, this next section discusses the concept of resistance as a more appropriate term to explain how Māori deal with adversity.

Where resilience has been a popular term when discussing adolescents and their ability to buffer adversity, ‘resistance’ is becoming a construct that is pertinent to understanding how Māori overcome difficult and challenging situations. Penehira et al. (2014) argued that resilience was not an apt construct, instead arguing that resistance was more fitting for Māori. Penehira et al. (2014) described resistance as “collective fight back, exposing the inequitable distribution of power, and actively opposing negative social, political and economic influences” (p. 96). Whilst not popular in Western literature, Māori academics record resistance as a strengths-based mechanism which is more culturally relevant. Penehira (2011) critiqued resilience literature as deficit and argued that resistance and sovereignty are more agentic concepts for how Māori communities respond to adverse life circumstances, as they contextualise overcoming historical trauma caused through acts of colonisation.

Historical trauma is pertinent and relevant to this discussion as it provides a framework of relevance to Māori and Indigenous peoples experiences of colonisation (Borell, Moewaka-Barnes, & McCreanor, 2005). Historical trauma was a phrase originally coined to discuss the experience of Nazi Holocaust survivors (Mohatt, Thompson, Thai, & Tebes, 2014). However, “historical trauma or soul wounds have [also] become established as part of the cultural fabric and narratives of Indigenous peoples” (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013, p. 72). Historical trauma in New Zealand speaks to the links between the impacts of colonisation and the intergenerational trauma in the lives of disenfranchised Māori (Pihama et al., 2014). Lawson-Te Aho (2013) discussed the importance of whakapapa to overcome trauma associated with suicidal tendencies. In her study, Lawson-Te Aho argued that whakapapa relationships were core to healing trauma and she recommended that these relationships should be considered as a key factor in government suicide prevention strategies. In discussing the tensions associated with understanding the role of grief and suffering, Lawson-Te Aho (2013) maintained that suffering should also be seen as having a positive element, because of the resilience and survivance strategies that are activated in the process of overcoming suffering and pain. She stated:

Suffering can be beneficial because it equips us with strength, resilience, and determination. It is how we adapt, respond, and survive historical trauma and emerge from it intact and healthy that is the challenge. (p. 78)

As highlighted in this discussion, Indigenous perspectives of resilience and resistance provide different contextual understandings of the wider implications of colonisation and how resilience from within an Indigenous perspective can support Māori.

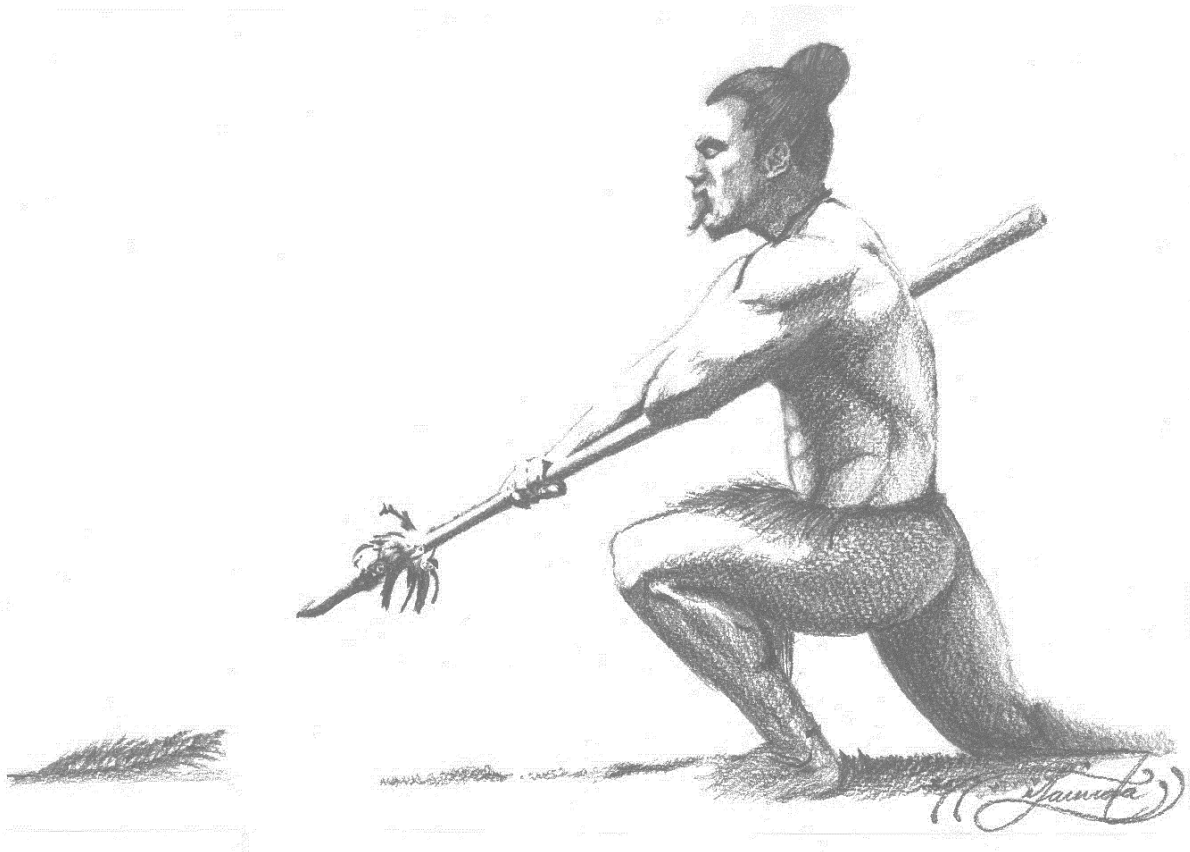
Summary

Chapters Two, Three, and Four conclude this literature review section of the thesis. In Chapter Two, we pursued an examination of youth offending discourse, Māori offending and the welfare state in New Zealand within a kaupapa Māori lens. Chapter Three deliberated on the challenges for Māori adolescents who are excluded and marginalised in mainstream education. In this chapter, we considered how AE offers a potential pathway to re-engage rangatahi Māori who offend back into educational opportunities. Chapter Four has outlined both Western and Māori models of understanding identity development for adolescents. We have also explored cultural connectedness, well-being and how resilience is understood and applied in a range of contexts. The next section of this thesis is named after the second warrior Te Mānuka-ahopū who provides a detailed overview of Te Matataki as a research methodology. The pūrākau (story) of Te Matataki – The Face of the Challenge – is presented next.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua

Te Mānuka-ahopū:

The second warrior advances the challenge



Te teka

dart, crosspiece, peace offering, baton

PŪRĀKAU: TE MATATAKI – THE FACE OF THE CHALLENGE

“I don’t think that I sold it that well,” she uttered. “No problem,” I said, “perhaps I should come back another time? Give them time to think about it.” She responded, “Yeah maybe, although it would be better to interview them today whilst they are all here.” Shortly after, following the manager back into the dining area where I was sitting, in strutted two teenage Māori boys whom the manager had spoken to moments before. Both young men were around 15 years of age. The first one, tall and lanky with striking sharp features, came up to where I was sitting and sat on a chair in front of me. With his legs widespread he asked me in a very provocative manner, “What do you want?” Possibly being naive to this inquisition, I attempted to explain, “I’m talking with Māori youth who have been through the youth justice system for my research project....” Whilst the boy sat slouched back in his chair, I continued to explain about the study and how it was completely confidential. However, as I was explaining, I was cut short by the other boy who asked in a passive-aggressive tone, “So, who else is doing it?” Being staunch to what I thought was ‘protecting the identity of the other participants’, I told them, “I’m sorry, but I can’t tell you, as their names are totally confidential. Anyone who participates in the research is given a made-up name.” Leaning up against the table with his arms folded next to where his friend, the other boy, was seated, he said, “That’s bullshit [pause] you want to ask us everything but like won’t tell us....” It was clear from this reaction, that my answer was unacceptable and nothing I would say was going to change his mind. Feeling disappointed, I believed in that moment, that they had the ‘wrong end of the stick’ or, as some would say, the wrong story about what the research was about and why it was confidential. Nevertheless, I respected their point of view and recognised what their disapproval was about. I understood it as them exercising their rangatiratanga. At the end of what seemed like cross-examination, the first rangatahi got up from his seated position and walked out saying, “Pfft nah, we’re not doing it” and the other boy followed suit, “Yeah, nah fuck that”. “Kei te pai, no problem,” I said, and then they were out the door, gone in a

flash! As the boys got up and left the room, the manager standing with bated breath started to apologise profusely for the boys' behaviour. Whilst I was assuring the manager not to worry, a third rangatahi Māori of the same age came into the room. I was somewhat confused. It was almost as if he came to see me, but not to tell me that he wanted to participate in the study, but to let me know how he felt and that he was not impressed. Whilst waiting for him to let me know why he was there, he paced back and forwards in the room, like he was preparing himself for something. Sensing that he was waiting for me to say something, I asked him "You haven't come because you want to participate in the research, aye?" He then responded, "Nah" and sat down on the chair by the door. "Ka pai, all good," I said. Following that moment, I picked up my bag and motioned to the manager that I was leaving. "Kia ora... thanks for everything, I'm just going to make some tracks ok" (meaning that I was just going to leave), unbeknownst to me this bold rangatahi Māori stood up and strutted towards me, interjected in a strong confident voice and said, "I'll give you a track." I was slightly dumbfounded and stopped in my tracks literally. I waited and watched as this rangatahi Māori launched into a rap about his offending. It all happened so quickly, but what I caught of this rap, was that it was about his journey which was laced with living a 'life of crime' and 'popping cars'. Whilst he didn't say much after that, I was absolutely awed by his words and what he had shared. So much so, that I thanked him for his rap before I left. On my drive home, I thought much about this encounter. Whilst it had appeared that I had just had a negative experience in seeking to engage with these rangatahi Māori for my research, I saw it differently. I believe I had in fact been given a wonderful koha. A koha that would go on to influence me in a profound way. I had asked to hear their 'voice' and they were determined to be in control of the process. For that, they deserve respect. E ngā tama, tēnei te mihi atu ki a koutou katoa. To the boys whom I met that day, thank you. Thank you for your insights, for your challenge, and for sharing your voice with me. This chapter now introduces Te Matataki methodology.

Te Matataki Methodology: Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

The pūrākau 'Te Matataki: The Face of the Challenge' is based on an encounter I had as 'the researcher' with three rangatahi Māori I met at the beginning of the data collection phase of Study Two of this thesis. Typically, these rangatahi have a history of navigating 'systems', negotiating pathways with new and unfamiliar people, and people in authority. Trust is therefore a significant predictor of engagement or non-engagement. This encounter influenced me in a profound way to consider how we engage in new research encounters with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. It is therefore the impetus for this new research methodology titled 'Te Matataki methodology', which is presented across three chapters.

Chapter Five introduces the theoretical foundations of Te Matataki methodology. In the context of the matataki as traditional practice and mātauranga Māori, this chapter introduces the four tenets underpinning Te Matataki methodology. I also discuss the theoretical paradigm underpinning this study as it relates to the four philosophical assumptions of ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Chapter Six follows where I present Matataki as a research and analysis process. Here I draw on the four warriors to describe a four-stage process. In this chapter, I provide a description of the different research methods and processes employed in the study. Finally, Chapter Seven outlines Matataki as an ethical practice. Tikanga and ethical considerations alongside the methodological tensions of Te Matataki methodology are discussed here. As this research project is conducted within the academy, Chapter Seven expands on how the study met the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee's (UAHPEC) requirements of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and anonymity.

Matataki and Mātauranga Māori Considerations

Based on predominant elements of the matataki ritual of encounter, Te Matataki methodology delineates Māori first-time encounters during a wider process where the tangata whenua establish the intentions of the visitor(s). Despite the impacts of colonisation and urbanisation, the transmission of matataki as an ancient ritual of encounter has continued to be passed down to upcoming generations through osmosis, observation, and wānanga. As taonga tuku iho from our tūpuna, Māori as Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa are the true custodians of the matataki. Therefore, I first acknowledge that each tribal area will have their own Indigenous knowledge about matataki.

Second, I do not claim the traditional elements of matataki as my own, nor do I assert that the matataki is a new idea in this thesis. Instead, my original contribution to the research field is based on how matataki can be used as a research methodology for first-time research encounters. I have contextualised the commentary within my own study and research with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending behaviours. However, I do believe that the research principles could be applied across a range of disciplines with Māori.

Pertinent to this discussion is the use of Māori concepts located within the matataki. I prefer to use the terminology of matataki, as is fitting with my tribal area of Te Arawa, others may prefer to use the term wero. As I do not consider myself to be an authority, a mātanga, or an expert on the matataki ritual of encounter; careful consideration and tikanga advice from those more steeped in the matataki practice has been sought. This includes guidance from tikanga exponents from within Te Arawa. Where possible, I have drawn on mātanga to ensure that the information presented in this thesis is both tika (correct) and culturally sound. However, it is important to note that the depth of understanding of matataki is not explained in its complexity through the course of this thesis. It is important to note again that the impetus to

use matataki is based on the encounter I had with three rangatahi Māori at the beginning of data collection in Study Two.

To examine the issues associated with Māori youth offending and cultural identity as a resilience factor, Te Matataki methodology theoretically aligns with mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, and kaupapa Māori theory (G. H. Smith, 2003). Set within Māori cultural principles, knowledge and epistemologies, kaupapa Māori asserts that research should be conducted ‘by Māori, for Māori, and with Māori’ (Cram & Mertens, 2015; L. T. Smith, 2012). As an Indigenous framework, Māori values, epistemologies, and tikanga remain central to this research. Therefore, mātauranga Māori is considered the norm in this research rather than the exception. As an Indigenous theoretical approach, Te Matataki methodology challenges, provokes, and provides a methodological framework for how to engage in, and enter, new collaborative spaces and relationships with rangatahi Māori who offend.

A central aim of Te Matataki methodology is to contribute to decolonising methodologies. Indigenous peoples, including Māori, are reclaiming traditional Indigenous knowledge as an act of decolonisation (L. T. Smith, 2012). As an Indigenous framework, I reclaim the matataki ritual of encounter as a deliberate shift from the paternalistic hold of Western notions. I instead assume the act of “freeing the Indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony” (G. H. Smith, 2003, p. 3).

The Tenets of Te Matataki Methodology

Core to the development of matataki as a methodology are four key tenets. The first tenet is based on the notion of power and control in research with Indigenous peoples and the role and responsibility of the researcher in establishing balanced research relationships (Bishop, 1997). The second tenet challenges misinformed understandings of matataki as a part of the welcoming ritual. I posit that a vital part in the recruitment phases of research is the challenge

which precedes engagement. The third tenet discusses the role of the researcher as a conduit of the sacred spaces. The fourth tenet reclaims the vernacular of matataki to revitalise, promote, and normalise te reo Māori. The illustrations used are tailored specifically to rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending behaviours.

Te Matataki Methodology – Tenet One

Grounded in kaupapa Māori, Te Matataki methodology advocates for decolonising methodologies and the need to shift from colonial conceptualisations in research methodologies to the centralisation of mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori perspectives in the research design for the benefit of Māori.

Aligned to kaupapa Māori theory and the underpinnings of critical theory, I first argue that Tenet One rejects imperialist notions of power and control in research relations (Bishop, 1997). Critical to Te Matataki methodology is kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory which challenge the hegemonic paradigm around the locus of control and the role of the researcher and the participant through a critical discourse.

The theoretical positioning of kaupapa Māori (as aligned to critical theory) holds the assumption that the hegemonic paradigm, derived from the dominant group, exercises power over other groups. In turn, the locus of control, or the extent to which other groups believe that they have control over their own lives is compromised by these unequal power relations (Bishop, 1997). Kaupapa Māori researchers therefore aim to examine, challenge, and transform these oppressive hegemonic or dominant structures in research contexts.

Historically, Eurocentric research processes have had a negative impact on Māori, particularly around the dominance of Western paradigms in research, the locus of control, and the roles of the researcher and participant (Bishop, 1997). Traditionally, in Western research, the researcher as the ‘expert’ is revered for their perceived ‘objectivity’ in the research process

alongside the claim to being impartial to the subject and the environment in which they are researching (L. T. Smith, 2012). Te Matataki methodology challenges these deep-seated notions of researcher objectivity which are typically evidenced in positivist type Western research. A Western positivist paradigm assumes *one* ontological view in which researcher ‘objectivity’ is privileged and situated within the hegemonic discourse. Kaupapa Māori as aligned with critical theory critique and challenge this paradigm as this Western-based ontology undermines a Māori world view which holds that there are multiple ontologies nested within diverse realities for Māori.

In this study, kaupapa Māori theory (as aligned to critical theory) disestablish positions of power in research through a critical conscientisation of the role of the researcher in the research process. Paulo Friere’s (1972) notions of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis which have played a part in the development of Graham Smith’s kaupapa Māori as transformative praxis is considered (Smith, 2017). Drawing on the matataki ritual of encounter as a symbolic act of challenge, in this thesis I argue that there is a need to recognise, examine, and challenge power imbalances that can take place in first-time encounters between researcher(s) and potential Māori participants. To do this, we need to critically examine these power relations and the role of the researcher with the aim of creating a research equilibrium.

To do this, Tenet One further posits that neutrality in research relationships is a myth (L. T. Smith, 2012). Therefore, as an act of tino rangatiratanga and reflexivity, Tenet One of Te Matataki methodology requires the researcher to consider their positionality within the research. As the researcher positions themselves within the study and shares how they have come to the research subject, their ontological views and biases are exposed. By including their own experiences, social, and cultural locatedness, the reader can then bracket the researchers’ views when engaging with the research findings. Therefore, in this thesis, I argue

that we need to critically reflect on the role of the researcher within the research project to try to eliminate power imbalances.

Tenet One of Te Matataki methodology further maintains that the researcher must acknowledge the tapu that exists in first-time encounters between researcher and Māori participant(s) and adjust their engagement accordingly. Mead and Grove (2001) stated that “tapu is inseparable from mana, from our identity as Māori and from our cultural practices” (p. 51). This study, as it aligns with kaupapa Māori, acknowledges that the researcher, subject to their own personal and social location, is not in fact separate to the research outcome. Instead, their own tapu, entwined with the cultural practices that exist in this study, also influence the research outcome. Through our social experiences, world views, and epistemologies, researchers are deeply impacted in research outcomes. Te Matataki methodology thus holds that, like the manuhiri and the warrior who engage in a ritual of exchange, the product of the research endeavour is an intricately woven outcome that includes contributions from both the researcher and the research participant(s).

Te Matataki Methodology – Tenet Two

Tenet Two challenges sanitised understandings of matataki. In traditional times, matataki or wero was a cultural norm for first-time encounters between Māori tribal groups. Matataki were used to challenge and establish intentions. This study contributes to decolonising methodologies through decolonising conceptions of matataki as they relate to engagement with rangatahi Māori in research.

Like other traditional rituals of encounter on the marae, the matataki is grounded in age-old traditions which have strict protocols to ensure that manuhiri shift from a state of waewae tapu (sacred feet) to a state of noa (free from restriction). This shift in state during the matataki ritual of encounter allows for the visitor(s) to move safely to the ritual of welcome. The

underpinnings of Tenet Two argues that challenge should be expected as a precedent to welcoming rituals, and as a valid stage in the research process.

As Māori have brushed up against colonial influences, authentic ideologies of ancient rituals of encounter, such as matataki, have been commonly misunderstood in modern times. Matataki or wero have consequently been modified in ways that make it more 'palatable'. Such misunderstandings have relegated the matataki as an aspect of merely 'welcoming' manuhiri, rather than a separate ritual of challenge in its' own right. I argue here that authentic understandings about the matataki ritual of encounter have thus been sanitised for consumption. Consequently, Western misunderstandings have infiltrated conceptions of matataki. This study thus reclaims matataki as challenge. In doing so, I maintain that the matataki as a methodological approach is an act of decolonisation. To provide a broader understanding of Te Matataki methodology, researcher 'conscientisation' is required.

Conscientisation focuses on the research design to ensure that it is beneficial to the "needs, aspirations and preferences" of Māori; in this study, that includes Māori youth apprehended for offending, their whānau an iwi social services provider, and key informants (G. H. Smith, 2003, p. 3). Further, as an act of decolonisation, Tenet Two of Te Matataki methodology insists that researchers must be aware of their own positionality. Researchers can be aware of their own positionality through being conscious of their own expectations of what will transpire during first-time encounters with rangatahi Māori in research. Through decolonising their mindset and expectations of what engagement 'should look like', the researcher will be able to enter a space of liminality with Māori research participant(s). This space of liminality, though transitional, is sacred and should be treated with care. Therefore, this tenet argues that first-time encounters with rangatahi Māori who offend may not always be based on 'meet and greet' and the building of relationships.

Therefore, the first challenge for researchers is to decolonise their mindsets of sanitised understandings of matataki. The second is to expect that first-time encounters with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending should be met first with challenge. This conscientisation requires a shift in mindset to reimagine what initial contact represents. Rangatahi Māori who have a history of incarceration in youth justice facilities or who have had exceptionally trying circumstances may need time to ‘check out your intentions’ prior to engagement. This may take more than one visit. Therefore, challenges may be rude or disrespectful and this should not be regarded as an unusual occurrence. Instead, they may be a pathway towards establishing trust through gauging one’s intentions.

Te Matataki Methodology – Tenet Three

Tenet Three discusses how the researcher, as a kaitakawaenga (conduit), is responsible for leading the participant through the physical and metaphysical spaces of the encounter. Like the warrior in the matataki ritual of encounter who skilfully negotiates the physical realm and the spaces of tapu and noa, the skilled researcher must also be attuned to both spiritual and physical needs during the research process.

The third tenet of Te Matataki methodology thus proposes that the role of the researcher, like the warrior, is to act as a kaitakawaenga-ā-ngā-ātea-tapu (a conduit of the sacred spaces). A kaitakawaenga-ā-ngā-ātea-tapu, in the research space, refers to a skilful researcher who can negotiate the in-between or liminal spaces with Māori research participants where the tapu (sacredness) of each group is respected. Where first-time encounters with rangatahi Māori who offend have too often been based on a Western expectation of supposed ‘neutrality’ (Bishop, 1997), Te Matataki methodology argues that the tension of tapu and noa is inherent in the research process.

The concept of tapu and noa is deep and is embedded within our cultural psyche as Māori. Irwin (1992) spoke to the tapu inherent within the pōwhiri ritual of encounter. She stated that:

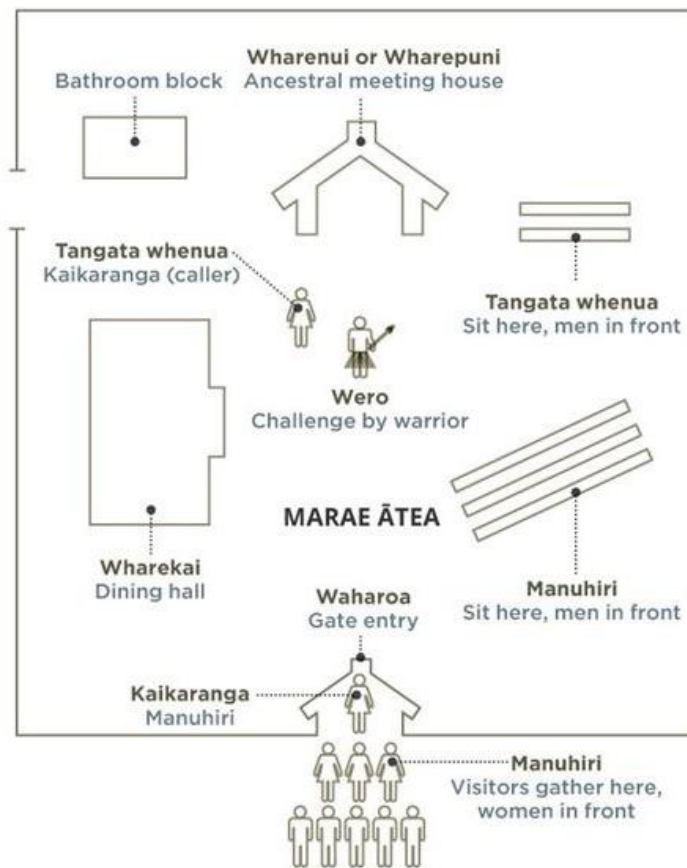
The rationale for this [tapu] lies in Māori epistemology. At a crucial level it recognises the meeting of two groups, tapu to tapu, and requires a ritual process of moving the two tapu states together and removing this tapu state without violating the tapu state of either of the groups during the process. (p. 20)

In acknowledging the tapu state of manuhiri, the main role of the warrior in the matataki ritual of encounter is to transition the manuhiri across the marae areare. As the matataki ritual of encounter is imbued with protocol, failure to respect the protocols could incite a challenge from the warrior. In traditional times, a lack of respect for the matataki protocol could provoke tangata whenua, which could lead to warfare. Crossing the threshold of the marae areare of Tū-mata-uenga thus required both intention and reverence.

Therefore, the researcher as kaiwhakawaenga-ā-ngā ātea-tapu must be responsive to the tapu that exists within the researcher and rangatahi Māori participant dynamic. There must be cognisance of the boundaries of tapu that exist when negotiating new relational spaces. If not acknowledged, a researcher's negligent attitude, and failure to respect the tapu that exists in the process of engagement with Māori participants, could halt, alter, or suspend engagement with Māori in research.

Figure 2 (on the next page) provides a visual illustration of the marae areare (which is marae ātea in the diagram) for readers not familiar with the marae setting. The marae areare, also known as Te Marae areare a Tū-mata-uenga, represents the threshold of Tū-mata-uenga. As indicated in Figure 1, the marae areare (where the warrior is standing) represents a liminal space, which manuhiri must transition through to engage with the tangata whenua and to be welcomed as guests.

Figure 2: Marae Layout (New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, 2020)



As the warrior enters the space between the tangata whenua and the manuhiri, there is an acceptance that they have a responsibility to broker the pathway for the manuhiri. Likewise, the researcher(s) have the same responsibility to lead the research process for the rangatahi Māori as the research participant(s). The researcher must therefore first acknowledge that their leadership role with marginalised communities is important (Dowling, 2008). When an adept researcher, like a skilful warrior, enters a space of liminality, their skill level should be able to facilitate a safe pathway through karakia if required, acknowledging the tapu of whakapapa when stories are shared, ensuring a person's mauri and mana are kept intact. By doing so, the researcher provides safe passage for them both to navigate the tapu space(s) that exist between them.

Te Matataki Methodology – Tenet Four

Tenet Four of Te Matataki methodology reclaims the vernacular of matataki to inform Indigenous research methodologies (L. T. Smith, 2012). Dowling (2008) explains that “praxis-based research is a long process that involves establishing mutually beneficial relationships between the researcher and members of the community of study” (p. 2).

Through theorising a matataki research methodology and matataki as praxis in research contexts, the revitalisation of te reo Māori is politically activated. The rituals of encounter and principles of engagement of matataki are theorised through activating the vernacular of matataki as praxis (G. H. Smith, 2003). Hereby, Te Matataki methodology contributes to the revitalisation, promotion, and normalisation of te reo Māori and the matataki as a ritual of encounter. In this way, Te Matataki methodology promotes, validates, and legitimises the Māori language, culture, and knowledge (G. H. Smith, 2003). The vernacular of matataki is thus politically activated in Tenet Four as an act of tino rangatiratanga. Alongside these four tenets of Te Matataki methodology, I now outline the matataki as a theoretical paradigm which is an underpinning of this research.

Matataki as a Theoretical Paradigm

According to Mertens (2007), a paradigm can be defined as “a metaphysical construct associated with specific philosophical assumptions that describes one’s worldview” (p. 215). The theoretical paradigm of Te Matataki methodology is first grounded in a Māori world view, mātauranga Māori and tikanga. The Matataki methodological paradigm holds that power is an issue when researching with Indigenous and marginalised communities. Examining assumptions associated with power, social justice, and cultural complexity must therefore be addressed at all stages of the research to ensure that the research outcomes are beneficial for those whom the research was intended (Mertens, 2007). To examine the

research assumptions of this study, the Matataki paradigm used the four sets of philosophical assumptions of ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Ontological Assumptions

The philosophical assumption of ontology is typically associated with two views, either there is one reality (post-positivist) or there are multiple, socially constructed realities (constructivist) (Cram & Mertens, 2015; Dowling, 2008). The matataki ritual of encounter was, and still is, practised in multiple contexts, within different tribal areas and with different tikanga as guiding principles. A matataki paradigm is thus based on a constructivist ontological paradigm which holds that there are multiple, socially constructed realities, which are multi-faceted.

The Matataki paradigm in this study challenges different versions of reality. Historically, research into the lives of Māori has misinterpreted and demeaned Māori knowledge (Bishop, 1997; Ormond, 2006). Western research has inferred that Māori culture is not capable of dealing with ‘human problems’ and many researchers have defined Māori from within a Western world view; framing Māori as a people and group in deficit terms (Bishop, 1997; Ormond, Cram, & Carter, 2006). Research with Māori has also prefaced the ‘voice’ of the ‘expert’ over the voice of Māori as the ‘participants’ (Bishop, 1997). This has justified the marginalisation of Māori people in research (Ormond et al., 2006). Consequently, Māori are concerned that research should “address their desire for self-determination over such issues as initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability” (Bishop, 1997, p. 25).

First, the Matataki paradigm acknowledges that there are issues with the privileging of one reality over another, which is evident in positions of power, which dominate and influence decision making (Cram & Mertens, 2015). Some ‘versions’ about the realities of rangatahi Māori youth who offend are created and shaped by the socio-political landscape, namely

statistics, public policy, and the media. In such contexts, Māori are typically identified and framed according to deficit descriptors such as the Māori ‘crime problem’ (Bishop, 1997; Tauri, 1999; Quince, 2007). Māori criminologists have argued that this ‘framing’ ignores the impacts on Māori cultural identities and the intergenerational trauma associated with colonisation (Mihaere, 2015; Quince, 2007). With little available research evidence about Māori youth who offend, it is the dominant discourses that need to be challenged to shift definitions about the realities of Māori youth who offend. This research thus provides a platform for the multiple voices of rangatahi Māori and whānau to be heard. It is the intention of this research that these versions of reality are shared in a meaningful way, as they have the potential to reframe, shift and influence the dominant youth offending discourses (Tauri, 1999).

In contrast, this study provides insight into the diverse and multiple realities which have led to offending behaviours. Through presenting multiple realities on ‘the trajectories of rangatahi Māori who offend’, this research has the potential to provide insights into the lived realities of the Kaikōrero and to shape *other versions* of their lives. Presenting alternative versions is fundamental to challenging positions of power and influencing decision making about how to address Māori youth offending. By allowing a different version of reality to challenge positions of power and privilege, we can give voice to other social and political aspirations (Mertens, 2007), amplify the tino rangatiratanga of the Kaikōrero and change the deficit discourses about rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending.

Epistemological Assumptions

The epistemological assumptions of the Matataki paradigm assumes that knowledge is situated in social, historical, and cultural contexts and these contexts influence the construction of knowledge (Mertens, 2007). The epistemological assumptions of the Matataki paradigm hold that relationships are influential to the building of trust and developing cultural

understanding (Mertens, 2007). The research data in this study must be considered in tandem with the wider socio-political issues which have affected Māori, such as assimilation, institutional racism, and the historical implications of colonisation in New Zealand.

The matataki ritual of encounter is not bound to one version of tikanga or protocol. Embedded within local, cultural contexts, every iwi has their own way of knowing and challenging and practising this ritual of encounter. This study therefore acknowledges that there are social and cultural implications which have indelibly shaped the plight and the realities of Māori as a people group. This includes the relationship between Māori and the Crown and the responsibility of the Crown to meet the needs of Māori in the New Zealand justice system (Quince, 2007; Webb, 2012). Therefore, this study posits that Māori cultural identities in a neo-colonial era are not devoid of the historical and socio-political landscape that has shaped the experiences of Māori people in New Zealand. Rather, history provides a backdrop to understand how Māori identities are shaped for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending.

Methodological Assumptions

The Matataki paradigm acknowledges issues of power alongside the recognition of cultural complexities, discrimination and oppression with Indigenous peoples and research. The Matataki paradigm's methodological assumptions consider the methods selected around the needs and the aspirations of Māori.

Māori youth who offend represent a marginalised minority group who experience discrimination and oppression in education, social services, and justice (Cram & Mertens, 2015). Marginalisation has led rangatahi Māori to struggle to fit into a 'mainstream' society where there is a cultural dissonance to their own lived experiences. Marginalisation for Māori youth who offend is evident in how their voices and their silences are not recognised in both dominant or marginalised narratives or discourses (Ormond, 2006). Whilst the rhetoric

surrounding the causes of Māori youth offending is vast, empirical research evidence specifically designed to include the voice of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending is limited.

The qualitative methods in this research have thus been purposely chosen to create space for Māori youth who offend, and their whānau who participated in the study, to frame their own stories and to be in control of ‘reframing’ how their narratives are told. Linda Smith (2012) stated that reframing is about “taking much greater control over the ways in which Indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled” (p. 15). This process will allow Māori youth who offend to take control of what narratives are told about them and how they are told, from within a Māori cultural lens.

Axiological Assumptions

An axiological assumption in research is focused on the ‘nature of ethics’ and ethical and moral behaviour (Mertens, 2007, p. 215). The Matataki paradigm’s axiological assumption is grounded in kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori which is “responsive to history, culture, (in)equality, and the importance of relationships and reciprocity” (Cram & Mertens, 2015, p. 188). Discussed more in-depth in Chapter Seven, an ethical approach to research with rangatahi Māori who offend must be grounded in a Māori world view. As ‘power’ in research is an issue, researcher accountability is paramount. Reflexivity, researcher proximity and positionality are critical to maintaining Māori cultural integrity in the study, so an iterative process was employed. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argued that cyclical, recursive, and interactional processes allow the research to adapt to meet the aims of the research question. Though discussed briefly here, the ethical approach in this study is discussed more in detail in Chapter Seven.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented Te Matataki methodology and the juncture between the theoretical concepts pertaining to the matataki ritual of encounter, the role of the researcher as a conduit, the four overarching tenets and the Matataki research paradigm. As a theoretical framework, Te Matataki methodology informs Matataki as a research and analysis praxis. This is now discussed.

Te Matataki as Research and Analysis Praxis

Introduction

Chapter Six of Te Mānuka-ahopū introduces a new research framework. Using the four toa matataki of this thesis, Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha, and Te Manu-hahanga, I detail four fundamental research junctures of matataki as research and analysis praxis.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi introduces *Stage One: The Researcher Enters the Liminal Space*. Here I detail the groundwork that was required prior to, and during, this research project. This included researcher preparation and how the participants were recruited for the study. Next, Te Mānuka-ahopū presents *Stage Two: The Researcher Advances the Research Challenge*. This part details how tapu and noa provided a guide for the power balance required in research relationships. In this section, I also provide details on the research methods employed in the study. Following, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha summarises *Stage Three: The Researcher Clears the Threshold*. In this stage of the research process, I detail how matataki informs the data management and analysis processes used to analyse the research findings. Finally, Te Manu-hahanga presents *Stage Four: The Researcher Takes the Kaikōrero Findings Forward*. This final stage of the research process discusses the importance of kōrero about people's lives and making conscious and deliberate decisions in the dissemination of the findings. First, I present a brief overview of the matataki as a research and analysis praxis.

Matataki as Research and Analysis Praxis

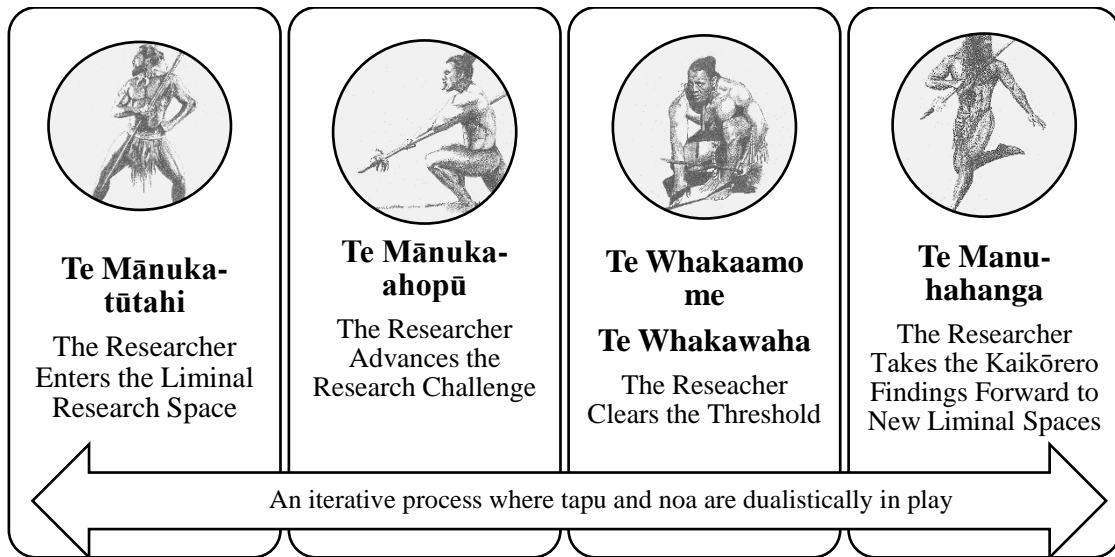
In line with the ethical principles of mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori, the Matataki as research and analysis praxis privileges cultural integrity in analysing Māori issues (Pihama,

2010; L. T. Smith, 2012). Tikanga Māori has been woven throughout the research design, approach, and the dissemination of findings.

Research Praxis

The matataki has shaped cultural encounters for iwi Māori across different tribal regions over hundreds of years. Traditionally, matataki could take on different forms, different numbers of warriors, and this was dependent on the tribal area and the nature of engagement. However, the toa matataki were experts and highly proficient in their skill set. Like toa matataki, researchers in Māori communities need a specialised skill set grounded in processes which give effect to tikanga Māori. Research as a process is ritualistic, often unpredictable and hinged on numerous interfacing factors. I argue that research encounters with rangatahi Māori who offend are simultaneously moving in and out of tapu and noa, dependent on the function being carried out. Matataki as a research process thus provides a culturally relevant construct to consider these interfacing tapu and noa factors. Figure 3 outlines the matataki as a research and analysis framework with each stage interweaving Western methodological processes into the research journey. Te Mānuka-tūtahi now discusses how the researcher prepares to enter the liminal research space.

Figure 3: Matataki as a Research and Analysis Framework



Te Mānuka-tūtahi: The Researcher Enters the Liminal Space



The matataki ritual of encounter is both a spiritual and physical exercise where the toa matataki must ready themselves prior to engagement. Reedy (1996) argued that traditional preparation for warriors started at birth and their teachings progressed through childhood and young adulthood until the time they were ready for combat or warfare. Preparation was physical, mental, and spiritual (Reedy, 1996).

Like the toa matataki who must prepare for the matataki ritual of encounter, the researcher must assume their role, think critically about the research process, their positionality/stance, and the potential implications of the research outcome. Preparation to engage in a research process is a vital stage in Te Matataki methodology. In this section, I discuss researchers’ spiritual, physical, and mental preparation, and positionality, which I have chosen to frame as the stance of the researcher in this thesis. As this study was conducted within the academy, I unpack how researcher preparation must consider Western research processes such as research advisors, reflexivity, member checking, and peer debriefing, which are essential research protocols to ensure that the study is reliable, valid and robust.

Researcher Spiritual, Mental and Physical Preparation

Warrior preparation in traditional times was a sacred process due to the implications of matataki which could lead to death. The hunga matataki needed to be spiritually, psychologically, and most of all physically prepared to engage in such a challenge (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield, personal communication, January 8, 2021). Whilst the implications of research are not as lethal in terms of deathly outcomes as the matataki, I argue that there are still implications of any research with Māori which could have devastating outcomes for the people it represents. Therefore, preparation, reflection, and critique, as an iterative process throughout the research journey, is fundamental to researcher preparation. I now detail how I personally prepared and addressed issues of spiritual, physical, and mental preparation throughout this research process.

A conduit of the sacred spaces

During the PhD, life, like for most people, had its ‘piki me ngā heke’ or ‘ups and downs’. I experienced wonderful times of peace and happiness, and during this time I got married. However, like many others on the PhD journey, there were also times of grief, loss, and physical injury which affected me spiritually, mentally, emotionally, and physically. I want to take a moment to share my story, in the hopes of outlining how grief and injury particularly can potentially negatively impact on the research outcome, and how important the research advisors’ and supervisors’ roles are to ensure the research stays the course.

During the middle phase of my research, one of my first challenges was an accident in which I was hospitalised for 10 days and had major surgery on my leg. Consequently, I was non-weight bearing for three months and could not drive. The day of my accident, I was packed and ready to go to Auckland, where I would be meeting with and interviewing rangatahi Māori for Study Two. Due to the accident, I had to recruit all over again and re-establish

relationships with other providers, as previous potential rangatahi participants had exited their services. A change of management within two service providers also occurred during my time of recovery. This event in my life thus affected my data collection phase. However, beyond the physical, I also did not realise at the time that the injury and the anaesthetic had also affected my ability to concentrate. Mental and physical preparation are thus critical to ensure the mauri of the researcher is intact.

A further personal challenge I experienced during this PhD journey is based on the loss of two close family members during a very short space of time. Last year my great uncle and eldest brother unexpectedly died within two weeks of each other. Coupled with Covid-19 lockdowns, these events had initially affected my ability to analyse the data and to write. I remember a conversation with one of my supervisors following a very bad attempt at one of my study's findings. She said to me that she could see the grief in my writing. I recognise now from this experience how important it is to acknowledge that the cycle of grief had impacted on me spiritually and emotionally in significant ways. I needed to revisit that chapter later, and to re-enter the writing process with a renewed focus.

What is the significance of these examples to this thesis? Well, I believe, that we enter the liminal space of research as physical, mental, social, and spiritual beings. I have learned firsthand that events which impact on our lives can also influence our ability to perform as researchers. Whilst academic institutions must set time limits for the completion of degrees, there are times when we need to step back and reassess the season in our life. I am grateful for understanding supervisors who could see the bigger context of the study, who, through peer debriefing, helped me to realise the impact of personal circumstances on this study. Keeping ourselves in check physically, spiritually, mentally, and emotionally as researchers is thus critical to the validity and reliability of the research. However, it is our advisor(s) and supervisors as part of our research team who remain critical friends who are fundamental to

the research process. The next section discusses further how validity and reliability were maintained in this study.

Ensuring Validity and Reliability

According to Newby (2010), “reliability and validity are the corner-stones of research” (p. 121). Therefore, it is imperative that credible research uses procedures to ensure the data, results and interpretation are valid (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). To ensure reliability and validity in this study, I employed a range of strategies.

Researcher Stance and Reflexivity

A potential risk to validity in analysing qualitative research is researcher bias. Reflexivity and positionality are ways to ensure validity in this study. Berryman (2013) stated that “culturally responsive methodologies... require researchers to make their biases transparent” (p. 265). This shift in collecting data changes the research approach to research ‘with’ people rather than doing it ‘to people’ (Berryman, 2013, p. 265). In Chapter One of this study, I provided my stance in relation to the research and what had led me to this research topic. I acknowledge that because of my experiences in working with rangatahi Māori in a youth justice facility, I have an established view coloured by what ‘I think’ being culturally connected and having a secure cultural identity may mean to rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Therefore, reflexivity through different members on my research team (which included my supervisors and cultural experts) was critical to this study, to ensure bias was bracketed.

According to Hutchings et al. (2012) “Kaupapa Māori reflexivity means finding real-time ways of adapting our thinking, ideas, methods and practices in relation to the diverse Māori communities we work with” (p. 3). For this reason, an iterative research process was employed during the research process to ensure a Māori lens was applied at every stage of the research process.

Member Checking

Creswell and Miller (2000) have suggested that member checking “consists of taking data and interpretations back to the participants in the study so that they can confirm the credibility of the information and narrative account” (p. 127). This process ensures that the ‘voice’ of the participant has been legitimately represented in the data. All the Kaikōrero were offered their transcripts to make changes and I was available to discuss any issues, questions or concerns arising out of the research project. To ensure confidentiality, other than the Kaikōrero themselves, the research data was only available to my supervisors and myself during the research process.

Peer Debriefing

Peer debriefing is a collaborative and constructive approach to data analysis that ensures validity in the research. Peer debriefing “is the review of the data and research process by someone who is familiar with the research or the phenomenon being explored” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 129). In this study, I was intentional about discussing the research findings and process with my supervisors and other project advisors. As experts in the fields of this study (Māori cultural identities, youth offending, social services, education and public policy), peer debriefing allowed my research supervisors to critically assess the aims of the project and the processes employed. Other cultural and youth offending advisors engaged at various stages throughout the study also critiqued processes and tikanga. Peer debriefing gave the project supervisors and advisors the opportunity to share their concerns and voice their opinions to ensure that the study was conducted in a meaningful way and to ensure the research process was robust.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: The Researcher Advances the Research Challenge



Te Matataki methodology is a research process and framework for analysis founded on Māori ethical principles embedded within the notions of tapu and noa. The hunga matataki understand that tapu and noa is embedded in every stage of the matataki ritual of encounter.

