What can Pākehā learn from engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research?

Alex Barnes

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Working Paper 1

Alex Barnes

TE WĀHANGA
HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA
NZCER

He Whakamihi—Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

The emergence of kaupapa Māori educational discourse has contributed immensely to how contemporary Māori–Pākehā[1] educational relations are enacted. Debates continue regarding whether Pākehā or non-Māori can participate in the field of kaupapa Māori research theory and practice (Hoskins & Jones, 2012). Some kaupapa Māori theorists and practitioners do not believe there is a role for Pākehā in the advancement of kaupapa Māori theory (Jones, 2012). Others, usually due to previous negative experiences, are highly sceptical of Pākehā involvement (Smith, 2012). These debates demonstrate that knowledge, politics, and power combine to create a rich, and at times uncertain, landscape of Māori–Pākehā relationship building.

This paper explicitly focuses on the experiences of four Pākehā educational researchers who have been engaged in different forms of kaupapa Māori research since the early 1990s. Placing these four narratives at the centre of this paper aims to demonstrate what Pākehā are learning from engaging in kaupapa Māori research. This is a valuable site of research because more and more Pākehā and non-Māori are attempting to work with a variety of Māori groups throughout the education landscape. Broadly, this paper contributes to knowledge about how Pākehā educationalists can change when working with diverse Māori, and what potential challenges and benefits can transpire from these encounters.

Some Pākehā responses to Māori rangatiratanga have emerged in fields other than education,[2] yet contemporary Pākehā educational researcher exploration about involvement in, or relationships towards kaupapa Māori educational initiatives are scarce.[3] This is partly owing to enduring challenges from some Māori about the ethics of Pākehā researcher involvement in Māori communities (Smith, 1999; Cram, 1993; Hill & May, 2013). How this situation can be transformed to contribute towards a critical, yet optimistic, discussion about Māori–Pākehā research approaches

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[1]   Please note that the terms "Māori", "Pākehā" and "non-Māori" are used throughout paper. However, I recognise these categories are not homogenous. There are distinct and diverse cultural and ethnic markers that can describe contemporary Māori, Pākehā and non-Māori identities. Here, I describe "Pākehā" as those people of European descent who call Aotearoa New Zealand home. Culturally, socially, and politically, the term "Pākehā" relates to our historic and evolving contemporary relationship with Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.

[2]   These responses have taken place in the areas of history, social science, public health, community psychology, community education, and literature, see: Margaret, 2013; Came, 2012; Colquhoun, 2012; Treaty Resource Centre (www.trc.org.nz); Kirton, 1997; Black, 2010; Huygens, 2007; King 1999; McCreanor, 1995; Ritchie, 1992; Margaret, 2002; Nairn, 2010 (http://awea.org.nz/thoughts); Kelsey, 1991; Spoonley, 1991; Metge, 2010; Newton, 2009.

[3]   There are at least four recent exceptions to this: Hill & May (2013); Glynn (2013); Woller (2013); and Jones (2012).

to educational matters underlines this working paper. This research responds to suggestions by Pākehā educationalist Alison Jones (2012) that more dialogue take place about the relationship between kaupapa Māori research and non-Māori researchers in education. The study[4] explores two research questions.

- How have Pākehā become *involved in* kaupapa Māori educational research?
- What issues do Pākehā believe *inhibit* and *facilitate* their working with Māori communities?

For Pākehā, this inquiry offers critical insights in order to strengthen research praxis with Māori communities. For Māori, this inquiry offers an account of how Pākehā are working with "our own" to advance socially and culturally just research methodologies in education.

This working paper is made up of four sections:

1. Finding our feet: Describing the inquiry context.
2. Departures and arrivals.
3. "Being there": Processes of reorientation.
4. Pākehā in kaupapa Māori research: A descriptive framework.