Te Mānuka-ahopū is aware of the dualistic nature of tapu and noa when guiding the manuhiri to enter the challenge, so too in this research, tapu and noa underpinned every aspect of the study. This included from considering the research design, to how research data were collected, stored, and communicated in this thesis. Te Mānuka-ahopū now turns to discuss the research methods used to collect the data in this research project. Here I outline why multiple methods were used.

Multiple Methods

There are numerous arguments for and against using more than one method in one study. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argued that the research world is becoming “more interdisciplinary, complex, and dynamic” and, because of this, researchers need to be familiar with a range of methods that “complement one method with another” (p. 15). In this study, multiple methods were chosen to provide a rigorous discussion about the over-representation of Māori in the youth justice system, which is both an Indigenous and societal issue.

Data was gathered over three phases of the project and an iterative process was followed. Two qualitative data collection methods included semi-structured in-depth interviews and Pūrākau (Lee, 2009), which were used to answer the guiding research questions in this study. The iterative process allowed for subsequent stages to inform and shape the later phases of the study (Cram & Mertens, 2015). Central to the iterative process was data collection techniques based on Te Matataki as research and analysis praxis.

Pūrākau

In this study, pūrākau (Māori storytelling) and Pūrākau as a methodology (Lee, 2009) have been used in Study Three (see Chapter Eleven). I have also retold my own pūrākau in different ways throughout this thesis, including Te Matataki – The Face of the Challenge, which precludes Chapter Five. The pūrākau written in Study Three has had minimal editing, to allow for the words of Liz to frame the story to be told about the genesis of Mahuru remand care service. Additional to pūrākau, I have created two ngeri (which are the chants that open and close the beginning and the final parts of this thesis). I have also crafted a rotarota (poem) which precedes Chapter Eight titled ‘Taiaha’. Like the Pūrākau methodology which has pedagogical intent (Lee, 2009), the other crafted expressive pieces aim to provoke the reader to consider the deeper issues arising through this thesis.

Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

Patton (2015) posits that interviewing allows the researcher to “enter into the other person’s perspective” and to find out about areas that cannot be observed directly such as intentions, thoughts, and feelings (Patton, 2015, p. 426). In this study, I employed a collaborative storytelling approach to semi-structured in-depth interviewing. A collaborative storytelling approach to research was fitting with kaupapa Māori and Te Matataki methodology as it addresses power imbalances in responsive ways (Bishop, 1997). A collaborative storytelling approach is recognised as a culturally responsive approach to research with Māori as it has the potential to use storytelling which “recog[nises] that other people involved in the research process are not just ‘informants’, but are participants with meaningful expressions, concerns and questions” (Bishop, 1996, p. 24).

In this study, I engaged in semi-structured in-depth interviews with 29 Kaikōrero. The Kaikōrero had the option to have more than one meeting and interview such as meeting with potential participants at the beginning of the study for a thirty-minute initial meeting to discuss

the aims of the study. The interviews ranged from one meeting to two meetings per person, of up to one hour for each interview. Interview times were extended dependent upon how much the adult and youth participants wanted to talk. They were not ‘cut off’ after an hour. Several participants chose to have other people present during their interview.

Several Māori-centric relational approaches were used in the interviews such as *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* (face-to-face), *whakawhānaungatanga* (forming relationships) and *whakawhitiwhiti kōrero* (exchanging thoughts and ideas). These culturally responsive approaches were “interactive and exemplif[ied] the concept of reciprocity contained within *ako*, where knowledge is mutually evolving and shared” (Berryman, 2013, p. 272). However, I did not make any assumptions that the Rangatahi Kaikōrero would be highly communicative, open, and could articulate themselves well, or that they were comfortable with talking about themselves and their offending. Some Rangatahi Māori may have felt that certain ways of talking may come across as ‘*whakahīhī*’ (a show-off), as a ‘*kaiwhāki hara*’ (a nark) or ‘*whakamā*’ (embarrassing). Silences were also considered as a way of telling a story in tandem with cultural constructs. An example of this is found in the *whakataukī*, ‘*kāore te kūmara e kōrero ana mō tōna reka*’ ‘The kūmara (sweet potato) does not speak about its sweetness’. For these reasons, the interview schedule had thoughtful consideration (see p. 312).

Following the first interview with the Kaikōrero, I analysed the key themes emerging from the data by looking for recurring and dominant themes. Where Kaikōrero were open to meeting for a second interview, as collaborators, we further discussed the key themes. To support member checking processes and collaboration, Kaikōrero were given the opportunity to clarify their responses or comments to ensure that their ‘voice’ was legitimately represented (Bishop, 1997). Kaikōrero also had the opportunity to review, delete and/or change any information at any stage during the meetings and up until the date when data analysis took place.

Whānau Hui

Whānau hui are described as Māori formal meetings. Where focus groups are situated within a Western paradigm of conducting research, whānau hui are culturally compatible with mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori and Te Matatangi methodology. Generally, these group meetings are conducted under Māori protocols and sometimes within a marae context. These protocols and methods in this study included karakia, mihi and a time to get to know each other, which was then followed by a shared dinner. This allowed for both tapu/noa processes to be implemented, encompassing spiritual, social, and physical elements. I was then able to proceed with the kaupapa or, in this instance, the research, at hand. Whānau hui included three parents of Rangatahi Kaikōrero in Study Two and one rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Underpinned by mātauranga Māori principles and methods, whānau hui provided an opportunity for parents to share their thoughts with others who had been through similar struggles and experiences. Two whānau hui were held in total; each whānau hui were approximately three hours long. Whānau members were offered petrol vouchers as a koha (gift of thanks) for their time and travel costs. Due to the audio recording and transcribing of a group of multiple speakers, whānau members were advised that it would be difficult to delete an individual's specific comments. However, following the first hui, I presented the key themes and we discussed any further concerns in the second hui. The findings from the whānau hui can be found in Study Two Part B. Due to confidentiality reasons, Whānau Kaikōrero are not named in this thesis, nor are their iwi affiliations recorded.

Research Settings

The research settings were multiple in this thesis due to the different data collection methods and three separate studies (Key Informants, Rangatahi and Whānau, and the Mahuru study). Study One invited six key informants as Kaikōrero. As Kaikōrero were located across New Zealand, I interviewed them in a place that best suited them and their schedules. Interviews

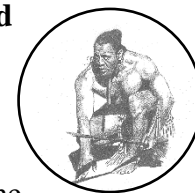
took place in Auckland and Wellington and one interview was conducted by phone. Due to the difficulty of recruiting rangatahi Māori who were not always easily identifiable, the greater Auckland region and Northland were chosen as sites for the interviews with Rangatahi and Whānau Kaikōrero. For Study Three, the interviews took place at Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services offices in Kaikohe and Whangarei. Further details are discussed in the research context of each individual study.

Sampling Procedures

Purposive sampling in a qualitative study is when the researcher selects participants ‘purposefully’ because they have experienced the same phenomenon being studied (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Purposeful selection of the participants was based on select criteria (Ritchie, Lewis, Elam, Tennant, & Rahim, 2014). Whilst there are a range of approaches to purposive sampling, two approaches were selected for this study: *critical case sampling* and *stratified purposive sampling* (Ritchie et al., 2014). Critical case sampling is based on the selection of participants because they “demonstrate a particular position” which is “critical” to understanding the phenomenon at hand, whereas stratified purposive sampling is the selection of groups of who display “variation on a particular phenomenon” (Ritchie et al., 2014, p. 114).

Critical case sampling was employed with the adult participants and a stratified purposive sampling approach was used with the youth participants in Study Two. Adult participants were selected because of their in-depth knowledge and experiences in working in the youth justice sector, whereas the Māori youth participants were selected because of a commonality between them of being apprehended for an offence which led to court appearances. Recruitment of the participants is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha: The Researcher Clears the Threshold



Te marae areare a Tū-mata-uenga, the liminal space that you must cross in the matataki ritual of encounter, is not a place for resting. Everyone is aware of the marae areare and the liminality which exists in this space (McCallum, 2011). McCallum (2011) argued that the marae areare as a space is where the manuhiri and toa matataki shift from darkness to light. This is a parallel to the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku (McCallum, 2011). The areare is also a place of tension where both tapu and noa co-exist (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield, personal communication, January 8, 2021).

This stage of Te Matataki as research and analysis praxis is about preparing yourself as a researcher for the data analysis. It was important in this study that I entered the data analysis process as waewae tapu (with sacred feet). As manuhiri enter a different tribal area, they walk upon the land. It is in this space that their wairua and mauri connect with the wairua and mauri of the whenua of the tangata whenua through their feet, hence the saying waewae tapu or sacred feet (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield, personal communication, January 8, 2021).

Waewae tapu in this study means that I enter the data with reverence and respect and that I connect with real life kōrero about people's real lives. As such, the data needed to be treated with respect as they represent someone's whakapapa, either past, or present. The attitude must be one of reverence for the Kaikōrero, as they play a critical role in the data analysis. As it is expected with research ethics, returning the script to the Kaikōrero to decide whether there was anything that needed to be removed was a fundamental key element of data analysis. The next section details the data analysis techniques used in this multiple methods study. A brief overview of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), Coggle as a brainstorming tool, and Matataki as analysis are presented.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of making sense of the information that has been collected during the data collection stages of the study. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), all research has similar stages in data analysis, which include “preparing the data for analysis, exploring the data, analysing the data, representing the analysis, interpreting the analysis and validating the data and interpretations” (p. 204). One framework for analysing qualitative data is through a data analysis framework known as thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Due to the multi-phase design of this multiple methods study, analyses of the qualitative data took place at multiple points during the study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was first used to analyse the qualitative data from the interviews.

Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is described as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). The six stages of thematic analysis are: (1) Familiarising yourself with the data; (2) Generating initial codes; (3) Searching for themes; (4) Reviewing themes; (5) Defining and naming themes; and (6) Producing the report.

Stage One: Familiarising yourself with the data. This step is about listening to the sound files and exploring the data and becoming familiar with the overall themes as preliminary results and in the data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). After transcription of the interviews with both the adults and youth, I listened to the audio files to check the accuracy of the transcripts. In this stage, I wrote through tracked changes to highlight key themes emerging. Through reading through the data, including the policies and transcripts, I was able to familiarise myself with the overall data presented in the interviews.

Stage Two: Generating initial codes. This stage of the data analysis involved initial reading to see if individual codes could be developed into themes. Dependent on the data, the codes were either ‘data driven’ or ‘theory driven’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). Braun and Clarke stated that the researcher needs to code for as many themes as possible at this stage.

Stage Three: Searching for themes. This stage involved sorting different codes into broader themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke stated that whilst it is possible that the researcher will begin to see the main themes and sub-themes emerge at this stage, there may be themes that are considered ‘anomalies’ and do not fit under broader themes. Braun and Clarke suggest that it is acceptable to create a ‘temporary miscellaneous theme’ at this stage whilst categorising the themes (p. 90). In this stage, I used multiple Excel spreadsheets to copy and paste comments into, to organise the data sets and information, and to start to organise the themes.

Stage Four: Reviewing the themes. This stage is about reviewing the different themes to see if they potentially collapse into one, to ensure there is enough data to support others, and to ensure validity by making sure the different themes accurately reflect the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This step allowed me to see the patterns in the data. Cycling through the data was a fundamental aspect of this step, in order to produce what Braun and Clarke (2006) term a ‘thematic map’ of the data (p. 91)

Stage Five: Defining and naming themes. This stage is about quantifying the essence of each major theme or sub-theme through a process of refinement which leads to a title (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This aspect of the analysis will help the researcher to see major themes in both the documents and the interviews. In this step, I used Coggle, a mind mapping tool, to start to define and name the themes emerging. It was a useful tool as the themes could be moved from one main branch and added to another (see p. 314 for an example of a brainstorm of emerging themes with Whānau Kaikōrero).

Stage Six: Producing the report. This stage of thematic analysis is about communicating the themes that emerged from the data in the final thesis to communicate the validity of your research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This stage of the thematic analysis merged into Matataki as analysis.

Matataki as Analysis

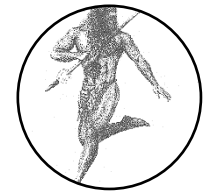
The final phase of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) included Matataki as analysis. To get an understanding of what this process is and how it came about, I provide you with background of the different roles of the toa matataki Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha and the sole warrior Te Manu-hahanga.

Background

When crafting the Matataki Methodology, I had numerous discussions with my Aunty Tūi Matira Ranapiri-Ransfield (mātauranga Māori advisor to this thesis) who had collaborated with Wetini Mītai-Ngātai to provide me with notes based on their own knowledge about matataki. Both Tūi and Wetini were schooled in ancient ways of knowing about the matataki. Therefore, I wanted to be sure that their knowledge was authentically represented in the shaping of Te Matataki methodology. One of the key discussion points that Aunty Tūi and I had over the course of time was around the role of the three warriors Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, and Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha and the sole warrior Te Manu-hahanga. What became apparent in our conversations were the distinct roles of the first two warriors, Te Mānuka-tūtahi and Te Mānuka-ahopū. As representative of Tū-mata-uenga, these two toa matataki would present the challenges in the matataki ritual of encounter. Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha, on the other hand, as a representative of Rongo-mā-tāne and peace, would support the manuhiri in their transition across the marae areare. Te Manu-hahanga, as the sole warrior, could represent both Tū-mata-uenga and Rongo-mā-tane. Therefore, once the

overarching four main themes for each study were settled, I came to write up the discussion points under each of the three separate studies. It was here that I decided to present the most challenging discussion points with the first two warriors, Te Mānuka-tūtahi and Te Mānuka-ahopū. Themes that discussed solutions or ways forward were headlined by Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha and Te Manu-hahanga. This analysis process added a crucial step in presenting my thesis because it ensured that the topics of discussion were suited to the different roles of the toa matataki. Chapters Eight, Nine, Ten and Eleven present the discussion points of the three main studies. Chapter Twelve presents the overarching discussion points in the thesis. This discussion now turns to present the final stage of Te Matataki as a research and analysis praxis.

Te Manu-hahanga: The Researcher Takes the Manuhiri Forward



Towards the end of the matataki ritual of encounter, manuhiri are in a space of liminality within the matataki ritual of encounter protocol. Following the challenge, they are shifting out of the realm of Tū-mata-uenga and into the realm of Rongomarae-roa (also referred to as Rongo-mā-tane). In this space of liminality, the toa matataki creates safe spiritual passage for the manuhiri to cross the threshold of Tū-mata-uenga.

In this final stage of Te Matataki as a research and analysis praxis, I detail here how it is important to consider how Kaikōrero are represented in this thesis and how the findings from the Kaikōrero are disseminated. Following the completion of the examination process, I intend to make myself available kanohi-ki-te-kanohi to all the Kaikōrero to discuss and/or present the findings. A copy of the thesis will be made available electronically to all the kaikōrero and participating social services/AE providers. An electronic copy of the findings or the link to the University of Auckland researchspace repository will be emailed to the participants where a contact email address has been provided in the consent form.

Summary

Chapter Six has detailed Te Matataki as research and analysis framework using the four toa matataki used in this thesis. Te Mānuka-tūtahi introduced *Stage One: The Researcher Enters the Liminal Space* and how critical researcher preparation is to the research process. Following Te Mānuka-ahopū detailed *Stage Two: The Researcher Advances the Research Challenge* and the importance of maintaining balance through tapu and noa in the data collection phase of this thesis. Following, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha summarised *Stage Three: The Researcher Clears the Threshold* and how the research findings were analysed. Finally, Te Manu-hanga has outlined *Stage Four: The Researcher Takes the Kaikōrero Findings Forward*. Here I have outlined ethical considerations in disseminating the research findings according to te ao Māori principles.

Introduction

Chapter Seven of *Te Mānuka-ahopū* theorises matataki as ethical praxis for engagement with Māori in first-time research encounters. Matataki as ethical praxis considers both the process of how researchers enter the metaphysical and physical spaces when meeting with rangatahi Māori for the first-time and the principles of engagement as a part of a research practice of ethics. Chapter Seven first presents a summary of research ethics, followed by a deliberation of the research ethics applied in this study. Drawing on the metaphor of the waharoa, which is the entrance to the marae areare (Moorfield, 2020), and Linda Smith's (2012) explanation of the two dimensions of ethics (ethics in the legal sense and a code of ethics), I discuss how Matataki as ethical praxis guided this study.

Research Ethics

Research is a powerful tool and as “a social process...can bring about change in peoples’ lives” (Bishop, 1996, p. 61). To ensure that this research was conducted appropriately, and the outcomes benefited the people the study represents, a consideration of research ethics was necessary. Research ethics, a branch of applied ethics, is mostly concerned with the attainment of accurate research data and analysis alongside how to “act responsibly” in challenging ethical situations (Punch, 2014, p. 59). Bolen and Adams (2017) stated that ethics “consists of norms, morals, and ideologies manifest in words, texts, and actions” (p. 618). Guillemin and Gillam (2004) stated that ethics is situated as ‘procedural ethics’ and ‘ethics in practice’. Procedural ethics involves gaining approval at an institutional level, whilst ‘ethics in practice’ is situational to the actual research in progress and the ethical issues that come to the fore

(Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Linda Smith (2012) has also described two ethical dimensions considered in research - ethics in the legal sense and a code of ethics.

With reference to the legality of research ethics, Western institutional notions of research generally ascribe to ethical principles which include informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and anonymity. These principles are mostly concerned with the rights of the 'individual' participant and they exist to minimise harm to individual participants, and to protect institutions from reproach and litigation (Punch, 2014; L. T. Smith, 2006). Due to academic institutional regulations, it is a necessity to incorporate Western research principles in this study. However, alone, they are not enough when researching with Māori as they do not protect Indigenous or community rights (L. T. Smith, 2012).

Kaupapa Māori is based on a Māori world view of philosophies, beliefs, values, plans, strategies and 'ways of operating' (Pihama, 2006, p. 192). Employing kaupapa Māori in this research comes with the expectation that the processes employed throughout the study, and the information produced as a part of the research, will not only respect the participants, and protect their individual rights, but the findings will also be used in culturally appropriate and ethical ways for the betterment of Māori people as a collective (Bishop, 1996; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending represent marginalised groups who reside on the fringes of New Zealand and Māori society (Becroft, 2016; Quince, 2007; Sherwood, 2015). For this reason, a kaupapa Māori research framework covering Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimation and Accountability (IBRLA) was considered at various stages of data collection and analysis (Bishop, 1996). IBRLA as an ethical framework encourages the researcher and others involved in the project to critically assess how worthwhile the project is to Māori, whilst ensuring that the research is conducted in a way that upholds the mana of the participants.

Another consideration in this study is what Ormond et al. (2006) coined as an ‘ethic of relationship’ (p. 181). According to Ormond et al. (2006), a “relationship ethic requires a researcher to be aware of the social, cultural and political context in which their research kaupapa is located” (p. 181). Accordingly, a relationship ethic is founded on whānaungatanga and whakapapa and the concept of respect. Whilst respect is fundamental to most ethical codes, Māori academics have pointed out that respect may be interpreted differently in different world views (Ormond et al., 2006; L. T. Smith, 2012). This study therefore situates the boundaries around what is classified as respectful, ethical behaviour from within a Māori world view and tikanga Māori.

Tikanga, derived from the Māori word ‘tika’, means to be correct or right and it implies that one’s conduct or behaviour is in accordance with Māori customary practices, values, and principles. However, tikanga Māori is not to be misunderstood as a homogenous set of standards pertaining to all Māori. Māori are essentially a tribal people with different protocols, dialects, histories, and practices distinctive to our own tribal region. In response to this, tikanga Māori in this study, remained fluid to allow for different tribal expressions and the codes of ethics specific to both the participant(s) and the researcher to be integrated as a part of the research. Tikanga Māori is thus more than a set of rigid rules to be followed. Tikanga Māori meant that the process of whakawhitwhiti kōrero (the exchange of and sharing of information) produced rich understandings about the lives of Māori youth who offend and cultural identities in the 21st century. This fluidity allowed for interactions to be dictated according to tikanga and language dialects that are particular to different tribal areas.

Tapu and noa is selected as the tikanga integral to the research ethics of this study. Fundamental to the matataki cultural domains, tapu and noa is synonymous for most iwi. The observance of tapu and noa underpins a process that is centred on a Māori world view of handling sacred knowledge like whakapapa and allows for a space of cultural safety for all

involved. This is integral to this study which shares personal information about people's lives. In this study, what was paramount ethically was acknowledging tapu and noa in establishing the research relationship, negotiating the liminal spaces, and maintaining cultural safety through the observance of tapu and noa. The research was undertaken in a way that maintained cultural integrity and the mana of all involved.

Waharoa as a Metaphor for Matataki as Ethical Praxis

When manuhiri enter the marae areare, the visiting party, in preparation for the matataki ritual of encounter, usually assemble at the waharoa (gateway) which is an entrance to a pā, gateway, or main entranceway (Moorfield, 2020). This entrance leads to the marae areare where the matataki ritual is performed (see Figure 1 on page 19). Where there is no waharoa, the space in front of the marae areare acts as a replacement space to wait and prepare for entry to the marae areare. Visually speaking, the waharoa in its simple form consists of two pou and a tuanui. I have chosen the waharoa as a metaphor for Te Matataki methodology as ethical praxis, as it is a fitting conceptual idea related to the marae setting and a place for preparation. The first pou is titled *Te Matataki Ethical Principles for Engagement*. The second pou is titled *Academic Ethical Expectations*. The shelter of the waharoa links to the underpinnings of Te Matataki methodology which are deliberated on in depth in Chapter Five.

The First Pou: Te Matataki Ethical Principles of Engagement

The Matataki Ethical Principles for Engagement are based on four key principles of ethical engagement as aligned with the matataki ritual of encounter. These principles can be flexibly applied to a range of professional settings with Māori participants. These principles discussed below are contextualised within this thesis and research with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending: 1) Preparing for engagement; 2) Entering the liminal space; 3) Ascertaining intentions; and 4) Transitioning out of the ritual of challenge.

Stage One: Preparing for Engagement

Kia Ngākau Whakaiti: Maintaining Humility

Maintaining poise as manuhiri throughout the whole matataki ritual of encounter is integral to the ritual. It is up to each rohe to decide their protocols and how they want to perform matataki. They will decide who lays the teka/taki, where they lay it, what the teka/taki symbolises, the number of warriors that will go out and where this challenge starts and finishes. Each iwi, hapū and marae will be different and that is their prerogative. With respect to rangatahi Māori who have offended, as potential participants in research, each rangatahi will engage differently and they will decide how they want to negotiate new spaces with people they do not know. Some researchers will have a natural inclination to create open relationships with the rangatahi firsthand. However, it is important to note that in this encounter, your position is ‘manuhiri’ and this encounter should not be taken too lightly. Until such a time as the young person is willing to engage and move to the next stage in the process, you must remain as manuhiri, as waewae tapu. Given the number of negative interactions many rangatahi Māori have had with persons in positions of authority, maintaining humility will be paramount.

Kia Rite – Be Ready to Engage

The matataki is based on different stages of engagement according to the rituals of encounter. In traditional times of Māori warfare, a toa matataki or sometimes multiple warriors from the pā would be sent out to ‘test the waters’ to see if the visiting party was there for peace, or for warfare. The toa matataki needed to be strong, alert, and ready to battle in order to protect the whānau, hapū, their livelihood, their possessions, their whenua, their women, children and the future offspring of the hapū. Whilst matataki is seen mostly as a ceremonial act in modern times, in traditional times the toa matataki needed to be prepared to engage at a moment’s notice to protect their people. With respect to research with rangatahi Māori apprehended for

offending, it is important as a researcher that you allow the rangatahi to decipher what your intentions are. Transparency is core to being ready to engage. They may require that you ‘give a bit more of yourself’ than what your Participant Information Sheet shows. They may want to know who you are, what makes you tick, and whether there is a connection there. This is all a part of the process of establishing your intentions with the rangatahi.

Stage Two: Entering the Liminal Space

Kia Mataara: Be Alert, Pay Attention

The toa matataki drew from different movements, gestures, and skills in weaponry to both test and unsettle the visiting group(s) to ultimately to determine their intentions. Weaponry prowess was on display based on the element of surprise. The skilled toa matataki used a range of movements; this was either a display of skill or enforced intimidation. When engaging with rangatahi Māori who have offended, you must see beyond the behaviour. For example, a display of one’s courage to challenge you may not necessarily be a sign that they do not want to engage with you. Like the weaponry skills that the toa matataki displays, the presentation of the young person’s behaviour may be used to impress, or distract, but to also intimidate. Therefore, take note that intimidation does not necessarily mean that they do not want to engage. It may be a way of testing you as a stranger, to ultimately see your strength, your commitment to the process, and whether they can trust you or not.

Stage Three: Ascertaining Intentions

Kia Kauanuanu: Be Respectful

The process of engaging in the matataki is a very serious act. The warrior(s) and the tangata whenua in traditional times had no choice but to respond in a way that challenged the visiting group’s presence. Essentially, if your actions were not respectful, this would be the impetus for the toa matataki to attack you. Based on conceptual understandings of entering spaces with

Māori youth who offend, there is a taken-for-granted assumption that, because of our ‘professional’ status and what we represent, we will be allowed to enter these spaces to discuss with rangatahi Māori because of the ‘positions’ we hold. However, if we approach rangatahi Māori who do not know us, and they are not clear from the beginning who we are, and what our agenda is, then it is almost like we are coming onto someone’s marae areare like ‘a thief or an enemy’. Therefore, the processes should respect their tino rangatiratanga.

Kia Tūturu: Be Transparent, Be Authentic

Traditionally, to visit another site without pre-warning would invoke warfare and would potentially end in loss of life. The picking up of the teka/taki needed to be done in a transparent way where the representative of the visiting party revealed their hand gesture by holding up the teka to declare that their intentions were peaceful. Likewise, when engaging with rangatahi Māori who have offended, be attuned to the fact that many of these young people are very skilled at reading people and know when someone has ulterior motives or things are not right for them. They are masters at reading behaviour, and at observing others to gauge what their intentions are. Therefore, matataki as an ethical principle establishes that you must be transparent. Any move or disregard for process could halt the whole pōhiri or welcoming process. As revealed in the pūrākau that precedes Chapter Five, if you come unannounced, it might be perceived that you have a disregard for process that is ‘tika’ and is transparent. When meeting with rangatahi, you need to be visible, transparent, open and clearly show your motivation or intentions. You must also ensure that the provider(s) you engage with clearly facilitate the process ahead of time, so that rangatahi are not surprised when you arrive.

Kia Ngāwari: Be Flexible

There is no ‘homogenous’ style of matataki. Each style is unique to the different iwi and areas they represent. Each iwi, hapū and even whānau will have different rules of encounter. As such, there is not one homogenous process or ‘way’ for engaging with rangatahi Māori

apprehended for offending behaviours. Be flexible and prepared to adapt your processes to fit in with their individual way of relating. Your schedule may say one hour, but your connection may need to be over a number of visits. Therefore, *kia ngāwari*, let the relational process dominate, rather than the time. If you rush things, the result could be non-engagement, or engagement with rangatahi reticent to converse.

Stage Four: Transitioning out of the Ritual of Challenge

Kia mānawanawa: Be Patient, Don't Hurry the Process

In short, do not rush the process. As with the matataki, the toa matataki remains in control of the timing. The connection between the toa matataki and manuhiri takes place on the marae areare, in the domain of Tū-mata-uenga and remains a highly tapu place. When engaging with rangatahi Māori who offend, the building of trust takes time. If there is to be a matataki, this will take place outside of the realm of the inner life of the young person. Just as you will not have immediate access to the realm of Rongo-mā-tāne during the matataki process, likewise, you will not have immediate access into the inner lives, perceptions and truths of these young people. You must be patient, and prepared to meet on multiple occasions if necessary, before the young person will be willing to engage with you. It may also be that they have decided from the outset, that they do not want to engage at a more personal level with you. You must be prepared to accept this response as well. A response that demonstrates their tino rangatiratanga to engage or not engage in a way that they are comfortable with ensures that the tapu of the researcher(s) and potential participants remains intact at all stages of engagement.

Kia Pono: Be a Leader, be Your Word

In the final stages of the matataki ritual of encounter, the toa matataki, raises his right thigh and slaps it. He then turns his back and escorts the manuhiri across the marae areare. This motion indicates that the welcoming ritual of encounter is in process, and the elder female

caller known as the kaikaranga can enact her high-pitched voice to welcome the visitor(s). As the toa matataki leads the manuhiri across the marae areare, it is your responsibility to lead the rangatahi Māori as participant(s) in the research process. Once the rangatahi is ready to engage with you, take them through a process of settling into the research. Be clear with them about the direction that you expect the research will take, when you will meet, and what will happen with the research. Also, whilst you may have navigated through the challenge, there will continue to be important and vital steps to maintaining a positive relationship. Most importantly, keep your word and keep your times with them. It is likely that they have experienced multiple disappointments, and integrity will be vital to show them that you respect them for who they are.

The Second Pou: Academic Expectations in Ethical Research

The second pou of the waharoa metaphor for matataki as ethical praxis considers how Western research ethical principles of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and anonymity are addressed in this thesis. As this thesis involved research with human participants, this pou elaborates on how the study met the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee's (UAHPEC) requirements. First, I provide a brief outline of Western research principles in this study.

Western Research Ethical Principles

As this research project is conducted under the auspices of the University of Auckland, ethics approval was obtained from the UAHPEC. Ethical approval from UAHPEC was given for the three phases of this study which involved hui with whānau members and interviews with adults as key informants, rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending, and Kaikōrero involved in Mahuru at Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), ethical approval from an institutional ethics board (such as the UAHPEC) aims to protect and uphold the individual rights of the participants and holds to account the ethical code of

conduct of the researcher. Failure to gain consent can have negative repercussions for the institution. Therefore, I outline below how each ethical consideration was met in this study. First, I discuss how the participants were recruited for the study.

Recruitment of Potential Participants

Recruitment of the participants for this study occurred in three stages. The first phase involved key informants. Six adult participants as key informants were approached to participate in the research. Initially, I invited the potential Key Informant participants in the research by letter or email. If they agreed to participate in the study, I continued communication via email, face-to-face, by phone, or letter, in order to arrange a hui kanohi-ki te kanohi (face-to-face), to discuss the aims of the research, and to address any concerns the potential participant may have about the project prior to engagement. Although the Honourable Judge Hēmi Taumaunu agreed in principle to participate in the study, because of his role as a public official working for the judiciary, he was bound by certain conditions affecting his participation. I was therefore required to go through a rigorous application process to the MOJ, which took a year. One other key informant was also working for another government department. Therefore, neither of these key informants could comment about certain topics such as a critique of government. Below are the key informant recruitment criteria. Key informants needed to:

- hold/ have held positions as public servants for government organisations such as the MOE or the MOJ.

OR

- be/have been professionals or advisors who have a background in one of the following: governance, public policy, cultural advisory or strategic planning, AE regarding Māori youth ‘at-risk’ and/or Māori (Youth) offending.

Māori Youth Participants

Ten Māori youth participants were selected to participate in the study. Social services or AE provider managers and/or principals were asked to identify the potential participant(s) and invite them to participate in the study. To ensure that there was no bias in the selection process of potential participants for the interviews, the first ten participants who agreed to participate and return their assent and parental consent forms to the providers were selected as the participants for the semi-structured in-depth interviews. As the rangatahi were under 16 years of age, their parents needed to provide consent as well as the student assent. For rangatahi Māori over 16 years of age, they were offered consent forms. The provider representative was issued with the consent forms and then collected them prior to the interviews.

The youth participants needed to:

- identify as Māori and be between the ages of 14 and 17 years' old.
- be engaged with a social services/AE provider.
- have exhibited challenging behaviours which *may* have led to school disciplinary action and this *may* have included stand-downs, suspensions and/or exclusion from their previous or current schooling.
- may have received disciplinary action from high school e.g., section 27, suspension, exclusion.
- have been charged in a Youth or a Rangatahi Court for their offending behaviours.
- may have spent time as a resident in an Oranga Tamariki (community/secure youth justice residence).

Recruitment of Social Services/AE Providers

Social services/AE providers were approached to engage in the research project by letter or email where the Participant Information Sheet was attached. Through networks that I had

from working in a youth justice residence in a previous role, key contacts were also asked if they were willing to receive my email. If a provider agreed to participate in the research project, I arranged to meet with the centre manager and/or nominated staff member one-on-one to discuss the aims of the research and the recruitment process for the youth participants and to answer any questions they may have had.

Informed Consent

The principle of informed consent is the right of the potential participant to decide to participate, based on information supplied by the researcher (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In this study, I engaged both social service and AE providers. All potential providers and participants were given information in written form via the Participant Information Sheet (PIS). I met potential participants and providers beforehand to speak *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* about the project. For adult participants and providers, I issued information in the PIS via email/post in the first instance. For the potential rangatahi Māori participants, and the parents of potential youth under 16 years of age, the service provider manager/principal identified potential participants and issued the PIS. As fitting with *kaupapa Māori*, I offered face-to-face *hui* to introduce myself and to answer any questions or address any concerns that the potential participants may have had about the research prior to deciding about their involvement in the study. At this initial meeting, I introduced myself (through *mihimihi*, *pepeha*) and discussed the aims of the project. I allowed an opportunity for questions to be asked and answered them in a way that the potential participants understood. This critical stage was imperative to ensure that there was no coercion to participate in the research.

Voluntary Participation

The principle of voluntary participation entails informed consent where the participant can freely choose to participate, or not participate in the project with “risks [being] undertaken knowingly and willingly” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 52). In this study, the potential participants

and participating providers were informed *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* (face-to-face) and in the PIS that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to decline participation. If the potential participants/providers accepted the invite to participate, they were then informed that they had the right to withdraw, including the information they shared at any stage up to the date of data analysis and that they had the right to raise any concerns at any stage, directing concerns or queries to the researcher or to one of the research supervisors from the University of Auckland. To confirm that the participants were satisfied to share the research findings, in line with *kaupapa Māori*, the researcher and the participant as collaborators decided on what information was included in the study.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is a way of protecting the interests of the participants and their right to privacy through not explicitly making a connection publicly between the participant and the information they have provided (Cohen et al., 2011). Protecting the identity and the interests of the participants is of paramount importance to building trust between the researcher and the participants. For this reason, the study employed strategies to maintain confidentiality. These strategies related to data management, the use of a transcriber and how the findings will be disseminated.

Data management. Interviews with the participants were digitally recorded and stored on an external hard drive in a lockable cupboard at the researcher's residence. These interviews were also backed-up on the University of Auckland server which is password-protected. Audio files of the interviews were kept until data analysis had taken place to ensure accuracy, then they were deleted. Only the researcher, the transcriber and the academic supervisors had access to the information obtained from the interviews and the consent forms. To ensure that the participants remained confidential following the project, all of the transcripts and consent forms are stored separately in a locked cupboard in the researcher's office at the University

of Auckland and will remain for a period of six years. They will be shredded and destroyed following this time.

Anonymity

The principle of anonymity is to ensure that “the information provided by the participants should in no way reveal their identity” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 64). One way to ensure anonymity and confidentiality are maintained in the project is to assign participants and providers with a pseudonym. All Kaikōrero in the study were assigned a pseudonym (as an example, Kaikōrero One). The Key Informant Kaikōrero agreed to be named in this study. Even though they are named, they were assigned a numbered pseudonym alongside individual comments. The only other Kaikōrero and provider named in this study by agreement is Liz Marsden, General Manager of Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services and the Mahuru remand care service in Study Three. No identifiable information is included in the findings which identify the providers. I erased all participant names and participating provider names once data analysis was completed. As I engaged a transcriber to support the research, that person was required to sign a confidentiality agreement to keep all information confidential to the study and to erase any information stored on any computer hardware or paper copies following transcription. As a part of the member checking process, the Kaikōrero were offered to edit the transcripts. If the participant did not want any information to be included in the research, then this was edited out.

Summary

Chapter Seven has presented the ethical considerations of Te Matataki methodology. Here I have used the waharoa as a metaphor for ethical praxis. The first pou detailed the *Te Matataki Ethical Principles for Engagement* outlined the critical ethical principles of engagement with rangatahi Māori who offend. The second pou, titled *Academic Ethical Expectations* outlined the ethical requirements for research within the academy.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha:

The third warrior clears the threshold



Waere(a)

to clear and lift the sacred elements

ROTAROTA: TAIAHA

With eyes that stare through to the soul,

Taiaha indeed is alive.

Through intent and precision, the warrior positions Taiaha
and together they navigate the physical and spiritual realms of

te marae areare a Tū-mata-uenga.

Piercing through to the spiritual dimensions

“Tī Hā!”

the warrior summons the visiting party

Taiaha is the chosen instrument of challenge.

Yet,

do not be mistaken,

He is more than a brandished weapon,

He is tikanga born of his tūpuna,

he *is* the embodiment of tikanga tuawhakarere.

As an initiator of challenge.

he is the taiaha.

He is Taiaha.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Study One: Key Informant Perspectives

Introduction

Empirical research that examines Māori youth offending using Māori cultural frameworks remains an under-researched area in youth justice. Even more so, is research into the salience of Māori cultural identities with this group. Where previous identity research with rangatahi Māori has identified a secure cultural identity as a salient factor to buffer the negative affect of stereotype threat (Cliffe, 2013; Watson, 2020; Webber, 2011), this thesis aims to address a research gap through investigating ‘how cultural identity can act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending’. Engaging six Key Informant Kaikōrero with considerable experience in the field, Study One investigates the contextual and historical factors influencing the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the justice system compared with their non-Māori counterparts. By interviewing Key Informants, Study One informs the overarching research question which aims to understand how successive governments have or have not been responsive to the needs of Māori in the youth justice system.

Critics such as Marie (2010) have argued that there is no empirical evidence to substantiate claims that cultural identity addresses the over-representation of Māori in the justice system, and that governmental approaches that include Māori culture are speculative and are based on a “wishing well approach” (p. 282). Indeed, Māori academic Mihaere (2015) discussed how identity is not a panacea to address Māori offending; however, his research has stated that we need to address historical and contextual factors which have led to Māori cultural identity loss. This study’s findings align with the views of Mihaere who argued that cultural identity is subject to structural frameworks which have created social, cultural, and political upheaval contributing to marginalisation (Mihaere, 2015). Tracey McIntosh (2005) has also stated that,

“marginalisation can be seen as a potent force in identity making” (p. 71). Marginalisation is one factor leading to the over-representation of Māori in the justice system.

Māori criminologists and academics have also argued that New Zealand’s justice system in general is entrenched in systemic bias, structural racism, over-policing, and the negative reporting of statistics for Māori (Quince, 2007; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Tauri & Webb, 2012). One way that structural bias is evident is through the unequal power relations between Māori and the state and a lack of cultural responsiveness to address Māori over-representation (Tauri & Webb, 2012; McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Māori academic and criminologist Moana Jackson (1988, 2018) has maintained over several decades that Eurocentric paradigms have saturated the New Zealand justice system’s policy and practice framework which has led to the criminalisation of Māori. Decolonisation is therefore central to addressing the burgeoning Māori incarceration rates in New Zealand (Jackson, 1988, 2018). Coupled with the current Labour-led government’s shifts in recent times to focus on progressive policy that centralises the well-being and interests of the child (Stanley & Monod De Froideville, 2020), Study One presents a critical and timely message about the salience of Māori cultural identities for Māori youth who offend. The next section outlines the research context and how different Key Informants were critical to Study One.

Study One: The Research Context

Following kaupapa Māori methodologies, particularly mātauranga Māori and Te Matatangi methodology, I conducted semi-structured interviews with six Key Informants. I utilised three frameworks for analysis of the qualitative research data. First, I utilised the *Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai Framework* (see Figure 1). The TAAM Framework was used in Study One to consider the wider discourse of Māori identity literature which acknowledges that modern Māori identities are fluid and diverse (Borell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005; Webber, 2008). This framework considers the critical interface where both ‘traditional’ indicators, such as

speaking te reo Māori, or connection to homelands, and neo-cultural realities, based on ‘experiential indicators’ of modern Māori identities, such as marginalisation and stereotyping, are both key markers of Māori identities in a modern New Zealand (Borell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005). The TAAM framework (see Figure 1), was used in this study to explore the interface between both traditional (Māori cultural checkpoints) and modern experiences (diverse neo-cultural realities) as potential liminal spaces to influence cultural identity and cultural connectedness for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Liminality, as a key concept in this study, is applied here as it considers the multiple positionings that rangatahi Māori who offend have, “the status of in-betweenness and spaces of uncertainty” that rangatahi Māori who offend inhabit, navigate, and find in their multiple positionings within society (Wood, 2012, p. 138).

Second, Braun and Clarke’s (2006) stages of thematic analysis was used to demarcate the overarching themes emerging from these interviews. “Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data” (p. 79). Finally, Te Matataki methodology as an analysis framework is used to frame and order the discussion points against the overarching themes. Here, the four Te Arawa warriors, Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha and Te Manu-hahanga headline pertinent discussion points arising from the research findings.

For the collection of data, semi-structured in-depth interviews allowed for flexibility to co-construct meaning and to give the Key Informants (hereafter referred to as Kaikōrero) the opportunity to expand on ideas discussed. Whilst I had planned for one-hour interviews, timeframes ranged from 45 minutes to four hours dependent on the Kaikōrero, their availability and where they were interviewed. Due to busy schedules and locations of Kaikōrero, I visited and interviewed them at a place of their choosing. Two Kaikōrero were

interviewed together, as it was fitting due to their collaborative experiences. I interviewed three Kaikōrero in their workplaces and one Kaikōrero agreed to a phone interview. Whilst I offered anonymity, all Kaikōrero provided consent to be identified in this study. Kaikōrero in Study One included: The New Zealand Children's Commissioner and former Youth Court Principal Judge Andrew Becroft, John Chapman, Sarah Chapman, Kahurangi Dame Tariana Turia, The Honourable Judge Hēmi Taumaunu, and Dr Adrian Schoone (see p. 306 for Key Informant Profiles).

Utilising specific criteria (previously outlined), the Kaikōrero were purposely selected as participants for Study One. In general, the Kaikōrero were selected because they had considerable experience in justice, the public sector, governance, public policy, government organisations, and legislation. I therefore employed critical case sampling which is based on the selection of participants because they demonstrate a particular position which is critical to understanding the phenomenon at hand (Ritchie et al., 2014). Kaikōrero were selected because of their in-depth knowledge and experiences in working with, or in, Māori and youth sectors, particularly youth justice or social services. As numerous rangatahi Māori apprehended for a serious criminal offence are not formally engaged in the mainstream education system (Becroft, 2005), Key Informant Kaikōrero with experience in AE were also recruited for this study. As this study was interested in how successive governments have or have not been responsive to Māori youth offending within Māori cultural frameworks, it was imperative that the Kaikōrero could speak to different levels of engagement in government, social services, education and youth justice policy, and practice.

Study One: Key Informant Findings

This section of Chapter Eight discusses the overarching themes from the semi-structured in-depth interviews. When reading the findings, it is important to note that two of the Kaikōrero could not speak directly to, nor offer opinions on, governmental policy or how successive governments have or have not addressed Māori youth offending rates, due to their roles as public officials. Therefore, the analysis of the overarching themes in the findings do not provide an ‘homogenous’ view across the participants, particularly for the first two themes. However, what this chapter does present is rich dialogue from a range of perspectives. Whilst there was diversity of opinion across the Kaikōrero, there were common threads in their thinking which are presented here as the four predominant themes: 1) Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms; 2) Ki te Whaiao, ki Te Ao Mārama: Realising the Vision; 3) Te Ao Hurihuri: The Matrix of Dichotomous Realities; and 4) Ko Au te Whānau, Ko te Whānau Ko Au: The Cornerstone of Māori Identities.

Theme One: Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms

Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms is used to headline the concerns amongst four of the Kaikōrero who believed that there were systemic issues within the justice system. Four sub-themes are discussed in this section. The first sub-theme outlines the disconnect between policy, practice, and legislation and how this impacts on Māori youth offending rates. The second sub-theme details how the system is inherently biased. The third sub-theme outlines the negative impacts of different agencies working in silos and individualistic approaches based on Western practices. The fourth sub-theme outlines how paternalism influences the Māori and Crown dynamic.

The Disconnect Between Policy, Legislation, and Practice

Four Kaikōrero spoke about a disconnect across government agencies, legislation, and policy. This disconnection had negatively impacted on delivering effective services to rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending and their whānau.

Three Kaikōrero spoke specifically about youth offending policy and legislative frameworks and how they believed that aspects of the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act (1989) had not been operationalised and, instead, remained as policies on paper only. Kaikōrero One commented:

There is a gaping chasm between the theoretical legislative mandate and the practical reality. The Act itself is predicated on the obvious assumption that whānau, hapū and iwi provide the best forum for rehabilitation. It [has] stayed on paper you know. Left the black words on white paper.

When Kaikōrero One was asked to explain further what they meant by ‘black words had stayed on paper’, their response was:

I got report after report from youth justice social workers about a young person and a suggested intervention. But how does this intervention strengthen whānau, hapū and iwi? It certainly wouldn't have talked about fostering the ability of whānau, hapū and iwi to look after their own kids when they were released from residence, much less a blueprint of how that was going to happen. So, I think the whole thing has just been in retrospect and an astonishingly poor example of legislative vision never being operationalised.

Kaikōrero One's comments highlights the discrepancies between the vision and intent of the Act and what was evidenced in poor social work practice. Boulton et al. (2018) also found that “the reasons for this are many and complex, but part of the blame lies with a lack of

government funding to truly implement the legislation and poor social work practice” (p. 4). These findings highlight the issue with meeting the requirements of the Act in which Section 208(c) of the revised Act states: “that any measures for dealing with offending by children or young persons should be designed to strengthen the family, whānau, hapū, iwi, and family group of the child or young person concerned; and to foster the ability of families, whānau, hapū, iwi, and family groups to develop their own means of dealing with offending by their children and young persons” (Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989; Children’s and Young People’s Wellbeing Act, 1989 s.208(c)).

Kaikōrero One’s quote suggests that failure is at the social work practice level in terms of implementing the legislative rights of whānau to find solutions for their own rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Given recent, urgent, and multiple historic and contemporary claims (Wai 2823, 2891) to the Waitangi Tribunal, addressing social work practice is imperative. Wai 2823 and Wai 2891 are current claims to the Waitangi Tribunal in response to the failings of Oranga Tamariki (formerly Child, Youth, and Family). The claimants argue that the Crown has failed to provide adequate culturally responsive and whānau-inclusive consultation around the care and protection of Māori children and rangatahi taken into state care (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019). A lack of consultation was evident in other areas.

Kaikōrero Three, Four, and Five spoke about a disconnect between what policy set out to achieve and how this applied to real life situations of rangatahi Māori and their whānau.

Kaikōrero Five said:

It was the first Social Sector Trial and I just totally got frustrated with how they were doing things and what they were doing. My understanding of the Social Sector Trial was that [name of Trust] would be community focused and include community. But, the more the opportunities came around getting government funding, they became more of an arm of the government. [This is] because they adopted

Strengthening Families and the same social work models, the same practices as Child, Youth and Family and the rest of them [government agencies]. That automatically created a disconnect with the whānau.

The policy and practice disconnect was not isolated to social services. Kaikōrero spoke about how the Tomorrow's Schools educational policy had disadvantaged the disengaged rangatahi Māori who ended up in AE.

Educational Policy Disconnect

AE remains an important option to re-engage rangatahi Māori who have disengaged from mainstream education. Kaikōrero Three, Four, and Five spoke about how AE has picked up a lot of rangatahi Māori who have offended over time. Despite the need to provide a comprehensive programme, they felt that there was a disconnect between educational policy and a lack of funding for providers. Kaikōrero Three said:

There is a disconnect with policy. So, the AE sector knows, or perhaps knows what an ideal scenario could be, but, no, the [educational] policy seems to be stuck on 'Let's get these kids back into mainstream'. So, we have this reality versus this idealistic notion. Which we all agree would be the perfect solution, but we know very well, many students do not want to return to mainstream.

The Tomorrow's Schools educational policy in New Zealand has disadvantaged some rangatahi Māori. According to Schoone (2016), the business model and competitive market underpinnings of the Tomorrow's Schools policy has made education difficult for some rangatahi Māori who are seen as a 'liability' to schools due to poor attendance, and low performance in national assessments. Schoone (2016) stated, "in this current market marginalised students become less attractive to schools" (p. 16). Although AE engages a higher percentage of Māori learners than non-Māori, funding streams are limited, and the

educational opportunities offered are not recognised as on par with mainstream education. The inequitable access that Tomorrow's Schools provides to marginalised students is evident.

Whilst the mainstream education system appears to advocate to re-engage rangatahi back into mainstream education, the odds are really stacked against them due to this policy. Mainstream schools are ill-equipped environments to meet the needs of marginalised rangatahi Māori. The reality is that rangatahi who are disengaged from the education system either do not want to re-engage back into mainstream education or choose instead to engage in AE.

A key finding of the 2009 Health and Wellbeing Survey of Young People in Alternative Education found that young people had more positive experiences in AE, were making more sound academic progress and felt that their teachers treated them fairly compared to mainstream (Clark et al., 2010). Kaikōrero Three, Four and Five spoke about how AE provides a place for students who are alienated from the mainstream education system. Many of these students are Māori and are therefore considered 'priority learners', yet there is no priority being given to the AE sector. Kaikōrero Three said:

What's happened over the years, is that there is no longer that separation as much between schools and providers. It's actually schools and providers working together, working against or trying to change the policy. It's now, well actually, we're all in the same boat, the schools and the providers feeling the pinch now of having hardly any funding increases for over 10 years working with what the government calls their 'priority learners' but giving no priority at all.

Kaikōrero Three, Four, and Five further spoke about the system as not providing adequate funding to support AE. Kaikōrero Four, on the other hand, spoke about the difficult choices that providers had to make to deliver education to these learners, due to a lack of funding.

You know, we can't even get vans. Well, it's, you have to either have the programmes or the resources. Three kilometres out from the cliff to be able to run the programme so that they don't lead into crime. Yeah? There are only a very few community organisations that I know that are able to do that, on what they have. There needs to be funding to do that. You know, if we're going to make some changes and we're going to stop crime for Māori, we have to create initiatives and experiences for them to keep them engaged so it doesn't lead them down that track.

As discussed above, for Kaikōrero Four, there was a discrepancy between the limited funding provided to AE and the programmes that providers feel they should really be delivering to engage rangatahi so that education becomes a protective factor.

However, as Kaikōrero Three noted below, rangatahi Māori are not only overrepresented in the justice system, but they are also overrepresented in the AE sector. This begs the question as to why mainstream education is not working for all Māori who are classified as priority learners.

I hesitate to say, 'It's the elephant in the room'. I've got all these Māori children in Alternative Education. Well, what I'm saying, has anyone joined the dots? What is happening here [is that] we've got 60% of Māori kids in AE, and we need to ask what is happening in mainstream schools that results in this being the case?

Systemic Racism, Unconscious Bias, and Racial Profiling

In the second sub-theme of Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms, four of the Kaikōrero spoke about how systemic racism was evident through racial profiling, and biased justice, social services, and education systems. Kaikōrero Four shared a story about a rangatahi Māori who they had worked closely with and how some personnel in justice were biased towards

recording statistics of rangatahi with dual cultural identities, focusing predominantly on their Māori ethnicity.

[Name] gets arrested, right, and our youth worker goes down to the cells to fill out the paperwork. So, we come to filling out the paperwork and he's sitting in front of the clerk or whatever the person is, and it comes to your ethnic group and he put down, um, British I think it was. Yeah, I think it was British. Anyways, so he ticks one and then the lady says to him, "Are you Māori?", and he said, "Yep". [She said] "Can you tick the Māori one?", and he goes, "Oh, nah, nah, I want to identify with myself for this," and she said, "No, no, we know your mum and your dad, they're both gangsters, they're Māori so you need to tick Māori." [He said] "Oh no, no, they're half-caste but my grandparents were Irish and English." They made him tick New Zealand Māori.

When family names become 'known' to different agencies, assumptions of who they are have already been formed. How ethnicity statistics are recorded are skewed, in the sense that their Māori ethnicity is recorded first (Bull, 2017). Therefore, if a young Māori person of dual heritage is 'known' to authorities, then their Māori identity will likely be recorded over other ethnicities. This aligns with another explanation for racial profiling. Ethnic statistical data of Māori, and Indigenous data sovereignty has become a highly contested subject due to the benefits extracted from public policy measures for different government departments, not for those from whom the data has been taken (Kukutai, 2004).

These findings align with what Webb (2009) has summarised; namely, that the recording of crime statistics for Māori, and the practices of government agencies, are situated within the historical context and the longstanding use of social and crime control policies to manage Māori (Webb, 2009). Racial profiling through the recording of statistics constrain and

negatively shape Māori identities as the associations Māori youth make between being Māori and offending.

Working Within a Māori Approach

Kaikōrero One spoke about their experiences and how they had never seen Oranga Tamariki apply a separate model to work with Māori youth who had offended.

I don't think that was ever on their radar. As a legitimate challenge, I can't see evidence of how they employed different approaches for Māori as opposed to non-Māori young offenders. I may have overlooked some here and there. But they were never explicitly created as 'by Māori for Māori', or explicitly with a cultural or a strong cultural component. I just can't, I know that sounds incredibly damning and negative. But, yeah, I don't think there has been any acknowledgement that a culturally different approach might be appropriate.

Kaikōrero Two also spoke about how different agencies failed to work collaboratively and within culturally responsive frameworks for rangatahi Māori and their whānau.

The system is institutionally racist. In reality if we were doing the right things by these young people and their families, I don't think that these statistics would be skewed in the way that they are. Part of the problem is that the system prefers to work with the young people and not with their families. They find the families too difficult, so they don't bother and, as a result of that, more of the kids either go into care or go into the corrections system.

Mihaere's (2015) study found that a Western paradigm and the individualistic view of offending was an issue. "The contemporary mainstream view is that offending behaviour has to be linked to individual attributes, responsibilities and thinking" (Mihaere, 2015, pp. 166–167). Intervention into the lives of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending focuses on the

individual through crime control policy in New Zealand, which is shaped by paradigms such as the risk and protective factor preventative paradigm. Based on overseas interpretations, this paradigm disregards a Māori view on the rights of the whānau unit to exercise rangatiratanga and to make decisions that affect the collective.

The Negative Impacts of Individualistic Systems

A barrier to addressing the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the justice system is the individualistic approach which different agencies utilised. Kaikōrero Four felt that agencies (both governmental and community) worked in silos. The lack of cohesion across government departments with community organisations was disruptive to continuity in working with rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau.

There are agencies that operate in silos and I'm not just talking about government agencies. I'm talking about agencies across the board that all operate to build their own little kingdoms. That's been created by government.

Government-led interventions grounded in neoliberalism and a social investment approach have created this dynamic of silos. Instead of a systemic approach which places the needs of the rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau at the centre. Kiro (2001) argued in her study of Māori health reform that a greater collaboration across government agencies is needed as “ad-hoc, piecemeal approaches will not work’ (p. 426).

The Paternalistic State

Another systemic chasm, showing the disconnect between policy, legislation, and practice, is evident in the unequal power relations between Māori and the Crown.

Four Kaikōrero said that paternalism within the Crown and Māori dynamic was an issue. Kaikōrero Two expressed that there was long-term damage from uplifting Māori children from their homes, due to the trauma of being in state care.

I remember when departments used to take kids into care [and] totally destroy their lives by the experience and [then] send them back to whānau without any support.

Damaged kids. Then blame the family because they couldn't cope with it.

As highlighted above, Kaikōrero Two discussed how the blame was shifted to Māori as they did not know how to support their whānau because of the impacts that trauma had caused. This comment highlights the complexities of trauma. Trauma-informed care for rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau is imperative. However, this must be situated within Māori paradigms which acknowledge the impacts of institutionalisation on the whānau.

Theme Two: Ki te Whaiao, Ki te Ao Mārama: Realising the Vision

The second theme emerging from Study One is 'Ki te Whaiao, ki Te Ao Mārama: Realising the Vision'. Set within a Māori world view, this theme is embedded within Māori philosophical thought based on how the past informs and shapes the present and the future. Essentially, the past, present, and future are intrinsically interwoven. Ontologically, the assumption is that, as we set our eyes on the past, we draw on knowledge and insight which provides wisdom to realise the future. Within this discussion point, I raise three central sub-themes from the data that were integral to addressing rangatahi Māori over-representation in the justice sector. In the first and second sub-themes, Kaikōrero spoke about tino rangatiratanga and Māori autonomy to make decisions that affect rangatahi Māori within whānau, hapū, and iwi and Māori communities. The third sub-theme focused on embedding wisdom from seminal documents which they believed had already laid the groundwork through critical analysis of what is required to drive meaningful change for Māori in the youth and adult justice systems.

Tino Rangatiratanga

The first and most predominant sub-theme was based on the impacts of colonisation. The Kaikōrero discussed how tino rangatiratanga and whānau, hapū, iwi, and community empowerment were fundamental to addressing the disparate Māori youth offending statistics. Tino rangatiratanga as a broad term is not easily translated into English and holds depth and layers of meaning in te reo Māori. Some translations take tino rangatiratanga to represent self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power (Moorfield, 2020). Rangatiratanga is an extension of the root word ‘rangatira’ in te reo Māori which means chief or chiefly. In Study One, I draw on the conceptual understandings of self-determination and Hill’s (2009) critical reflection on traditional uses of the word rangatiratanga and how these may have changed over time from ‘chieftainship’ to a more relevant translation of tino rangatiratanga in contemporary times as ‘autonomy’.

For five of the six Kaikōrero in this study, tino rangatiratanga was about whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities being empowered to self-determine and make decisions about their tamariki and whānau. Three Kaikōrero spoke about how the governmental legislative framework of the CYFs Act (1989) enabled and empowered whānau to be involved in the decision-making process. For Kaikōrero Six, legislation was consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi and this embedded the rights of whānau.

I’m not talking about anything that’s outside the law. This is actually what the law had intended in the first place, for whānau to exercise tino rangatiratanga over their own tamariki, mokopuna, and its entirely consistent with the Treaty.

Kaikōrero One believed that the intentions of the CYFs Act (1989) embedded cultural connectedness within the legislation and guaranteed that Māori could be self-determining in plans to look after their own children.

The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989 had a vision. It is predicated on cultural connectedness. It never set those terms, however, it always said that Māori could look after their own as Māori. Māori whānau, hapū and iwi could look after their own tamariki better and that is a secret for a stable, caring and crime-free lifestyle. In fact, the Act uses whānau, hapū and iwi and this has been embedded in the legislation for 25 years and it is mentioned 26 times.

All the Kaikōrero were adamant that whānau had an important role to play in the decision-making process. However, there were varied perspectives about what role whānau took in terms of tino rangatiratanga. Kaikōrero One and Six felt that it was important to test the ‘assumptions’ that whānau are best placed to create plans for their own rangatahi Māori. For Kaikōrero Six, further, to testing assumptions, the best plans they had seen were ones that whānau had put in place.

It would be testing the assumption that a whānau has the ability to be responsible for making its own plans, and testing whether prerequisites exist, like the ability to realise that they know themselves best and that they do have the power within themselves to come up with plans that work. The most powerful plans that I have seen are ones that the family put in place.

Strengthening whānau capability and capacity involves resourcing whānau, hapū and iwi to do things for themselves. Yet, there is a dynamic of paternalism and control of funding which disempowers whānau and collective Māori structures to work within Māori paradigms.

Kaikōrero believed that paternalism has continued in contemporary times and this dynamic needed to be disestablished. Four Kaikōrero (One, Two, Four and Five) spoke specifically about state-based care affecting the trajectory of rangatahi and tamariki Māori who have historically been institutionalised. The Kaikōrero spoke about paternalistic governmental

responses to Māori whānau, hapū and iwi within the Crown and iwi dynamic. Shifting from paternalism to empowerment and tino rangatiratanga is needed to shift patterns of care of rangatahi and tamariki Māori in institutions.

Three Kaikōrero spoke about decolonisation as a central tenet of addressing the over-representation of Māori (including rangatahi) in the justice system. Where the process of integrating Māori into ‘Western’ systemic practice was identified as an issue impacting on Māori in the last theme, ‘Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms’, this theme discusses what decolonisation may look like in practice. Kaikōrero Two felt that there was a different approach needed, which required the state to refrain from paternalistic acts which believe that money was the only solution. Instead, Māori needed to be empowered to create systems within Māori paradigms.

All we need, is to stop the system from spending money on us, and wasting it, and rather give it to our systems to restore the essence of who we are. At some point, we have to restore that whole rangatiratanga back to us. Just to help us to restore faith and hope in ourselves so that we can do this ourselves.

Rangatiratanga at a broader level acknowledges Māori as central to the decision-making. In this study, four of the six Kaikōrero identified that Māori opportunity to exercise tino rangatiratanga at broader whānau, hapū, and iwi level was central to reducing the over-representation of Māori in the justice system (both adults and young people). Four of the six Kaikōrero identified that tino rangatiratanga was evident when Māori were enabled to do things for themselves. Kaikōrero Two felt that whilst Māori may not have all the answers, they must be central in the decision-making process.

We actually need to find a means and way to fund the change and the ability to engage with the community, provide the resources to have the hui to bring the

different groups together. Um, because you can't do that on the tamarisk smell of an oily rag and there can't be an expectation that community groups will fund that.

Restoring Tino Rangatiratanga

There was a consensus amongst the six Kaikōrero that Māori must be present in the decision-making process and that tino rangatiratanga meant that Māori were central players to the decision-making. However, there was a diversity of opinion about 'who' tino rangatiratanga should be restored to, and how this should happen. Three Kaikōrero expressed that tino rangatiratanga needed to be restored back to traditional tribal structures within the construct of whānau, hapū and iwi. Kaikōrero Two said:

I don't think I hold the answers, but what I do know is, that we hold the key. I'm talking about my tribal groupings. We hold the key to our families' futures.

For Kaikōrero Four, the pathway to empowering whānau Māori did not necessarily start with iwi, but a range of other group structures within te ao Māori.

When we talk Māori, we tend to think iwi and that's why I was saying I really struggle with the idea of giving the solutions back or the opportunity or solutions back to iwi because they haven't all got their ducks in order in terms of our social ecosystems. Not all of them, but some of them. What I do think is that it's a mix of all the different types of people that make up those solutions and those pathways to those outcomes that need to be at the table to help design and co-design a strategy that works, and I do think that those that need to be at that table are Māori, not non-Māori, whether it's from government, from iwi, from social services, from whatever. They need to be Māori and they need to come together with a collaborative understanding and a goal and all of those things like best practices, to create some solutions. Because there's a real disconnect between our people that

work within social services and do a fantastic job, and those that work in iwi, and do a similar thing. There's just no continuity through it. But both are equal and have significant input and value.

Kaikōrero One acknowledged that there must be a collaborative approach between Māori and Pākehā and that the focus should be on co-design. Kaikōrero One said, *“Must we do better? Of course. Can it be done to Māori by Pākehā? No. Has this got to be co-designed with Māori? Of course.”*

Kaikōrero One also insisted that partnership with government was fundamental, and ultimately the greatest responsibility for initiating and engaging in relationship resided with the state who maintained funding streams to implement policy and programmes that could improve outcomes for reducing Māori youth offending.

No government agency has knocked on the door of hapū and iwi and said, “Please help”. But, to my knowledge, no iwi have knocked on government door and said, “We want to be involved”. The greater responsibility is the Treaty partner with the money, with the pūtea [money], which is the government. They have been an abject failure in building Māori capability. Thankfully, [the Government] are here knocking on the door and have been for the last four to five years.

In the context of iwi and state relationships, whilst this statement would assume a straightforward process of engagement, and collaboration between the government and iwi, it is anything but simple. Kaikōrero Two said that although Māori have broad aspirations of self-determination, there is still little trust that Māori are capable of leading systemic change. Kaikōrero One and Six spoke about the vision of the Oranga Tamariki Act (1989) which advocates that the needs of Māori be met within Māori frameworks. Kaikōrero One said:

I think that the challenge for the future is to really work on this issue of cultural identity as a protective factor in that whānau context and that's the key to it, it always has been the key to it, it was recognised long ago as the key. Puao-te-Ata-Tu emphasised it as the most important factor. That's where it lies. It always has and always will, but it does require whānau to really see it for what it is and, once that happens, the next step would be for the professionals involved to allow that process to take its course because the law allows for it.

Kaikōrero Two felt that rangatiratanga was evidenced when Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi were resourced in tangible ways to address the issues.

Well, I honestly and I will maintain it, build our capacity and our capability amongst our whānau, hapū and iwi. It doesn't matter what the issue is. Build our capacity and capability and give us the resources to take care of our own. At some point, we must restore that whole rangatiratanga back to us. Where there are problems within our whānau, give us the ability, build our capacity and capability, give us the resources and let us attempt to do it ourselves.

The idea of recognising Māori capability requires a fundamental paradigm shift from doing things 'for and to Māori', to allowing Māori collectives to be in control of the interventions required. Māori interventions would sit outside the confines of Western individualistic frameworks, where mātauranga Māori would underpin the evaluation and the success of such outcomes.

Seminal Documents

It has been over 30 years since seminal reports *He Whaipāanga Hou* (1988) and *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* (1988) laid out clear and specific recommendations to the then Labour-led government about addressing the underlying systemic issues of racism. Thirty years on, a recent

investigation into the New Zealand justice system by Te Uepu Hāpai i te Ora (2019), stated that the recommendations advised are still pertinent to this day.

Four of the Kaikōrero stated that the 1988 *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* report (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare) was a seminal document. For these Kaikōrero, there was a belief that this key document already has the blueprint for how to address the systemic failures impacting on Māori. Kaikōrero Six said:

Puao-te-Ata-Tu set out very clearly what the answer was, back then, and still is. The issue is more to do with understanding what that answer actually was and putting it into practice, because the Act that came out of Puao-te-Ata-Tu, the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989), it did actually include provision along the lines that was envisaged by Puao-te-Ata-Tu. But it needs to be clearly understood, and if it is understood, it needs to be fully implemented. Perhaps there are a number of factors that are at play and perhaps there is a reluctance to fully implement the original thinking, due to the unorthodox results that might occur.

For three of the four Kaikōrero who discussed *Puao-te-Ata-Tu*, there was a synchronicity in opinion that the recommendations had not been actualised and operationalised within governmental policy design. Kaikōrero Two said that government responsiveness should return to this document and the guidelines provided rather than inventing a new set of recommendations.

Go back to Puao-te-Ata-Tu. They [government] would go back to our kaupapa and our tikanga and try and bring about the change through ourselves [Māori], not through thinking that a new label is going to do it.

Māori criminologists and academics argue that *Puao-Te-Ata-Tu* 1988 remains a seminal document relevant to addressing concerns with the justice system today (Boulton, Osborne, Cvitanovic, & Williams Blyth, 2018; Mihaere, 2015; Workman, 2015). “If there was a project in which it could be argued that rangatiratanga found (for a time) its fullest expression, Puao-te-Ata-Tu was it” (Workman, 2015, p. 94).

Theme Three Te Ao Hurihuri: Navigating the Matrix of Dichotomous Realities

The third theme from Study One is ‘Te Ao Hurihuri: Navigating through the Matrix of Dichotomous Realities’. This theme speaks to social contexts in which rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending live and how these environs shape rangatahi Māori cultural identities. The Kaikōrero discussed four main sub-themes that may potentially shape rangatahi Māori cultural identities. The first is ‘Diverse Cultural Realities’. This theme speaks to the complexities of rangatahi Māori navigating in a colonised Aotearoa. ‘The Survival Matrix’ is the next sub-theme. In this theme, I unpack how Kaikōrero discussed the realities of marginalisation and poverty in the lives of some rangatahi Māori. ‘Trauma’ is the following sub-theme. Trauma is explored in several lines of inquiry including personal, historical and intergenerational trauma. The final sub-theme discusses how ‘Key Influencers in the Liminal Spaces’ are critical to shifting trajectories.

Living in Diverse Cultural Realities

Rangatahi Māori experience multiple realities due to living in a colonised society which requires them to navigate through complex social, political and cultural settings whilst living in a modern world. Kaikōrero Two, Three, Four, and Five believe rangatahi Māori are forced to self-navigate in Western frameworks imposed on them in education, social settings, and institutional care which are typically based on Western world views and values. They noted that these settings apply a non-Māori lens to identity-making for Māori which marginalises

their own experiences of being Māori. This is the antithesis of the Māori potential approach referred to in multiple government documents.

Kaikōrero Three spoke about the education system which prefers a Western framework where rangatahi Māori are forced to navigate diverse realities different to their own cultural reality. Kaikōrero Three felt that Māori students historically have been underserved within New Zealand's mainstream schooling system due to a lack of cultural responsiveness to Māori.

From an education perspective, the schooling system has preferred Anglo European ways of being and you know this is historical, the Native Schools Act, assimilation, the marginalisation of Te Reo Māori. You know, from a schooling perspective, Māori students haven't been served well because the culture of the school has not been responsive enough to them.

Kaikōrero Two stated that Māori are forced to live in a world which is based on Western values due to the colonisation process. They believed that rangatahi Māori must therefore be equipped to navigate 'dual worlds', both a Māori world and a Pākehā world. Instead, they felt that rangatahi Māori needed to be equipped to navigate in both a Māori and Pākehā world. Kaikōrero Two used the marae to illustrate an idealistic world for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending, one that is unscathed by the effects of colonisation. Kaikōrero Two also expressed concern about the effect of imprisonment on Māori identities and how Māori are learning about their cultural identities within institutional settings rather than from within the confines of whānau, hapū and iwi as collectives. Whilst Kaikōrero Two spoke about living within the confines of a marae setting as ideal, they acknowledged that this ideal does not exist. This world is synonymous with Tā Apirana Ngāta's famous whakataukī 'E tipu e rea'. Kaikōrero Two said:

I know I can't close the marae gates even though I'd love to. You know, I know that I can't, that I have to live in a dual world. But, at least, allow me, to have the confidence and the knowledge so that I can move between both freely. Don't make me live in one world, because that's the world you think I should live in. Or, don't give me access to my world through putting me in jail.

As illustrated, there are complexities in learning about cultural identities within institutional settings outside of the confines of whānau, hapū, and iwi. These settings provide challenges to learning about one's identity as descendants of different iwi groups. Kaikōrero Two believed that residential or prison facilities are ill-equipped to facilitate iwi identity-making. Māori identities are intertwined with social location and whakapapa which is unique to the individual. As such, these facilities are unable to establish authentic, whakapapa-based connections, which are a strong part of identity-making for Māori.

You've got to do that within your own whakapapa. You don't go into prison and learn those things about your moana, about your awa, about your ngahere? Or do we just have one homogenous one? I've met kids who have been taken away as small children, who are desperately trying to find their way back.

The opportunity to learn about Māori cultural identities within institutional and residential facilities was discussed as problematic for one other Kaikōrero too. Kaikōrero Four discussed their concern about non-Māori teaching about Māori cultural identities. For Kaikōrero Four, cultural responsiveness to Māori would be Māori-led initiatives in order to ensure authenticity and that a Māori cultural lens was applied to such initiatives.

I went to two residential homes where cultural identity and things Māori were being implemented by an Indian and an Irishman. This is what I mean about Māori being the ones that implement it, to come up with the solutions, not non-Māori.

As illustrated, one barrier to achieving tino rangatiratanga in this regard were paternalistic attitudes and actions either by government agencies or well-intentioned people who tried to ‘fix’ or solve Māori issues without the input of Māori communities. A monocultural lens is the issue to addressing tino rangatiratanga, as this lens does not include Māori perspectives and ways of knowing.

The Survival Matrix

Four Kaikōrero spoke about how rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending face multiple challenges resulting from their social, economic, and cultural realities, and how this shapes their cultural identities as Māori. These Kaikōrero discussed how certain realities make some rangatahi Māori more prone to being at risk of offending than others. Disconnection from whānau, trauma from abuse in state care, loss of family members, whakamā, poverty, patu wairua, survivance, and housing insecurities were all identified as risk factors leading to offending.

Three Kaikōrero spoke about the impact that institutional care has had in the lives of Māori and on the generations that followed. They commented that Māori youth offending is often not an isolated incident. For some rangatahi Māori, they have a connection back to the gangs and within those gangs, there is a history of institutionalisation and being uplifted into state care. The impacts of being institutionalised have greater ramifications which have led to the adoption of survivance strategies. As noted, Henry (2018) argued that “survivance is community survival and resistance to colonialism” which is “an action verb denoting the exercise of agency by individuals and groups in response to historical legacies and contemporary impositions” (p. 70). Kaikōrero Four said:

I guarantee you that those who have been excluded, again, they will whakapapa back to the gangs. If you look at where those gangs came from, (the story that’s told

on television), all those people came through those boys' homes during the era of the 70s and 80s. All the captains, all the leaders of the gangs in New Zealand today were all in those institutions at that time. So, all those leaders and their followers that came out of that time, they've got different generations. They are the ones that sit on those peripheries. When it comes down to it, they have learnt how to survive in that system.

Kaikōrero Two, Four and Five expressed that it was imperative that key staff workers who interact with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending must be able to contextualise and understand their multiple experiences and the experiences of their whānau which may be based on survival mechanisms. Kaikōrero Five said:

A matrix of survival, of people, that are low socioeconomic, they are in survival mode. A lot of them track back to gangs and I think that there are triggers, words that trigger behaviours and they associate people with those types of triggers, with those things that happen in their lives.

The Kaikōrero spoke about the prevailing sense of survival rangatahi Māori who offend adopt. The causes are systemic, and the root of these behaviours is often trauma.

Trauma

Three Kaikōrero spoke about trauma as a significant issue affecting rangatahi Māori and whānau Māori. Trauma was understood in multiple ways. However, the common thread across all three Kaikōrero was systemic and historical trauma which was rooted in generations of families suffering abuse in state care. A common source of trauma amongst the three Kaikōrero was trauma associated with institutionalisation. Three Kaikōrero stated that institutional care was historical, and there was a 'whakapapa' of intergenerational lived experience of trauma due to state institutional care. State care had not only affected the

individual person who had suffered physical and sexual abuse, but their coping (or lack thereof) affected the whole whānau years after the event(s) had occurred.

They don't want to acknowledge the trauma that that system itself has created for those men. I mean, essentially what we're talking about is men whose wairua [spirit] has been destroyed. The result of physical and sexual abuse and the post trauma not being dealt with. In prison, the individual's crime is the focus, not the trauma. The system is reluctant to take responsibility for the abuse that has happened to those who have come through the state care system.

There was a concern that there was an imbalanced focus on 'fixing' individuals through psychotherapy and other interventions, which did not acknowledge wairua elements and how these impact on the whānau as a collective. Nor was there consideration that the trauma may, in fact, be cumulative across generations. The impacts of trauma on whānau are significant to this study, as whānau are the central groups for "socialisation and acculturation" (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013, p. 112).

Intergenerational Trauma

Kaikōrero identified colonisation as a factor for perpetual intergenerational trauma. Intergenerational trauma, also referred to as multi-generational trauma, is where trauma is transferred through generations (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013). Lawson-Te Aho's (2013) study, on suicide prevention for Māori, acknowledged the impacts of intergenerational trauma on the entire whānau caused through colonialism. Three of the Kaikōrero in this doctoral study acknowledged historical trauma and the enactment of governmental policy as impacting on not only the social and economic, but also the spiritual well-being of Māori.

Now, in the end, many of those families have been traumatised too throughout their lives. Because it's never been healed. It's never been healed. [Name] he talked

about the fruit on the Tītoki (Alectryon excelsus) tree being absolutely luscious and the reason why they were luscious was because all of the root system of that Tītoki tree was intact. He put all of our kaupapa and tikanga on the root system of that tree. He said, “Only when the root system was interfered with, it became contaminated.” Our root system has become contaminated and only really strong families have been able to cope.

To heal collectively, the historical trauma and multi-generational trauma and the impacts on Māori communities, whānau Māori and rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending must be first acknowledged. Second, monocultural institutions which have housed Māori across generations must be replaced with innovative solutions which see Māori collectives at the decision-making table in all aspects of policy, planning, design, service delivery and evaluation. Only then, can the wounds of historical trauma start to heal.

Loss of Family Members

A key point in the sub-theme of Trauma is the impact of losing a close family member such as a grandparent who was the primary caregiver. Kaikōrero discussed how trauma affected rangatahi Māori who did not always have the skills to self-navigate the grief experienced as a result of loss, which sometimes led to behavioural problems and offending behaviours. Kaikōrero Four spoke about the important role of grandparents and their influence in the lives of many rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Kaikōrero Four commented:

You find that with a lot of our kids they’ve been brought up by grandma, you know, so that [at] 13 or 14, grandma is in her 70s and they’ve passed away. I would say, maybe four or five of our current kids are in that same situation. Been brought up by grandma and grandma has passed away and that grief has really hit them.

Traditionally grandparents in Māoridom have always played a fundamental role to influencing and caring for grandchildren. Barlow (1994) stated that:

[It was] the custom of grandparents raising and taking care of their grandchildren. In days of old, it was a general custom amongst the Māori for the grandparents to take care of the first-born of their grand-children, and the practice continues today, for many grandparents, aunts, and uncles take care of their grandchildren, nieces, and nephews (p. 81)

Rangatahi Māori must therefore be supported to process grief, especially the grief imposed from loss and death of grandparents. In doing so, they may be more equipped to bridge different social and cultural spaces in life. The next sub-theme unpacks how Kaikōrero felt that key people in the lives of rangatahi Māori are fundamental to this process.

Connectors Working in the Liminal Spaces

Kaikōrero Three, Four, and Five spoke about how connectors could support rangatahi Māori who offend to navigate different settings. Kaikōrero spoke about the different people who could fulfil key roles such as tutors, whānau members, and mentors who can connect with, and talk with the rangatahi Māori in a way that they understand. Kaikōrero Three spoke about the critical role that tutors play in AE. They believed that the role of the tutor was instrumental to supporting disengaged rangatahi Māori to engage in education. Kaikōrero Three said:

We need these tutors in secondary schools, not [just] in Alternative Education sectors. We need them in the schools working so they're [rangatahi Māori] not actually falling out of the school. And the tutor is not a new role, we've just returned back to how the system, you know, was pre the onset of the professional teacher. So, we are returning in a way to the pedagogues of old and I think, well that's what I kind of see and I think that would be something that would be one tangible thing

that would help. We need an extra workforce that's working in, what you say, in the in-between.... the 'in-between space', the liminal space where the roles begin to shift a little bit, there is a relationship and a connection.

Kaikōrero Three's comments indicate that critical 'liminal' spaces are pertinent to supporting rangatahi Māori who are disengaged to re-engage and remain in the mainstream setting. Whilst a workforce seems logical and reasonable, I argue that this workforce must be cognisant of the socio-cultural backgrounds of these rangatahi Māori and their whānau. Critical skills in understanding the causes of rangatahi Māori offending is vital, as is an understanding of their agency in these spaces (Woods, 2016). Woods commented that research around liminality and youth exclusion in education is limited. She suggested that "liminality offers a conceptual lens through which to interrogate the ambiguities and complexities of youth exclusion" (p. 495).

Other Kaikōrero suggested that educators and other professionals could act as a conduit in support of rangatahi Māori who offend who are not connected to their traditional tribal groupings through supporting them to develop an understanding of their whakapapa. Kaikōrero Five spoke about their own professional experiences in working with rangatahi Māori who had offended. They discussed how the rangatahi they had worked with had been affected by cultural disruptions to Māori cultural identities through being disconnected from traditional homelands. Kaikōrero Five expressed that there needed to be a process or a tikanga in place which supports rangatahi Māori to make connections to their cultural backgrounds and their whakapapa. This process needed to first understand who they are and what they identify with now, which may be different from their cultural identity as Māori. This could be a sports teams, gangs or other.

They were second, sometimes even third-generation removed from the marae from knowing what their whakapapa was, from knowing who they are. But, what Koro

[name] taught us was, he turned around and said, sometimes before you even go to the cultural part of it, you need to allow them to identify who they are and where they are, where they're at. Because they find their culture in the softball team, the rugby team, the gang you know and that's what they identify as their culture, first and foremost. Once you walk the journey with them in that space, you need to start adding the ethnic culture side to it, you know, and once we adopted that, we actually found that they responded a lot better, and they would come and walk with you in your world. You know, and when [they're] ready, then we can introduce things Māori a lot more and [they] start asking the questions of 'Where am I from?', 'Who am I?'. They [rangatahi Māori] got to a point where they had progressed in that cultural understanding where they did start to learn their pepeha, and we started to learn waiata [songs].

Where the word whakapapa means to layer one upon the other (Moorfield, 2020), I argue that application of the word whakapapa, in this context, is about facilitating a process where rangatahi can layer their understanding of who they are, based on their social experiences and cultural understandings. A method such as this employs a socio-cultural, constructivist approach which assumes that Māori identities are socially and culturally constructed. Macfarlane et al. (2015) suggested that a socio-cultural theory is both “socially and culturally relative... and through regular interactions with people in the course of social life and cultural expressions that versions of knowledge become created and embedded” (p. 21). Belinda Borell's (2005) study with Māori adolescents in South Auckland resonates with this finding as it speaks to the intergenerational impacts of urbanisation on Māori youth identities. Whakapapa as a traditional indicator of identity is deliberated further in the next and final theme 'Ko Au te Whānau, Ko te Whānau Ko Au: Whānau, The Cornerstone of Māori Identities'.

Theme Four: Ko te Whānau Ko Au: Whānau, The Cornerstone of Māori Identities

The final overarching theme of Study One is ‘Ko te Whānau Ko Au: Whānau, The Cornerstone of Māori Identities’. The findings in this theme suggest that the well-being of rangatahi Māori and a positive Māori cultural identity are inextricably linked and whānau is central to their identity as Māori. This theme unpacks the following three sub-themes: ‘Whakapapa Māori and Whānau-Centred Approaches’, ‘Holistic Healing’, and ‘The Tapestry of Relationships’.

Whakapapa Māori and Whānau-Centred Approaches

The well-being of rangatahi Māori is entrenched in their heritage as Māori and the wider collectives of whakapapa whānau. All six of the Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending being connected to their whakapapa or tribal roots and having knowledge of their pepeha. All the Kaikōrero saw whakapapa as a fundamental cornerstone to contributing to a secure cultural identity. Understanding whakapapa is about a holistic perspective of who the rangatahi are in the context of their whānau.

All six of the Kaikōrero spoke about whānau as being centrally important to a secure cultural identity for rangatahi Māori. Kaikōrero Two, Four, Five and Six particularly spoke about the significance of the whānau in enhancing Māori cultural identities. Kaikōrero Six spoke (in te reo Māori) about how the family was the most important focal point within a Māori paradigm and world view and this is an understanding that has been passed down through the generations.

Me te mōhio anō, ko te mea nui ki te iwi Māori, ehara ko te iwi, ehara ko te hapū, ko te whānau te mea nui. Nō mai rā anō tērā whakaaro. Ko te kāinga, ko te whānau, ko ngā whānau, koirā te mea nui o tēnei mea e kā nei ko te ao Māori. Ahakoa, ko te hapū me te iwi e whai pūtea ana i ēnei rā, ko te tino kaupapa i roto i tēnei ao o

te Māori, otirā ko te whānau. Ko ngā tamariki, mokopuna, me kī te kōrero, ehara i te whakaaro Pākehā. Ki a au nei, ka noho tūturu nga tamariki i waho o te whānau? Kao. Ka tāpiri atu ki roto tonu i te whānau, mai rā anō ki tēnei wā. Nō reira, ko tēnei mea te 'cultural identity', ko te tuakiri o te tangata, ko tērā tuakiri, ka hāngai tonu ki te whānau. Ahakoa te hapū me te iwi, ā, ko te mea tuatahi ko te whānau o tērā tangata. I ēnei rā, kei te noho rāwaho ngā tamariki, ngā mokopuna me ō rātou whānau. Kei te noho rāwaho i tēnei whakaaro o te whānau. Kua 'nuclear kē ngā whānau o ēnei rā. Engari, ehara te māmā anake, ehara tērā i te āhuatanga o te whānau...Ko te whānau te mea nui, mai i ngā tīpuna pāpā me ngā tīpuna kuia tae atu ki ngā mokopuna. Tāpiri atu ki ngā mātua kēkē, ngā whaea kēkē, ērā momo āhuatanga. Ki a au nei, koirā pea ko te mea nui mō ngā tāngata e whai, e kimi, e rapu ana i ngā whakautu mō ēnei pātai mō ngā tamariki, mokopuna i ēnei rā. Titiro ki waenganui i te whānau i te tuatahi. Kauga e titiro ki waho rā. Kei roto tonu i ngā whānau ngā whakautu.

An approximate translation of this quote for non-Māori speakers is provided below.

We must also know that the most important thing to Māori is not the tribe, it is not the sub-tribe, it is the family. That idea has been passed down through the generations. The home, the family, families, this is the most important thing to a Māori world view. Although it is the sub-tribe and the tribes that are allocated funding in these times, the most important aspect in a Māori world is the family. It is about the children, the grandchildren, and that is not a Pākehā conception. So, to me, can the children sit outside of the family? No. They are intrinsic to the whānau. That thinking has been passed down the generations to this time.

Therefore, speaking about cultural identity, that thinking is central to the family. No matter what the hapū or the iwi is, the first and most important thing is the family

of that person. These days, children, grandchildren, they are excluded from their families. However, this sits outside of this thinking [from a Māori perspective] about the family. Family is the nuclear family these days. But it is not just the mother. That is not the understanding of whānau. The family extends from the grandfathers to the grandmothers right through to the grandchildren. We add to that the uncles, the aunts and so forth. To me, that is possibly the most poignant fact for people searching for answers to these questions about these young people. Look within the whānau first. Don't look outside of that structure. The answers lie within the whānau.

Kaikōrero Two spoke about the importance of involving the whānau in decisions that affect rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. There needs to be a collective approach of working with whānau rather than trying to 'fix' individuals. Kaikōrero One, Three and Four and Five spoke about how the voice of rangatahi must be considered, but within the context of wider whānau collectives. Kaikōrero One said:

I think that word 'child-centred' is misunderstood for Māori, it's a put-off, because a Māori world view in te ao Māori would see the child as part of whānau, hapū and iwi. And I think a Māori lens applied to 'child-centredness' means whakapapa... So, I don't see being child-centred as individualising the child, but it means hearing what the child's views and wishes are and, the context of their family, factoring those views in, I think, is quite significant. We just never ask kids what they want. We did [in research] and they said, "Don't split us from our siblings".

This comment from Kaikōrero One highlights how 'child-centred from within a Māori perspective' is predicated on staying connected. Another point that the Kaikōrero raised is the concern that we are becoming more focused on the voice of individual rangatahi. As a member

of whānau, it may sometimes be more appropriate for different whānau members to also speak. Kaikōrero Three said:

Who's the voice for the young people? The whānau voice. Like the kūmara doesn't want to speak of its own sweetness kind of thing. So, once again we come back to the individual and the problem of the individual. So, maybe the voice is the koro, you know.

All six of the Kaikōrero felt that whānau were central to addressing the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the system and that they must be a part of the decision-making process. Kaikōrero One spoke about how monocultural institutions have wreaked havoc in the lives of some children who have been institutionalised due to failure to provide adequate support to whānau Māori.

Central to the vision of that Act [CYFS Act 1989] was a fundamentally different approach to responding to the needs of Māori children and young people. It was a vision born out of deeply rooted community concern, particularly Māori concern, about the state's prevailing monocultural and institutionalised modes of intervention into the lives of Māori children and their whānau.

Kaikōrero Two, Four, Five and Six expressed that whānau were central to designing solutions that work within their own whānau, hapū, and iwi. Kaikōrero Six expressed that we must empower whānau to come up with plans that will work.

I've shared with you what I do think is the important focus of the future is really empowering whānau to come up with plans that work that see a reduction in offending and focus on that.

Holistic Māori Well-being

Four of the Kaikōrero spoke about well-being as being pertinent to addressing the over-representation of Māori in the justice system. Well-being was associated with a secure Māori identity. However, four Kaikōrero spoke about how wairuatanga (spirituality) and aroha were crucial elements to well-being which were missing in how we work with rangatahi Māori who have offended. Kaikōrero Five spoke about cultural identity in relation to the habitus of how a young person presents themselves.

You know, cultural identity is linked into the wairua, to the āhua and the wairua.

Kaikōrero Four stated that the very thing that rangatahi Māori are craving is love or aroha. Because of ethical reasons, people who work alongside of these rangatahi in AE are not allowed to communicate words of ‘love’.

But see, what I'm getting at is, our kids need love. They need to have an understanding of it, they need to see it fleshed out by the people around them, but, I can't say to our kids, "We love you guys" you know, without there being the opportunity of ramifications, of you know, ethical issues. You know, what the kids are longing for the most, we've isolated from them. We've put policies in place you know.

In a recent study, kaumātua as traditional knowledge keepers were questioned what the most important characteristics of successful teachers of Māori learners were. Hetaraka (2020) reported that the kaumātua participants in her study stated that teachers must begin “with spirituality, a strong sense of self, or love” (p. 176). Hetaraka (2020) summarised that educators who understood the importance of aroha were positioned to offer something special to their students.

The Tapestry of Relationships

Māori identities are also shaped in response to the tapestry of their relational proximity to others. These relationships are sometimes whakapapa-based, and at other times based on kaupapa Māori relationships. Joseph (2007) stated that in contemporary times “there has been an increase in whānau forms re whakapapa- (genealogy) and kaupapa-based (specific purpose) whānau” (p. 29).

Three Kaikōrero spoke about how identity-making for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending may not necessarily be grounded in whakapapa whānau relationships. Instead, identity-making may be influenced by multiple kaupapa whānau relationships. Kaikōrero Five spoke about a tapestry of relationships where rangatahi weave through different relational connections. Kaikōrero Five commented that these relationships may be viewed as dysfunctional, but it is a way of life and a place of safety and familiarity.

So, the whole dynamic, right, so you talk about identity, the reality for these kids is not just about being who they are, but in terms of who they are in their current families. There's a whole, ah, underground, which are 'the tapestry' of all of these relationships of people, who you know are weaving in through their networks and they're all connected in all different types of ways. I guess that makes up part of who they are and it's almost a safe place for them. That they know how to exist there. They have these skills so, it's not just a life you know where they've got all these issues of how we see them [that] 'They've got all these issues and they're screwed up and now this kid has got...'. It's actually a way of life that exists on a different level to what most of us even know and they are intertwined and its part of their identity of who they are.

It is important to consider the multiple constructions of identity-making for rangatahi Māori who offend. Whilst constructions of modern Māori identities around kaupapa whānau are evolving, the findings here suggest that a significant contributor to identity-making, for rangatahi Māori who offend, is shared experiences of exclusion and marginalisation. Understanding their shared dynamics of ‘lived experiences’ may prove to be a central feature in understanding their multiple realities.