I propose a descriptive framework for identifying factors that can facilitate Pākehā participation in kaupapa Māori research. This framework is one contribution towards the process of countering "Pākehā paralysis" when it comes to research with Māori (see Tolich, 2002). I describe Pākehā paralysis as the inability of Pākehā to be active participants in social and cultural relations with non-Pākehā people or groups. This paralysis can come about due to fear of "getting it wrong" or negative cross-cultural encounters and experiences. Aside from paralysis, some Pākehā simply "blunder" into relationships with Māori unaware or blind to the power relations between them.

This paper is a starting place. I am a Pākehā graduate of kaupapa Māori educational initiatives,[5] and a researcher involved in kaupapa Māori education. Subsequently, I am curious about *our* (Pākehā educational researcher) responses and actions in relation to Māori assertions of rangatiratanga (see Winiata, 2013) in education, and objections to Pākehā roles in kaupapa Māori spaces specifically. I aim to map broad parameters of what some Pākehā are learning through their engagement with kaupapa Māori educational theory and practice. I do not argue that there are always opportunities for Pākehā to contribute to kaupapa Māori research spaces. Given our colonial history and current power relations, such an assertion would be uninformed and obtuse. Indeed, Pākehā researchers and educationalists will engage with Māori on a variety educational issues, which will not necessarily be located within kaupapa Māori framework. However, I do suggest that

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[4] This project is funded by the New Zealand Council for Education's Purchase Agreement with the Ministry of Education.
[5] See pp. 7–9 for more detail about my background and interest in kaupapa Māori, and Māori educational issues generally.

more detailed examination of facilitative factors that underpin Pākehā engagement in kaupapa Māori methodologies is needed if Māori–Pākehā research relations are to be enhanced, and learnt from generally. First, this examination is important to ensure Pākehā educational research with Māori does not perpetuate research that results in no benefit for whānau; or that educational research is out of synch with diverse whānau realities and learning aspirations. Secondly, more and more Pākehā educationalists are attempting to work with diverse Māori to "accelerate Māori student success" (Ministry of Education, 2013). By eliciting the experiences of Pākehā who have engaged in Māori educational issues since the 1990s, we can learn from them about what has worked well, what needs to change, and what has been rewarding. Finally, my qualitative inquiry seeks to unsettle taken-for-granted Eurocentric notions of research (Mikaere, 2011, pp. 67–96; Scheurich, 2002) by reporting the research experiences of a small group of Pākehā working in Māori contexts that are out of the defining Western cultural and political norm. These are important sites of learning and transformation because these experiences can help offset Pākehā paralysis in the 21st century, and create new ways to meaningfully engage with diverse Māori on critical educational issues.

2. Finding our feet: Describing the inquiry context

To connect this working paper to a research context, I start by offering some brief descriptions, boundaries and points of reference including:

- audience and use of language
- kaupapa Māori research
- locating myself
- locating the participants
- contributing to the field.

Audience and use of language

The audience for this paper comprises educational researchers with a general interest in cross-cultural research in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Māori–Pākehā research relations specifically. The medium of English is used to describe and present Pākehā educational researcher experiences of kaupapa Māori research. This presents language restrictions, as complex cultural ideas and practices can be misinterpreted if not used in the appropriate context.

When Māori terms or descriptions are used, footnotes are provided to describe (as opposed to define) these terms. Māori writers are referred to in footnotes for more in-depth discussion of Māori concepts and practices. Care has been taken to acknowledge the cultural context of language and subsequent interpretations.

Kaupapa Māori research

From 1987 there has been much discussion and writing about kaupapa Māori theory, research, and education (Smith, 2012, p. 10). This paper does not attempt to rearticulate all the varied political and cultural debates about the limits and possibilities of the kaupapa Māori movement. These discussions continue to occur across diverse Māori communities, in a number of interconnected

domains, and there is a great deal of literature cited elsewhere on these debates.[6] However, a general description of kaupapa Māori research helps connect it to the cultural and political context of inquiry.