Study One: Discussion of Findings

This section discusses the findings from semi-structured interviews with six key informant Kaikōrero. The four toa matataki introduce each discussion point: Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha and Te Manu-hahanga. Findings from this study contribute to the overarching research question, *'How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?'* In this brief discussion, I aim to provide a level of critique of how successive governments have or have not been responsive to Māori youth offending within cultural frameworks. As an underpinning concept to this discussion, the Māori word pou(a) is central to all the discussion points.

Pou(a) as a verb indicates the embedding, or implanting, of something (Moorfield, 2020). In a well-known Māori tauparapara or incantation, 'Tēnei au, tēnei au', the progenitor and well-known tūpuna Tāne-te-Wānanga is recorded as obtaining the baskets of knowledge from the supreme being Io and bringing them to our earthly realm to guide humankind in every aspect of life. When Tāne returned from the uppermost heavenly realms, this tauparapara states, "Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua ki a Papatūānuku". Translated, this means that he sectioned this knowledge and planted the baskets (te kete tūāuri, te kete tūātea, te kete aronui) into the earth. According to our Māori epistemologies, from this act, knowledge became abundant and was released into the world of light "ka puta ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama". Poua te Kupu as an aphorism for Study One references this tauparapara and the importance of embedding new knowledge and following through with recommendations that previous stalwarts have already laid out before. Te Mānuka-tūtahi now presents the first discussion point, 'Poua te kupu: Embedding Systemic Change'.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi: Poua te Kupu: Embedding Systemic Change

Drawing on the first themes Pūnaha Pakaru: Systemic Chasms and Ki te Whaiao, Ki te Ao Mārama: Realising the Vision, Te Mānuka-tūtahi elaborates on the importance of embedding seminal documents and recommendations in practice to address the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the youth justice system.

The findings of Study One correlate with recommendations from a system-wide review of the New Zealand justice system. In 2019, Te Uepū Hāpai i Te Ora produced the *Turuki Turuki* report. The report concluded that thirty years following the presentation of seminal documents (1988 *Puao-te-Ata-Tu Daybreak* and the 1988 *He Whaipanga Hou*), little systemic change had been implemented across the justice system for Māori. To realise systemic change, the advisory group made 12 recommendations for reform. Five of those key recommendations resonate with this study's findings. The first recommendation was a shift from a retributive to a restorative approach. Next, they proposed a Mana Ōrite (shared power) model of governance between government agencies and that a transfer of power and resourcing to Māori was needed as a part of the reform. The advisory group further stated that wider social issues of social deprivation and poverty for children and families needed to be addressed alongside government investment into culturally safe trauma-informed care.

This study affirms the advisory group's significant work and the importance of these recommendations. Equally as important, is the embedding of their recommendations into the justice system. This study's findings argue that implementation is the element critical to successful systemic reform. 'Embedding' as an action word allows for the recommendations to be tested and for progress to be monitored over successive governments. However, Māori communities, as the key stakeholders, are pivotal to accountability. Government-led bicultural strategies alone are not adequate to successfully address the concerns that Māori communities have.

Take the biculturalism of state policy and state responsiveness to Māori in the 1990s through “The responsiveness strategy” (Tauri & Webb, 2012, p. 3). This strategy saw government justice departments “incorporating more Māori values into the justice system” (Tauri & Webb, 2012, p. 4). However, Māori criminologists argued that this attempt to ‘appear to be more bicultural’ through bicultural models of therapy and crime control policies, was merely a representation of Western models of thinking with a ‘sprinkling’ of tikanga Māori (Mihaere, 2015; Tauri, 1999; Tauri & Webb, 2012). Tauri and Webb (2012) further added that this was more palatable for the government’s self-defined ‘acceptable’ bicultural actions. The government thus disregarded Jackson’s (1988) recommendations for a separate justice system and instead “integrat[ed what they say are] ‘acceptable’ elements of Māori culture into the state-dominated system” (p. 4).

Fast-forward to 2017, in the Waitangi Tribunal Report *Tū Mai te Rangi*. Claimants felt that the Crown had failed to meet its responsibilities as a treaty partner in all aspects related to the principle of protection. In this study, some Kaikōrero expressed concerns pertaining to exercising rights to tino rangatiratanga in decision-making about tamariki and rangatahi Māori taken into care. Importantly, whilst Te Tiriti o Waitangi argues that Māori are guaranteed rights to exercise tino rangatiratanga, paternalism as the underbelly of colonialism will never be mitigated until there is implementation of recommendations and seismic systemic change. Only then will the Treaty principles of partnership, protection, and participation be realised in a real and tangible way.

Gluckman (2017) stated that deciding how to implement social sector interventions into public policy remains government’s most challenging task. The findings in Study One indicate that government intervention must be considered in tandem with the wider socio-political issues which have affected Māori, such as assimilation, institutional racism, and the historical implications of colonisation in New Zealand.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: Poua te Kupu: Re-imagining Alter ‘native’ Education

Study One identified issues with a high number of Māori students ‘alienated’ from the education system and engaged in the AE space. Schoone (2016) stated that AE in New Zealand was originally a grassroots initiative, which started in response to the needs of learners disengaged from mainstream education. With approximately 50% of AE learners being Māori, more resourcing is required to ensure an equitable education system with outcomes that serve all learners (Clark et al., 2010).

Alienation and ‘othering’ of Māori is rife in New Zealand education. Historically, Māori learners in mainstream education have been forced to fit into Western paradigms which do not resonate with Māori paradigms or ontological frameworks. Alienation can be found in the historical educational policies and legislation in New Zealand. Māori learners, and learners with challenging behaviours, have been forced to assimilate into Western ways of knowing, being, and doing in education. In the 1850s, Māori children and teenagers were relegated to manual labour type learning establishments due to the belief that they were not academically capable (Hetaraka, 2019). Hetaraka (2019) argued that mainstream educational policies have perpetually disadvantaged Māori learners through minimising our propensity for academic study. She stated that:

We have experienced colonial and assimilationist policies that have rendered Māori culture and language invisible in education, as well as persistent and long-term use of deficit theorising that have maintained the racist ideology that at best has positioned Māori as less capable, and at worst, incapable of abstract, academic ability. (p. 160)

Whilst these historical deeds may seem irrelevant to modern times, the thinking behind these acts are the foundations of ‘mainstream’ thinking about education in New Zealand. Our historical past is evident in our antiquated systems and ongoing governmental policies such

as Tomorrow's Schools which continues to alienate some of the most disadvantaged Māori learners in society (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018). Māori learners who present with complex situations or students who resist colonialism in education continue to be 'othered' in our New Zealand education system.

The ongoing impact of the 1989 Tomorrow's Schools reforms with the self-managing school model has disadvantaged rangatahi Māori particularly students who are at risk of educational failure. In a 2018 report, *Our Schooling Futures: Stronger Together Whiria Ngā Kura Tūātitini*, the Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce found that the current educational model is not only failing Māori learners, but is not designed to meet the needs of our most disadvantaged children and young people. One of the key reasons is related to the nature of the neoliberal marketplace environment that this model has created. The Tomorrow's Schools policy maintains a neoliberal, cross-school competition to retain 'certain' cohorts of students, and to reject 'others' who are deemed to be a liability to academic success. This model is troublesome for Māori learners, particularly those deemed 'at risk' as they represent the highest level of disengagement from mainstream education with the highest stand-down, suspension, and exclusion rates.

Neoliberalism is fundamentally assimilationist when it comes to Indigenous peoples because a free-market model of social relations eschews cultural values that do not rest on a belief in unbridled individualism and are instead built on social reciprocity and communal responsibilities. (Cunneen, 2019, p. 33)

Schoone (2016) also argued that a neoliberal agenda within the New Zealand educational system has impacted on teacher demands which mean that they have limited timeframes in which to develop relationships with students. Whilst widely reported that relationships are central to educational success for Māori learners, the Tomorrow's Schools policy has thus harboured an inequitable education system for Māori learners but particularly priority learners

and those who sit on the fringes of the education system due to challenging behaviours. Therefore, there must be consideration that rangatahi Māori excluded from mainstream education in modern times is in fact a continuation of a perpetual narrative that Māori learners who do not fit the mainstream mould are still considered an underclass of learners and are still 'othered' in multiple educational contexts.

Milne's (2013) study illustrated that no education system is neutral or void of colour. Like the pages of a children's colouring book that are white, Milne coined "whitestream" to describe how the system creates white spaces which, she argued perpetuate an uneven playing field for Māori learners in mainstream education (p. 3). Like Milne (2013) and Webber and O'Connor (2019), I too argue that rangatahi Māori alienated from education adopt counter narratives as a survivance strategy. Vizenor (1999) theorised that stories of survivance can defy colonising narratives. This study thus challenges privileged "white spaces" in mainstream education (Milne, 2013, p. 18). I argue that Māori learners excluded from mainstream education can create a discourse of achieving in "the liminal spaces". These liminal spaces, which fall outside the margins of common expectation, can become a place of their reckoning against deficit rhetoric. This is because many Māori learners can and do achieve educational success outside the margins.

We need to replace the 'one size fits all' approach and instead advocate for multiple pathways to educational success. We need an equitable educational system that does not try to force differing needs to comply, but rather removes systemic barriers. Equity in educational support may not be within mainstream spaces. I argue here that there is a need to re-vision what best practice looks like in providing services for rangatahi Māori disengaged from mainstream education. Some rangatahi Māori, for whom mainstream education is not working, need to be provided with alternative educational opportunities. Like Milne (2020), whose work argues for conscientisation of Māori learners, I argue that we need educational platforms and

opportunities that “whakahīhiri i te hinengaro” or “awaken the senses” and facilitate an innovative and Indigenous inspired pathway for Māori learners not engaged in mainstream education to create and enact counter narratives of educational success.

Relevant models can be found in the works of Macfarlane, Webber, Cookson-Cox, and McRae (2014) and Webber and O’Connor (2019), who advocated that models of success for Māori learners could be based on iwi, whakapapa, and tūpuna narratives. I too agree that Māori learners need aspirational Indigenous pedagogies which inspire them to strive for greatness like their tūpuna did. Teachers must draw on Māori narratives to strengthen and shape their identities as Māori. We must create further counter-educational models for Māori learners alienated from mainstream education, to succeed in education in the margins ‘as Māori’, despite the odds of being relegated to the fringes. A culture-centric framework for AE could be designed on existing models such as the Eight Beating Hearts - Ngā Pūmanwa e Waru model which outlined key characteristics of successful tūpuna (Macfarlane et al., 2014, p. 179). Alternatively, Milne’s (2020) work, is aspirational and it advocates that Māori learners be conscientised as “warrior scholars” to critically examine the conditions which perpetuate a hegemonic educational system rooted in Western thinking (p. 88). However, key to such aspirations being realised, is the MOE committing to embedding a pathway to make this happen.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha: Poua te Kupu: Ngā Tapuwae e Rua

Based on the theme ‘Te Ao Hurihuri: The Matrix of Dichotomous Realities’, Te Mānuka-ahopū raises the second discussion point, ‘Poua te Kupu: Ngā Tapuwae e rua’ which means to walk with two footsteps. The two footsteps refer to walking in two worlds. Here, I first briefly highlight where this study is synchronistic with the findings of previous identity literature. I then discuss the findings of Study One in relation to dual realities.

Tapuwae e rua in Study One speaks to rangatahi Māori being versed in walking in two or more realities based on their lived experiences. The literature highlights the importance of recognising that identity is fluid and contextual to the social conditions in which identity is created. Whilst Māori identity literature is a growing body of research, studies to date have accredited experiential and traditional indicators as influencers on modern Māori identities (Borell, 2005; Cliffe, 2013; Gillon et al, 2019; McIntosh, 2005; Webber, 2008). The aforementioned studies highlight that, despite negative social conditioning and being ‘othered’, the salience of a secure Māori identity enables Māori to respond to negative affect such as stereotype threat, marginalisation (Steele, 1997; Webber, 2011) “racism, authenticity, essentialism and ideas of (not) being Māori enough” (Gillon et al., 2019, p. 138).

In this study, Kaikōrero spoke about how rangatahi Māori who offend may find themselves in challenging situations where they must competently walk in two or more different worlds. Traversing different spaces can be the result of competing cultural expectations within different domains such as education, society, or Māori domains such as the marae. It can be a result of experiential indicators such as marginalisation and poverty (Borell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005; Ormond, 2006). Despite the challenges these different spaces create the opportunities for rangatahi Māori who offend to expand into new frontiers are still present. An opportunity exists to teach rangatahi Māori to develop self-efficacy and tenacity that enables them to pivot in multiple situations and multiple worlds.

The narratives of tūpuna as role models is evidenced in other studies which can speak to rangatahi Māori about resilience and self-efficacy (Cliffe-Tautari, 2020; Webber & O’Connor, 2019). These studies discussed how rangatahi Māori can be positioned to learn to take advantage of designing new technologies to navigate the challenges they face in this modern world. Through educating our rangatahi Māori to expand into new frontiers, we afford them spaces to expand their potential to experience growth and success.

Penetito (2015) discussed how Māori can move into new frontiers from the parochial (local) to the cosmopolitan (Penetito, 2015). Penetito suggested that whilst these domains may seem diametrically opposed, “parochialism and cosmopolitanism are actually two sides of the same coin...” (p. 42). Drawing on this idea of parochialism and cosmopolitanism as an example, I argue that, rather than applying an either/or mentality, rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending should be encouraged to look to examples within our history to embrace diverse opportunities and expand into new frontiers with equal footing in both te ao Māori as well as te ao Pākehā. In doing so, they might better traverse diverse realities and realise the following Māori whakataukī for their own lives ‘ngā tapuwae ō mua, mō muri - the footprints of the past direct their footsteps in the future’.

Te Manu-hahanga: Poua te Kupu: Whānau Identities

Te Manu-hahanga introduces the fourth discussion point Poua te Kupu: Whānau Identities. This study challenges Western ontological understandings and individualistic constructions of identities in favour of the collective structures of family with the Māori understanding of the pā harakeke, whakapapa and kaupapa whānau.

As discussed, government paternalism through state-based care and institutions and colonisation processes have disrupted the whānau unit and this has detrimentally affected Māori systems of practice to care for their own. Where sections of the Oranga Tamariki (1989) legislation mandates that tamariki remain a part of a collective whānau, hapū and iwi, ineffective social work practice has left the promise of this section of the Act unfulfilled. Central to effective decision-making would be placing whānau at the table, rather than just social workers, in decisions that involve their own tamariki.

The pā harakeke is a flax bush but is often used as a metaphor within Māori epistemic knowledge to describe generations within a whānau. The blades of the flax plant reference

different generations within Māori whānau collectives. The outer blades represent the older generations or ancestors, the next internal layer represents the parents, with the child in the centre. Strict flax cutting protocol in Māori culture stipulates that the heart of the flaxbush should never be cut. In a practical sense, this will cause the plant to die. Therefore, a well-known whakataukī says, *‘Hutia te rito kei hea te kōmako e kō?’* *If you take out the heart of the flaxbush, where will the bellbird sing?’* In this study, Kaikōrero spoke about how children (like the rito) must remain at the centre of the discussion and whānau (as the outer blades) must be central to the decision-making processes. Turia (2013) stated that the pā harakeke survives sometimes tumultuous weather patterns, mainly because of its root system. Māori well-being and a secure Māori cultural identity is thus intertwined with the well-being of the collective. Rangatahi Māori well-being is linked to whānau flourishing and this is core to their identity-making (Waiti, 2014). One of the Kaikōrero in Study One spoke about how the tapestry of relationships informs their identity-making as well. I propose that the notion of whakapapa as an intrinsic layering process for a modern era may or may not include whakapapa-based relationships.

Whakapapa is central to the past, present and future for Māori. Our whakapapa moulds our connections to the environment through our association to the maunga, awa, moana and whenua. Equally as important are our connections to family and ancestors. Maintaining continuity through our connections to our ancestral ties provides a foundation for our identity as Māori. Rameka (2016) has suggested that whakapapa is a “continuous lifeline from those who existed before to those living today, encompassing everything that is passed from one generation to the next” (p. 389). Suffice to say, whakapapa is the lifeline to all that is Māori. In this study, whakapapa was constructed in multiple ways. First, whakapapa was seen in relation to the local Māori community to which one belongs, which is proximal to whenua. In a traditional sense, the transmission of whakapapa would be taught from the elders to the

upcoming generations. However, within the confines of modern realities, whakapapa knowledge has been constructed differently. Kaikōrero spoke about learning about one's identity as Māori through a layering process, which included kaupapa Māori relations as well as kinship (whakapapa-based) relations. Kaupapa Māori whānau has become a term used to describe relationships that are sustained through common interests rather than kinship ties.

Whakapapa can thus be infused into society in multiple ways, through privileging Māori history in education and in our communities. Webber and O'Connor (2019) advocated that through whakapapa narratives we can teach Māori learners about whakapapa, Māori ways of knowing as a "decolonising project" and as a way of speaking back to the rhetoric which speaks of Māori student underachievement (p. 2).

Study One: Summary

Study One set out to investigate how successive governments have or have not been responsive to Māori youth offending rates within cultural frameworks. Contributing to the overall research question, I heard from Key Informants about *'How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce offending?'* The perspectives of the Key Informant Kaikōrero were critical to Study One because of their in-depth knowledge and experience in youth justice, social services, AE, and government provide an experiential knowledge of governmental priorities and focus areas to address Māori youth offending and exclusion from education. Kaikōrero from Study One identified that considering the wider whānau and the pā harakeke collectives were imperative to addressing systemic change for rangatahi Māori in the youth justice system. This study has also emphasised the role of well-being and cultural connectedness for rangatahi Māori in line with Te Ao Māori perspectives. Study One has also detailed that rangatahi Māori who offend are faced with multiple realities. These realities shape their trajectories which cause them to navigate through liminal spaces of uncertainty

and change. The next chapter presents Study Two perspectives of the Rangatahi Māori and Whānau Kaikōrero.

STUDY TWO

Rangatahi Māori and Whānau Perspectives

Introduction

Chapters Nine and Ten present the overall findings from Study Two: *Māori youth perspectives, whānau voice, and cultural identity*. Framed from within the Te Matatiki methodology and te ao Māori perspectives, Chapter Nine draws on findings from semi-structured interviews with ten Māori youth participants who had been sentenced in a Youth Court or a Rangatahi Court for offending behaviours. Chapter Ten deliberates on the findings from two whānau hui, which included whānau perspectives including three parents of rangatahi who had offended and a young person who had previously been apprehended and charged in court for their offending. Overall, this chapter conveys the perceptions of the young people and whānau about Māori cultural identities and what being Māori means to them. It presents an overview of how cultural connectedness and cultural well-being are defined from rangatahi and from whānau perspectives; and what, and who, have influenced the Māori young people's educational trajectories.

Study Two Part A: Rangatahi Māori Perspectives

Introduction

New Zealand boasts records of an overall decrease in youth offending in the last 10 years (MOJ, 2020). Yet, compared to other ethnic groups, statistics for rangatahi Māori who appeared in a Youth or Rangatahi Court for serious criminal offences remains high (8.3 times higher than non-Māori or 57% in 2019/2020); this disparity remains a challenge to those working in the youth justice sector (MOJ, 2020). Whilst education has been identified as a significant protective factor to reduce offending and is a universal right for all New Zealand children, the Youth Court meets young people daily who are not a part of the mainstream education system (Becroft, 2005, 2006).

Addressing a research gap, this study examines the perspectives of ten rangatahi aged 15 to 17 years old, sentenced in a Youth Court or Rangatahi Court, about what being Māori means to them. This study contributes to answering the overall research question, *‘How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?’* The findings illustrate that being proud to be Māori is a strength in the lives of the Kaikōrero. Through amplifying their cultural identities, drawing on the strength of whānau and enacting boldness as a resilience mechanism, the Kaikōrero are able to buffer negative experiences of racism, stereotyping, racial profiling, bullying, discrimination and low teacher expectations in education.

Study Two: Part A: The Research Context

In this qualitative study, I interviewed ten Rangatahi Kaikōrero whom, for reasons associated with their offending, had been sentenced (within 12 months prior to the interviews), in a New

Zealand Youth or Rangatahi Court. Te Matataki methodology, mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa Māori guided the data collection. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), Te Matataki as a research process and analysis praxis and Te Tuakiri Ahurea Hei Āhuru Mōwai Framework (see Figure 1) were used to analyse the research findings.

Drawing on Phinney's (2007) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure -Revised, a schedule of 47 questions was developed to inform semi-structured in-depth interviews with the Rangatahi Kaikōrero. Three areas were investigated. The first area explored cultural/ethnic identity development, with a focus on ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity commitment (Phinney, 1992). The second area investigated cultural/ethnic identity development, with a focus on cultural connectedness and cultural well-being. The third area inquired into risk and protective factors and the trajectory of rangatahi Māori who offend from high school to youth justice (see Appendix 3 for example questions).

At the time of the interviews, the Kaikōrero were engaged with an AE or a social services provider either in the greater Auckland or Northland regions in New Zealand. These geographical areas were selected primarily due to access for the researcher. Further, whilst I had envisaged that a range of social service providers and AE centres from a range of geographical locations would be engaged in this study, recruitment was not easy. Another issue, as already noted, was that I had an accident during the recruitment phase which set me back for two months. Following this and due to the timing in the year (Christmas period of 2017), the rangatahi participants I had prepared to interview had exited their social service/AE settings. This meant that I needed to recruit again for the study in a different region where I had providers willing to facilitate the meetings and approach potential rangatahi participants. Interview times were also negotiated with the provider manager to ensure the least disruption to services. Eight Kaikōrero chose to be interviewed individually and two Kaikōrero chose to

be interviewed together. Interviews were between 45 minutes and 60 minutes long. Four Kaikōrero were interviewed and across two sessions of up to 60 minutes. Each interview was recorded on a digital device. Four Kaikōrero opted to bring a friend to the interviews. Following Māori protocol, the interview times also provided an opportunity to get to know the rangatahi through pepeha, mihi, whakawhanaungatanga, karakia and kai. Each interview was transcribed from the digital recording. To ensure the reliability and the ethical requirements of the study were met according to the UAHPEC standards, member checking processes were employed and each Kaikōrero was offered their transcripts to edit. To acknowledge each Kaikōrero and their contribution to the study, I presented every rangatahi with a small greenstone taonga to show my appreciation. This was the first taonga that some Kaikōrero had ever received. While some rangatahi chose to do one interview, other rangatahi participated in a second interview where we discussed the main themes arising from the first interview through a collaborative storytelling approach (Bishop, 1997).

Background of the Kaikōrero

Ten rangatahi Māori participated in the study, including three females and seven males between 15 and 17 years of age. Of the ten Kaikōrero, five rangatahi were residing in metropolitan areas, and five were residing in provincial and rural contexts. The Kaikōrero held multiple iwi and hapū connections within and outside of the research areas. To protect the identity of the Kaikōrero, their exact locations of residence or their iwi affiliations have not been disclosed in this thesis. In line with the recruitment criteria, Kaikōrero had either attended the New Zealand Youth Court or the Rangatahi Court for reasons associated with their offending. Most Kaikōrero had been sentenced in a New Zealand Youth or Rangatahi Court numerous times.

At the time of the interviews, five of the ten Kaikōrero were carrying out court orders from sentencing. At the time of the interview(s), two Kaikōrero were on curfew and one Kaikōrero

wore a monitoring bracelet as a part of their supervision order. Two other Kaikōrero had recently finished supervision court orders within the last three months. The remaining five Kaikōrero had finished their supervision court orders within the last 12 months.

All the Kaikōrero had had numerous dealings with the police. Six Kaikōrero had spent time in an Oranga Tamariki government Youth Justice (OT YJ) secure residence; and four Kaikōrero had been detained in two or more of the OT YJ secure residences. Five Kaikōrero had spent time in a community-based YJ residence and three of these Kaikōrero had been remanded to a residence on several occasions due to their offending behaviours. One Kaikōrero was too young to go to a YJ residence when they were first apprehended for offending. Therefore, they had spent time in an OT secure care and protection residence.

In terms of education, all the Kaikōrero were disengaged from mainstream education at the time of the interviews. Five Kaikōrero were engaged with AE providers, one Kaikōrero was engaged in correspondence school and the other four were not engaged in any formal education at all. These four Kaikōrero were engaged with a social service provider due to sentencing requirements.

Historically, five Kaikōrero had been involved in Māori-medium education including kōhanga reo, bilingual, or kura kaupapa prior to the age of 12. These five Kaikōrero had attended a kōhanga reo as toddlers. Of these five Kaikōrero, four of them continued with their education through the medium of the Māori language through the primary level. Two Kaikōrero attended a kura kaupapa Māori, one of these two Kaikōrero transitioned to a mainstream bilingual class when they went to intermediate school. Two other Kaikōrero were engaged in a bilingual class in a mainstream school during their primary or intermediate years. In total, eight Kaikōrero had Māori language speakers in their immediate or extended whānau. This was a parent, grandparent(s), sibling(s) or a cousin. The next section now presents the findings.

Study Two: Part A: Rangatahi Findings

Four themes from the semi-structured in-depth interviews were identified in this study. The first theme, ‘Poho Kererū: I am Māori and I am proud’ explores what being Māori means to the Rangatahi Kaikōrero. The second and third themes, ‘Awhi Rito: I Flourish in the Company of Adults who Care’ and ‘He Taurira: I look to the Examples in Front of Me’, discusses how key influencers in the lives of rangatahi shape their understandings of their identity as Māori. Finally, the last theme, ‘Tū te Ihiihi: I Thrive on Challenge and I am Bold’ describes how the rangatahi Kaikōrero draw on boldness as a resilience strategy to buffer challenges that they experience in both the justice and education systems.

Theme One: Poho kererū: I am Māori and I am Proud

Poho Kererū relates to how the Rangatahi Kaikōrero perceived their identity as Māori. Poho Kererū is a figurative expression in the Māori language referring to the Kererū or the wood pigeon who ‘puffs out his chest’ with pride (Moorfield, 2020). Poho Kererū is a useful construct to articulate the findings for the first theme because being Māori generated an immense sense of pride for all ten Rangatahi Kaikōrero. They were proud to be Māori because of their whakapapa, their cultural distinctiveness as Māori and because they had opportunities to demonstrate cultural pride, speak te reo Māori, and identify their iwi/hapū tribal connections. Even though all the Kaikōrero were proud to be Māori, seven of the Kaikōrero experienced racism, discrimination, and judgemental attitudes as Māori.

‘Being Māori’ is My Reality

For all the Rangatahi Kaikōrero, ‘being Māori’ was normal and central to their identity. Being Māori was perceived as a positive attribute and was rooted in their whakapapa. For Kaikōrero Ten their birthright and the legacy of belonging to whakapapa whānau (genealogical kinship relationships) and marae were important to them and their identity as Māori. Kaikōrero Four

commented that being Māori was important because it was based on whakapapa, whakawhanaungatanga and being culturally distinct from other cultures. Kaikōrero One acknowledged cultural differences to other ethnic groups and saw their own cultural identity as a privilege.

I think it's really important because like not many people are Māori. Like when like Asians come, they think Māori people are like so cool, because we have like hakas and stuff. I think we are like, really different to other cultures. I think being Māori is like a privilege, yeah. I think being Māori brings out like a warrior.

For Kaikōrero Six, being proud to be Māori was based on their whakapapa and they could not fathom the idea that other Māori would not be proud of their cultural heritage.

I don't know one person that doesn't like being Māori. They are all proud of their whakapapa. I just love being Māori. Because it's my culture, how I was made, where I come from, and where my family comes from. It's just only the reason I am here and who I am.

Tribal Connections. All the Kaikōrero self-identified as Māori and knew the iwi or tribal affiliations of at least one of their parents. Five of the ten Kaikōrero recited their pepeha (tribal saying) when introducing themselves in the interview. One Kaikōrero stood up and took their hat off (as a gesture of respect) and introduced themselves as if they were at a marae or in a formal setting. Kaikōrero One and Ten acknowledged that saying their pepeha may not be on the top priority list for most young people as they may be preoccupied with other things because they are a 'teenager'. Most of the Kaikōrero had learnt their pepeha from family members, particularly grandparents. Whilst pepeha did not rank in a high level of consciousness in their everyday experiences, Kaikōrero Three said that Māori should know their tribal roots.

I learnt all mine ages ago [pepeha]. I just got to go ask my dad about my pepeha [tribal sayings] and then it will come back to my head. You know, I will just know it again. It's not important but if you want to know it, yeah. It's good [if you know your pepeha] because you get asked that everywhere, like "Where are you from?" and you say your pepeha then they may know you and then they're like "Oh yeah, the cuzzie".

Going to the marae was something that all the Kaikōrero were familiar with because their parents or grandparents went to the marae. All the Kaikōrero had attended tangi, but others were also involved in other activities which provided service to the hapū. For Kaikōrero Six, being Māori encompassed a way of being and belonging. Their sense of belonging was enhanced through holistic, whānau-centred, inclusive activities that were connected to others and the environment.

Whenever I hear 'Māori' I just think of whānau, just family. [It's about] maraes, family, hangi, kai, drinking, a karakia now and then before you eat your kai, lots of things, even just the nature, like hunting and fishing.

Involvement in cultural activities with whānau contributed to a sense of cultural connectedness, cultural well-being and belonging for them as Māori. Other studies have found that tangihanga and cultural activities provided a sense of connectedness and belonging for Māori (Waiti, 2014).

Two Kaikōrero commented that their grandmothers used storytelling as a way of imparting knowledge about their culture. These key relationships opened the door for them to explore their cultural roots, whakapapa, and the importance of marae as a cultural space. Kaikōrero Ten and One spoke about access to knowledge from the past. Kaikōrero One spoke about the

journey shared with their grandmother in learning about her struggles and trials as Māori.

Kaikōrero One said:

My nan, she will always tell me to remember where I'm from, remember her, before she dies and remember everything she told me. She's probably like the most heartiest Māori I know. [She's told me about] her stories, like what she's been through to be a Māori.

Opportunities to Demonstrate Cultural Pride

All the Kaikōrero identified that kapa haka, speaking te reo Māori, whānau names and their tribal affiliations brought them a great sense of pride as Māori. Kaikōrero Seven felt a sense of pride in being Māori when they were called upon to show their skills in whaikōrero on the taumata when leading kapa haka. When I asked Kaikōrero Seven a time when they felt most proud to be Māori they said:

When I'm up on the Taumata, Miss. I used to be the leader [kapa haka]. Yeah, even when I was like ten, I was on TV. I went down to that [place] where they had it on, down in [place], and our school went up [on stage to do kapa haka].

Speaking te reo Māori was considered a positive attribute which contributed to a positive Māori cultural identity and was something to be proud of for nine of the Kaikōrero. Five of the ten Kaikōrero were speakers at introductory or intermediate levels, and one Kaikōrero conversed with me fluently in te reo Māori on the odd occasion in the interview. Kaikōrero One expressed how they felt proud that they could speak te reo Māori because they felt that it gave them 'an edge over others' who could not speak the reo.

I love it because I think that I am way different than other people in the inside because like not heaps of people can speak Māori. Like some people think it's like a stupid thing to know it and stuff like that but, I think it's like cool being Māori.

For the other five Kaikōrero, fluency in the reo was something to aspire to in the future. Kaikōrero Six wanted to be more fluent and identified that being fluent in te reo Māori could provide opportunities for success.

If someone tries to say “da da da” you can say “da, da, da, da hoooh geez”. You can become famous speaking the reo. You just get up there with those meetings.

All Kaikōrero had access to people who spoke te reo Māori in their family or at school. Five of the ten Kaikōrero had a parent or a grandparent who had a higher level of fluency who could and could speak te reo Māori to them in the home. Kaikōrero Three stated that speaking te reo was something they did with their grandfather at home as a part of their everyday life.

Probably my grandfather really [speaks to me in Māori]. Yeah, ‘cause me and him can sit there and talk and it could either be in English or Māori and either way we both always end up understanding what each other is saying because even if I say like, “Oh, what’s that?” or if he says, “What’s that?”, we’ll sort of address it to each other in a different way so we both can understand it even better.

Five of the ten Kaikōrero acknowledged that there were barriers or exclusionary criteria that others used to determine who was ‘more Māori’. One of these criteria was speaking te reo Māori. Kaikōrero Five did not see their inability to speak Māori as a deficit and they did not feel ‘less than’ others who could speak te reo Māori nor did it affect their positive feelings towards their Māori cultural identity.

I just, I like it. Being Māori is everything to me now. I think we’re all the same. Like people are like, “I can speak full Māori you can’t, that makes me more Māori”. Because like I am just as much a Māori as you are. Yeah. It’s not like what I, it would be nice if I could speak Māori fluently and stuff, that’s just an extra point. But it doesn’t make anybody more Māori. I think they just need to be taken back to

where they're from, and stuff, and then like to talk about what it was like and how it's changed. I think they just need an understanding of how things are.

Perceptions of Racism, Racial Profiling, and Discrimination

All the Kaikōrero spoke about bullying, racism and judgemental attitudes leading to feelings of discrimination. This was particularly related to experiences and interactions with people in the public, in school, and the police. Two Kaikōrero (Seven and Eight) said that others perceived Māori as 'hori'. When asked to define what 'hori' meant to them, one Kaikōrero expressed that 'hori' was being "dirty [or] rotten". The other said, "That's all I can think of when people say Māori, Miss, is 'a hori'. Just people calling us hori, Miss. Yeah, cause we're not hori, Miss". Kaikōrero Three believed that they were judged harshly by others due to their cultural identity as Māori, their fair complexion, and perceptions that they 'looked like' someone who would offend.

Being a Māori has sort of been, ah, how do I put it, it's brought me down a bit actually, just because I have been a Māori that people have judged me or you know, "Oh you're a white Māori or you're this or you probably done this because you look like a thief" or whatever. You know, you can't really judge a book by its cover, because the kindest person you could meet could be full of tattoos or, you know, could be as ugly as they come if you say. Yeah. People discriminate people too much.

Kaikōrero One shared how they were bullied in school and how they perceived negative and judgemental attitudes from students and some teachers because they were Māori.

It's like sometimes hard. Because like people judge us, like really bad. It's like when I was little, I think around seven or eight or something, I was like always bullied because I was Māori. People are like rich and stuff like that, have everything and I

had nothing. But I still like, I didn't really care that I had nothing because like Pākehā people like stuff like that. I didn't really care but like it still affected me because I'm like Māori and I can't help it.

When I asked who had bullied Kaikōrero One, they said:

Mostly kids but sometimes even adults. There was this one teacher that didn't like me. He was a man. He didn't like Māori kids, like Māori people. I didn't know why, but like he just really hated me. I didn't know why, and I was too young to even know why he hated me and stuff, because when I was little, I thought Māori was like a normal thing.

Whilst most of the Kaikōrero had experienced discrimination or racism, they saw their identity as Māori as a strength regardless of other people's judgements or discrimination.

Kaikōrero Eight, when asked if they always feel proud to be Māori, said:

I do all the time. But, like people on the streets, they just look at you funny and just not good, eh. Like people just walking past and like the, with their fancy suits. Sometimes you want to walk up to them and punch them in the head but [you] can't do that.

Though it was not a focus of the questions asked in the interview, seven of the Rangatahi Kaikōrero discussed how they had multiple negative interactions with the police which they felt were based on racial profiling, intimidation, and disrespect. Kaikōrero Four could not articulate their feelings but shared how they had negative experiences with police. *"I just hate the police. They just did too much to me. Fuck, just, I'm not too sure but I just don't like them."* Kaikōrero Two spoke about an incident in which they felt that they were targeted by police because of past offending behaviours and how they felt intimidated by the amount of police involved in questioning them as to their activities at the time.

No-one likes the police and especially no kid from this generation likes the police because they're all a bunch of dickheads who go and chase after you, punch you like that kid in Pakuranga and you know, it's just stupid. Like why do you have to be such dicks about things. Like one time I was actually just walking home, like I got stranded somewhere and I got pulled up by six cop cars for walking home and you know, I understand where they come from and that they have to pull up people or have to check but do you really need six cop cars for one 15-year-old kid? Six fucking cop cars. Like you guys could be elsewhere stopping crime, stopping murder, stopping someone getting raped but instead you're all here pulling up on me, just because I have a record for cars. I got locked up. For not being, just for being around. Just for being in the area of [place] I was on nothing because I had everything dropped and because they came and arrested me for nothing. I literally was walking. One officer, they just pulled up, I heard one on the mic asking for backup and then boom, they jump out, "What's your name, da da da, stop there, don't go anywhere", you know asking me questions about.... because, they're just being lazy cunts, that's how I see it. They're honestly just being lazy pricks who are getting away with stuff because there's so much crime going on that the police are being able to do whatever they want because the judges and no-one can do really do anything about it unless you're going to report it and they know we're not going to report it.

This participant comment highlights the complexities for rangatahi Māori in navigating racism and discrimination and how racial profiling influences their everyday interactions and experiences with different government agencies.

Cultural Pride as a Buffer of Racism

Kaikōrero Five spoke about racism and negative attitudes. They perceived that their cultural pride provided them with resilience and fortitude to buffer negative attitudes.

Like people would say stuff like oh “you Māori’s, are ta ta ta ta da”. I don’t care, I was like I’m proud to be Māori, think what yous like. It’s not going to stop me from thinking what I think about my culture.

Webber (2011, 2015) also found that cultural pride enabled Māori students to buffer racism. One other attribute which gave Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero courage to maintain a positive cultural identity, and an overall sense of pride as Māori, was boldness, which is discussed in the next theme.

Theme Two: Tū te Ihiihi: I Thrive on Challenge, I am Bold

The second theme is ‘Tū te ihiihi’. One understanding of ‘ihi or ‘ihiihi’ refers to the expression of emotion of the person. For example, in Māori speech-making or performing arts, ‘ihi’ is used to express passion, energy, and gusto. A derivative from the word ihi is ‘kōihi’, which is based on the experience of an adrenaline rush. Reedy (1996) records a name for the atua of war Tū-mata-uenga as “Tū te ihi – Tū the impassioned one” (p. 31). Other translations of the word ihiihi are thrill, excitement, exhilaration, elation, or to be inspired by awe and respect (Moorfield, 2020). Tū te ihiihi in this study is characterised as boldness and confidence, which ignites a desire and an excitement in the Rangatahi Kaikōrero to try things out, to aspire to greatness, to accept challenge, or to be the best at something.

Six of the ten Rangatahi Kaikōrero spoke about enjoying challenges as they provided them with an adrenaline rush. This was particularly true when they accepted a challenge from their peers to engage in offending behaviours. Kaikōrero Two and Seven spoke about the ‘rush’

and the thrill they got when they realised that they could ‘get away’ with offending behaviours. Kaikōrero Two said:

Yeah, the adrenaline was fun for like five minutes until when we’re cruising around in the car or whatever it is. After the first five minutes it’s like oh, it’s over now, we’ve already done it, but you should have all got that in the back of the head, you know, you could get pulled over by the police.

Kaikōrero Three expressed that realising that the challenge was ‘possible’ provided them with a sense of achievement, which gave them more confidence to act.

It’s definitely tempting but as you know there’s so many cars that are so easy to take, it’s like a surprise, like when I found out I could you know steal a car, I was like “ho shit bro this is so easy, you know, it’s so easy, it’s so, you know”, [I was] shocked really that I could, I was able to do this with just one or two tools ...

For Kaikōrero Six, whilst the thrill and the adrenaline rush were not the original intention, they discovered through the act of offending with peers that it gave them a ‘good feeling’ which enabled them to buffer feelings of rejection due to years of bullying.

Oh, it wasn’t just my friends that influenced me, it’s just everything around me was that and I was being bullied so I wanted to fit in. So, I just went that way and then when you do an aggravated robbery and you feel that vibe with all your friends and that, that thrill and that adrenaline rush, it gets addicting.

Kaikōrero Five identified that the influence of peers led to offending behaviours. Offending with friends also provided them with a sense of acceptance.

I was doing all good in the school. It was just being influenced by people out of school. Like “Come, let’s go, go get a car,” stuff like that. Yeah, I just thought I was cool. But, nah.

Whilst different influences in the lives of the Kaikōrero led them to offend, boldness was a common thread that the Kaikōrero possessed when they were ‘challenged’ to do something by one of their peers that led to offending behaviours. Boldness can be characterised as a “willingness to take risks and act innovatively; [with] confidence, or courage” (Lexico, 2020, n.p). For Kaikōrero Two, accepting a ‘challenge’ was the impetus to their offending. For them, a challenge was to be accepted, however, they perceived that they made clear moral decisions between what *they* considered to be ‘minor offending’ and serious criminal offending.

“Um, you can’t rob that car.” “Yes, I can.” You know, and you end up doing stuff like that. You end up getting peer pressured like that. I’m always up for the challenge. Not always [though]. If they were to say, “Go kill someone,” [I would say] “Ah fuck, you’re joking”. Yeah, it should only go so far.

Beyond offending behaviours, the rangatahi demonstrated boldness in other areas of their lives.

For Kaikōrero Eight, boldness was demonstrated as a form of protest in their learning when they felt that their pleas for help were disregarded.

I used to do that like four years ago [correspondence school]. That was hard. They were sending like big stacks of paper. They gave me a computer though. They told my uncle not to help me. Not to help me. They said to let him do it by himself and they were just sending stacks [of paper] like that. Yeah, so I just started burning everything. They were talking to my uncle and they were just asking, “How is the work, how is the work?” and I was just telling them, “Ow it’s too much, it’s too

much” and they’re like, “Oh, there’s going to be some more coming in this week”.

I just started hanging up and burning their stuff.

For Kaikōrero Three, boldness enabled them to speak back to racist attitudes and behaviours towards them as Māori.

If you’ve got a problem with me being a Māori, well I’ll stand there and say, “Well, what’s your problem, you know? I’m a Māori and what. What are you going to do about it? You can’t change where I’m from, I can’t change where you’re from. I can’t have your genes, you can’t have my genes, in that way. So why have a problem? We’ve all got to live in this world together somehow, one way or another or else, you know, we’ll be living in chaos”.

Kaikōrero Two talked about how education was a pathway that could support them to gain employment in order to make that change, to shift from a lifetime trajectory of offending. Kaikōrero Three spoke about wanting a job. For them, getting a job showed a real sense of achievement, “*You know, I just want a job. That’s all I want really*”. According to Kaikōrero Five, addressing the negative undertones of racism and stereotyping of Māori in the media could be overcome through ‘boldly’ succeeding in life.

I just want to prove everybody else that look down on Māoris, well, like not all Māoris are like thieves and stuff.

When asked how they can do that, Kaikōrero Five responded by saying:

By succeeding in life. I just want to, yeah, I want a degree in social work.

For this Kaikōrero, boldly achieving in education and setting a new bar in their family was a high priority.

I just want to be successful because like none of my family graduated from high school and so I am trying to like beat that, to not be just like my mum and drop out of high school and like get pregnant and stuff but I think that's like, not wrong but something I could do better than that.

As illustrated in this theme, key people in the lives of Kaikōrero can be instrumental to influencing their trajectory and aspirations.

Theme Three: He Tauira: I look to the Examples in Front of Me

'He Tauira: I look to the Examples in Front of Me' is the third overarching theme. The word tauira is used in multiple ways within a Māori context. As a verb, tauira in te reo Māori means "to pre-ordain, set aside, model". As a noun, tauira can mean "student" or "precedent" (Moorfield, 2020). As a theme identified in this study, tauira is used to accentuate the importance of role modelling in the lives of the Kaikōrero and how key people as examples and role models are influential in their lives.

The Rangatahi Kaikōrero looked up to key people within their sphere of influence as role models. Eight of the Kaikōrero identified immediate family members as role models in life. Kaikōrero Nine said that they did not have any role models and Kaikōrero Two said that they looked up to themselves, but on reflection, they later changed their response to their father. Kaikōrero Four and Ten spoke about how their dads were role models because they provided for the whānau and overcame barriers in their own lives. Kaikōrero Four said:

My dad's a big role model in my life. He's a hardworking man. He works to put food on the table and, yeah, and he's just supported me through the courts and everything I've been in trouble with, school. He's always there. He always comes to school and talks to me about my shit and what I'm doing or what I want to do. He asks me what I want to do when I got older.

Kaikōrero Five spoke about their mother and the impact of poverty, physical violence on their whānau. Kaikōrero Five's mother was a role model because she had been resilient as the provider and matriarch for their whānau.

We've struggled, but she always manages to make sure we're like, we don't struggle with her. Like she just struggles on her own now ... and from the past and what my dad used to do to her, and she's still with him, but he just doesn't hit her and stuff anymore, 'cause we're older now.

Kaikōrero One said that they looked up to their father as they had 'turned their life around' for their whānau following prison time.

Well, my dad, he's a really good [role model]. Like he went to prison and stuff like that. It really brought an impact on myself and like my sisters and my mum. [But] he changed a lot. Like he got a job, good car. He like picked himself up. I'm glad he got out of gangs and violence and stuff. Like we do have ups and downs, like, yeah. [But] he's not getting angry fast and things like that. Maybe just realising that he has a good family and he doesn't have to be in gangs. Like he has us, and that's probably what he really needs.

For Kaikōrero Three, it was a great uncle who they looked up to and respected. Their great uncle was a role model to them because they had been through trials like them.

My great uncle doesn't speak Māori but he's proud, or you know, wants me to learn more about it because he comes from the same sort of life that I've been through. You know, he's been through the gangs, he's been through it all.

Half of the Kaikōrero spoke about how there were influential people within educational, social services, and youth justice settings, particularly primary and intermediate school levels. For

Kaikōrero Eight, a teacher had been one of the key influential figures in their life as they had provided them with opportunities to develop their cultural pride as Māori.

It was my old teacher. His name's [teacher's name]. He's the one that taught me all my Māori. I used to know how to welcome people onto maraes and stuff and I would jump on the taumata. I used to know it all. Yeah, cause he's an old fella, taught me a lot. [Although] he was a bit serious. Yeah, well with us, because we're the naughty ones, he was a bit hard on us. But he loved us because we were always the mischief ones who kept him on his toes. Our class was 'up there' because of him, like we're Māori. Indian people that would come into the school, they would come to our class and grab one of us and we would go up there and we would pōwhiri them in and do everything. I was only little, I was only Year 8, Year 7. I was like a bit nervous but when I finished, I felt proud of myself.

Kaikōrero Ten commented that the staff at a youth justice residence had been a positive example to them.

There's a lot of role models in there [youth justice residence]. Nah, they were just being good fellas. Just saying like you can make it in life. There's two roads and one road is the good road, and the other road is the bad road.

Despite negative experiences in education and within the justice system, these comments reflect that the Rangatahi Kaikōrero draw on boldness as a strengths-based mechanism to take control of their lives. These quotes illustrate the importance of having something exciting or challenging to do. As adolescents, they want to test the boundaries and to see what their limitations are. Where school as a community does not provide them with this same experience, they seek it in other places, such as offending. Boldness was transferable, as all the Kaikōrero boldly wanted to succeed in life and had goals and aspirations which included

education, sport, careers, jobs, and travel. Most Rangatahi Kaikōrero were reflective and acknowledged the consequences of their decisions with offending. The desire to change was evident so the majority wanted to make lasting changes in their lives.

Theme Four: Awhi Rito: I Flourish in the Company of Adults Who Care

The final theme from the findings is ‘Awhi Rito: I Flourish in the Company of Adults Who Care’. As discussed in Study One, the pā harakeke model is used as an analogy to explain the importance of the child within the family. Moorfield (2020) stated that awhi rito refers to the outside leaves that nurture the inner or new shoots and protect the mauri or life force of the whole harakeke plant. In Māori cultural practices, the outer blades must be cut first when taking from the harakeke bush. Awhi Rito is used in this theme because the Kaikōrero spoke about how immediate and extended whānau members enable rangatahi to resist temptation and navigate challenges. The Kaikōrero in this study all identified the most important and influential people in their lives, were supportive family members, particularly during their trying times.

Parents Who Care

Loyalty was the most important characteristic of people who cared. Loyalty was important especially during difficult times or life experiences. Kaikōrero Five spoke about fierce loyalty as a sign of love, and how this had provided strength for them.

Like oh, when I used to like go to for court and stuff, she like... ‘cause most parents would like kick them out [because they had] had enough. She just stuck by me, even when my siblings would say, “Put [name removed] in CYFS or give [name removed] to the family”. Mum was like, “Nah”.

Kaikōrero One identified their mother's support and education as the most important things in their life. They said, "*My mum and my education. Because my mum is my backbone and I want to get far in my life and [education, however,] I need grades to do that.*"

Three Rangatahi Kaikōrero spoke about grandparents who had made a positive difference in their lives. The Kaikōrero spoke about how their grandparents supported them to resist the temptation to offend. Kaikōrero Four spoke about how their grandmother was a positive influence in their life. Kaikōrero Three spoke about how their grandparents were their trusted confidants with whom they could share their struggles.

I may have tools or whatever from time to time, but fuck, they for sure aren't mine, because I give all my tools to my grandparents. As soon as I get a vice grip, [I] walk down to my nan's room, give it to my nan, and I just tell her not to give it back to me. Oh, I'll talk to my nan, if it's really getting to the point where I think I'm going back to where I was. I'll tell her what's up and I'll tell her what's good and just let her know what's going on.

Kaikōrero Three further expressed how their family's support was the greatest sign of loyalty. This made them want to do well in life so that they could 'give back'.

Yeah, my family is important. They just support me heaps. Every time I am in the courthouse, they are always coming up. I'm turning 16 soon. I'm going to be having responsibilities, even though I know I don't have to pay bills at home, but I'm gonna, because I need to start contributing back to my family more, because I feel that what I have done is not enough. Even if they may say it is, I still don't care. That's still not enough for me because they've been there for me since day dot, they knew what my problems were, they took me in. I could have gone anywhere. I could have gone to my other family, I could have gone to CYFS, I could have gone anywhere but I

ended up with my family. I ended up in their yard. I ended up in their house and in their arms and with them. So that's just enough for me, you know what I mean? If you're there for me and I know it, just watch out. That's what I want to say, watch out, because I want to give you something back and you're not gonna expect it. I will show you the same love you showed me, even if it means, "Hey, got a spare 10 bucks?" Oh, here's 20 bucks instead. I'll do one better. Just show me love and I'll show you love.

Five of the Kaikōrero spoke about professionals who made significant impacts on their lives.

Quality time and encouragement were examples of support that mattered to the Kaikōrero.

Kaikōrero Nine spoke about a mentor who had made a difference. They said:

Every time she picked me up. Before we were going anywhere, we would just sit in the truck and talk and she would just give me a pep talk, see what's been going on and then if something had happened, I would talk about it and she would just remind me of how far we have come, and not to go messing it up because I am angry or upset. That just helped a lot.

Kaikōrero Five and Six found mentors and AE tutors to be supportive because they understood their struggles with poverty and other issues.

One of them [tutors] lived around the corner from me. Because they knew mum was like struggling and stuff they would come over and see if mum was alright, take me out and stuff like that. But I wouldn't tell anybody as they may say, like, "Oh look, they're getting the good treatment and stuff". They, they were just nice, kind, always like open-minded and stuff.

Kaikōrero Three spoke about how they could tell if teachers cared about their students.

I've had some teachers that I've liked because they've actually cared. Because I got to know them and at school you can straight away pick up who's a two-faced teacher and who's the dickhead teacher and who's the nice teacher.

These findings illustrate that having caring teachers, tutors, mentors, and other professionals can make the difference to rangatahi Māori participation in education. Caring was evidenced in taking time to help rangatahi individually, as was actively listening to them and showing empathy to try to understand their struggles. Practical support and seeing the rangatahi as a part of a whānau were also important to the Rangatahi Kaikōrero. On the flip side, the Rangatahi Kaikōrero discussed how bullying was a significant factor in their disengagement in education.

Negative Experiences in Education

All ten Kaikōrero had had negative schooling experiences which were central reasons for disengaging from mainstream education. Many had had negative experiences with teachers in school. Four of the Kaikōrero had suffered from bullying during their schooling experience. Two of the Kaikōrero stated that bullying had detrimental effects on their health and led to suicidal thoughts. Kaikōrero Six said:

Because I think I was like the tomboy of the school and I don't know what their problem was with me hanging out with boys. [They] made me look like the slut of the school. I was only like seven. They [teachers/principal] didn't do anything about the bullying. The bullying just went on for three years straight. I got grief every day and that's when I started getting suicidal. Nobody saw how bad it was getting. Nobody really believed me. I used to just make up excuses, so I didn't have to go to school. That three years of school was hell. I hated it. That's what put me off school.

Bullying and a lack of teacher support to address issues of well-being affect school attendance (MOE, 2020a). Hare and Pidgeon's (2011) study with 39 First Nations youths found that teachers inadequately addressed issues of bullying. The participants in this study spoke about how they experienced name-calling and were stereotyped. Teachers failed to respond to incidences of racism directed towards the Anishinaabe youth (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011).

Kaikōrero Three and Four spoke about bullying, struggling with class work, and a lack of teacher support which led them to having negative attitudes towards the teachers and a desire to disengage. Kaikōrero Four said:

Cause just the teachers, eh. The teachers never really liked me. I could just tell, you know, all the bad vibes around, yeah. I had older brothers that went there before me and like, yeah, and they just didn't like me. 'Cause I used to get picked on at school because I was like too dumb, that's what everyone was saying and like I had anger issues, yeah, but I didn't really. I didn't care. Yeah, and I would just leave the class and ... I just didn't care. I kept drawing. They were telling me to do my work and I would say, "It's too hard" and they would tell me to do it. Yeah, I'd go for a little bit [doing class work] but then I'd get frustrated and I would just draw.

Kaikōrero One and Three felt that they did not get the educational support they needed when they shifted from a Māori-medium school to a mainstream school. They felt that the language of instruction (English) was the greatest barrier. Kaikōrero Three said:

Oh well, being that I went to a Māori school, I learnt quite a bit and well, that was really sort of the first language that I can remember learning, so I sort of struggled with my English. Even though English was like pretty much the second language of my family and everyone talked it, it became a struggle to me. Writing and everything was so different [in mainstream]. I was brought up the Māori way. Left the Māori

school then had to go to an English school which was really, not really the school for me. They didn't like me and stuff happened. Every time I reached out to try and ask for help, it was either "Hang on" or "I'm with someone else" or "You should already know how to do this by now" but that's what they don't see, is that most kids aren't getting enough help for what they need to know. For me, I struggled in school because I hated reading.

Five Kaikōrero spoke about how they found their educational experiences in school boring. Sometimes this boredom was due to the content and at other times it was because the work was either too difficult or inaccessible. Kaikōrero Three said, *"Sometimes I would sit in class and just daydream because I was just bored out of my brain. The work's boring."* Kaikōrero Four spoke about how boredom and a lack of support caused them to truant.

I would like show up to school and like just get booked in and then probably just leave halfway through the day. Just got too bored and, yeah. I just couldn't handle it. But they were just chucking work at me and expecting me to finish.

These findings illustrate that what mattered most to the Rangatahi Kaikōrero was loyalty and the love of whānau who made the Rangatahi Kaikōrero want to do better in life. Loyalty is a positive factor which contributes to shifting into more positive trajectories.

Study Two: Part A Discussion of Findings

This section presents a brief discussion of the Study Two Part A findings. The four toa matataki headline each key argument. Te Mānuka-tūtahi argues that whakapapa is a central tenet to Māori identity for rangatahi Māori who offend. Te Mānuka-ahopū challenges the cultural disconnection rhetoric about Māori apprehended for offending. Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha elaborates on the findings which suggest that key people in the lives of rangatahi Māori are central to developing a secure Māori cultural identity and enhancing resilience.

Finally, Te Manu-hahanga argues that boldness and pride in being Māori are resilience mechanisms that rangatahi Māori who offend employ to buffer negative experiences such as racism and discrimination.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi: He Kākano i Ruia Mai i Rangiātea: I am a Seed from Rangiātea

Te Mānuka-tūtahi elaborates on the first theme ‘Poho Kererū: I am Māori, and I am Proud’ and contributes to the research sub-question, *How do Māori youth who offend see their cultural identity as Māori and what negative or positive factors influence their perception(s)?*

This discussion point titled ‘He Kākano i Ruia Mai i Rangiātea’ discusses whakapapa pride as an indicator of a secure cultural identity for rangatahi Māori who offend and how the Kaikōrero demonstrated cultural connectedness.

Literature around the salience of a cultural identity and whakapapa as an identity marker for rangatahi Māori who offend remains relatively unexplored. However, whakapapa as an identity marker is discussed widely in Māori identity literature (Nikora, 2007; Rata, 2012; Webber, 2008). The findings of the present study illustrate that rangatahi Māori feel a deep connection with their Māori identity which goes beyond tribal locations, reo competency, or cultural activities. For the Rangatahi Kaikōrero in this study, being Māori, and being proud to be Māori, was normal and whakapapa pride was central to their identity as Māori.

Webber’s (2011) study found that a secure Māori cultural identity enabled Māori learners to buffer the negative affect of racism and stereotype threat in schools (Steele, 1997). Whereas in this study, pride in their whakapapa enabled the Kaikōrero to buffer negative influences of racism and judgemental attitudes. Knowledge of whakapapa is critical to rangatahi Māori connectedness to their culture and their identity.

The word ‘whakapapa’ can be translated as ancestry, genealogy, or literally the process of lying one thing flat on top of another (Moorfield, 2020). Whilst descent and ancestry has been

used in official records (such as the census), governmental definitions do not encapsulate the fullness of mātauranga Māori definitions of whakapapa. Te Rito (2007) stated that “whakapapa is firmly embedded in the Māori psyche” (p. 4). Mahuika (2019) has penned a remarkable interpretation which identifies whakapapa as a framework in which Māori identity can be understood:

Whether referring to abstract concepts, deities, physical and material objects, practices, people, or places, Māori prior to and after the arrival of Europeans, maintained genealogies that traced all things to living beings in complex interwoven connections. Whakapapa first and foremost explained the world and served as a framework upon which Māori could hang all of the concepts and narratives pivotal to their identity, culture, politics, language and religions. (p. 4)

Whakapapa is thus deeply entrenched within our Māori psyche, ontologies, and epistemologies. Because of this, we must draw back to the repositories of our own pūrākau, whakataukī and whakatauākī Māori to take stock of what whakapapa means and how this relates to rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending behaviours. Take the Māori whakataukī “He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea” (I am a seed that was sown in Rangiātea). Within this one whakataukī, Rangiātea links us, as Māori, to the homeland Hawaiki. Māori scholars have stated that Rangiātea can be conceived of as both a physical and spiritual place of significance (Pōmare, 2015). Pōmare recorded that, “Rangiātea is an ancient name strongly associated with Hawaiki and is known as Rai’atea an island northwest of Tahiti.” Pōmare further stated that Rangiātea (Rai’atea) represents both a “physical place and a spiritual space” that it is also “literally a clear sky, clear spiritual realm, [a] state of enlightenment and the name of an uppermost heaven” (Pomare, 2015, p.xiv).

In drawing on the concept of Rangiātea within mātauranga Māori and whakataukī, we gain a broader understanding that identity and cultural connectedness for Māori is both spiritual and

physical. When we consider Māori identities from a spiritual perspective, whakapapa pride is not restricted to iwi and hapū alliances alone. Based on whakapapa and the whakataukī described above, a sense of belonging extends beyond physical space and time. Thus, whakapapa as a core identity marker may resonate more in terms of a young person's sense of connectedness to their identity as Māori, than do other indicators used for reporting purposes to indicate Māori ethnicity.

This study raises questions about how cultural connectedness and identity are recorded for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Kukutai (2011) has indicated that Māori identification for official purposes is both a complex, yet political, process. Kukutai stated that “one approach might be used to define an inclusive boundary, and then use[s] other markers of Māori identity to examine heterogeneity within that boundary” (p. 47). Therefore, there may be bias, inconsistency, and variance in how cultural connectedness is defined and reported for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending behaviours. Using different indicators of cultural connectedness inherently leads to a piecemeal approach and poor integration of Māori culture into policy that shapes our New Zealand justice system (Tauri, 1999; Workman, 2015).

Consequently, Māori adults in the justice system have been labelled as socially and pathologically inept resulting from “pathological and socio-cultural deficits” (Stanley & Mihaere, 2019, p. 213) and government formulations of policy have focused on ‘quantifying’ Māori connectedness according to ethnic identity measures in order to ‘fix’ the Māori crime problem (Tauri, 1999). This study, like others (Mihaere, 2015; Tauri, 1999; Webb & Tauri, 2012), challenges the cultural disconnection discourse and argues that the implications of colonisation should be considered as a factor of identity-making. Mihaere (2015) stated that “cultural identity myopia” has disregarded the wider implications that colonisation has had on Māori identities. Mihaere (2015) further stated that “Māori cultural identity within criminal

justice circles have frozen Māori cultural identity into a pre-Pākehā definition and ignored the complex history of cultural identity loss that Māori have endured” (p. 165).

Paringatai (2014) stated that ethnic identity is maintained through three broad categories. 1) through group memberships and a shared belief system, 2) through cultural values, and 3) through practice and ancestry ties to a geographical place with shared historical narratives. In essence, these broad categories create shared understanding and sites of belonging which contribute to a sense of connectedness for Māori. Fox, Neha, and Jose (2018) shared that cultural embeddedness “is the foundation of Māori cultural identity, achieved through engagement with the core features of Māori culture, namely: fluency in, and appreciation of, te reo Māori, connection with Māori whānau and friends, and awareness of similarities and differences between Māori and other cultures” (p. 14).

Whilst an ability to speak te reo Māori, recite whakapapa, or participate in cultural activities were not prerequisites to being or feeling proud to be Māori, most Kaikōrero already demonstrated that they could meet the requirements of some, if not most of these indicators. The findings show that Kaikōrero all have access to Māori language speakers in their lives. Their champions of te reo Māori are usually someone within their immediate or wider whānau collective such as a parent, a grandparent, or an important key figure in their academic journey. Four of ten Kaikōrero had either attended a kura kaupapa, Māori-medium school or a bilingual class. Over half could recite their pepeha from memory in the interviews, the majority could recall stories or pūrākau about where they come from and knew about their whakapapa (even if only back one or two generations).

Unlike other studies which discuss inclusion and exclusion constrictions of Māori identities (Cliffe, 2013; Gillon et al., 2019; Webber, 2008), this dichotomy was not something that the Rangatahi Kaikōrero grappled with. There were no questions about whether they were ‘Māori enough’ or whether they felt connected or not to their Māori identity. Instead, all the ten

Kaikōrero were resolute that being Māori was normal and was based on their birthright and whakapapa as Māori. These research findings propose that Māori cultural connectedness *already exists* in the lives of the Kaikōrero and whakapapa is a significant contributor to feeling a sense of cultural connectedness to being Māori.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: Tino Rangatiratanga: Resistance in Education

This discussion point titled ‘Tino Rangatiratanga: Resistance in Education’ contributes to the sub-question *What risk factors influence the trajectories of Māori youth who offend during secondary school and what role can schools play?* Drawing on the findings, I examine the ways in which the Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero used resistance, liminality and other strengths-based mechanisms to be resilient in the face of negative mainstream educational spaces and experiences.

Despite challenges in their personal lives, Rangatahi Kaikōrero did not complain about circumstances which caused them to be “betwixt and between” (Turner, 1969, p. 95). The places which represented the greatest places of injustice for the Kaikōrero, were mainstream schools. Like other research, the Rangatahi Kaikōrero spoke about how racism, low teacher expectations, a lack of learning support, and teacher bullying affected their desire to stay in education (Cliffe, 2013; Huxford, 2015; Sutherland, 2011; Watson, 2020; Webber, 2015; Whitted & Dupper, 2008). Like Munford and Sanders (2015) who investigated with adolescents who were deemed to be at risk and were multiple service users, school did not represent a place of belonging or a positive experience. Huxford’s (2015) study with six Māori students engaged in AE found that school absenteeism and disruptive behaviour influenced disengagement. However, low teacher expectations also affected student academic self-efficacy. For the rangatahi Māori in this study, many of these negative experiences had led them to resist mainstream education altogether.

Resistance is often seen as a negative trait inherent within individuals who display oppositional behaviour to authority figures. Resistance can be seen in different ways, such as trying to be funny, as silence, as threatening behaviour, as daydreaming (Toshalis, 2015). Giroux (1983) offered that resistance is more than a label for every act of “oppositional behaviour” (p. 291). Instead, resistance is based on imbalances of power and domination (Giroux, 1983). Giroux said, “[i]n the most general sense, I think resistance must be situated in a perspective that takes the notion of emancipation as its guiding interest (p. 290).

Resistance in this study signalled that the educational experiences of the Kaikōrero needed to change (Toshalis, 2015). Although the Kaikōrero had a desire to succeed in mainstream education, and had voiced their concerns about bullying, and needing help in their learning, they felt that they were not being heard. However, their resistance should not be mistaken for disinterest. The Kaikōrero expressed that they wanted to do well in school. The resistance to education should be interpreted as agentic in that they took control. This was their way of speaking back to education as an institution representative of injustice.

If emancipation is the goal, and schools represent sites of power and domination (Giroux, 1983), then schools are not a neutral space for rangatahi Māori who offend. They represent spaces of marginalisation where they are misunderstood. However, rather than remaining marginalised, these findings illustrate that rangatahi Māori who offend may choose instead to enter liminal spaces to gain a sense of sovereignty.

Liminal spaces can be a place of emancipation, a space to articulate themselves and resist negative experiences. Linda Smith (2012) has argued that “[t]o resist is to entrench in the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves” (p. 4). I argue here that the liminal space represents a place where rangatahi Māori who offend recreate themselves by removing the binaries of inclusion and exclusion. Wood’s (2016) concept of liminality in the field of children’s geographies offers critical insights to this discussion point. In her study with

adolescent geographies, Wood (2016) noted that adolescents “were spatially and socially (symbolically) excluded, yet also demonstrate[d] resistance and agency... at the intersection of experiences of inclusion” (p. 495). This is true of the Kaikōrero in this study.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha: Te Iho Pū Ngākau: The Inner Circle

Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha expands on the theme ‘Awhi Rangatahi’ and presents the discussion point titled ‘Te Iho Pū Ngākau: The Inner Circle’. Iho pū is the inner core and iho pū ngākau in this study refers to the inner circle of the lives of the Kaikōrero and the people who have proximal influence in their lives. This theme contributes to the overall research sub-question *How does Māori cultural identity develop for Māori youth who offend and what factors influence their cultural identity formation?* The findings of this study substantiate the argument that rangatahi who offend are more likely to be influenced by those within their inner circle when aroha, awhi, tautoko, and manaaki are the basis of interaction. Key influencers who are within the iho pū ngākau of the Kaikōrero hold an important role in supporting rangatahi who offend to develop positive perceptions of their Māori cultural identities.

For the Kaikōrero in Study Two, key influencers were a part of their inner circle and are a part of their sphere of influence. The Kaikōrero expressed that trust was integral to allowing someone into their circle of influence. Whilst professionals, friends, and other whānau members had a role to play in influencing a positive Māori identity, for the majority of Kaikōrero, grandparents and parents were the predominant figures who had influenced their identity as Māori. As key influencers they were also stable figures in their lives during hardship and trialling times for the Kaikōrero. The Kaikōrero stated that trust was essential to allowing someone into their inner circle. Central to trust, loyalty and dependability were critical values to building trust with the Kaikōrero. Loyalty and trust were identified as acts which touched the hearts of the Kaikōrero, and when key influencers displayed these

attributes, they showed them that they cared for them. As a result, the Kaikōrero were open to taking advice and learning from key influencers. This study thus proposes that loyalty and dependability, which are aligned to aroha, awhi, tautoko, and manaaki as Māori values, are critical factors to influencing a positive Māori identity for rangatahi who offend.

As demonstrated in the findings, parents, grandparents, and sometimes key professionals acted as key transmitters of Māori cultural identities through being champions of speaking te reo Māori, sharing pūrākau of ancestors, modelling and practising tikanga Māori, and making space to involve the rangatahi in hapū and iwi activities such as going to the marae, reading whakapapa charts and teaching them how to welcome visitors through whaikōrero.

Further, pūrākau and stories about ancestors particularly influenced Kaikōrero regarding their understandings of what it means to be Māori. These findings highlight that, through meaningful relationships, caring parents and grandparents as key influencers act as brokers of Māori cultural identities. As key transmitters of cultural identity, their impact on the cultural identities of the Kaikōrero was profound, as they enabled the rangatahi to develop knowledge which contributed to their sense of cultural connectedness.

Te Manu-hahanga: Tū-mata-uenga: Encountering the Face of Tū-mata-uenga

Drawing on the overarching theme ‘Tū te Ihiihi: I Thrive on Challenge and I am Bold’, Te Manu-hahanga presents the final discussion point in Study Two, ‘Ko te mata a Tū-mata-uenga: Encountering the face of Tū-mata-uenga’. Contributing to the research sub-question, *What risk factors influence the trajectories of Māori youth who offend during secondary school and what role can schools play?*, Te Manu-hahanga argues that boldness, a characteristic of Tū-mata-uenga, is a resilience-based mechanism that the Kaikōrero used to buffer negative experiences in the education and justice systems. Boldness should thus be considered a positive strengths-based resilience mechanism for rangatahi Māori who offend.

For eight of the Kaikōrero, racism and feeling judged by others was a barrier to feeling proud to be Māori. Kaikōrero Four perceived that members of the public judged their appearance, and this led to feeling discriminated against, which generated anger and frustration. Whilst there was an acknowledgement that there were some teachers who had been positive influencers in their identity development journey, nine of the ten participants had significant negative schooling experiences in mainstream education. Some participants felt that they were further bullied and isolated because of their Māori identities as speakers of te reo Māori, or because of their skin colour.

Likewise, bullying, racism, stereotyping, a lack of teacher support, low teacher expectations, and feeling judged were identified as factors affecting the engagement of the Kaikōrero in mainstream education. For three of the Kaikōrero, bullying was something that inhibited not only their participation in education, but it also affected their overall well-being and sense of worthiness. A lack of teacher support was a key issue for most Kaikōrero who struggled with different learning needs. However, racism in this study was something that the Kaikōrero felt that they needed to navigate, rather than endure.

Boldness provided the Kaikōrero with strength to stand up for themselves and as a strengths-based mechanism, it enabled them to take on challenges, whether those challenges were based on offending or in standing up to racism or stereotyping or being judged. Boldness thus provided them with a buffer to make a stand to invoke justice, challenge racism and bullying, and disarm negative judgements and stereotyping. Boldness was not only a resilience strategy to disarm the negative affect of stereotyping and racism, it also provided them with a strengths-based mechanism to aspire to change and to lead positive lives.

Moving forward in their lives and wanting a positive future was what all the Kaikōrero aspired to do. Boldness allowed them to aspire to greater things and to want to achieve 'boldly' despite negative perceptions or negative expectations of others that they were destined to fail. All of

the Kaikōrero had goals and aspirations and wanted to achieve in different areas in life such as the sporting arena, education, career aspirations and giving back to their families who had supported them. They wanted to be leaders in their families, to pave out new standards and seek opportunities. Boldness gave them courage to believe that they could do so.

When we return to mātauranga Māori and consider boldness in our own cultural narratives, it is evident that it is not a new trait within te ao Māori. In referencing back to the Māori creation story, Tū-mata-uenga, the son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, known as the atua of war, conflict, and aggression is portrayed as being bold and fearless and as embodying human characteristics (Reedy, 1996). Tū-mata-uenga (Tū-who-incites) has several other names such as Tū-kā-riri (Tū-the angry-one), Tū-te-ngaehe (Tū-who-tears-apart), Tū-Tawake (Tū-who-hastens), Tū-whakamoana-ariki (Tū-who-enriches-the-sea), Tū-kai-tauā (Tū-who-destroys-war-parties), and Tū-kai-tangata (Tū-who-destroys-mankind) (Reedy, 1996). For the Kaikōrero in this study, being bold and embracing the qualities of Tū-mata-uenga enabled them to challenge the status quo, to act boldly without fear, and to stand up for what they thought was right, even if it was not right to others or the majority. Whilst boldness may be viewed as frank and impolite, it provided the Kaikōrero with the confidence to stand up for what they believed was right and to also accept challenges. The fact that they aspire to succeed in life and to boldly pursue their dreams despite the challenges that they have faced in the education or justice systems, is a testament to the fact that they, like Tū-mata-uenga, are resilient.

Study Two: Part A Summary

Three key ideas in this study have been argued. Despite the cultural disconnection rhetoric, these findings affirm that cultural pride is a strength in the lives of the Kaikōrero and should be considered a key indicator of cultural connectedness and cultural well-being for rangatahi Māori who offend. The second key idea is that relationships with rangatahi, based on aroha,

tautoko and manaaki, are highly influential. Caring adults and friends were regarded as key influencers in their inner circle. Finally, boldness provided the Kaikōrero with confidence and a positive resilience strategy to buffer the negative affect of stereotyping, poverty, overcoming challenges based on the consequences of offending. Part B of Study Two now presents the findings with Whānau Kaikōrero.

Study Two Part B: Whānau Perspectives

Introduction

Systemic failure and inequalities have been identified as longstanding issues affecting whānau Māori (including rangatahi) in the justice system in New Zealand (Webb & Tauri, 2012; Workman, 2015). Seminal reports over the years such as *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* (1988), *He Whaipaaanga Hou* (1988) and, more recently, a Waitangi Tribunal report, *Tū Mai te Rangi: Report on the Crown and Disproportionate Reoffending Rates* (2017), have documented that paternalism, institutionalised racism, Western-based Eurocentric justice systems, and internal and external discrimination have contributed to the disproportionate offending rates for rangatahi Māori. Williams, Ruru, Irwin-Easthope, Quince and Gifford (2019) have argued that changes to the legislation will have very little impact without the shift to using kaupapa Māori models. In considering different models of care, I argue that whānau voice must be central to any systemic change for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Study Two addresses this research gap.

Contributing to the overall research question, *'How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce offending?'* Study Two investigated whānau perspectives about cultural identity and how education, social and justice services could better serve whānau and rangatahi Māori who may find themselves with a child in the care of Oranga Tamariki.

Study Two: Part B: The Research Context

Drawing on Te Matatangi methodology and mātauranga Māori, Study Two presents the findings from two whānau hui. The hui included three parents of rangatahi Māori aged between 14 and 17 years, who had been sentenced for offending behaviours in a New Zealand court, and one 15-year-old rangatahi Māori (who was a child to one of the parents) who had

also been sentenced in a Youth Court. Recruited through a social service provider in the North Island of New Zealand, the hapū and iwi affiliations and location of Kaikōrero have not been identified in this study in order to protect their identities.

Whānau Kaikōrero were invited to share their perspectives about Māori cultural identities, cultural connectedness, and cultural well-being and how services could best work with whānau and rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending behaviours. The hui were semi-structured and acknowledged Whānau Kaikōrero not just as ‘informants’, but as “participants with meaningful experiences, concerns and questions” (Bishop, 1996, p. 24). There was also an opportunity for whānau to discuss issues that were important to them. Following kaupapa Māori, the whānau hui lasted approximately 3 hours and allowed time for cultural practices such as karakia, mihi and kai as central parts of the hui to be practiced. All Kaikōrero were offered petrol vouchers to help with travel to and from our whānau hui and each hui was preceded by a dinner together. The hui were audio recorded on a device and transcribed. We revisited overarching themes in the second hui and discussed any concerns and questions anyone had. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and Te Matatiki methodology were used to analyse the research findings. The four toa matatiki now present the overarching themes from the whānau hui.

Study Two: Part B: Whānau Hui Findings

The following themes discussed in this chapter: Mana Motuhake (The Right to Self-Determination); Whai Oranga (In Search of Well-being of Mind, Body and Soul); Awhi Rangatahi (Influential Disruptors for Rangatahi Māori); and Te Ao Māori (Māori-centred Approaches).

Theme One: Mana Motuhake: Control Over One's Destiny

Mana Motuhake can be described as “having a separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority and control over one's own destiny” (Moorfield, 2020). All the Whānau Kaikōrero agreed that when their children had been taken into custody, that the power to make decisions was dominated by ‘the system’. Two Whānau Kaikōrero felt that colonialist and paternalistic governmental policy and interventions had disenfranchised whānau by disrupting the agentic processes of whānau to solve their own problems. Kaikōrero One said:

They're blaming us, telling us, “it's your children”, but they took that parent thing away from us, the Māori, you know. I don't know where we went wrong. But you know I don't want to blame my parents or their parents, I look at Tauiwī and say, “You did it, you fix it!”

Underlying this comment is their hurt about the ways colonisation and government intervention have affected the lives of whānau and Māori have affected them. “Prior to the 1960s Māori child welfare was seen as being the responsibility of, and left to, the whānau” (Cooke, 2013, p. 201). The shift from rural areas saw more attention from the authorities. Cooke (2013) recorded that a child welfare system founded on assimilation type policies was entrenched further in The Children and Young Persons Act 1974 (CYP Act), which saw more ‘policing’ of Māori children and whānau.

All the adult Whānau Kaikōrero spoke about their desire to exercise their mana motuhake in their roles as parents, to influence decisions to improve the well-being of their own children.

Kaikōrero Two spoke about whānau knowing what their own children needed.

So instead of uplifting [my child], because I put my daughter into psychology. I did everything before they even told me to, because I already knew what she needed.

But she wasn't ready in the beginning.

Mana motuhake for Kaikōrero One was minimised when their concerns as a parent were not taken seriously when their children were separated in care.

The youngest one's with me, here, but I just take him over so they can be together.

That's what [Caregiver name] never ever done. [Caregiver name] parted them you know. Man, you know, they were taken off me, you know, keep them seeing one another.

Kaikōrero One spoke how undermined they felt when working with staff in government agencies. Staff actions were interpreted as being derogatory and created powerlessness for this Kaikōrero by minimising their functionality as a parent. Kaikōrero One said:

They don't want to relate with you, nah. They're up there, you're down there. You stay there, I'm up here. Once the families break up, to me they think you know that they can be the boss straight away. That's what I see aye, what they do.

All the Whānau Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of ensuring that the 'time' matched the 'crime' so to speak. Kaikōrero Three was a rangatahi participant and spoke about how learning copycat behaviours in a prison environment had a detrimental effect on rangatahi. It was believed that this negative effect led to further offending behaviours:

You put 25-year-olds, 18 to 25 years in their own prison, eh, doing something academically, whether it be education or hands-on labour, gardening, building, courses within their prison instead of mixing them with the other patch members or whoever they are so they don't teach them and then you'll find in 20 years' time it will start to improve.

This comment echoes a finding in Stanley's (2017) study with 105 participants who had been institutionalised in state care between the 1950s and 1990s. Stanley (2017) reported that "[r]esidential institutions were places in which gang connections began, and this deepened on release" (p. 68).

Kaikōrero Two further supported this comment and spoke about the difference between youths making irresponsible 'not thought out', impulsive offending compared to other more sophisticated and more serious offending behaviours. Kaikōrero Two said:

A naughty child is a child who sits at home or with a mate and plans a bank robbery, a murder, a ra di ra ra. A group of kids who walk downtown and one of them goes "Hey, let's rob the liquor store", it's just in the moment and all the kids follow. That's just a really good example. If you are going to put a child in a jail cell with a murderer, "Well, hello", and if you're going to try and diagnose everyone with ADHD, it's just a coward's way. I couldn't imagine my child in a cell with a murderer because what are their talks going to be about all night? Plant the seed and let it grow. I have a big thing, if you tell a child enough times that they're that way, they become that way.

Kaikōrero One spoke about how they felt that the system had let them down through unfulfilled promises to their children. This hardened the rangatahi further and made them more oppositional to receiving support or help.

I see my boys knew the system lied. They, you know the system in [place] wants to have work like [place] and them, same in [place], they lied. They told lies to their sisters and I could see all the evil in them eh when they came home. You know, “Fuck this, fuck that,” they go like that, “Fuck them, Dad”.

Kaikōrero Two spoke about how being taken into care seemed like a punishment for tamariki and rangatahi being removed from the home and the whānau.

They [rangatahi] think that CYFS² is a punishment but CYFS is meant to be somewhere you get safe. But the kids just see that as like going to YJ [youth justice], no. It’s a punishment, and they just want to go home. Actually, why would they want to go home if they’re getting beaten and raped? They obviously wouldn’t want to go back.

Mana motuhake for the Kaikōrero was about having control over their own lives, the lives of their children, and an ability to make decisions that positively affected their whānau, and the lives of their children. Interestingly, the Whānau Kaikōrero never spoke directly about the role of the Family Group Conference (FGC), which has been deemed so revolutionary, as it seeks to hear the thoughts of whānau, hapū and iwi as the “main decision-making process in youth justice” (Cleland & Quince, 2014, p. 135). These findings show that current practices and processes are not empowering to whānau. In a study with FGC co-ordinators, Connolly (2005) found that prejudgement of FGC outcomes were pre-determined, and the process left whānau feeling a sense of powerlessness. In this study’s findings systemic oppression and government agency interventions had minimised their functionality as parents. These findings support a recent review of the revised Oranga Tamariki (1989) legislation, where Williams et al. (2019) argued that:

² CYFS stands for Child, Youth and Family, the former name for Oranga Tamariki.

Māori need to be a part of framing and implementing that opportunity to ensure that the other amendments do not continue to perpetuate the current problem that we have with the over-representation of Māori children in state care. (p. 9)

In short, state intervention should not take over whānau decision-making, but instead empower whānau to make decisions that will best serve their whānau as a collective. Alternatively, the experiences and perspectives of the Kaikōrero show that state ‘support’ equated to the state making decisions on their behalf.

Theme Two: Whai Oranga: In Search of Well-being

The second theme from the whānau hui is ‘Whai Oranga’. The title refers to healing and well-being as being central to addressing rangatahi Māori offending. For the Whānau Kaikōrero, understanding trauma was critical to understanding rangatahi offending behaviours before putting in interventions to support rangatahi.

Precursors to Offending

All the Whānau Kaikōrero felt that they understood what lay behind their children’s offending behaviours; however, they felt that this was not being addressed when their children were dealt with by the law. In essence, the law focused solely on the offending, not the issues that led them to the offending.

That’s half the reason why our whānaus are broken, because they’re talking to the crime they did, they’re not talking to why, it’s the why.

Trauma was an overarching theme as a precursor to offending. Kaikōrero Four stated that the loss of a spouse and grief was the impetus to the drinking behaviours which affected their children. Kaikōrero Four said:

Their mother was drinking quite a lot, for the reasons, well, upon reflection it could be a grieving state... It's not that they're bad kids, it's just they haven't had stability or been able to talk to, because they get angry with their drunk mother.

For Kaikōrero Three (rangatahi), the loss of a sibling led to feelings of grief and behaviours which were not characteristic for them.

I wanted to get it, to get my mind off it. It was just friends, fun, hype, coolness, thinking you're cool in the system. It wasn't always just because something bad was going on at home. I was trying to get the hood to accept me. I was popping cars, robbing shops and I was grieving my brother, I was taking it out on my mum and messed up on drugs, I was fighting, I was not myself. That's how I started. I just wanted to do it to try it and then I got into that hype too much and I went that way, but it wasn't anything to do with home. Yeah, I lost my brother, I was going through things, it was to do with that [loss of a brother] but it wasn't to do with that. It was just the moment of time, the hype.

For two of the Whānau Kaikōrero, they felt that the absence of a parent, namely the father due to death, or being separated as a result of being uplifted from the home, caused trauma in the lives of the children. Kaikōrero Four said:

I see a lot of reflection when I see what's happened and I can talk to ... the way I see why it happened, why it's coming out now. For me their father died when they were young, but they have all been brought up through kōhanga, so they know the concept of manaakitanga. Fatherlessness has its place within the dynamic of the girls and the boys. So that played a huge, they missed out on all that daddy stuff.

All of the Whānau Kaikōrero spoke about how separation from the whānau affected both the rangatahi as well as the adults. Kaikōrero One spoke about how uplifting their children was the precursor to offending because the rangatahi just wanted to be at home with their Dad.

[My boys are] back here, because they know I'm taking them home. They [police] got that sick of it, they even told my boys, "No, you fullas stay here, cause they said if we take you fellas back, you're going to run away and then we'll know, cause all the places were getting burgled and cars would be getting stolen". So that's why they [police] stopped that [uplifting them] and left them. I wished they could have done that way back and they wouldn't have been where they are now.

Kaikōrero Two spoke about how there needs to be an acknowledgement of what the child wants before they uplift children into state care.

If there's any trauma in the family, a professional will see it, eh, they have a way like we do with our own children, eh. We know. They're trained to do that. So instead of uplifting eh, because I put her into psychology, I did everything before they even told me to, because I already knew what she needed, but she wasn't ready in the beginning. They already do the whānau meetings eh, yeah, everything has whānau meetings. But a good idea before uplifting children is by putting them into counselling and doing it in such a way where it's not controlled from either party, it's up to the child. The child should have a say, and because it will come through. If there's any trauma in the family, a professional will see it, eh, they have a way like we do with our own children eh. We know. They're trained to do that.

Three out of four of the Whānau Kaikōrero spoke about poverty as a precursor to offending, Poverty impacted on their day-to-day choices and realities. Kaikōrero Three said:

They [rangatahi] can't think about getting a job, they can't think about giving, it's all about how are you going to get it quickly and now? All the kids around here, their priority is their family. You ask them why they're stealing, and they say, "It's for my family".

The next Kaikōrero said that part of offending behaviours, in this instance theft, was a result of wanting items to fit in with their peers, but they also said that it was related to survival and the young person's loyalty to support their whānau to cope due to poverty.

Did you ask the youth despite everything they gave you? You ask them. Family and even whatever the family's done to them, that's still their number one priority. Instead of helping the family, they take them away. It's also for this generation how everything's about 'looks' but it's, half of it is for family as well. They're running away from CYFS because they just want to go home, and that's what I disagree about as well. They don't help the family, they just take it away and they make it worse.

Whānau-based Approaches

There was a sense that drawing on the strengths of the wider collective within whānau and hapū would enable Whānau Kaikōrero to restore tikanga through wānanga and te ao Māori-centric approaches, which included both the rangatahi and their whānau.

The parents have to get involved, you know, with the kids. Kids can say well they are doing it with me you know, and then that's when the parents have to step in because I love you, I love you mate, you know.

All the Whānau Kaikōrero agreed that there was no certainty in allowing parents of rangatahi who have offended to lead any interventions as some still had their own issues. All the adults spoke about their own experiences of abuse and trauma in both childhood and adulthood.

Kaikōrero One said there was a concern that maybe led interventions on their own may not necessarily always be suitable. They believed that whānau may still be dealing with their own issues, such as addiction.

Yeah ... If whānau led, would they know this stuff though? Would they know how to talk through their [issues]? Most of them are too stoned anyway, and that's the parents I'm saying.

The Rangatahi Kaikōrero suggested that there needed to be support at the whānau level, to help the whānau or parents to heal, and that helping whānau members with addictions would be a better approach than removing children from their whānau. They said: *Get them into rehab. Help them, like do something about it.*

Kaikōrero Two spoke about how real life had its challenges and the marae and school presented as safe zones for rangatahi and whānau. However, it was perceived that these places were not where they dealt with real life and problems.

It's two different worlds in one area. Well, I think anyone can relate to that. You go to school, you go to the marae, you know, where you're safe, and then when everyone goes home, the honeymoon is over. The marae stays the same but it's like you walk into a time warp and then as soon as you walk off you are in for life again, the honeymoon is over. So, like you got two different time warps here, if not three. You have got school, you have got life in general, and then you have got the marae.

It is important to understand the social contexts of the lives of the Whānau Kaikōrero and the dichotomies which exist at a broader societal level. There is a desire to stop the negative cycles of hopelessness which lock them into a cycle of despair, whilst they also may reach their outer limits of resilience as their autonomy as whānau is stripped back. Institutional racism adds yet another layer to an already complex situation in the lives of rangatahi Māori

who offend and their whānau. Addressing trauma and supporting the whole whānau could thus bring healing to address offending behaviours.

Theme Three: Awhi Rangatahi: Nurturing Māori Adolescents

The third theme is titled 'Awhi Rangatahi'. Awhi means to nurture, embrace, or surround someone or something in a way that is caring. Rangatahi means young people, adolescent, to be young, or youthful. For the Whānau Kaikōrero in this study, there was an obvious love and care that they had for their child(ren) despite their offending. They all spoke highly of their children and saw potential in them. Whilst they had faith in their children and saw the good in them, they also acknowledged that they presented with challenging behaviours which needed to be seen for what they were. At the same time, they acknowledged the profound struggles that many of their children had endured. All the Whānau Kaikōrero felt that there needed to be people in their lives who could connect with their children. Kaikōrero Four said:

[Name] is a gentleman. He is quiet, he's a good boy and he's a hard worker. He can get that whole tree chopped and kindling there. Gets the job done.

Kaikōrero Two said:

She's bright, she's funny, she's demanding, she's bossy. [She was] always the first one up, ready for school, "Let's go, mum". We're only just getting dressed, you know. So, she was eager to learn, and she still is, even though she's been through all this stuff. She has a lot of good qualities and with the life that she's led, she can help a lot of people, especially when she finds her core.

All three parents agreed that being defensive was sometimes a coping mechanism their children employed due to past trauma and issues they were struggling with. For the Whānau Kaikōrero, they all felt that it was important that anyone working alongside their children needed to see past the defensive behaviours. Kaikōrero Four said, "Talk to the heart of the

child". Kaikōrero One said, "The difference between knowing and not knowing that child is the heart. Cause it's not talking to their head."

Kaikōrero Four felt that professionals needed to see past the 'behaviours' to understand the heart of the rangatahi. Only then would they be able to comprehend the 'real person'.

[My child] can get a little bit lippy too, but that puts another discolouration on her. But no, they don't know her at all [speaking of professionals]. You've got to get past the front of the child and get behind that. That takes a skilled person to be able to do that.

The Whānau Kaikōrero were adamant that there were times and places where professionals could support whānau as a collective to find well-being. They were all in agreement that professionals needed to follow through on their word, and second, they needed to show good values. Finally, whānau talked about ensuring experiences and relationships with their tamariki were not short-lived or a one-off, random experience. Kaikōrero One spoke about recent interactions with government agency professionals.

When they say they're going to be here at a certain time, they're there. They are there either bang on or just before it's time, and my boy is looking forward to it. Yeah, just to get out of the house and go for a ride ... you know. CYFS never ever done that. They promised the judge all those things. "We're going to do this; we're going to do that". Never.

Kaikōrero One spoke about the ways in which professionals portrayed themselves in the public should be consistent with what they do and how they lead out different programmes with rangatahi.

I remember the old drug and alcohol [programmes], the people that took the drug and alcohol back in my days, they were awesome, when, they did not touch a beer.

But I tell you now, most of the drug and alcohol people, they're bloody smoking anyway. They will leave that seminar and go down the road and doping up. I've seen it. That's why I say they're bullshit, you know.

Kaikōrero Four felt that positive experiences were critical to supporting their child, and that it did not need to be a 'professional', but they needed to be a role model and a confidant.

Well, I don't think I'm the right person. I might be the mother but I'm not always [the right person], you need someone that takes them fishing, takes them out, can talk to them. You don't have to make it like a big lesson or anything. It's just all holistic isn't it. Take them away, yeah, and just be a friend as well as a mentor, you don't have to roll it into a title.

For Kaikōrero Three (rangatahi), mentoring and going to the marae helped them to navigate the difficulties they faced in their lives.

That marae stay and my mentoring and just putting my mind to it and having somebody tell me that I could do it, really helped me. ... because I can't tell my mum everything. It's weird to me. Having my mentor there too, sometimes I just opened up about things that were going on.

One Whānau Kaikōrero felt that intervention with the provider they were currently with was making a difference to reducing their child's offending behaviours. At one stage in the whānau hui I asked Kaikōrero One since they had been involved with the provider, had their child been offending? Kaikōrero One said:

No, which I'm happy about. There's been a lot of trouble [offending in the area] and they've been there, but the police have looked in videos and they're not actually taking part. They're there, still on the scene, but they're either walking away, the

police see the videos and they always say damn. You know, they're walking away, which, yeah, before they'd be right in the front of it.

Kaikōrero One believed that supporting rangatahi during critical times in their life was integral to helping them make positive changes. Kaikōrero One recalled a situation where they were able to support a rangatahi and be there for them.

I walked up to him and I said, "Oh, what are you doing?", and he looked at me, looked up and I said, "What are you doing here [at Court]?" Then he told me. But you could see he was ready to cry. I said, "Where's your Dad, where's your Mum?" He said, "Oh, they just dumped me off and left me. All they said to me was goodbye." And I said to him, "Oh, you got a lawyer?" "What's that? I don't know what that is". So, I said, "Okay", so bang, I jumped in there, and when I said, "Well, look, I think so and so." Then I walked in there and I told the judge. I told the police if he could come and talk to me, and I told him why I was there, "I need to help this boy". I said, "His parents just dumped him off and said goodbye to him," and he said to me, "Oh, what do you want me to do [name of Kaikōrero]?" Yeah, and then I told that boy what I was going to do and I did it. Straight after that, the judge said [to the boy], "Well, you can go home and think about it, but if I see you in here again, it will be goodbye alright". Then yeah, he turned around from that. From on the dock there, he turned around and he said, "I'll never ever forget this day". He said, "I'll never steal, I'll never get into trouble, because of what you done". He's about 23 [now]. Yeah, and he doesn't get into trouble. He will come and see my boys once in a while. Because his parents weren't there to help him. He had no-one. Actually, no-one at all mate.

The findings in this study suggest that role models are important for positive youth development. Role models can influence rangatahi Māori who offend in multiple ways

through being a tauira (example) and a confidant. Morgenroth, Ryan and Peters (2015) argued that role models “can influence what it is role aspirants see as desirable and worth striving for” (p. 468). In considering a mātauranga Māori lens, role modeling is evident in the tuakana (older sibling) and teina (younger sibling) teachings. The tuakana may be a role model, mentor, teacher, friend who guides, mentors, and provides an example in front rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. Ware and Walsh-Tapiata (2010) argued that the tuakana and teina framework was essential to shaping positive Māori youth development frameworks.

Theme Four: Te Ao Māori: The Māori World

The fourth theme, Te Ao Māori, discusses the importance of working within a kaupapa Māori and te ao Māori perspective. For all the Whānau Kaikōrero, speaking te reo Māori and understanding tikanga and te ao Māori perspectives was important. There was unanimous agreement that, regardless of the approach with rangatahi, it needed to be grounded in tikanga Māori. This was rooted in a belief that a knowledge of te reo Māori and tikanga provided a sense of connectedness and well-being for rangatahi. Kaikōrero Four felt that non-Māori working with Māori had to have a deeper understanding of what it was like to be Māori.

Whānau Kaikōrero Three (rangatahi) said that being at the marae helped them to feel connected to their Māori culture and cultural heritage. The marae was also a restorative place which enabled Kaikōrero Three to build their confidence after going through hard times.

It doesn't matter who I am with, what marae, I just feel like I'm home and I'm with family and I'm just learning. I actually like most kids in the marae when our elders come to tell us stories about everything that happened, everyone's talking and I'm just zoned into all these stories like “yeah, yeah, yeah, that's my tupuna [ancestor]”.

I was like we did that, and I learnt about how the [iwi] were the first to ... I was into that and I was learning about all my whakapapa. I knew most of it, but I had forgotten it over the years of getting in trouble and just not focused but yeah.

Kaikōrero Four acknowledged that identity-making and well-being for rangatahi Māori has changed due to an interruption in the transmission of cultural identities due to the external pressures of living in a modern world. However, they expressed that kaupapa Māori was holistic and inclusive.

And it's because they don't know, they haven't been taught ... it's not in them. See they look at the world on the outside, trying to get everything, but actually they don't get it, it's actually inside out, not outside in. Yes, we're forgetting those crucial things that makes a difference between us and them, eh? Māori is inside out ...Māori is very inclusive eh, it includes everybody.

Kaikōrero One felt that being uplifted and placed into state care had impacted on their child's use of te reo Māori and their confidence to use the reo.

Before my boy [was uplifted] he was fluent in te reo and he loved standing up to show off, to like things like this he will stand up ...after all that [state care], I ask him "Bro, can you get up and do a mihi [greeting]?" He said, "Nah." See, he's lost that.

Kaikōrero Four felt that schooling changes had affected their tamariki from achieving in education. Kaikōrero Four spoke about the differences between a rurally based primary school which had a strong kaupapa Māori ethos compared to a mainstream school which had Eurocentric teaching styles. Kaikōrero Four said:

The last school they went to was [primary school]. Three out of the four of my kids got a scholarship. Yeah, and it was just after that they went to [name of high school], the teaching styles were very different, [place] is sit down and listen to the teacher whereas over there it's work altogether. I think if we go back to how Māori used to do it before, we used to go straight to the source, we were always karakia, there,

that's where we get our kids. We got to karakia altogether for our kids. It's funny though, it's the simplest little things, like karakia in the morning and karakia at night that goes a long way.

Study Two: Part B: Discussion of Findings

Te Mānuka-tūtahi: Whakahokia te Mauri: Restoring the Mauri

Drawing on the theme ‘Mana Motuhake’, Te Mānuka-tūtahi presents the first discussion point from the whānau hui findings titled, ‘Whakahokia te mauri’ or Restoring the Mauri which refer to restoring the mauri back to whānau (Rewi, 2010, p. 198). Mauri is translated as life principle, life force or a vital essence (Moorfield, 2020). Mauri can be understood in different cultural contexts. During Māori rituals of encounter such as the matataki, and the Māori welcoming ritual of encounter, tangata whenua as hosts hand over the mauri to manuhiri at different stages, such as when the teka is laid down or during the whaikōrero. However, as is customary, the mauri must return to the tangata whenua at the conclusion of speech-making [or te matataki] (Rewi, 2010). This highlighted the saying ‘whakahokia te mauri’ which can be literally translated to “return the mauri back”. This process ensures that the mauri and mana remain with the tangata whenua.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi argues that mauri, mauriora, and mana are central to whānau cultural well-being and cultural connectedness. I argue that state intervention has affected the mauri, and mana, cultural well-being and cultural connectedness of whānau Māori and rangatahi Māori who offend. Mauri is a difficult concept to explain as it has many layers of meaning, which is tied up with Māori epistemologies and tikanga. However, I use mauri to refer to life force or ethos found in inanimate objects or the shifting between two peoples (Marsden, 2003).

In the context of historical trauma, Duran and Duran (1995) argued that the term ‘soul wounds’ has been used to describe the intergenerational transmission of unresolved trauma for Indigenous peoples. Braveheart (2003) argued that soul wounds are the result of colonial processes. I choose to use the word mauri to describe how a person’s life essence is seriously impacted and changed by traumatic experiences. This includes the intergenerational and historical impacts and trauma that many whānau rangatahi Māori who offend experience.

The Whānau Kaikōrero in Study Two Part B identified systemic oppression as a hallmark of colonisation and government paternalism. Systemic oppression was evident through government-imposed decisions and interventions such as uplifting children from their homes into state custody. Kaikōrero stated that these actions were a violation of their mana and mauri as whānau, and it left them as parents feeling a sense of powerlessness to help their tamariki. Fitzmaurice (2020) stated that we must acknowledge the loss of tikanga Māori decision-making processes in relation to whānau. Three Kaikōrero (parents) felt stripped of their rights and roles as parents to support their own children and be involved in the decision-making process. Essentially, the process they endured stripped the mauri and mana motuhake from whānau.

The findings in Study Two Part B indicate that the loss of language (te reo Māori) is a symptom of historical trauma, and this is a direct result of children being uplifted from their family. Fatherlessness due to state intervention and death had also interfered with the transmission of cultural identities, as there was not space or time within adolescence or childhood to influence tamariki to maintain their traditional cultural ways. According to Pihama et al. (2017), “Māori experience trauma in distinct ways that are linked to the experience of colonisation, racism and discrimination, negative stereotyping and subsequent unequal rates of violence, poverty and ill health” (p. 19).

Paternalism, and being forced into colonised systems, is pervasive and an assault on the mauri, mana, and well-being of whānau Māori and their tamariki who are involved in youth justice systems. There is a desire for whānau to work alongside agencies, however, the findings of this study suggest that government agencies make arbitrary decisions about how to best address the needs of rangatahi and whānau. Whilst the Kaikōrero in this study were cognisant that they did not have all the answers, they believed that the issues of their tamariki were entrenched in traumatic events which required a process of healing. Healing and well-being

interventions must use Māori paradigms (Lawson-Te Aho, 2013). Programmes must restore mauri and cultural security to rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau. Mauri in this study is about restoring mana back to whānau and rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending in a way that restores their dignity.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: Te Marae-Areare-a Tū-mata-uenga: Liminal Spaces

Te Mānuka-ahopū presents the second discussion point which elaborates on the theme Awhi Rangatahi. Titled 'Te marae-areare-a Tū-mata-uenga'. I use the marae-areare as a symbol of temporary spaces of liminality in the lives of rangatahi Māori. As a space of potential influence, I argue that the proximity of influence through mentors, family members and friends is central to supporting or hindering rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending to transition into positive trajectories.

Positive role models as influences are necessary to influence positive change in rangatahi Māori who find themselves in liminal spaces due to their offending. However, what was noted in this study, was the proximity of influence which can either help or hinder rangatahi Māori into positive or negative trajectories. Whānau Kaikōrero believed youth justice residences, adult prisons, and being removed and uplifted to the care of Oranga Tamariki could lead to devastating and lasting negative effects, which had the potential to shape the lives of rangatahi towards poorer outcomes.

However, Māori cultural practices, such as tuakana-teina as the older sibling guiding or teaching the teina or younger sibling, are suitable for mentoring rangatahi Māori at risk (Farruggia, Bullen, Solomon, Collins, & Dunphy, 2011; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). This thesis aligns with Ware and Walsh-Tapiata's (2010) study with Māori adolescents which found that tuakana of different ages and positions were necessary to provide advice and

guidance on a range of issues. Having access to a range of positive influences also resonated with the findings from this study.

Whānau Kaikōrero identified that confidants, mentors, and role models were important to influencing their tamariki because they typically demonstrated a genuine care for, and a willingness to be there for rangatahi Māori who had offended. Whānau Kaikōrero believed that role models who demonstrated integrity and commitment to stay the long haul during this liminal time were critical factors to seeing positive change.

Positive disruptors to changing the trajectory of rangatahi Māori went beyond professionals. Whilst there was an acknowledgement by those in this study that parents of rangatahi were possibly not always best placed to support their own children, they all shared times in which they had positively influenced other rangatahi Māori who found themselves in the justice system. Having empathy and understanding and being there to support rangatahi Māori who had offended through their challenging times, was the most important thing to Whānau Kaikōrero.

Based on the research findings with whānau, liminal spaces can provide a window of opportunity to connect with and support rangatahi Māori and whānau to heal from trauma in their lives. Important to recognising the significance of liminal spaces is the power and proximity of influence. Understanding the potential that temporal liminal spaces offer could be a significant factor to redirecting the trajectories of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending.

Te Whakaamo me te Whakawaha: Te Whare o Rongoā: The House of Healing

Drawing on the themes ‘Mana Motuhake’ and ‘Whai Oranga’, Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha presents the discussion point, ‘Te whare o Rongoā’ ‘The House of Healing’. Within te ao Māori perspectives, rongoā means healing or to heal and the term is derived from

the guardian of healing, Rongo. Also known as Rongomātane, Rongomarae-roa and Rongohīrea, Rongo personifies peace and is responsible for restoration, healing effects and recovery; as a restorer of emotional wellness and well-being, Rongo negates warfare and nullifies all forms of fighting (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020). Based on the research findings, I argue here that trauma can be a forerunner to offending for rangatahi Māori. As an assault on the wairua and ngākau (heart) of rangatahi Māori, trauma requires healing and restoration to lead to a place of enhanced cultural well-being.

For the Whānau Kaikōrero in this study, significant traumatic events, such as the death of immediate family members, tamariki being uplifted from their home, poverty, negative schooling experiences, and being placed into state care, had affected both the rangatahi, and whānau members significantly. These events had affected them not only physically and emotionally but, it had also been traumatic for their ngākau and their wairua.

The Whānau Kaikōrero indicated that the rangatahi often presented with behaviours as a way of coping with the emotional turbulence that they were experiencing because of trauma. Whānau Kaikōrero believed that these behaviours were usually symptomatic of these deeper issues. Trauma had multiple layers and was pervasive. It was perceived circumstantial and, it was consequential, but it was also systemic and historical, as discussed in the first discussion point Te Mānuka-tūtahi.

Whānau Kaikōrero indicated that there was often an inaccurate assessment of who the rangatahi were based on their behaviours. But they believed that this rarely provided an insight into the deeper issues that were truly troubling the rangatahi. Whānau Kaikōrero suggested that they wanted professionals, to support rangatahi and whānau by not only talking about the offending or the challenging behaviours but also by addressing the trauma which was at the heart of the matter.

This study argues that rongoā based within te ao Māori perspectives are therefore critical to restoring the mauri and mana of rangatahi and whānau and is a critical element to healing. Through addressing the spiritual, emotional, and mental well-being of rangatahi and their whānau within Māori perspectives, we contribute to addressing issues which may become precursors to offending and reoffending for rangatahi Māori. Employing trauma-informed care, grounded in Māori ways of knowing, should be a vital part of their pathway towards Te Rongo-ā-whare where healing can begin. Indigenous notions of trauma-informed care have challenged Western solutions. Indigenous academics argue that trauma-informed care in New Zealand for Māori must take into consideration the cumulative effects, such as historical trauma resulting from colonisation (Pihama et al., 2014). It has been argued that restoring whānau through trauma-informed care and ancient cultural practices embedded in mātauranga Māori can heal trauma.

Te Manu-hahanga: Ko te Kete Rokiroki a Whakaotirangi: The Secure Basket of Whakaotirangi

The final discussion point titled ‘Ko te Kete Rokiroki a Whakaotirangi’ ‘The Secure Basket of Whakaotirangi’ draws from historical accounts of how Whakaotirangi (an ancestress on the Te Arawa waka) carried kūmara in the migration from Hawaiki to plant in Aotearoa (Hiroa, 1949). In this discussion point, Te Manu-hahanga draws from the overarching theme ‘Te Ao Māori’ to present the notion that mātauranga Māori experts should be central decision-makers of initiatives to support rangatahi Māori involved in the justice system.

As a strategist, an agriculturalist, and a visionary, Whakaotirangi had a foresight of sustenance and well-being for her people through the simple act of bringing kūmara plants with her to Aotearoa. According to pūrākau, when the waka of Te Arawa landed in Whangaparāoa, kūmara were planted in the cliffs and are still apparently visible there to this day (Hiroa, 1949). Like Whakaotirangi, mātauranga Māori experts can bring and offer gifts to whānau

Māori and rangatahi that can have long lasting and positive impacts in the lives of rangatahi Māori.

Whānau Kaikōrero in this study stated that they wanted a collective whānau-centric approach to supporting rangatahi. An approach based on Māori values was identified as imperative to restoring cultural well-being and cultural connectedness of whānau and rangatahi Māori involved in the justice system. Whānau Kaikōrero felt that positive kaupapa Māori experiences were effective and instrumental to building positive momentum in the lives of rangatahi. However, Whānau Kaikōrero noted that it was important that these were not one-off experiences for rangatahi. Instead, they supported the idea that an integrated programme based on kaupapa Māori and ongoing support could enable the rangatahi to transition to more positive life trajectories.

This thesis argues that mātauranga Māori experts are culturally adept. As cultural conduits and cultural architects who are best placed to lead initiatives with rangatahi Māori who offend. They should be central to planning and implementation. Like Whakaotirangi who was a mātanga agriculture, mātanga Māori can transmit a wealth of knowledge and expertise in a wide range of areas as it pertains to mātauranga Māori. Their expertise can offer seeds of hope to rangatahi about te ao Māori and can strategically provide positive input about Māori cultural identities, leading to a greater sense of cultural well-being and connectedness.

Study Two: Part B Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from two whānau hui to provide a broader perspective and understandings of the impacts of intervention into the lives of rangatahi Māori and their whānau, and their perspectives about how government agencies can address systemic inequalities for Māori. These findings indicate that cultural connectedness and cultural well-being for rangatahi whānau Māori is grounded in te ao Māori principles and practices.

Relationship-based engagements which support rangatahi to address trauma in their lives can be life changing for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. These findings show that that relationships based on caring attributes provide stability, offer cultural well-being, and connectedness to rangatahi Māori who offend. Caring relationships can support rangatahi Māori agency to navigate the liminal spaces into more positive trajectories.

Study Three: Mahuru: A Ngāpuhi-led Youth Remand Service

Introduction

In the 1988 *Puao-te-Ata-Tu* report, John Rangihau and others called for systemic change to the Department of Social Welfare, to address institutional racism. One aspect of the report stated that children and rangatahi Māori must be considered within the context of their whānau, hapū, and iwi. This seminal report was influential to the launch of the 1989 Child, Youth and Families Act, which was heralded as a ground-breaking piece of legislation in New Zealand. The Act promised to revolutionise the way in which government would consult with whānau, hapū and iwi in the placement of children and rangatahi Māori placed into state care. Thirty years on, Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi are still left waiting for such legislative promise to be fulfilled (Williams et al., 2019). Oranga Tamariki, the new overhauled 2017 Children's and Young People's Well-being Act (1989), is yet to see whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori involved in decision-making, particularly around placement of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending into remand care. Involvement of Māori in decision-making around taitamariki (youth) in remand care is particularly important given the current Waitangi Tribunal proceedings against the state (Wai 2823, 2891).

Remand care is “[w]hen a young person is on remand, they are waiting for their next Youth Court appearance, for a placement or for a resolution” (Henwood et al., 2018, p. 44). Remand care in New Zealand is of grave concern because young people are often placed in secure residential care facilities whilst waiting for a placement (Henwood et al., 2018). This placement means that young people with less serious offences are generally mixing with young people who have more seasoned offending behaviours (Henwood et al., 2018). At worst, some young people are remanded to police cells due to limited beds being available in secure youth justice residential facilities (Henwood et al., 2018).

In 2018, the Office of the Children’s Commissioner in New Zealand published a report *Maiea te Tūruapō: fulfilling the vision supporting young people with at-risk behaviour to live successfully in their communities*. The report argued for the need to shift from “outmoded” government residential settings to more community-based options (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2018, p. 4). Based on research with young people, the report outlined 21 desired experiences for young people placed in care arrangements. Three of the recommendations have relevance to the investigation in Study Three. First, the report highlighted the importance of taitamariki Māori learning about their culture and whakapapa, helping whānau to keep young people on track, and involving hapū, iwi and communities to help taitamariki Māori reach their potential. In alignment with the Oranga Tamariki care standards, the Office of the Children’s Commissioner (2018) advocated for a “new care landscape” (p. 8) in which four of the specified recommendations of the *Maiea* report were highlighted – including, the need for Māori hapū, and iwi to be at the forefront of the design and delivery of services for taitamariki Māori in state care. The findings from Study Three highlight how Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services as an iwi provider contributes to these recommendations.

This chapter details how an iwi-led specialised youth remand service (Mahuru) aims to support Ngāpuhi taitamariki to build strong cultural connections with their iwi:

The name Mahuru draws on the Pīpīwharau as the messenger heralding in spring and a change of season, a time for new growth and beginnings for taitamariki. It talks of a journey and awakening for taitamariki to be supported to make positive choices. (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020, para. 7)

Study Three contributes to the thesis research sub-question *What constitutes ‘cultural connectedness’ and ‘cultural well-being’ for Māori youth who offend and how can these serve as protective mechanisms to reduce offending?*

Study Three has four sections. The first section provides a brief introduction to the iwi of Ngāpuhi to understand the research context. The second section discusses the research context, specifically the methodology, the research methods, and ethical considerations employed. The third section of Study Three presents the research findings from speaking with nine Kaikōrero. I preface these findings with the pūrākau of the General Manager of Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services, Liz Marsden. In this chapter, I also present the four overarching themes emerging from the research. The themes discussed are: 1) Ngāpuhi and Te Ao Māori expertise; 2) Ngāpuhi values and principles; 3) The transmission of Ngāpuhi cultural identities; and 4) Ngāpuhi leadership and succession planning. The fourth and final section of Study Three presents a more in-depth discussion of the findings. Here I highlight how the transmission of Ngāpuhi cultural identity remains core to the business of Mahuru. I elaborate on how cultural conduits are instrumental to supporting Ngāpuhi taitamariki to develop a secure Ngāpuhi identity.

Study Three: The Research Context

Study Three presents multiple perspectives about what cultural connectedness looks like to a range of Kaikōrero. The intention of this study is to ascertain how Ngāpuhi identities are strengthened with taitamariki on remand with Mahuru. Kaupapa Māori research methodologies, more specifically Pūrākau and Te Matatiki methodology, are used in this study to privilege a te ao Māori perspective to answer the overarching research question, '*How is Mahuru supporting Ngāpuhi taitamariki on remand to make cultural connections to their iwi Ngāpuhi?*'. Mahuru was in the first six months of operation when the data for this study was collected in 2018. A great deal has happened since then, including Covid-19. For this reason, in addition to discussing Mahuru, the practitioner Kaikōrero also drew on some prior experiences with taitamariki in other youth justice programmes offered by Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services (NISS).

This study engaged nine Kaikōrero. This included the General Manager of NISS, one rangatahi Māori engaged in the Mahuru remand service, the kaimanaaki (caregiver) of the taitamariki Kaikōrero, and six Kaimahi (practitioners). These practitioners had various roles in Mahuru including management, social work and as Tuakana (mentors) of taitamariki engaged in Mahuru. As manuhiri to NISS, I was invited to three separate presentations of the General Manager Liz Marsden in which the aims of Mahuru were presented. In addition, semi-structured interviews, which were between 30 minutes and 60 minutes long, were digitally recorded and transcribed and were also used to craft Liz Marsden's pūrākau. Liz's pūrākau is based on data collected from two interviews and three presentations. Of the nine Kaikōrero, three Kaikōrero decided to engage in a four way conversation with the researcher rather than individual interviews. Two other Kaikōrero participated in a separate three-way conversation with the researcher.

Conducted within the tribal boundaries of Ngāpuhi, the research aims of Study Three, focus on the importance of understanding Ngāpuhi cultural distinctiveness and Ngāpuhi cultural identities. It is important to recognise and detail my biases upfront which inform the interpretation of these findings. As Ngāpuhi descendants, both of my academic supervisors, the General Manager of NISS and the Kaikōrero were fundamental to critiquing the research process to ensure that the study was trustworthy and contextualised within local Ngāpuhi iwi and hapū contexts. Whilst my husband is of Ngāpuhi descent, I still consider my perspective as a researcher, to be manuhiri (as a guest) to Ngāpuhi. Therefore, in entering the landscapes of Te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi or the sacred house of Ngāpuhi, I first acknowledge that as a woman of Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāi Tahu descent, I bring to the research my own cultural distinctiveness and social location. As stated by Orbell (1992), "each storyteller has their own approach, their own artistry" (p. 5).

About Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services

Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services, hereafter referred to as NISS, has been a registered subsidiary of Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi since 2006 (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020). Originally set up to provide services ‘by Ngāpuhi for Ngāpuhi’, NISS has approximately fifty staff and ten services that they provide to schools, whānau and taitamariki (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020). As an accredited service provider to Oranga Tamariki, NISS provides multiple services to whānau and taitamariki in the areas of social worker services, parenting programmes, children and youth services, youth justice and care and protection programmes, and now Mahuru, a remand care service for taitamariki placed in care for offending behaviours (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020).

The 2013 New Zealand census recorded Ngāpuhi as the largest iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand, with 125,601 people recorded as constituents, which is representative of 18.8% of the overall Māori population (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020). In the 2013 census, 60% of Ngāpuhi constituents were recorded as under 30 years of age (Statistics New Zealand, 2013; Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020) and 35.4 % were 15 years or younger (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). Beyond this geographical tribal jurisdiction, descendants of Ngāpuhi, as with other iwi constituents in New Zealand, reside in a range of geographical locations spread throughout different parts of New Zealand and abroad. “The census showed that only 19.9 per cent of Ngāpuhi (in New Zealand) were living in Northland, while 40.3 per cent now reside in Auckland (where some whānau have been living for several generations)” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, p. 10). Located in the Northland region of New Zealand, the traditional tribal boundaries of Ngāpuhi cover a large geographical area from Te Rerenga Wairua (Cape Rēinga) at the top of the North Island to Auckland:

The house of Ngāpuhi stretches from Tāmaki Makaurau [Auckland] in the south to Cape Rēinga in the North, its walls are the sub-tribes: Ngāti Whatua in the south, Te Rārawa

in the west, Te Aupōuri in the North and Ngāti Kahu in the east, Ngāpuhi holds the centre of the House, and the mountains of significance within Ngāpuhi are the pillars or poupou, which hold the ridgepole aloft. (Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi-o-Ngāpuhi, 2020)

As the largest iwi social service provider in Aotearoa, Mahuru's remand service represents a world-first, iwi-led, collaborative joint venture with a state agency to address the offending of taitamariki in Ngāpuhi. The Chair of Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services stated, "On 1 Oct 2018, NISS launched a world-first model to manage serious young Ngāpuhi offenders who previously would most likely have been held on remand in a youth prison" (Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services, 2019, p. 65). The significance of this step to collaborate with a government agency cannot be underestimated. NISS is an iwi-centric, community-based remand service and an innovative solution to addressing concerns about remand care. I therefore present my research findings of Mahuru.

Study Three: Mahuru Findings

The findings in Study Three are presented in two parts. First, the pūrākau of Liz Marsden, (General Manager of NISS) is presented, and second, the four overarching themes from the interviews are discussed. Liz's pūrākau provides a contextual understanding of the reasons for establishing Mahuru as an iwi-led collaborative remand service. Whilst the Pūrākau methodology encourages the reader to arrive at their own conclusions, Lee (2008) recognises the demands of the academy to present analysis. It is for this reason that I disclose now that the findings from both Liz's pūrākau and the four themes are deliberated on in the discussion section. Further, whilst Mahuru is categorically a joint venture with Oranga Tamariki, these findings document services provided by NISS. The findings are not inclusive of an Oranga Tamariki perspective. E te rangatira Liz, it is a privilege to craft and present your pūrākau. The pūrākau of Liz Marsden is now presented which is titled 'Mahuru The Pīpīwharauora Calls'.

Mahuru ‘The Pīpīwharau Calls’

Pūrākau of Liz Marsden – General Manager of Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services

No Ngāpuhi kid leaves care without knowing who they are and where they come from.

Let me give you a bit of the background that led up to our picking up of the remand service which we named Mahuru. We were aware that there were up to around forty young people in Tai Tokerau last year [2017] who were remanded in custody and in Korowai Manaaki. We knew, too, that not all of them needed to be there. However, it was because there was just a lack of community-based options, whānau-based options available. We felt strongly that sending young people who were on remand into a youth prison, was likely to lead to an escalation in their offending, where they would be mixing with sentenced young people and the possibility of their graduating into the adult justice system was increased by them just being there. That was the overall feeling. So, the Board said, “What can we do that’s different that would avoid that need for our taitamariki to be in either an institution such as a family home or Korowai Manaaki?” We came to the conclusion, “Why don’t we offer a specialist one-to-one care arrangement instead, and recruit a pool of well-functioning whānau caregivers that we place young people who are on a ‘d’ with so that they can actually see or experience or observe what it might feel like to be part of a well-functioning whānau?” This came from our belief that many of them [taitamariki] may not have had the experience of being part of the well-structured whānau that has routines, protocols and that operates with kawa. With us, they’re not being placed in institutions. They’re being placed one-on-one with the caregivers [kaimanaaki] who just want to make a difference, who want to keep Ngāpuhi kids out of prison, you know. So, in a nutshell, that’s the model we proposed when we presented in front of the panel of five which included Oranga Tamariki, police and iwi. The outcomes we want [in Mahuru] is that they know who they are, and where they come

from. The Board felt that they [taitamariki] needed to know that they can always come back and that's one of the key messages that we give. If we can link them with the marae and then introduce them to the whānau around the marae, not necessarily all their own. But you know, if they come from the same marae, you're related, and so, they can always come back here. Therefore, it's providing that foundation. Mentors meet with kaumātua of the rūnanga to try and find the connection for the young person who has been referred, to help to find the whakapapa, or whatever networks they've got. Most of our mentors have their own networks, you know, and usually the kid will know something. They might have heard a marae name or hapū name or something. So, whatever the starting point is, they start with that, and then start building a picture. This has been probably one of the most settling modules for young people. All those things have a profound effect on those kids, especially the ones from Auckland who have never known that and have never belonged to a whānau. Their [whānau] are just as, disengaged. I guess for a lot of them, they have not been home for years and they've not stayed connected. So that's been important for us. We get a lot of kids up from Auckland. Kids who have never known any of this stuff who've never been north of the Harbour Bridge. But they knew, someone told them they were Ngāpuhi. When they start hearing some of the history of Ngāpuhi and they'll come with a name, someone will say, "I know that", "I know your aunty, your grandmother's sister lives over, on the other side", and then we start making those connections. If we achieve nothing else, we want to know that those kids don't leave us without having a sense of where their marae is, what their maunga is, where their awa is. In the summer, you know, to even get to paddle around in it, those sorts of things. So, the Board ordered me to do what we can, to ensure that no Ngāpuhi kid leaves care without knowing who they are and where they come from.

Overarching Themes

This section of Chapter Eleven presents the four overarching themes emerging from the semi-structured interviews and hui. Four main themes emerging from the research are now discussed. The themes are: 1) Ngāpuhi expertise; 2) Ngāpuhi knowledge and values; 3) Transmission of Ngāpuhi cultural identities; and 4) Ngāpuhi leadership and succession planning. Whilst the Kaikōrero are not named in these findings, nor are individual Kaikōrero quotes designated to different roles, the findings are based on semi-structured interviews, three presentations from the General Manager, and hui with nine Kaikōrero who include management staff, tuakana (Mahuru mentors), a kaimanaaki (caregiver) and one teina (young person) who were all engaged with the Mahuru Remand Service.

Theme One: Ngāpuhi Expertise

Eight of the nine Kaikōrero in Study Three discussed how critical expertise was to the success of Mahuru. Expertise was classified in two ways. The first area of expertise referred to a knowledge of te ao Māori, mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga from Ngāpuhi. The second area of expertise related to establishing and maintaining effective relationships with taitamariki who display offending behaviours.

Te Ao Māori, Mātauranga Māori, and Ngāpuhi Knowledge and Expertise

For most of the Kaikōrero, expertise in te ao Māori and Ngāpuhi included an understanding of tikanga Māori, te reo Māori, Ngāpuhi histories and knowledge of whakapapa connections within Ngāpuhi, which included knowing different whānau names. Marsden (2003) stated that tikanga Māori are accepted as valid and reliable methods, customs, traditions and plans that have been passed down to upcoming generations to guide current objectives. One Kaikōrero said that:

They [the mentors] draw on their own knowledge and expertise of whānau, tikanga, and the area. They are experts in their own right.

In addition, kaupapa Māori, as an underpinning philosophy, assisted the Kaikōrero to refine and hone their skills of working with Ngāpuhi taitamariki who exhibited offending behaviours. Being able to draw on knowledge of working within a kaupapa Māori framework was highly valuable to guiding taitamariki in developing their identity as Ngāpuhi. Kaikōrero Five said:

Over the years we've been lucky to be given training opportunities and be sent to different sort of conferences and wānanga and that, and they have all shaped and sort of refined how we do things. Even to these days, you know though, we still might find it difficult to put a finger on what approach we do, but we know what we're doing and overall, really, it's just coming back to our kaupapa Māori perspective and that would be our main guiding principle.

All the Kaikōrero (apart from the Rangatahi Kaikōrero) had a sound knowledge and a high level of fluency in te reo Māori. Kaikōrero who worked directly with the taitamariki in Mahuru spoke about the reo as having leverage in establishing and maintaining rapport and even providing insights into the cultural competencies of taitamariki. Kaikōrero Three said:

The Judge only found out that [name removed] could speak Māori because I spoke Māori to him. [The Judge] had been dealing with [name removed] for three years prior to that.

Kaikōrero Nine spoke about how te reo Māori, and specifically tikanga and knowledge of karakia was an essential part of their everyday life and was used to build relationship with the taitamariki. They discussed how this knowledge gave them the ability to support one taitamariki to navigate the challenges they faced. Kaikōrero Nine in this instance used their

knowledge of te reo and karakia to support the following taitamariki who was experiencing troubling thoughts.

I speak te reo and it helps me. It helps me, um, kind of like train the YP [young person] too. Like I can walk in 'ka pai' and when I say things like 'ka pai', they know that I'm serious and if they've done something good. They just think it's a natural progression. Cause, I've got to say part of my strength is my reo and my tikanga. I do karakia you know. I've got to say, I had [young person's name] knock on my door at two o'clock in the morning, "[They] said, is it alright if we do karakia?" So, I came out, we did karakia and it gave me the opportunity to say, "Hey [young person's name], what's going on?" It gave me the opportunity to get in and he opened up. "Oh [name removed], I've got bad thoughts." It's cool when they can knock on your door and say, "Oh, can we have karakia?" I just say, I'd rather that, than a fucking knife to my throat [laughter].

Kaikōrero Five spoke about how te reo Māori was integral to the identity and life of some taitamariki apprehended for offending behaviours. The Mahuru programme offers taitamariki the opportunity to be placed with kaimanaaki who have fluency in te reo Māori. Being placed with kaimanaaki who hold mana in the community and depth of knowledge in te reo Māori and tikanga was advantageous to supporting taitamariki to settle into their placements.

You know like [name of young person], even though he's only been a pain in the butt to the mentors and to lots of people, he does respect the caregivers that he was placed with. He's a fluent Māori speaker. He's more fluent in te reo than he is in English and he gets very frustrated when he can't express himself properly in English because he is surrounded by only English speaking others. When he's back with his caregivers, you know, he's much more relaxed.

Kaikōrero Three and Six retold an account of using te reo Māori as the priority means for communication with one of the taitamariki. In this example, te reo Māori was instrumental to setting a ‘kawa’ about expectations for entering the Mahuru programme. One Kaikōrero said:

I said bro make sure we get a commitment from [young person’s name] while he’s still over there [in residence], that this is what he wants and that by coming with us he has full commitment and buy-in to our kaupapa and our tikanga. We needed to make sure that he didn’t love it in [residence] or whatever. So [Kaikōrero name] addressed [young person’s name] in the reo and he laid it all out. It was quite cool, the reo that you use, you know. At that time, it was informal reo and of a close regard sort of thing, but it was right on the head, and maybe in English it might not have been.

The Kaikōrero also spoke about being steeped in knowledge about Ngāpuhi whakapapa and te ao Māori. Expertise was not gained through an institutional type qualification. Instead, whakapapa expertise was drawn from an iwi-based knowledge of whānau connections—knowledge was developed from living on the whenua and within the tribal area of Ngāpuhi, maintaining connections with key knowledge keepers in the area, knowing whānau names, and knowing the history of Ngāpuhi. Kaikōrero Two said:

Now they are very lucky we have got some really, I don’t know what’s the word but people in this organisation that do know whakapapa links. For me they are some of the best that I have seen in terms of connecting children to an area, to a place, to a family.

Kaikōrero Four spoke about how staff worked collectively to draw on the individual and collective whakapapa expertise within Ngāpuhi. Physical and relational proximity was an enabling factor to making whakapapa connections.

The beauty of it being here in the NISS office is that there's never more than two degrees of separation of any person from Ngāpuhi within this office. We can cover anywhere within the rohe of Ngāpuhi, quite quickly and effectively.

This example exemplifies the next sub-theme of collective expertise. This sub-theme details the importance of working together in a collective way to achieve a common goal.

Collective Expertise

Integral to supporting Ngāpuhi taitamariki in Mahuru, the Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of drawing on their collective knowledge and expertise of whakapapa. Through a collective whānau approach of working together, with the interests of the taitamariki at heart, some Kaikōrero indicated that they were able to draw on their different strengths and knowledge. Kaikōrero Four said:

It's a holistic thing but then we can rely on in terms of our team, we can rely on each other for different aspects and know that we can hand over our teina into very capable and, you know, confident hands.

Kaikōrero Five also spoke about the importance of acknowledging individual mana and leadership of different members of the collective team of Mahuru. Working closely with each other required trust, acknowledgement, and drawing on other's strengths to work in a collective way.

We also need to be able to accept that we don't always, need to be the leader. Rather than five rangatira [leaders] trying to run five waka [seafaring vessel] at the same time, we've had to find the delicate balance between our crew as a team. Which is a unique thing, I think. It's one of our strengths, is that we do acknowledge each other's strengths and attributes and each other's weaknesses or parts that we are challenged with.

One Kaikōrero spoke about how their background and experiences in life contributed to the collective expertise and was an integral factor to establishing effective relationships with taitamariki. Drawing on the strengths of the collective enabled them to design a tailor-made programme for individual taitamariki. Kaikōrero Six spoke about the different strengths of the mentors.

[Name] comes with that independence of leaving home at 17 years old and having to face the world on his own but having a strong cultural background that allowed him to become independent and he still knows where home is. [Name] has got that real and they call him papa [name] but he's got that sporty mentoring way ... kind of like a young uncle. Well, I describe him as a young uncle I grew up with, as he taught us all sports. [Name] is very much in that parenting realm and [Name] has got that real matua [fatherly] approach not just for young people but for the team in itself. So, it is looking at the combination of those skills. But they probably undersell themselves because it's something that they do naturally. What's clear is that they don't use one approach. So, they may have values and principles that they use but they are very strong in their belief that they model their programme to that individual kid and not a one size fits all. Which is probably what lacks in social services in general. That you get into that habit that this worked with this client so it must work with that one.

The Kaikōrero also demonstrated that they understood the greater political, social, and historical impacts of colonisation, poverty, and socioeconomic downturn in parts of Northland and how this had affected local communities, individuals, and Ngāpuhi as a collective. They spoke about the need to not take the offending behaviours at face value, as these 'signs' may be often symptomatic of a different issue. As an example, one Kaikōrero spoke about how

theft may be the result of historical trauma, lack of whānau support, and the harsh realities of poverty. Kaikōrero Eight said:

Sometimes we have a young fella, you know, we get our referrals from Oranga Tamariki for a criminal offence or something and we're working with them under that banner to address the offending but actually when we go in deeper to it, the reason the offence happened is due to a whole different kaupapa in itself which could be historical trauma, exposure to extreme situations with whānau, stuff going down or even having to do things out of desperation and lack of whatever or no whānau support. So, like it could be financial. I've had, young fellas actually calling it 'shopping', but it is actually going out purposely with the intent to do all their shopping through shoplifting but it's like grocery shopping. Once we are able to see the true story, and sort of address that, that is a major step in their overall rehabilitation.

This example demonstrates that local expertise within the region of Ngāpuhi provides insight into the neo-cultural realities of taitamariki, where an understanding of survivance is fundamental to understanding, and working successfully with taitamariki.

Theme Two: Mātāpono o Ngāpuhi: Ngāpuhi Principles and Values

The Kaikōrero in this theme spoke about a range of values and principles which are fundamental to how they conduct themselves as Ngāpuhi. Some of these values are included and discussed here such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, tuku aroha, mana, tuakana-teina, kawa, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and kōrero.

Working in ways that were holistic, and consistent with a Ngāpuhi way of doings things, was integral to how the Mahuru service operates. Kaikōrero Five spoke about tikanga Māori as a holistic way of working within te ao Māori principles.

Over the years we've learnt that it was basically tikanga Māori, tikanga, kawa, holistic approaches and seeing these young people as not just their offence. But as a context and part of a bigger picture and knowing that by addressing one part of a person you're also strengthening another. So, it was about finding balance. So, I think you know you can call it all sorts of holistic models, and stuff and all that, but really, it's just what our people have been doing intrinsically.

Māori principles such as whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga are not additional to but are fundamental to Mahuru. Kaikōrero One spoke about the principle of whanaungatanga and being able to make connections with the taitamariki as a critical element to selecting staff, and kaimanaaki for Mahuru.

You know one of the biggest things for us was finding a group of mentors who would sit there with young children they had only just met and make a connection with them.

Whanaungatanga and manaakitanga in the following example was a tikanga that enabled Kaikōrero to make meaningful connections with the taitamariki coming into the Mahuru service. Kaikōrero Nine said:

What I like is that they've got something in place. It's kind of like a tikanga. You have a dinner, whakawhanaungatanga, that's how I roll. That's the most important crucial thing is whakawhanaungatanga. They're the two main ones, to start anything. You don't start it off properly like that, you're going to fail, straight up. I've seen it many times, because I teach, I've been a teacher for 20 odd years and that's the first rule I put in, is whakawhanaungatanga. That's the key. And I like it 'cause this programme starts off with whakawhanaungatanga.

Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) and kōrero (oral communication), were also fundamental principles to making connections with taitamariki.

Like the toa matataki, who must take the manuhiri at face value, Kaikōrero identified that it is important to take the young person at face value. One Kaikōrero acknowledged the value of background information but maintained that kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and kōrero were integral to making meaningful connections with the taitamariki.

It was lucky that some of the information had already come to us, so we had an idea of the nature and the crime. But when you get this, that paperwork, and you read through it, sometimes the description you get is way off, oh you know, you probably think of a giant kid who's very, very strong who's going to turn the tables upside down because of the way they've written it down on paper. So, I never take my first judgements off that. My first judgements will come straight off firsthand, kōrero.... heaps and heaps and heaps of kōrero, you know. Just questions that have him say small things at the start that lead to bigger things and then an open conversation not long after.

The Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of connection and relationship being hinged on trust, respect, being authentic, and showing integrity, which was pivotal to that process.

Kaikōrero Nine said:

Aroha, tuku aroha, mana, hold your mana. You've got to be skilled, and you've got to be onto it, you've got to be honest. I don't know if that comes under mana and all that, but I mean you have to be honest and transparent. You have to be transparent. Try and open up, be open. It's hard. Because that's when that trust will start kicking in, as they can see that you're open. A lot of people can't do it, be transparent, you know.

Some Kaikōrero acknowledged that the relationship with the taitamariki in Mahuru was framed within a tuakana-teina or older sibling-younger sibling dynamic. The Kaikōrero spoke about how this allowed them to awahi, tautoko, and to hāpai, which respect their actions within the context of a Māori world view. Kaikōrero Three said:

Like you know doing our best to hāpai, tautoko, and to awahi, our taitamariki, to walk alongside as their tuakana and them being in a teina relationship and not seen as subservient, like a lower level position, but important roles with responsibilities which go both ways, and yeah, that's the lines.

As evidenced above, the Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of mana, respect, being authentic, and showing integrity with the taitamariki. Kaikōrero Nine further added that this was a type of role modelling that taitamariki needed.

You have to be able to create a relationship that's going to make the person feel safe where he's going to develop a lot faster instead of just a, what do you call it, worker client relationship which, yeah, doesn't do nothing, in my book. So yeah, for me, a good working relationship is one of respect and trust and I know for a fact young people won't learn nothing off you, if they don't trust you... and you know, if you don't walk it and you don't talk it, how are they supposed to believe it?

One Kaikōrero spoke about the importance of taitamariki visiting places associated with their pepeha. Kaikōrero Five spoke about how visiting these places created a tangible experience because it had a wairua element.

We try to make a connection to someone in the area. Often, we know someone ourselves and we'll make a connection to them. So, we go out and we visit with the marae and we find out the key points about that marae, about the hapū. We go to their maunga if possible and we'll climb it, to the awa, and just those simple things

of visiting their pepeha, not just reciting it as often happens, without actually being there, or feeling it, you know. Just to experience in person, so that the wairua is real. That's the biggest one to help cultural identity protective factors.

For Kaikōrero Four, whakapapa and pepeha connections are a living experience. Kōrero with people is a critical factor helping the taitamariki to make whakapapa connections.

So, for example, one time I had been put on as one of the whakapapa people and then the girl said oh well something, something [place] and then well [staff member name] is from [place]. So, then I told [staff member name] who the whānau was, and then that ended up being the niece of one of our whaea [aunties] ... who ended up knowing that girl's parents and then she got to have her pepeha and be connected with her Aunty.

Theme Three: Tuakiritanga o Ngāpuhi: Transmission of Ngāpuhi Iwi Identities

The third predominant theme in the findings is the 'Transmission of Ngāpuhi Iwi Identities'. All the Kaikōrero spoke about how Mahuru provides an opportunity to draw on Ngāpuhi narratives to support taitamariki in Mahuru to grow in their understanding of their own knowledge of Ngāpuhi history. Through drawing on iwi-based pūrākau, taitamariki are supported to develop a secure Ngāpuhi cultural identity.

All the Kaikōrero spoke about significant places within Ngāpuhi as providing key identity storehouses for taitamariki in Mahuru. The Kaikōrero in the study were able to share and learn about the 'kōrero hōhonu' or the rich, deep stories of their history and their ancestors.

Kaikōrero Five said:

I've seen the growth like even just from a one-day outing on a pepeha haerenga, the transformation, and I think it's just about that, it's almost like a piece of jigsaw coming into place. It is a wairua thing as well you know. When you can reconnect

to the whenua that your tūpuna worked and protected and you can feel the mauri of your tūpuna and things like that, those are real things, and that can be huge growth for [that young person] and I find from that point onwards the engagement goes to a deeper level.

When asked what the most favourite part of the programme was, the youth Kaikōrero in this study said that it was visiting places of historical significance. The youth Kaikōrero said:

Ah, when I seen Tāne Mahuta, it was like a big tree, first time seeing it. That was like the biggest tree I've seen.

When the youth Kaikōrero was asked further about a time when they felt proud to be Māori, this is what was said:

Mm, probably when I was on the programme, when I first started the Mahuru one. Just learning a lot about it, the Māori stuff.

Sites of significance are accompanied by narratives of tūpuna. Through accessing these sites, Mahuru offers taitamariki an exclusive Ngāpuhi perspective, and a unique opportunity to learn from key knowledge keepers and to be taken to places on the whenua and to learn iwi-based pūrākau and the narratives of their own people - Ngāpuhi. Kaikōrero Nine said:

In Mitimiti, when he saw the beach he just, his eyes just went up ... and um he just took off his shoes, yeah, and he just ran straight into the water. Then I showed him the tapu rock and how rangatira smashed their head over here and licked their blood and that moment allowed me to tell him all the hohonu kōrero.

Based on the narratives of the whenua, the Mahuru programme enables taitamariki to glean insight from different knowledge keepers. One way this is achieved is through taking the

taitamariki to key sites of historical significance to Ngāpuhi. The Rangatahi Kaikōrero was asked what had most influenced their understanding about being Māori. They said:

The people up North. The Mahuru programme. It's because I didn't know anything until they showed me some of it up there.

Connecting with the whenua not only plays an important role in providing knowledge but is also a spiritual and emotional experience for taitamariki of Ngāpuhi descent.

Theme Four: Rangatiratanga: Ngāpuhi Leadership and Succession Planning

The fourth and final overarching theme of this study is 'Ngāpuhi Leadership and Succession Planning'. Leadership and succession planning are critical factors to the success of the Mahuru remand service. This theme discusses how Ngāpuhi succession planning, building on what has been laid before, draws on layers of knowledge enabling the Mahuru programme to take the work forward, to plan for the future, and to continue to support taitamariki to make whakapapa connections.

Mahuru utilises existing programmes within NISS which support the taitamariki to develop a secure Ngāpuhi iwi identity through learning the narratives and making whakapapa connections with whānau who are Ngāpuhi. The Mahuru programmes have been designed, tested, and trialled over successive years with Ngāpuhi taitamariki who have been apprehended for offending behaviours. The following Kaikōrero talked about how leadership and the right people with specific skills have been integral to the success.

I guess it's having the right staff, the right leadership. I had a very good team leader in that development phase one we were implementing. [Name] wrote up our initial models and we built it from there and we've kind of tweaked it to fit different sort of desired outcomes or whatever. In essence it still remains as our guiding kaupapa. [staff member] had a very innovative approach and recruited some really fine

young people from personal networks to become mentors, who [staff member] knew and trusted who were on the kaupapa. That actually was a very successful way of doing it.

Kaikōrero Five acknowledged that the success of the programmes that are offered in Mahuru are in part based on contributions from previous and current NISS staff members and their leadership, and their capacity to navigate through uncharted territories.

So, six of us came together and started putting the bones of this, of Mahuru together...the planning was fabulous because it came from a whole heap of minds instead of one mind and then an idea was put on the table, kind of built around it and added and just kept adding and adding and adding till we felt it was okay. We also knew that it was a trial. I remember saying that, you know, the first year is going to be the most important year and we need to get away from everything outside, listening to everything outside like, "Oh, this is the first in the world, this is the first in New Zealand, this is the first of its kind." I said we just got to worry about what we do and make sure that we do whatever it takes for this young person, 'cause that's the centre of it.

As illustrated above, critical to the success of Mahuru and iwi-based programmes are drawing on leadership and succession planning in building on and refining programmes and processes over time. Fundamental to the Mahuru remand service is supporting taitamariki to develop a secure Ngāpuhi iwi identity through developing a knowledge of their iwi-based connections to Ngāpuhi.

Study Three: Discussion of Findings

This section discusses the findings from the pūrākau of Liz Marsden, General Manager of Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services and the four overarching themes. Findings from Study Three contribute to answering the overarching thesis question of what constitutes “cultural connectedness” and “cultural well-being” for Māori youth who offend and how can these serve as protective mechanisms to reduce offending? Drawing on Te Matataki methodology as an analysis framework, the four discussion points are headlined with the names of the four warriors from this thesis (Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha and Te Manu-hahanga) who act as bastions of challenge.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi introduces discussion point one, the cultural conduit. Here I advance Van Gennep’s (1960) and Turner’s (1969) liminality theories and introduce the notion of a cultural conduit who acts as an agent of change in the liminal (transitional) spaces with taitamariki, to promote iwi identities. Te Mānuka-ahopū delivers discussion point two and the timeless message of the importance of honouring Indigenous, iwi-specific expertise as cultural repositories of iwi identities. Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha unpacks discussion point three about advocating for tangible iwi identity experiences as pivotal to the transmission of iwi identities and developing iwi connectedness. Finally, Te Manu-hahanga deliberates on discussion point four and how ahikā resilience sustains iwi identities and creates a sustainable and culturally rich future for Ngāpuhi descendants.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi: Te Kaitakawaenga: The Cultural Conduit

For the adult Kaikōrero in Study Three, the role of frontline staff such as tuakana (mentors) and kaimanaaki (caregivers) were clear and distinct. Kaikōrero One said that it was important that they “*do what [they] can, to ensure that ‘no Ngāpuhi kid leaves care without knowing who they are, and where they come from’*”. In this discussion, I therefore argue that the role

of the cultural conduit is therefore critical to Mahuru in the transmission of Ngāpuhi iwi identities.

Expanding on Van Gennep's (1960) and Turner's (1969) theories of liminality, I first propose that remand as a 'betwixt and between' and liminal (threshold/transitional) space is a prime and opportune moment for the cultural conduit to educate adolescents about iwi identities. As illustrated in Gennep's work, preparation for the liminal (transitional) spaces requires that certain rites of preparation be intact. "The rights of the threshold are therefore not 'union' ceremonies properly speaking, but rites of preparation for union, themselves preceded by rites of preparation for the transitional stage" (Van Gennep, 1960, p. 11). Likened to the toa matataki who acts as a conduit between manuhiri and tangata whenua on the marae areare (the threshold of Tū-mata-uenga), the cultural conduit must be knowledgeable as a cultural ambassador of iwi identities, must be connected locally, or have vast local networks, and must also be a skilled professional in relating effectively with adolescents who have offended.

For the Kaikōrero in this study, tuakana and kaimanaaki, as cultural conduits in Mahuru, skilfully supported taitamariki to navigate through the uncertain transitional period of being in remand care. Pre-requisite preparations for the transitional phase were met through a three-day camp with tuakana, where relationship building was paramount. Kaimanaaki were introduced to taitamariki through kai and whanaungatanga. Frontline staff were trained and skilled in the ways of managing taitamariki through employing secure remand protocols, and making meaningful connections based on kawa, trust, and respect. These preliminary steps were all fundamental to introducing taitamariki to cultural understandings of Mahuru.

Characterised as a time of identity crises (Erikson, 1968), adolescence is fluid and changing and tuakana and kaimanaaki hold a vital role in the liminal state to support taitamariki to navigate the liminality in the physical, spiritual, and emotional realms. Adolescence and offending encounters have one thing in common, they are characterised as times of transition.

In these transitional stages, when the conditions are right, the possibilities are endless. Another example, from the findings, demonstrates that tuakana and cultural conduits have influence through sharing core values, languaging about principles, values, such as ‘kawa’ or ‘tuakana’ and ‘teina’, or even through hōhonu kōrero about ancestral knowledge, iwi histories and karakia. Here the languaging of te reo Māori is normalised and cultural conduits become language champions in the revitalisation efforts of te reo Māori. The implications of the findings from Study Three suggest that those who work in the liminal spaces use tikanga Māori as a “culturally anchoring resilience process” (Sanders & Munford, 2015, p. 88) to connect adolescents with their iwi and hapū identities. They are not only important conduits to transmit iwi identities but, with their skillset and knowledge, are critical voices who, given the opportunity, can inform changes in the sector. This leads to the second discussion point about Te Mānuka-ahopū and Indigenous expertise.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: Mātauranga Māori: Honouring Indigenous Iwi Expertise

This discussion point expands on the findings about iwi expertise. Like the toa matataki in te matataki ritual of encounter, who must be skilled in traditional knowledge, here I maintain that iwi-specific cultural expertise is fundamentally necessary to overcome the collective risk factors that whānau and taitamariki engaged in the system have experienced as a result of colonisation (Durie, 2005).

As noted earlier, Te Uepū Hāpai i Te Ora commissioned by the Labour-led coalition government, led an inquiry into the New Zealand justice system with the public. The 2018 recommendations of the inquiry strongly urged the transformation of the New Zealand justice system to address the systemic failures of the over-representation of Māori in the justice system. Of the recommendations, tikanga Māori was noted as an imperative to re-visioning a justice system fit for purpose for Māori.

For the Kaikōrero in this study, working on the front lines with taitamariki in Mahuru requires highly skilled professionals. These professionals must have the aptitude and skills to navigate the liminal spaces and to develop effective relationships with taitamariki. They also need cultural expertise in tikanga, te reo, and Ngāpuhi narratives to support taitamariki to strengthen their connectedness with Ngāpuhi. In fact, the layers of learning stem from being situated for several years within the tribal boundaries of Ngāpuhi. However, as a specialised field, iwi expertise is not recognised and held in high regard to the extent that it deserves. Unlike institutional type qualifications, iwi expertise in a colonised modern society hold little regard and, as such, those who possess such attributes are not rewarded for this critical skill set.

Traditionally, in te ao Māori, people who held whakapapa knowledge, or iwi knowledge, were considered special, unique, and valuable to the whānau, hapū, and iwi collectives. They understood the political, cultural, and historical landscapes and the history behind the shape of the land. With the understandings of multiple narratives and historical accounts, they had a clear understanding of the trajectories of iwi identities. There was a belief that a knowledge of tikanga was a crucial and valued expertise.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha: Tātai Hono: Tangible Cultural Identity

Experiences

This point discusses the importance of experiential learning to cultural identities through learning iwi pūrākau, mōteatea (traditional chants), history, and spending time on the whenua. Pepeha, defined as tribal aphorisms, were discussed in the research findings. Pepeha and whakapapa, as traditional markers of Māori identity can assist taitamariki to develop a knowledge of their iwi identities (McIntosh, 2005).

For the Kaikōrero, pepeha and whakapapa meant more to them than something they just recited. Instead, they were a lived experience and a real encounter with their whakapapa and heritage as descendants of Ngāpuhi. What Mahuru offers taitamariki on remand is a unique one-to-one, tailored Ngāpuhi cultural experience within an iwi-specific approach, underpinned by tikanga Māori and te ao Māori perspectives.

Working at multiple levels the taitamariki are afforded tangible experiences such as reciting karakia, learning te reo Māori, practising tuakana-teina roles and responsibilities, tuku mana and kawa. By being involved taitamariki develop and deepen their knowledge and understanding of Ngāpuhi and Māori societal values. These values and principles enable taitamariki to learn respect and practical applications for dealing with adverse life situations.

Taitamariki not only develop knowledge of Ngāpuhi identities, but they make a physical, emotional and spiritual connection to the whenua and to the pūrākau of their tūpuna. Experiencing whakapapa and pepeha through traversing the landscapes where tūpuna once lived, and ahikā currently live, provides a tangible experience for taitamariki to access their Ngāpuhi iwi identities. Through meeting whānau whom they have not met, through visiting their marae, through standing on their whenua, they are supported to plant seeds of hope for future connections to be made within Ngāpuhi through whakawhanaungatanga to others and the whenua. Using different skillsets to reach the taitamariki, kaimanaaki and Mahuru tuakana skilfully make the pūrākau and narratives of the whenua come alive, and this provides iwi connectedness through proximity. These tangible moments provide positive experiences that taitamariki can take away once they leave remand care. In these ways, taitamariki experience the real living version of their Ngāpuhi pepeha or tribal aphorism. For that reason, they will be richer for it.

Te Manu-hahanga: Ko te Mana o te Iwi: Ahikā Resilience to Sustain Iwi Identities

This discussion point presents ahikā as an activator of resilience to sustain iwi identities. Ahikā, as a Māori concept, means “burning fires”. Its conceptual understanding though is much broader, referring to traditional experiences of the whānau or hapū to maintain mana and authority over the whenua or homelands through “continued occupation” on the land (MOJ, 2001, p. 49).

Kaikōrero in this study, particularly kaimanaaki and Mahuru tuakana, spoke about their essential role to support taitamariki in Mahuru to develop a secure Ngāpuhi iwi identity. For the Kaikōrero in this study, making family connections for future relationships with Ngāpuhi marae, hapū, and iwi, was a paramount consideration in how they conducted their daily activities. Drawing on whānau resilience and whakapapa resilience as contributing factors to Māori identities, I expand the rhetoric to include ahikā resilience as a key factor in sustaining iwi identities (Baker, 2010).

Collective risk factors of colonisation, acculturation, treaty negotiation processes, and economic hardship have impacted on hapū and iwi identities (Baker, 2010). For the Kaikōrero in this study, ahikā resilience was demonstrated through using Ngāpuhi iwi knowledge, values, and principles to support taitamariki to develop a positive Ngāpuhi iwi identity. Ahikā resilience buffers the negative impacts as a result of colonisation and the experiences of the New Zealand justice system through strengthening the intergenerational bonds that taitamariki have to the whenua and enhancing kinship connectedness.

Where learning one’s pepeha and whakapapa would have been a natural transition in learning one’s iwi identity in traditional settings, the transmission of iwi identities, and knowledge of pepeha and whakapapa can be variable, dependent on whānau experiences against the prevailing forces of colonisation. Ahikā, as an iwi’s stronghold, have maintained iwi identities

through the generations for whānau who live inside and outside of the region. As the traditional knowledge keepers, it is this ahikā resilience, the desire to ‘keep the home fires burning’, to maintain mana on the whenua, which allows them to continue to sustain their iwi identities. Baker (2010) stated that “ahi kā have a central role in the intergenerational transmission of whakapapa, history, culture and in maintaining tūrangawaewae. They also reintegrate urban whānau who return home, and those from other tribal areas” (Baker, 2010, p. 82).

Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services are thus creating a pathway through Mahuru to bring taitamariki back into the fold of Ngāpuhi. Privileging Ngāpuhi values, principles, and ways of knowing and returning to the ways of their tūpuna, Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services *is* undoing a Eurocentric way of working. The benefits of this ahikā resilience for Ngāpuhi taitamariki who find themselves in the Mahuru programme are immeasurable. A Kaikōrero in this study said to me, “*We just want to play our part in keeping our kids out of prison.*” In response, I assert that as long as Ngāpuhi as an iwi continue to be at the table to be make decisions that affect taitamariki in the youth justice system who are Ngāpuhi, they will fulfil their vision. Their ahikā resilience will strengthen them to make a difference for their own and to sustain iwi identities for the future.

Study Three: Summary

This chapter set out to answer the question *How is Mahuru supporting Ngāpuhi taitamariki on remand to make cultural connections to their iwi Ngāpuhi?* As illustrated, Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services has a commitment to restoring the spirit of their taitamariki who find themselves in the New Zealand criminal justice system and, who also find themselves as recipients of interrupted cultural and adolescent trajectories. As cultural ambassadors of Ngāpuhi cultural values, beliefs, language, and history, tuakana and kaimanaaki play a significant role on the front line to supporting Ngāpuhi taitamariki in Mahuru to connect with

their Ngāpuhi cultural identities. As cultural conduits, tuakana and kaimanaaki in Mahuru bring the ‘cultural textbook to life’ as they demonstrate tikanga of Ngāpuhi in a living and natural way. Through taking the young people to places their ancestors walked the whenua, to introducing the young people to whānau members, Mahuru is not just another programme that helps taitamariki in Ngāpuhi to know about their cultural identity. Instead, Mahuru is a lived experience of being Ngāpuhi, within the landscapes of their tūpuna, and for that reason, the taitamariki in Mahuru will exit the programme not only served, but culturally prosperous. As a final exhortation, I leave you with these words spoken by a Kaikōrero in this study about the desire to be at the table to support Ngāpuhi taitamariki who find themselves in the youth justice system.

It's not putting them all in one little, one house kind of like a remand.

Even though it's in the system, we can take ownership,

because you know, they are Ngāpuhi.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā

Te Manu-hahanga:

The sole warrior leads the manuhiri across the liminal space



Te Marae Areare o-Tū-mata-uenga

The Threshold of Tū-mata-uenga

NGERI: MŌ NGĀ TAIOHI, NGĀ KAUMĀTUA O TE ĀPŌPŌ

Hikitia, hapainga ake ngā uri whakaheke e Te Manu-hahanga e

Kōkiri whakamua hei kawē i ngā nawe o ngā hāpori Māori

Pūpuri ai i ngā taonga o tuaukiuki a kui mā, a koro mā,

Hei ārahi i ngā mahi whakamānawa e

Mau rawatia ngā pūnahanaha o Tauwi e

Mākere ana ngā here o kaikiri, o patu wairua, o mamae e

Tūwhera ai ngā tataou hou ki te ao ahupūngao

kia eke whakamua a mātātahi

ki Te Rongo ā Whare nei e

Kōkiri, kōkiri, kōkiri

Ana nā hī! Ana nā hā!

For our young generation, the elders of the future

Lift up and support the next generation oh warrior Te Manu-hahanga

Take the issues of our Māori communities forward

Hold fast to the knowledge passed down from our elders

to guide you in honourable deeds

Take hold of Western systems

loosen the grip of racism, of discouragement, of trauma.

Open new doors in this world

So that our young people may go forth into Te Rongo-ā-whare

Change it, action it, let it be so!

Discussion of Key Findings, Limitations and Conclusion

Introduction

The salience of a secure Māori identity has had traction in psychology, education, and health sectors in New Zealand. Research indicates that a positive cultural identity influences academic resilience, educational success, well-being, and positive mental health and social outcomes (Nikora, 2007; Rata, 2012; Watson, 2020; Webber, 2011; Williams et al., 2018). Whilst Māori cultural identity has been investigated with incarcerated Māori adults (Chalmers, 2014; Mihaere, 2015), to my knowledge, there is no empirical evidence of cultural identity as a resilience factor for rangatahi Māori charged in a Youth or Rangatahi Court for a criminal offence. This thesis partly redresses this research gap.

In this discussion chapter, I culminate the key findings from three separate studies. The three studies include the perspectives of twenty-nine participants who are key informants, Māori practitioners in the field, rangatahi Māori apprehended for serious offending, and whānau members of rangatahi Māori who offend. The aim of Chapter Twelve is to outline the significance of the key findings to answer the overall research question *How can cultural identity act as a resilience factor to reduce Māori youth offending?* Drawing on the matataki ritual of encounter, the four Te Arawa warriors, Te Mānuka-tūtahi, Te Mānuka-ahopū, Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha, and Te Manu-hahanga, articulate my four key original contributions to the field.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi introduces the first discussion point ‘Survivance as an Active Disruptor of Pathologising Narratives’. The findings in this thesis challenge the deficit positioning that asserts that rangatahi Māori who offend are disconnected, dislocated, and disassociated from their cultural roots and identity as Māori (Maynard, Coebergh, Anstiss, Bakker & Huriwai,

1999). The findings outlined in this thesis further critique the idea that Māori culture is unable to cope with addressing human problems (Bishop, 1997). Based on the findings in this thesis, a counter narrative of survivance is presented, which situates the Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero apprehended for offending as culturally connected and culturally resilient to buffer negative racial discrimination (Vizenor, 1999).

Next, Te Mānuka-ahopū introduces the second discussion point, 'Collective Māori Identities as a Portal for Resilience'. The findings in this thesis show that whakapapa and kaupapa whānau relationships (including ahikā) are portals to strengthen cultural connectedness in rangatahi Māori who offend. The thesis findings conclude that strengths-based mechanisms enhances resilience which is a factor that can lead to reduced offending.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha introduces my third key argument. Drawing on the matataki ritual of encounter and the concept of liminality, I theorise the liminal spaces that rangatahi Māori who offend occupy. The marae areare, as the domain of Tū-mata-uenga, represents a figurative space where rangatahi Māori who offend create counter narratives of survivance, exercise tino rangatiratanga and maintain a strong sense of identity as Māori. I argue that it is in these liminal spaces where Mātanga-waenga (experts of the liminal and mātauranga Māori) can influence cultural identity and cultural connectedness.

Te Manu-hahanga presents the final key argument, 'Entering into Te Rongo ā Whare' by drawing on the Māori construct of rongo, which represents peace. Uplifting rangatahi Māori into state care for offending behaviours impacts on the transmission of Māori identities. I argue instead that te reo Māori and Māori culture are sites of resilience for rangatahi Māori who offend. The findings in this thesis support a holistic approach embedded within mātauranga Māori frameworks to address trauma.

Te Mānuka-tūtahi: Te Manawa Tītī: Survivance as an Active Disruptor of Deficit

Discourses

Te Mānuka-tūtahi, the most agile warrior, is first to cross the threshold of Tū-mata-uenga. His role is to ascertain the intentions of the manuhiri and to determine the purpose of the visit (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020). As a representative for his people, Te Mānuka-tūtahi must conduct himself with confidence, so that he can navigate safely across the physical and metaphysical space of the marae areare.

Like Te Mānuka-tūtahi who crosses into the liminal space, I enter this discussion through drawing on the theoretical foundations of survivance (Vizenor, 1999) and the wisdom of twenty-nine Kaikōrero in this study. In this discussion point, I disrupt wider colonial discourses and the pathologising narratives of Māori youth who offend as the ‘Māori crime problem’ (Tauri, 1999). Here, I further challenge assumptive discourse that Māori culture is inadequate to support Māori to cope with human problems (Bishop, 1997). The second discourse I seek to disrupt is the deficit theorising of Māori youth who offend as disconnected, disassociated, and dislocated from their culture (Maynard et al., 1999).

Sensationalised narratives in mainstream media in New Zealand portray Māori as problematic and at the centre of the ‘crime problem’ (Bishop, 1997; Tauri, 1999). However, the problematising of Māori is widespread across a range of sectors, not just the media. In research, the deficit theorising of Māori has historically located Māori within dominant colonial paradigms which propagate a view of Māori as a group unable to cope with complex issues within Māori cultural frameworks (Bishop, 1997). Colonial-based research has “developed a ‘social pathology’ [approach to] Māori social and political institutions by focusing on a supposed inability of Māori culture to cope with human problems” (Bishop, 1997, p. 30).

The problematising of Māori is evidenced in the social services sector. Māori children and adolescents are more readily identified as children at higher risk of harm or vulnerability (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019; Stanley & Monod De Froideville, 2020). In the findings from this thesis, Rangatahi and Whānau Māori Kaikōrero spoke about their experiences of both practitioner bias and racial profiling. Some Key Informant Kaikōrero in Study One spoke about how practitioners rely on deficit narratives and focus on individuals yet ignore the systemic and societal contexts in which racism, bias, and racial profiling unfold. In this study, practitioner decisions to uplift tamariki and rangatahi from whānau impacted negatively on the transmission of whānau identities. Therefore, this study argues that the deficit discourses associated with the risk and protective factor paradigms must be challenged, as they underpin practitioner bias in identifying individual tamariki and rangatahi Māori as being more ‘at risk’ (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019).

Other discourse has situated rangatahi Māori who offend as vulnerable. The risk factor paradigm and vulnerable risk population discourses have supported the pathologising “deficit-laden” narrative that Māori youth are vulnerable and “vulnerable children belong to problem populations” (Stanley & Monod De Froideville, 2020, p. 8). Cunneen and Tauri (2019), Webb (2018) and Johns, Williams, and Haines (2017) argued that individualising behaviours does not consider the social contexts in which offending occurred. Vulnerable and ‘at risk’ population ideologies about Māori have thus reinforced the reasoning that the only way to remedy Māori problems is with state intervention. Stanley and Monod De Froideville (2020) stated that:

The emphasis is still therefore on the early identification of, and interventions towards, problematic or needy children and families. ...government departments appear likely to re-establish colonial practices of viewing Māori children and young people (and their

whānau, hapū and iwi) as deficit-laden risks to be managed, policed and incarcerated (p. 17).

Academics argue that the social and historical conditions which created issues such as colonisation must be considered, not ignored, when making individual offender assessments (Strauss-Hughes, Heffernan, & Ward, 2019; Webb, 2018). Webb (2018) argued that a Western approach is not fit for purpose as it does not consider whānau collective trauma or historical factors such as colonisation which created such conditions. Strauss-Hughes, Heffernan and Ward (2019) stated that offenders' behaviours may or may not be situated within "aspects of their socio-cultural environment, which are the current manifestations of historical processes (i.e., changes in the environment and social processes over time)" (p. 948).

Therefore, this thesis flips the problem back on the 'risk and protective factor paradigm' which designates Māori as a vulnerable people. Whilst the Labour-led government focuses on 'well-being', still embedded within government policy is the focus on Māori within risk factor paradigms and vulnerable risk population discourses (Stanley & Monod De Froideville, 2020). The fixation on rangatahi Māori who offend as an issue 'to be solved' must be addressed as a part of the stripping back of negative rhetoric and discourse. The dismantling of the risk and protective factor paradigm must be addressed. Otherwise, this risk-averse discourse will continue to provide further validation for different governmental type interventions and approaches with rangatahi Māori who offend, based on deficit paradigms. This study and other studies have shown that deficit practitioner bias and profiling can be more harmful than helpful (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019). Bhabha (1994) argued that it is also important to consider the role of power at play in colonial discourse. He stated:

The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction. (p. 101)

Therefore, I argue that, so long as risk paradigms remain the backbone of policy and practice, the pathologising narratives of Māori youth who offend as being ‘at risk’, and ‘vulnerable’ will continue. Māori culture and mātauranga Māori will then continue to be seen as a cultural approach that is “unable to cope with [real] human problems” (Bishop, 1997, p. 30). Such pathology enables “colonial discourse [to be used] as an apparatus of power” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 100). Deficit policies, practitioner bias, pathologising narratives, and ‘othering’ type discourses of rangatahi Māori and their whānau as barely ‘surviving’, ‘not coping’ or ‘vulnerable’ need to be challenged. This thesis aims to contribute to the other critiques which also aim to shift this discourse (Tauri & Webb, 2012). I argue here that survivance (Vizenor, 1999) is a useful theoretical framework to dismantle such narratives.

The first step to shift the deficit paradigm is in the re-visioning of rangatahi Māori who offend as on the edge of ‘survival’ (Stromberg, 2006) rather than as agents of survivance. As stated earlier, survivance must be the fundamental discourse that replaces notions of ‘survival’ for rangatahi Māori who offend.

The findings in this thesis actively disrupt the pathologising ‘Māori crime problem’ narrative (Tauri, 1999). Despite challenges with navigating colonial systems designed to ‘other’ rangatahi Māori who offend, the findings in Study Two show that Rangatahi and Whānau Kaikōrero remain hopeful that mātauranga Māori, whānau, hapū, iwi and other Māori organisations can support them to address the challenges that rangatahi and whānau Māori experience. Survivance as an agentic discourse re-positions the narratives like ‘rangatahi Māori are offenders’ and ‘their whānau are unable to cope and are on the brink of survival’

to a transforming position of agency. This study has presented a different narrative based on survivance, where whānau collectives such as ahikā and role models can make a difference.

Survivance enabled Māori practitioners in Study Three as members of wider whānau collectives to draw on solutions found in mātauranga Māori to influence the trajectories of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. As modern stories of survivance, these findings illustrate a counter narrative—that rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending are not the crime problem to be solved or fixed. Instead, when they are given the opportunity to draw on a range of whānau collective systems such as ahikā, the collective strategises and equips rangatahi Māori to navigate the impacts of colonialism. Ahikā and iwi social service providers can recreate new stories of survivance, which are culturally responsive and are translated within the social and historical contexts in which they have been created (Webb, 2018).

Te Mānuka-tūtahi now turns to disrupt the pathologising narrative which suggests that Māori apprehended for offending are culturally deficient, culturally disconnected, and culturally dislocated. In a graphic example of such individualistic, pathologising rhetoric, Maynard et al. (1999) stated that the “Māori offender” experiences “confusion” about their identity as Māori and, through a lack of connection to their culture, they display anti-social behaviours which then predispose them towards a criminal pathway (p. 49). Maynard et al. (1999) stated:

It has also been suggested that the level of confusion a Māori offender has about their identity appears to be an important variable to consider. Such confusion could lead to the further development of negative emotions such as anger and frustration, in addition to anti-social thoughts and feelings, such as a negative image of one’s self.... Consequently, such negative emotions and cognitions could increase an individual’s vulnerability toward crime. In contrast, it is arguable that an individual who understands and appreciates who they are as Māori, and whose perception of being Māori derives from a Māori cultural base (as opposed to negative macho images portrayed in the

media), is more likely to find the necessary resources within to work toward changing their offending behaviour (p. 49)

It is important to contextualise the above assumptions, made within the criminal justice system at the time. In 2005, Tom Hemapo's claim to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 1024) brought the Māori Culture Related Need (MaCRNs) assessment tool under severe scrutiny and criticism (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). Hemapo claimed that the MaCRNs disadvantaged Māori offenders by the 'type' and 'length' of their sentences (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005, p. 2). He argued that the major design flaw of the tool (into which Maynard et al., 1999, had leading input into) was the underlying assumption that cultural identity, or a lack thereof, was listed as a 'criminogenic' need (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). There were several issues that were highlighted in this report about the MaCRNs. Whilst there are too many to list here, what is important to this discussion, is the problematising of Māori who offend as inherently at risk because they are Māori. Webb (2018) stated that:

Explaining the higher rate of Māori criminality as the result of a higher association with risk factors, works to simply designate being Māori as a risk factor in itself. (p. 17)

I further argue that the isolation of cultural and proxy factors to the individual offender in question makes conclusive assumptions that there is a lack of resilience or effort on the part of individuals and/or whānau to 'retain' their cultural connections. It is widely documented that colonisation has had significant impact on Māori cultural identities (Jackson, 1988; Workman, 2015). The risk and criminogenic paradigm as a 'monocultural framework' is not suited to understanding the plight of Māori, due to the 'individualising of risk and protective factors and traits' (Tauri & Webb, 2012; Webb, 2018).

In concluding this point, the findings from this thesis do not support the argument that Māori youth who offend are disconnected from their Māori identity. Instead, the findings illustrate

that the Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero were culturally connected and drew on a range of situations to demonstrate cultural connectedness. Within traditional Māori culture, who we are is first determined by where we belong and to whom we belong. We establish this through asking the question of ‘nō hea koe?’ (where are you from?). From this we can establish ourselves in relation to each other through whakapapa. In Study Two, 10 rangatahi Māori were interviewed and demonstrated both a commitment to their identity as Māori and cultural pride. They discussed a range of situations that showed their cultural connectedness. As examples, all ten Rangatahi Kaikōrero had access to whānau members and others who had knowledge of whakapapa, te reo Māori, and mātauranga Māori. Five rangatahi had experiences of Māori-medium and bilingual education and were introductory to medium fluency Māori language speakers themselves. What this study did find, instead, were problems inherent within a colonial system. Rangatahi and Whānau Kaikōrero spoke about negative schooling experiences and interactions with different government departments where they experienced racial profiling, bias, and teacher bullying.

In finishing, Te Mānuka-tūtahi challenges deficit discourses that currently underpin assessment of rangatahi Māori who offend as being at risk. This thesis challenges policy makers to consider broader notions of identity-making for Māori, based on whakapapa, ahikā and wider whānau collectives. Whilst this study does not dispute the need to include different assessments to support rangatahi Māori who offend to reduce recidivism, the findings across the three studies in this thesis challenge how these assessments are constructed, by whom, and for what purpose. Te Mānuka-tūtahi also challenges the narrative that the role of government is to ‘restore cultural connectedness’ rather this is a task only appropriate for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities to carry out (providing government agencies hand over power and resources to allow that to flourish). The final challenge posited in this discussion point is around mātauranga Māori interventions. The findings in this thesis support

the argument that interventions must be led by Māori for Māori and must be understood within the social and historical contexts in which offending has occurred (Webb, 2018). An important place to start is with the role of whānau in ethnic identity-making.

Te Mānuka-ahopū: Te Manawaroa: Collective Identities as a Portal for Resilience

The role of Te Mānuka-ahopū in the matataki ritual of encounter is to revoke a confrontation so that the true intentions of the visitors are revealed (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020). As Te Mānuka-ahopū places the teka on the ground before the manuhiri, he motions the representative with his taiaha to pick up the teka. This teka represents the symbol of peace and picking it up signals that the manuhiri have come with peaceful intentions.

Like Te Mānuka-ahopū, I place a contestation or idea here that collective Māori identities based on whakapapa whānau, ahikā and kaupapa whakapapa are core to the strengthening and transmission of a secure Māori cultural identity and cultural connectedness for rangatahi Māori who offend. Ahikā are collective resisters to maintain cultural practices despite the impacts of colonisation.

The findings in this study conclude that Māori identity for rangatahi Māori who offend is primarily formed from within whānau, kaupapa whānau, and whakapapa relationships. Whakapapa whānau relationships are based on genealogical ties whereas kaupapa whānau are classified as non-kin but are related based on the cause or belonging to different social groups or “non kin ties” (Joseph, 2007; Mihaere, 2015; Stuart & Jose, 2014; Waiti, 2014; Waiti & Kingi, 2014, p. 128). Traditionally Māori structures for developing a secure cultural identity were within the confines of the whānau, hapū and iwi (O’Regan, 2001). Rangatahi “were...acculturated and socialised into the rules, protocols and support systems of [a] particular whānau” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 8). However, several ecological influences in modern times, such as the shifts of urbanisation, economic realities, and colonisation, have impacted on how whānau identities are constructed. Therefore, despite modern influences and impacts on cultural identities, these findings show that whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, as collective structures, remain the most influential sites to develop a secure cultural identity for

rangatahi Māori who offend. Likewise, the findings in this thesis affirm the notion that whakapapa as a traditional marker of Māori identity is still core to our psyche as Māori.

Whakapapa as an identity marker is widely discussed in Māori identity literature (Joseph, 2007; McIntosh, 2005; Mikahere-Hall, 2019; Nikora, 2007; Webber, 2008). Pertinent to this study is whakapapa pride, which was the source of, and the main reason that Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero felt proud to be Māori. Like Webber's (2011) study, whakapapa pride as a site of resilience enabled Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero a strengths-based mechanism to resist the impacts of racism. Erikson (1968) argued that adolescents of an "oppressed minority" (p. 3) may internalise negative attitudes of society and, in turn, this may then affect their own perceptions of their own identity. However, this was not the case for Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero in this study. Instead, whakapapa pride offered rangatahi Māori a mechanism to strengthen their identity as Māori which positioned negative criticism as external to who they are, and how they enact their identity. These findings also reveal that drawing on pūrākau and narratives of tūpuna within their whakapapa gave rangatahi Māori further tools to strengthen their identities (Cliffe-Tautari, 2020; Webber & O'Connor, 2019).

The findings of Māori identity research have highlighted threats to Māori identity pride due to inclusionary and exclusionary measures. Māori identity research has found that participants have felt judged by Māori and non-Māori due to phenotype (fair skin), a lack of reo competency, or non-participation in 'Māori' activities such as kapa haka or playing the guitar (Borell, 2005; Cliffe, 2013; Gillon et al., 2019; Paringatai, 2014; Webber, 2008). In this study, exclusionary measures were not a feature of how the Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero perceived their identities as Māori. Whilst the Rangatahi Kaikōrero acknowledged that socially constructed exclusionary measures exist, they were not hindered by such rhetoric in how they enacted their identities as Māori. Instead, there was conviction across all the Rangatahi Kaikōrero, that their whakapapa was enough to demarcate who they were as Māori.

This raises the question about whether rangatahi Māori who offend construct what Phinney (1989) refers to as an achieved secure ethnic identity differently to other rangatahi Māori who have not experienced similar challenges or trauma. Phinney (1990) stated that the “conceptualizations of ethnic identity development share with Erikson (1968) the idea that an achieved identity is the result of an identity crisis, which involves a period of exploration and experimentation, leading to a decision or commitment” (Phinney, 1990, p. 28). Overall, the findings from Study Two in this thesis indicate that the ten Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero were secure in their cultural identity.

Given that Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero spoke about positive influences in their lives, it is likely that a positive ethnic identity for rangatahi Māori is still acculturated within the confines of their whakapapa and kaupapa whānau relationships (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Key influential relationships with people who were role models, grandparents, parents, whānau members and mentors are critical. These people demonstrated that they cared about their rangatahi Māori, gave them quality time, were ambassadors for te reo Māori, knowledge of whakapapa and were a settling influence in their lives. Whakapapa (and kaupapa whānau can thus provide a “protective mechanism” during times of adversity (Waiti, 2014, p. 211) and challenge and influence identity development in rangatahi Māori who offend.

In addition, however, I propose that a different factor may also be at play. Ethnic identity exploration and commitment (Phinney, 1989) for rangatahi Māori who offend may manifest as resistance. Based on negative experiences in education (with teachers) and in society with government officials (such as police), rangatahi Māori reported experiences of racial profiling, bias, racism, and teacher bullying. It is possible that how they negotiate and articulate their ethnic identities and their pride as Māori is based on performative resistance to outsider expectations. Toshalis (2015) argued that resistance is entangled with identity formation and a “student’s power to define themselves depends on their capacity to resist how

others want them made” (p. 52). Therefore, for rangatahi Māori who offend, being proud to be Māori, despite the negative feedback they receive, may be their way to take back their power to enact their identities in a way that they want to. This serves as their “collective fight back, exposing the inequitable distribution of power, and actively opposing negative social, political and economic influences” (Penehira, Green, Smith & Aspin, 2014, p. 96).

This thesis argues that whānau provide protective elements to improve well-being and strengthen resilience in rangatahi Māori who offend (Te Huia, 2015; Waiti & Kingi, 2014; Watson, 2020). In Study Three, the extended whānau and the role of ahikā is critical to strengthening whānau connectedness, whakapapa kinship ties, and Māori cultural identities in Māori adolescents who offend. Baker (2010) stated that “the ahi kā are the whānau that literally keep the fires of mana whenua/mana moana burning” (p. 66). Their role is significant with ensuring marae maintenance, preparation for large gatherings (such as tangihanga) at short notice, and reintegration of whānau who have been urbanised (Baker, 2010).

Study Three presented an investigation into how an iwi social service provider strengthened cultural identities and cultivated cultural connectedness in rangatahi Māori who offend from their tribal area. Study Three revealed that mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and ahikā were core to developing connection. In Study Three, Kaikōrero spoke about cultural connectedness and embeddedness as related to places of belonging through whakapapa and whānau and the importance of returning to places where their ancestors came from. Through ahikā that reside in the tribal areas, rangatahi Māori can be supported to maintain their connectedness to the narratives and to the whenua.

Mahuru tuakana provided the rangatahi with opportunities to access tangible experiential learning which connected them with the history, stories, and tūpuna of their hapū and iwi. Connecting to the narratives of tūpuna enhanced their sense of well-being and strengthened their Māori ethnic identity, and their sense of cultural connectedness (Stuart & Jose, 2014;

Webber, 2015; Webber & O'Connor, 2019). I argue that Mahuru as a remand service thus operates as a conduit of strengthening collective Māori cultural identities, cultural connectedness, well-being, and cultural resilience as they are an “active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name” (Vizenor, 1999, p. viii).

This study further contends that wider Māori collectives of ahikā are key people in the local areas who embody stories of survivance. Ahikā provide the relational landscape to support rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending to engage in powerful stories of their tupuna and, by doing so, they create counter narratives of survivance (Vizenor, 1999). Ahikā further embody survivance through a new discourse of healing, reconnecting rangatahi Māori and their whānau whose identities have been disrupted to the whenua. These findings illustrate that, despite years of colonial domination, Māori collectives remain central to our stories of survivance. Ahikā, and Māori collectives, are thus “the core of survivance, the new stories of tribal courage” (Vizenor, 1999, p. 4). Iwi social service providers are therefore best positioned to facilitate whakapapa and kaupapa whānau conversations related to identity due to their relationships with key people in the community.

Finally, the findings in this thesis have affirmed that culturally rewarding and sustaining kaupapa whānau relationships can support rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending to develop a secure cultural identity. Kaupapa whānau relationships can be established in a range of settings. Joseph (2007) stated that kaupapa whānau were a significant way in which identity is formed in modern times. He said:

They may or may not enjoy active links with hapū or iwi or other Māori institutions ... Sometimes ethnicity will be the most significant affiliation but on other occasions it may be less important than belonging to a school, a sports club, a socioeconomic grouping or a family constellation. (p. 15)

Kaupapa whānau was an equally strong feature across the three separate studies in terms of influencing how rangatahi Māori who offend construct their cultural identities as Māori. Rangatahi Māori who offend draw on collective whakapapa and kaupapa whānau relationships as a means of ameliorating their experiences of racism and discrimination.

Waiti and Kingi (2014) argued that “Māori resilience must inevitably take into account our unique history, culture, experiences and socio-demographic profiles” (p. 127). Māori academics argue that resilience literature is negligent in considering colonisation and the impacts on Indigenous peoples including Māori (Boulton & Gifford, 2012; Penehira et al., 2014; Scarpino, 2007). The construct of resilience in literature is problematic due to the individualising trait of definitions within Western paradigms. Ahikā collectives provide powerful, strengths-based stories about cultural identity and heritage. Such stories could strengthen resilience in rangatahi Māori who offend.

Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha: Te Manawa Piharau: Tino Rangatiratanga in the Liminal Space

Towards the end of the matataki ritual of encounter, Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha clears the space that exists between himself and the manuhiri. With taiaha resting on his shoulder, he motions a forward movement. This symbolises that “the visitors will be carried on his shoulder and back towards the main house/wharenui [and is] likened to illustrious groups of people travelling on their prestigious canoes” (T. Ranapiri-Ransfield & W. Mitai-Ngātai, personal communication, May 9, 2020).

Like Te Whakaamo me Te Whakawaha who takes the manuhiri forward across the marae areare, I orient this discussion to posit that it is in the liminal spaces where rangatahi Māori who offend negotiate, enact, and re-articulate their identities as Māori. This discussion point introduces *Mātanga-waenga*, a new term created for this thesis. I argue here that mātauranga Māori experts who are cognisant of the challenges that rangatahi Māori who offend experience in times of liminality, can act as change agents who can influence cultural connectedness and affirm cultural identities.

Adolescence as a state of liminality is characterised as a time of identity-making and identity crisis where youth seek to enact and articulate their own versions of the self whilst negotiating the expectations of others (Erikson, 1968). Erikson (1956) stated that:

Adolescence is not an affliction, but a normative crisis, i.e., a normal phase of increased conflict characterised by a seeming fluctuation in ego strength, and yet also by a high growth potential. (p. 72)

As products of survival and resistance (Sabzalian, 2019), rangatahi Māori who offend not only navigate adolescence, but they also negotiate the disruptive forces of colonisation and living within a marginal status as rangatahi Māori, due to dominant offending discourses.

McIntosh (2005) stated that a marginal status is impacted by deprivation due to the social inequities that Māori face on a day-to-day basis. However, it would be naive to not acknowledge the power that different social groups have over others in controlling the narrative that is told (Ormond, 2006). McIntosh (2005) stated that marginalisation involved living on the edge of society (either voluntarily or forced). She said:

The reality of the 'edge' may be the brink of the execution pit; for others, the 'edge' is the constant struggle in conditions of extreme poverty to meet daily survival needs. Marginality, then, needs to be seen as existing on a continuum. There are too many who find themselves as periphery dwellers, living in a liminal space where stigmatisation and exclusion are part of lived reality. (p. 46)

In this thesis, Kaikōrero discussed experiences of racism, racial profiling, poverty, marginalisation, and exclusion. For rangatahi Māori participants, their experiences of marginalisation were the impetus to exit colonial spaces (such as mainstream education). Identity literature highlights how exclusion can impact negatively on Māori identity-making where the minority groups internalise negative stereotypes (McIntosh, 2005; Phinney, 1992). McIntosh's (2005) theory of a "forced Māori identity" as the result of a marginal status is pertinent to this discussion, as marginalisation impacts on "identity formation where individuals have little control over the process" (p. 86).

Whilst this study agrees that marginalisation does put individuals on the periphery, rangatahi Māori who offend also consciously exit places which represent marginalisation and exclusion. They thus enter liminality as a statement of their tino rangatiratanga and resistance to colonialism. In the liminal of "betwixt and between" (Turner, 1969, p. 95), rangatahi Māori who offend are afforded a space where they can exercise tino rangatiratanga, a space to reject deficit discourses and a space to recreate themselves and their identity as Māori.

Thomassen (2009) discussed the three dimensions of liminality as subjects, temporality, and spatiality. Drawing on the marae areare as a metaphorical device, where the ‘areare’ represents a clear space or opening, I argue that liminality opens up a clearing and a space of dual realities. Dualism in the matataki ritual of encounter is bound with both inclusion and exclusion and includes both tangata whenua and manuhiri, it represents both peace and war, is sacred yet free from restriction. It is in this space that rangatahi Māori who offend have dual opportunities to both resist yet recreate their identities as Māori. The liminal in this study represents a dual space where rangatahi Māori who offend can resist deficit narratives to buffer racism, yet, through the discourse of survivance (Vizenor, 1999), the liminal gives them freedom to recreate, rearticulate, and reaffirm their identities as Māori without the burden of inclusion/exclusion binaries. Henry (2018) argued that “gangs [are] a space where individuals actively choose to survive within hostile environments but also, within the space, resist a settler colonial logic of erasure” (p. 71). Rangatahi Māori who offend do something similar in liminal spaces.

As a space of reclamation of their tino rangatiratanga, the liminal is where they adopt strategies of survivance in re-creating new identities (Henry, 2018; Vizenor, 1999). It is also a site of potential influence and change. In this study, rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending consciously occupied spaces of liminality as resistance to colonialism. In the in-between spaces, and the expectations of others were dismissed or resisted—simply because they were the creators of the rules of belonging. Munford and Sanders’ (2015) research with young people considered to be ‘at risk’ found that “safe and secure” relationships, testing out their identities, and agency enabled the participants in their study to navigate adversity (p. 1577). Drawing on Bhabha’s (1994) theory of hybridity, and the third space, Webber (2007) stated for her participants that in the “third space their uniqueness as hybrid individuals is fluid, situational, and self determined” (Webber, 2008, p. 84). This study has shown that

entering the liminal space for rangatahi Māori who offend is their response to the prevalent microaggressions of racism, and exclusion experienced in mainstream society.

The liminal also represents a fluid space where they can bracket stereotypical views of being Māori, deficit narratives which seek to label them as the Māori crime problem (Tauri, 1999) and recreate new identities. Nakata (2002) theorised the interface between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems as the “cultural interface” (p. 285) and identified that the cultural interface allows Indigenous peoples to move between different domains in Western society and Indigenous social organisation where cultures can be remade (p. 285). Nakata (2002) stated:

Indigenous peoples do traverse these intersecting discourses on a daily basis, responding, interacting, taking positions, making decisions, and in the process re-making cultures, ways of knowing, being and acting. (p. 285–286)

In the liminal spaces, rangatahi Māori who offend politically activate their sense of justice to recreate new identities. Watson’s (2020) study argued that whānau encouraged rangatahi in her study to critically assess the “unequal and unjust power relationships that could marginalise them” (p. 195). Like the findings from Watson’s study, Rangatahi Māori in this research used boldness as a mechanism to assert themselves, create the rules for engagement and boldly aspire to that which they desire. In this way, they are both walking in the liminal, whilst walking as edge walkers (Wood, 2016). Woods (2016) argued that “[r]ather than seeing the position of multiple identities as deficit, the concept of edge walkers infuses such identities with resilience and strength, showing the ability to juggle multiple social contexts and identities with agility” (p. 492).

Te Hunga Mātanga-waenga: Experts of Mātauranga Māori and Liminality

The Youth Crime Action Plan 2013-2023 stated “[r]esponsiveness to rangatahi Māori and their whānau, focus[es] on their strengths, needs, and aspirations, [and] is essential for the effectiveness of the Youth Crime Action Plan” (p. 1). Based on the findings in this thesis, I recommend that there is need for Mātanga-waenga as a workforce of highly skilled experts of mātauranga Māori who can support rangatahi Māori and whānau to navigate the liminal spaces. As role models and advocates, I argue that Mātanga-waenga can support rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau to traverse periods of uncertainty. Therefore, this section introduces Te Hunga Mātanga-waenga Character Profile (Table 1), comprised of four characteristics, which are Mātanga Mātauranga Māori, Mātanga-Mātauranga o te Waenga, Mātanga Pūkenga and Te Āhua o te hunga Mātanga-waenga.

Mātanga Mātauranga Māori is the first component which relates to the expertise who firstly have deep philosophical and practical knowledge of mātauranga Māori, te ao Māori and connections with whānau, hapū, and iwi. Māori values, principles and te reo Māori shape how they influence cultural identities, connectedness, and well-being.

Mātanga-Mātauranga o te Waenga is the second component, which relates to experts of liminality and the ‘in-between’ places rangatahi Māori who offend occupy. These Mātanga are adept at working alongside rangatahi Māori in transitional spaces with their whānau, but they are also competent to work with a range of government agencies as the mediator, as tensions exist. Mātanga-waenga must be able to gain respect of the rangatahi, whilst also maintaining respect with respective government agencies in which the young person is involved. Lopez-Aguado’s study (2013) about “gang intervention and street liminality” offers useful insights to explain how key workers navigate this tension. Lopez-Aguado (2013) highlighted that there are tensions when working between law enforcement agencies and

youth gangs. Interventionists needed to “claim legitimacy” often with “opposing social spheres” of interest (p. 188).

Mātanga Pūkenga is the third component of the character profile, which highlights experts who are highly skilled and trained in all aspects of the challenge of working with rangatahi Māori who offend. To be an influence, they must have mana as Māori and within mātauranga Māori. They must be willing to challenge and to be challenged. Based on the findings, they need to have an appreciation and understanding of trauma and negative experiences at school or with other government agencies, and how this affects rangatahi. However, they need to be able to support rangatahi to bracket challenges to build resilience and move into more positive trajectories.

Te Āhua o te hunga Mātanga-waenga, the final component of Te Hunga Mātanga-waenga, discusses the required dispositions of te hunga Mātanga-waenga. These experts draw on a range of experiences which help rangatahi Māori who offend. They demonstrate qualities which allow rangatahi Māori to trust them because they are there for them during difficult times. The following diagram summarises Te Hunga Mātanga-waenga Character Profile arising from the findings.

Table 1: Te Hunga Mātanga-waenga – Workforce Character Profile

Toa Matataki	Mātanga-Waenga Role	Practice Indicators
Toa Matataki capabilities	Mātanga-Waenga role based on the findings	Example indicators as discussed in the research findings
Mātanga Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori, Te Ao Māori An expert of Mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori, te ao Māori values, principles, and language		
Is adept in hapū and iwi knowledge.	Cultural Conduit Connect rangatahi Māori who offend with in-depth knowledge of te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori, te ao Māori and hapū/iwi cultural knowledge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluency in te reo Māori. • In-depth knowledge of whakapapa, hapū, and iwi. • Provides tangible whakapapa/pepeha experiences on the whenua. • Involves rangatahi in marae, hapū, iwi, hāpori activities to support cultural connectedness. • Accesses repositories of pūrākau of tūpuna and iwi success.
Is a chosen marae, hapū, iwi, or hāpori representative.	Whakapapa Connector Can establish whakapapa-based connections for rangatahi Māori who offend in their own tribal areas.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of local whānau, people, marae, hapū, iwi and the hāpori. • Knows different whānau names in the area where the rangatahi comes from. • Lives in the tribal area and participates in marae, hapū and iwi activities. • Relationship(s) with kaumātua/koeke (elders). • Relationship with ahikā to access support for rangatahi Māori.
Mediator through the marae areare and spaces of tapu/ noa.	Kaitakawaenga- ā-Ngā-Ātea-Tapu Conduit of the sacred space to support rangatahi Māori to navigate in spiritual and physical matters.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skilled in carrying out karakia to support rangatahi Māori and whānau • An advisor and facilitator of tikanga and mātauranga Māori. • Competent in facilitating Hohou te rongo (peace-making) and can bring rangatahi through challenges (to lead into spaces of peace and healing).
Mātanga – Mātauranga o te Waenga An expert of liminality and the ‘in-between’ places rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending occupy		
Competent to bring tangata whenua and manuhiri together safely.	A Connector in the Liminal Space Has an understanding that different stakeholders have different agendas, they can manage the tensions that exist in working between different stakeholders.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can work across agencies and navigate a pathway with rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending and their whānau. • Understands the ‘technical’ language of different agencies, particularly in education, social services, justice and police. • Can support whānau and rangatahi Māori to navigate liminal spaces.
Competent to carry out the matataki ritual of encounter with different peoples of different backgrounds. Is able to read the manuhiri.	Understands Neo-cultural Realities Demonstrates a deep understanding of the struggles that rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau may face. Competent in connecting rangatahi with people/services in their hāpori who can support them to address trauma and other areas of need in their lives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understands/empathises with how whānau feel when tamariki are removed into care where they feel a loss of mana/powerlessness. • Understands the challenges rangatahi Māori who offend may experience due to modern day challenges experienced in whānau e.g., poverty, fatherlessness, discrimination, parents going to jail, violence, being removed and taken into state care, bullying, low teacher expectations, death of loved ones, racism, racial profiling, and education systems which have failed them.
Understands the social and political history of their hapū/iwi.	Understands the impacts of colonisation Resists colonial narratives which pathologise rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau according to deficit discourses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understands the wider impacts of colonial, historical, and intergenerational trauma and how historical and current government policies have impacted on Māori collectives in the transmission of Māori values, language and identity.

Mātanga Pūkenga

Highly skilled and trained in all aspects of the challenges of working with rangatahi Māori who offend

Mentally, spiritually, physically and emotionally prepared for te matataki.	<p>Applies a holistic approach</p> <p>Works within Māori frameworks and understands that whānau are central well-being for rangatahi.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whānau-centred approach involves the whānau in decisions. • Can engage successfully with both the rangatahi Māori and their whānau.
Demonstrates superior warrior skills.	<p>Skilled negotiator of challenge/ liminal space</p> <p>Has a high level of skill and experience in working effectively with rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can handle the challenges that rangatahi Māori who offend bring and can challenge and inspire rangatahi Māori to achieve success. • Is someone rangatahi Māori can respect.
All senses are attuned for the challenge (observant and an intrinsic knowing).	<p>Responsive</p> <p>Alert and a good judge of character, has the ability to perceive needs ahead of time in working with different rangatahi Māori who offend.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can see beyond the behaviour and speak to the “heart” of the child. • Listens, observes, responds to what is happening around them. • Understands the importance of perceiving what the rangatahi is going through. • Initiates a ‘kawa’ and/or a set of rules and standards. • Communicates with the rangatahi Māori in a way that they understand.

Te Āhua o te Mātanga-waenga

Disposition of the Mātanga-Waenga in how they relate with rangatahi who offend and their whānau

Trusted to execute the matataki with precision.	<p>Trustworthy</p> <p>Is a confidant whom rangatahi Māori and their whānau can trust and share important kōrero.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is open minded and is confidential. • Is trustworthy and rangatahi Māori who offend can tell them what they are experiencing without fear of judgement. • Genuinely cares about the welfare of rangatahi Māori who offend.
Is a vital figure for the marae, hapū, iwi, hāpori.	<p>A role model</p> <p>As a leader, they are someone whom rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau can look up to and is supportive of the rangatahi and their aspirations.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On time and deliberate in their actions. • Display integrity and is an upstanding person in the community. They “walk the talk” – they don’t do something then preach something else. • Is a tuakana role model to rangatahi Māori who offend (teina). • Is someone who has overcome challenge and adversity and is willing to share their story.
Committed to their marae, hapū, iwi, or hāpori.	<p>Loyal</p> <p>Committed to rangatahi Māori and whānau.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committed to staying the journey and being there for rangatahi Māori and their whānau (not someone who just comes in and out of their lives).

Te Manu-hahanga: Rongoā: Entering into Te-Rongo-ā-Whare

Towards the end of the matataki ritual of encounter, manuhiri prepare to enter the pōwhiri or welcoming ritual of encounter with the tangata whenua. With taiaha in hand, Te Manu-hahanga slaps his thigh. This symbolic gesture to the kaikaranga signals for her to call the manuhiri forward in the formal welcome ritual. With Te Manu-hahanga as their leader, the manuhiri follow Te Manu-hahanga and move through the liminal space of te marae areare a Tū-mata-uenga into the space of Rongo-marae-roa, the guardian of peace. Like Te Manu-hahanga who transitions the manuhiri into a new space, I draw on what Rongo represents to shift this discussion point from trauma as a precursor of offending, to healing from trauma. First, I must provide a brief outline of who Rongo is.

Rongo, the guardian of agriculture and peace has many names, including Rongo-mā-tane, Rongo-hīrea, Rongo-marae-roa, Rongo-ā-whare. As the guardian of peace, the qualities of Rongo are “[h]umility [which] also features along with compassion, care, kindness and a strong work ethic, which is associated with the staple crop of the kūmara (MOJ, 2001, p. 18). In the context of te matataki ritual of encounter, Rongo-marae-roa is the name that Rongo assumes on the courtyard or the marae areare. Whilst typically referred to as the domain of Tū-mata-uenga, Rongo also has a role to play in this space to shift the energy from a place of battle to the ritual of welcoming guests. Rongo-ā marae therefore refers to discussions that take place in the domain of Tū-mata-uenga and on the marae areare (MOJ, 2001). In this space, it is common for heated discussions to take place, as this is both the domain of Tū-mata-uenga and Rongo-marae-roa. However, inside of the wharenuī, is the complete domain of Rongo. His name, Rongo-ā-whare therefore refers to “the discussion that takes place inside the house [wharenuī] in the domain of Rongomātāne, the kāwai tipuna [ancestor] of peace” (MOJ, 2001, p. 175).

Kaikōrero in this thesis described a range of external influences and internal pressures which contributed to rangatahi Māori offending behaviours including personal, whānau and historical trauma. An example of historical trauma was the ongoing systemic issues affecting Māori in the criminal justice system, which is well documented (Workman, 2015). Rangatahi Kaikōrero indicated that their interactions with police and other government agencies were laced with racial profiling and bias. Another issue discussed in this thesis, and of recent media interest and Waitangi Tribunal attention (Wai 2823; 2891), is the pervasiveness of state intervention into the lives of whānau Māori through state custody of tamariki and rangatahi Māori in care (Fitzmaurice, 2020). Whānau Kaikōrero and three of six of the Key Informant Kaikōrero in this study discussed state paternalism in the context of the removal of tamariki and rangatahi from their wider whānau collectives. State intervention in the lives of rangatahi Māori reported in this thesis left whānau feeling powerless to make decisions that affected their own whānau.

Historical trauma has been used to describe the experiences of colonised peoples in the last 20 years (Mohatt, Thompson, Thai, & Tebes, 2013). Historical trauma is explained as a wounding which is shared by a group of people and over multiple generations (Mohatt et al., 2013). Research is mounting that historical trauma caused through assimilationist policies across successive governments has been intergenerational (Henwood et al., 2018). Historical trauma in this study is marked by the continual pervasiveness of state intervention into the lives of whānau Māori with the removal of tamariki and rangatahi Māori to state care.

Pihama et al. (2014) stated, “Māori experiences of both historical and colonial trauma and current collective trauma (multiple forms of racism) have been ongoing for close to 170 years” (p. 24). This thesis echoes this claim, as colonising practices in the 21st century continue to be disruptive to the transmission of whānau cultural identities. Without understanding the collective impacts of historical events (such as the impact of abuse in state custody in borstals

in the 1970s), it could be easy to relegate past events as a ‘one-off’ or, even worse, as trauma isolated to individual rangatahi Māori and their individual nuclear whānau. However, this study argues that historical trauma is evidenced through the impacts of the interrupted transmission of Māori cultural identities across generations. State intervention unfortunately has become the breeding ground of intergenerational acts of trauma; interrupting the transmission of cultural identities (Pihama et al., 2014). Lawson-Te Aho (2013) and Jackson (1988) have argued that a secure cultural identity contributes to healing and well-being for Māori from the impacts of colonisation.

Where whānau identities have been disrupted because of colonisation, this thesis argues that tikanga Māori and a Māori-centred approach, embedded with mātauranga Māori, are the foundations to support rangatahi Māori who offend to heal those chasms. However, transformation must be addressed at all levels from governance to practice. At a governance level, Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and the responsibility of the Crown to meet the needs of Māori in the New Zealand justice system is expected and must be honoured (Quince, 2007; Webb, 2012). Expectations must allow for constitutional changes whereby for Māori by Māori is the first ‘go to’ in terms of interventions for rangatahi Māori who offend. Bargh (2007) argued that the separation of the economic and social from the political, and the appearance of devolution of responsibility to Māori tribes, has favoured some tribes over others in this neoliberal government versus iwi nexus. In this process, Māori desire for tino rangatiratanga has been largely unmet.

However, constitutional change and adequate resourcing to allow Māori to implement a by Māori for Māori approach with rangatahi Māori who offend is needed to realise the aspirations of Māori communities. Jackson (2018) stated that Māori are central to restoring and re-imagining what our future as Māori could be. He said:

Decolonization is not just about challenging and deconstructing the colonized “reality” but having faith once again in our own. To deal with the trauma and wrong that colonization inflicts while creating the hope for something better. There is a moral as well as a political, economic, and constitutional imperative to that re-imagining because it is not just about reclaiming long-denied rights but seeking the Māori and Indigenous notion of “rightness” in which a sense of relational justice may be restored. (p. 9)

Changes to implementation of legislation, such as the revised Oranga Tamariki Act Section 7(A), require kaupapa Māori models (Williams et al., 2019). In terms of practice, there needs to be a systemic shift from penal punishment to a welfare approach with rangatahi Māori apprehended for serious offending. Whilst statistics reveal that Māori are still over-represented in secure youth justice facilities (Oranga Tamariki, 2020), the Office of the Children’s Commissioner (2018) has argued that monocultural institutions are outdated and the time for iwi and hapū collaboration is now.

Lawson-Te Aho (2014) stated that decolonisation was not enough to lead to more positive trajectories. The trauma must also be addressed. To provide the healing that rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending and whānau need, trauma-informed care is paramount. Trauma-informed care, situated within mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori is becoming increasingly important to working with rangatahi and whānau who have experiences of trauma (Pihama et al., 2017). This study argues that trauma-informed care in educational settings could support rangatahi Māori to remain in education.

Exploring the realm of Rongohīrea as the guardian of peace is central to this discussion. The findings from this study have indicated that a tikanga Māori approach in working with rangatahi Māori is needed. Marsden (2003) argued that tikanga Māori were “proven methods” which were an accepted part of Māori society and were integrated into the societal institutions influencing beliefs, values, and beliefs (p. 66). Privileging a mātauranga Māori paradigm

within a tikanga Māori approach in practice with rangatahi Māori who offend requires a deliberate and proactive stance to providing services which allow mātauranga Māori ways of knowing and being and working to come to the forefront. Whānau Kaikōrero in this study were confident that, whilst they did not personally have all the answers, they believed that Māori services working ‘with Māori, for Māori’, within whānau, hapū, and iwi collectives and tikanga Māori, could provide a way forward to support their rangatahi and whānau needs. Boulton et al. (2018) in their research also argued that systemic changes were needed, which included addressing the needs of whānau through taking their views into account, providing support to better navigate the systems and improved communication with key state workers.

Beyond intervention, there is a need to restore mauri back to rangatahi Māori and their whānau, to heal wounds caused as a result of institutionalisation and historical trauma. Whereas the term soul wounding is used in literature to discuss the impacts of trauma (references), I instead use the Māori construct of mauri as central to a cultural restoration of the soul and of the self. This is required for rangatahi Māori and their whānau to thrive and flourish as whānau. Duran, Firehammer, and Gonzalez (2008) summarised the significance of culture for the soul. They said:

Culture is part of the soul. As human beings, we are all part of a culture and not separate from it. When the soul or culture of some persons are oppressed, we are all oppressed and wounded in ways that require healing if we are to become liberated from such oppression. (p. 288)

This thesis has highlighted low teacher expectations, negative relationships with teachers as risk factors which influenced the disengagement of rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending from mainstream education. Te Kotahitanga research (2003) found that:

Deficit theorising is the major impediment to Māori students' educational achievement for it results in teachers having low expectations of Māori students and reduced feelings of agency which in turn creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori student achievement and failure. (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003, p. 204)

Webber (2015) argued that positive racial-ethnic identity can support students to be more resilient, to buffer racism and low teacher expectations. "The influence of negative stereotypes and low academic expectations on Māori student educational outcomes can be significant because they affect Māori student psychosocial functioning and the ways they behave in the world" (Webber, 2015, p. 106). Whilst education has been identified as a protective factor for youth who offend (Sutherland, 2011), Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) stated that the protective factor element of education is very much hinged on the level of marginalisation that students experience.

Like the findings in my master's thesis (Cliffe, 2013), rangatahi Māori in this study experienced student and teacher bullying. Research indicates that New Zealand is recorded as having a higher rate of bullying than most OECD countries (ERO, 2019). In 2019, in research with 138 primary, secondary, and composite schools, ERO found that bullying was relatively high in schools. However, less bullying was reported in the most effective schools who had policies in place to deal with student bullying (ERO, 2019). ERO found that there was less monitoring of data to see if interventions were effective. Whilst there are strategies put into place to address student bullying, the issue raised in this thesis is around the policies in place to support Māori students who perceive that they are experiencing bullying from the teachers. Where power is an issue in schools between students and teachers, students may be more reluctant to come forward, for fear of repercussions (Cliffe, 2013). If they do come forward,

their concerns are less likely to be taken seriously or even trivialised as they may be seen as students merely complaining about a teacher they do not like.

Earlier, Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero felt that some teachers were racist and bullied them and that there was an overall lack of trust that teachers had their best interests at heart. This thesis argues that trust is fundamental to the learning process and rangatahi Māori must feel safe and secure in their teacher/student relationships to advance academically. Toshalis (2015) stated that trust was fundamental to the learning process. Whilst many educators ‘expect trust’, it needs to be earned before learning can take place. Toshalis (2015) held that “students often reject the presumption of trust, and they resist attempts to connect until we teachers have proven our legitimacy and trustworthiness” (p. 257).

Rangatahi Kaikōrero expressed that a lack of educational support from teachers was also a key negative factor to their disengagement. Rangatahi Māori Kaikōrero reported that when they had transitioned from Māori-medium education, they were not adequately supported with English language instruction, which made them want to disengage in the learning. We must move beyond test scores to ask some critical questions in mainstream education about how we cater for students who are first schooled in te reo Māori. Transition from Māori-medium to English-medium learning is no small feat. Therefore, I argue that we need a team of highly skilled teachers who can assess student learning accurately and ask the important questions, which leads to ensuring that plans adequately address learners’ needs. In the AE space, we need adequate resourcing through both the workforce and learning materials to support young people to make positive life choices. At present, AE is significantly underfunded, highlighting any irony that young people with complex needs often receive the poorest support (Clark et al., 2010; Schoone, 2016).

Conclusion: Championing New Cultural Frontiers

This study set out to investigate how cultural identity can act as a resilience factor to reduce offending. With shifts in governmental responsiveness for hapū and iwi to take more of a partnership role in the design and delivery of services, research such as this remains critical to dialogue between iwi, hapū, community and Oranga Tamariki in supporting rangatahi Māori apprehended for serious criminal offences. Oranga Tamariki has become more ‘child-centred’ with youth advisory mechanisms. However, it is unlikely that such structural changes for these hoped-for benefits will fundamentally change the underlying dynamics that led to Māori youth offending, without a better understanding of what underpins offending and how identity, resilience and educational engagement can shift these trajectories. This thesis contributes to this crucial understanding. Whilst this thesis has developed discourse as an original contribution to the field of Māori adolescents who offend, like other studies, this thesis had several limitations.

Limitations of this Study

Twenty nine participants is a small study therefore, it is difficult to generalise these findings to a wider population. Whilst this study has investigated the salience of ethnic identity to rangatahi Māori who offend, it was beyond the scope of this research to conclude that a secure cultural identity is a panacea to address Māori youth offending; this is because offending is a much more complex issue than that. The study at hand was centred in the Northland and Auckland regions. For that reason, the findings in this study do not represent what happens for rangatahi Māori who offend in other parts of New Zealand.

Implications for Practice

This study, grounded in mātauranga Māori, and specific to rangatahi Māori apprehended for a serious criminal offence, contributes as an emergent study in the field of cultural identity

and rangatahi Māori offending. With little existing empirical evidence in this field, there is still a need for longitudinal research and for iwi to investigate what cultural connectedness looks like for their own rangatahi. However, it is hoped that this study can further inform the design and interventions of services and programmes for Māori youth who offend. Likewise, governmental policy and planning should feature cultural identity as a critical protective factor to reduce Māori youth offending.

There are three political landscapes for consideration in relation to the implications of the findings of this research. First, governmental responsiveness to address Māori youth offending within the confines of Te Tiriti o Waitangi needs to change. Second, the implications of these findings within global Indigenous discourse about Indigenous youth offending need to be explored and developed further. Third, the implications of the findings for practice in working alongside rangatahi Māori who offend and their whānau, hapū and iwi need to be enacted.

Changes at structural levels such as Crown and iwi partnerships are complex (Fitzmaurice, 2020). Whilst Māori organisations, iwi, and hapū advocate for a devolution of power, there is a mismatch between “Māori solutions to Māori problems” and Crown management of iwi through the neoliberal reforms that shift Māori into the role of “service provider” (Bargh, 2007, p. 39). Therefore, genuine partnerships between Māori and the Crown would see grassroots Māori organisations who have significant experience in the field of Māori youth offending (such as NISS and Mahuru), contributing to, and shaping, governmental policy to improve services with rangatahi Māori and their whānau.

This thesis advocates for a workforce of Mātanga-waenga as specialist mātauranga Māori practitioners in the field who are given opportunity to forge new cultural frontiers in how we support rangatahi Māori and their whānau in the liminal spaces. I envisage that such skilled experts will be able to work across a range of sectors and government agencies and will have

an in-depth knowledge of te ao Māori. They will also have a range of relational connections within Māori communities in which they are located. However, to enable such a workforce to flourish, a relinquishing of power and control (and financial resources) from government agencies to dictate who may be best placed to serve the community in these roles is required. It is critical that Mātanga-waenga have the mana and mandate with local Māori communities to make effective changes and, equally so, they are acknowledged for the critical skill they bring to the youth offending landscape. Mātanga-waenga must be given authority to take the critical lead with rangatahi Māori through the liminal space. Whilst I have drawn on the findings to suggest a character profile for Mātanga-waenga as experts of mātauranga Māori who can support rangatahi Māori through transitional periods in their lives, this should not be seen as a prescriptive ‘how to’ or ‘who’. As a summary of the research findings, it serves as an original contribution (tool) to support hapū, iwi and Māori communities to advocate for the kind of workforce they want, outside of the Western ‘professionals’ that the state typically funds.

Future Research Opportunities

As an emergent study founded within a Māori paradigm in the field of Māori youth offending, this study has raised several areas for future research. In education, there is the opportunity to explore further transitions from Māori-medium and bilingual education to mainstream for young people and children who have been in the care system and are at risk of future offending. It would be critical to ascertain what key factors would enable Māori learners to make a smoother transition and how teachers and schools can respond. Further, as bullying has been raised as a significant issue in mainstream schools amongst several of the Rangatahi Kaikōrero, this could be explored further. Identity research from within a kaupapa Māori lens with Māori youth who have offended is very limited. Therefore, more research with a larger

cohort and perhaps a longitudinal study could be useful in advancing further understanding of how Māori youth who offend perceive and enact their cultural identities as Māori.

Summary

This thesis, situated within mātauranga Māori, set out to understand how cultural identity can act as a resilience factor. After investigations with twenty-nine Kaikōrero who are Key Informants, Rangatahi Māori, Whānau and Iwi Practitioners, the overall findings in this thesis support the conclusion that cultural identity is a resilience factor for rangatahi Māori apprehended for offending. However, unlike Western notions of resilience based on individualistic traits and characteristics, resilience for rangatahi Māori who offend is grounded in their relationships within the greater collectives of ahikā, whakapapa whānau, and kaupapa whānau. The original findings in this thesis highlights that rangatahi Māori who offend resist colonialism in the liminal spaces they occupy as their counter narrative of survivance. It has also found that Mātanga-waenga are critical to enhancing cultural connectedness in the liminal spaces. The speculation that Māori who offend (including rangatahi) are culturally disconnected or dislocated from their Māori identities supports a hegemonic narrative that assists government policy and planning but not necessarily the target population (Tauri, 1999; Webb & Tauri, 2012). Based on these findings, rather than fixing our gaze on rangatahi Māori who offend and how to fix them and their whānau, this thesis argues that systemic racism, discrimination, state intervention, teacher bullying, inadequate teaching support and rebuilding whānau and child agency should be our imminent concerns.

In finishing, as Te Manu-hahanga our sole warrior, leads the manuhiri across the marae areare, he slaps his thigh. This signals that his role in te matataki ritual of encounter and in the liminal space is now coming to an end, and that it is time to pass the mauri on to the kaikaranga to call the manuhiri forward. As the elders of tomorrow, we must prepare our rangatahi to take their rightful places on our marae. Our rangatahi Māori of today will one day be our elders of

tomorrow who will be charged with maintaining our marae etiquette, revitalisation of our reo, reclamation of our cultural practices, and the retelling of our history and stories of survivance. Therefore, as this thesis ends, I leave you with one final thought. We need key influencers working in the liminal spaces to integrate our rangatahi Māori who offend into their communities, where their mana and mauri is restored. Through positive relationships with caring adults and ahikā who can share of the cultural legacy of their tūpuna, rangatahi Māori who offend can be supported to understand their unique contribution that they can make to our world and to shift into positive trajectories. The time is now. The time is now to disrupt the school to prison pipeline. We must do everything within our power to interrupt the trajectories of our rangatahi Māori from state care to adult prison. After all, ko rātou ngā rangatira o te āpōpō – they are the leaders of tomorrow.

APPENDIX 1: Key Informant Profiles

Brief profiles of the six Key Informant Kaikōrero in Study One are provided below. Kaikōrero are listed in alphabetical order (according to their surnames), not in order of their interviews.

The Honourable Judge Andrew Becroft

The Honourable (Hon) Judge Andrew Becroft is a leading expert in youth justice and has extensive legal experience. In 1996, Judge Becroft was appointed as a District Court Judge, then in 2001, Judge Becroft became the Principal Youth Court Judge in New Zealand. He continued in that role until he was appointed as the New Zealand Children's Commissioner in July 2016. As the New Zealand Children's Commissioner, Judge Becroft is an independent voice to the government and advocates on issues affecting children and young people in New Zealand. As the New Zealand Children's Commissioner, Judge Becroft has a legal role to monitor services provided to children and young people as provided by New Zealand's welfare agency – Oranga Tamariki.

John Chapman

John Chapman of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Whakatōhea and Irish descent has substantial experience (over twenty years) in the public sector and in grassroots community services working with whānau and rangatahi. John brings personal, alongside professional experience as a key informant. John learnt a lot about rangatahi Māori who offend when growing up as John's whānau often took care of rangatahi who found themselves in State care. In a professional capacity, John has held roles in governance through various trust boards. His professional knowledge and experience in working with Māori youth in alternative education, trades training, and positive youth development is significant. Working at various levels of service including management, John has led transformational change in alternative education and in grassroots Indigenous community projects. In fact, John's wealth of knowledge and

experience in working with rangatahi Māori who have been alienated from the mainstream education sector is noteworthy.

Sarah Īhāia Chapman

Sarah Īhāia Chapman of Ngāti Maniapoto and Te Arawa descent has a considerable background in positive youth development, alternative education, and Indigenous community transformation. In a professional capacity, Sarah's career is extensive and has involved governance as a trust member, leadership in regional government positions such as the Ministry of Social Development and Indigenous grass roots community projects. Sarah brings a wealth of personal experience. Being raised in a loving family, Sarah grew up in a whānau where her parents took on roles as foster parents for children in the guardianship of the former Children, Young Person's, and their Families Services (now known as Oranga Tamariki). Together, John and Sarah Īhāia Chapman successfully established and led an alternative education school in Otaki in the early 2000s known as XaltEd.

Dr Adrian Schoone

As a current lecturer at Auckland University of Technology, Adrian is a leading expert in research associated with Alternative Education in New Zealand. Adrian's PhD research explored the pedagogical essences of tutors who work in alternative education in New Zealand. As the former principal of Creative Learning Scheme (one of Auckland's former largest providers of Alternative Education) for nine years, Adrian led the education in two secure residences in Auckland alongside overseeing various alternative education sites with Creative Learning Scheme. Adrian has been involved as the president of the Alternative Education Association in New Zealand for several years.

The Honourable Chief District Judge Hēmi Taumaunu

The Honourable Chief District Judge Hēmi Taumaunu of Ngāti Porou and Ngāi Tahu descent was appointed as the Chief District Judge in 2019. Judge Taumaunu has been practising law since 1994. In his earlier career, Judge Taumaunu was a Youth Advocate in the Youth Court and a lawyer for child in the Family Court. Judge Taumaunu is particularly recognised for his significant contribution to youth justice through his pioneering of Ngā Kōti Rangatahi o Aotearoa (the Rangatahi Courts) which was first established in Gisborne New Zealand in 2008. The Rangatahi Courts are established on 15 marae which are presided over by 12 judges. The Rangatahi Courts are embedded in the New Zealand youth justice system and provide a culturally responsive approach to youth justice for Māori youth who offend and their whānau.

The Honourable Dame Tariana Turia

Dame Tariana Turia of Ngāti Apa, Ngā Rauru and Ngāti Tūwharetoa is a former New Zealand politician. Alongside her commitment to her iwi, her community and Māori issues, Dame Tariana Turia entered parliament as a politician in 1996. A strong advocate for kaupapa Māori and whānau Māori, Dame Tariana Turia was the former co-leader of the New Zealand Māori Party from 2004 to 2014. As a former politician of the Labour party (1996-2004), Dame Turia was involved as Associate Minister and Minister of various portfolios. These portfolios included the former Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Social Development, Department of Corrections, Housing, Ministry of Health, and Whānau Ora. Dame Tariana Turia is particularly recognised for her pioneering of, and advocacy for the establishment of the government Whānau Ora initiative.

APPENDIX 2: Example Consent Form



FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

SCHOOL OF LEARNING, DEVELOPMENT AND

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Epsom Campus

Gate 3, 74 Epsom Ave

Auckland, 1023, New Zealand

T +64 9 373 7999

Consent Form

Whānau Hui participant

This consent form will be kept for a period of six years.

Research Topic: Cultural identity as a protective factor to reduce Māori youth offending

Researcher: Tania Cliffe

Research Supervisors: Associate Professor Melinda Webber, Professor Cindy Kiro

- I have been given a Participant Information sheet and have had it fully explained in a way that I understand.
- I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, and I can withdraw from the research at any time without giving a reason and without negative consequences.
- I understand that the whānau hui will be digitally recorded and two people will transcribe during the meeting.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the research without any negative consequences, however, due to the nature of transcription, it may not be entirely possible to edit out my contribution due to other participant contributions.
- Where individual contribution is recognised, I understand that I can change my comments and/or remove any comments that I don't feel OK about in the second whānau hui.
- I understand that only the researcher, the transcriber and the supervisors will have access my to transcripts and information about me.
- I understand that a 'pseudonym' or a 'made-up name' will be used to protect my identity. However, due to nature of whānau hui, the small number of participants and participating providers 'I may be identified'.
- I understand that I may bring whānau to support me during the hui. Someone who will keep what I share confidential.
- I understand all interviews will be digitally recorded and will be stored on an external hard drive that will be stored in a lockable cupboard at the researchers' residence. These will also be backed-up on the University of Auckland server which is password protected. These will be kept until data analysis has taken place.
- I understand that all consent forms and interview data will be stored separately in a locked filing cabinet for 6 years in the research supervisors' office at the University of Auckland. Then they will be destroyed.
- I understand that the research findings will be published and available at The University of Auckland and may be used by the researcher for future publications such as: conferences/presentations.

Assent:

I agree to participate in this research project Yes/No (please circle)

I would like to bring someone along to the hui as a support person Yes/No (please circle)

I would like the researcher to return to discuss/present the findings after March 2019
Yes/No (please circle)

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____ Email: _____

_____ (Please provide an
email address if you would like a copy of the research findings sent electronically.)

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on the 21st of November 2016 for a period of three years. Reference Number 018203.

APPENDIX 3: Example Interview Schedule



FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

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PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

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Auckland, 1023, New Zealand

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Interview Schedule (Rangatahi Māori)

Indicative questions only

Note: This interview schedule is set out for semi-structured in-depth interviewing. These are examples of the types of questions that the researcher may use to prompt discussion during the interviews. They are meant as a guide rather than to be used to follow a set line of questioning.

Research Topic: Cultural identity as a protective factor to reduce Māori youth offending

Researcher: Tania Cliffe

Research Supervisors: Associate Professor Melinda Webber, Professor Cindy Kiro

Starter Questions:

1. Do you want to tell me a little bit about yourself?
2. What sorts of activities do you enjoy doing?
3. How would your best friend describe you?
4. Who do admire and why?
5. What's the most important thing to you in your life right now?

Interview One

Key Focus: Cultural/ethnic identity development for Māori youth who offend

Ethnic/iwi identification

6. There are many different words to describe the background, culture or ethnic groups that people come from, such as Pākehā, Chinese, Māori, Samoan, Māori/Pākehā, Cook Island/Māori. What would you say you are?
7. What would your mother say she is?
8. What would your father say he is?
9. Do you know what iwi or tribe(s) your mother comes from? What about your father?
[If they show they know their iwi etc, ask them the next question]
10. Do you know your pepeha? [If yes, ask them if they would like to share it].

Exploration of identity

11. Some people spend time trying to find out about their own culture, like learning about

the history, traditions and customs. What about you? Have you spent time trying to find out about being Māori? [If yes, ask the next question] What have you done?

12. Can you tell me what you know about the history of Māori or things Māori that have happened in the past?

13. Can you tell me about one of your ancestors you admire and why?

14. Can you tell me something about the history of your own marae/hapū or iwi?

15. Do you think it is important to learn about things Māori or Māori culture? Why? Or Why not?

16. What or who has influenced your understanding of Māori culture and what it means to be Māori?

Ethnic identity commitment

17. Do you and/or your family get involved with things Māori or Māori culture? [If yes, ask the next question]. What sorts of things?

18. Has Māori culture played an important part in your upbringing? [If yes, can you explain what sorts of things have been important?]

19. Have you been to your marae or another marae? [If yes, tell me more about your experiences].

20. Have you studied Te Reo Māori at school or been involved in a kapa haka group? [If yes, tell me more about your experiences, if no, is there a reason for not getting involved?].

Interview Two

Key Focus: Cultural connectedness and cultural well-being

Cultural connectedness

21. Can you think of a time when you felt proud to be Māori?

22. Can you think of a time when you haven't felt good being identified as a Māori?

23. How would you rate the importance of being Māori to you? Important, sort of important, not really that important not important at all. Why did you choose.....?

24. What does being 'Māori' mean to you?

25. What sorts of things do you think make Māori feel connected to their culture [to being Māori]?

26. Are these the same things you would say are important to you as?

27. If you could choose your ethnicity or culture, would you choose to be Māori? Can you explain what you mean by [use answer given in previous question to ask this question]

Cultural well-being

28. Some people feel really proud to identify as being Māori, whilst others feel a bit embarrassed or shamed out. How do you think most Māori youth feel about being Māori these days?

29. How do you feel about being Māori? Why do you feel that?
30. What things do you like or dislike about being Māori?
31. How would you rate the importance of speaking Māori to you? Important, sort of important, not really that important not important at all. Why did you choose.....?
32. What about kapa haka, how would you rate the importance of kapa haka to you? Important, sort of important, not really that important not important at all. Why did you choose.....?

Interview Three

Key Focus: Risk factors and the trajectory from high school to youth justice

Risk Factors/protective factors

33. Were you going to school at the time of your offending? [If no, ask them about when the last time they were at school and why they left].
34. What would you say were the greatest influences in your life at the time of your offending?
35. If you had to give me three words to describe what school was like for your before to getting in trouble with the law, what would they be?
36. [use these words to ask the next question]

37. Tell me more about why school was.....[use words described in 2]
38. Can you tell me about your involvement with things Māori at school?
39. What things might have helped you at school to not get in trouble with the law?
40. Can you tell me about a teacher you liked at school and why?

Concluding Questions

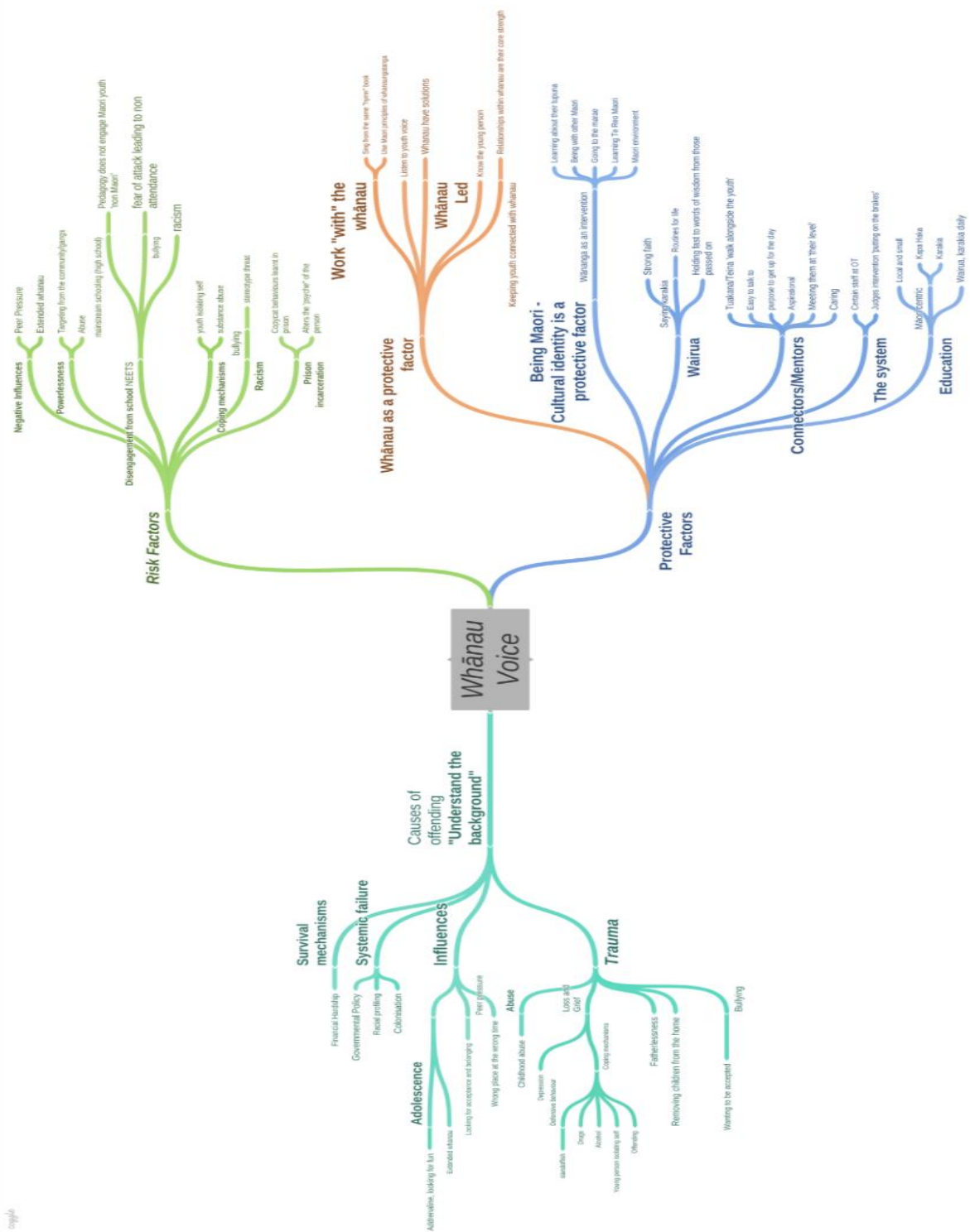
41. What advice would you give to anyone who works in the youth justice sector about working with Māori young people who offend?
42. What advice would you give to Māori youth your age about doing well in school?

Note: Questions 6-8 and 11-12 have been adapted from:

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156–176. doi:10.1177/074355489272003

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APPENDIX 4: Example Coggle Mind Mapping for Whānau Hui Findings



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