For the purposes of this paper I accept kaupapa Māori research as research controlled by Māori, for Māori, and of direct benefit to Māori. Research agendas that centre on aspirations of diverse Māori communities remain a core tenet of kaupapa Māori thinking and practices (Smith, 2012). The seminal work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith—*Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999)—encourages Māori and indigenous peoples to decolonise conventional "Western research", thereby carving out their own research space. My understanding and experience of kaupapa Māori research approaches is that it challenges monologic research[7] in favour of strengthening Māori-controlled platforms for cultural, social, political, environmental, and economic theory and action. Graham Smith (2012) argues that kaupapa Māori approaches must include cultural and political movements to effectively support Māori action and analysis:

> The cultural element involves the assertion or reinvigoration of cultural ideas in action such as ideas of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and reciprocity as social capital. The political element foregrounds economic power and historical analyses, and the related actions of economic self-development. Both elements are crucial to the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori (p. 13).

Kaupapa Māori approaches to knowledge creation, and indigenous research methodologies, generally herald an overhaul of Eurocentric educational research methodologies (Denzin, 2005). The decentering of the "Western-derived" status quo in educational research has also been resisted through contemporary Māori community organising in education. The community activism of the 1970s, '80s and '90s aimed to re-establish learning environments that are culturally specific and benefit diverse whānau, hapū, and iwi.[8] Kaupapa Māori educational research methodologies and learning approaches continue to be active players in shaping the contemporary education system in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hutchings, Barnes, Taupo, Bright, Pihama, & Lee, 2012; Bishop & Berryman, 2010).

Historical, sociological, and political representations of Māori–Pākehā relations provide important contextual accounts of the current educational issues that confront Māori and Pākehā.[9] It remains

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[6] See L.T. Smith (1999); G. Smith (2012); Pihama, (2001); Bishop (1996); Hoskins & Jones, (2012); Hutchings & Aspin, 2007; Selby, Moore & Mulholland, 2010; www.rangahau.co.nz

[7] I adhere to Kincheloe (2005) and his description of "monologic" as research knowledge "produced in the rationalistic quest for order and certainty. In such a trek, a solitary individual, abstracted from the cultural, discursive, ideological, and epistemological contexts that have shaped him or her and the research methods and interpretive strategies he or she employs, seeks an objective knowledge of unconnected things-in-themselves" p. 326.

[8] For example, "Māori-medium education", or more specifically learning initiatives such as te kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura and contemporary whare wānanga aspire towards culturally explicit learning approaches. See Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997; Hohepa, 1999; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Winiata, 2013.

[9] See Bentley, 2007; Belich, 2007; King, 1999; Bell, 2004; Meredith, 1998; Metge, 2010; Jones with Jenkins, 2008; Puckey 2011; Bargh, 2007; McIntosh & Mulholland, 2011.

clear that the effects of colonisation on educational structures and systems continue to challenge educational researchers, community organisers, social scientists, and policy-makers.[10] Māori educationalists have often been at the forefront of this discussion, particularly through their advancement of innovative ways to maintain and sustain Māori worldviews to contribute to the "mātauranga Māori continuum", also described as the intergenerational accumulation of Māori knowledge and wisdom (Mikaere, 2013). The notion of "Māori succeeding as Māori" has underpinned much of this work in English-medium settings.[11] These efforts have challenged systemic inequality by offering relevant educational choices for Māori, which is leading to incremental changes by creating "culturally responsive" practices in the educational system (Bishop, 2012; Berryman, SooHoo & Nevin, 2013; Penetito, 2010; Whitinui, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2013).

Arguably, kaupapa Māori educational research and initiatives has led to strategic questioning of how learning and education amongst diverse Māori communities happens (Hutchings et al., 2012). This type of critical inquiry has intensified the focus on the New Zealand education system, and how responsive it must be to a growing Māori population. The role of Pākehā in this strategic questioning of educational institutions and how it responds to Māori visions for learning is essential, and also contested. I suggest that Pākehā and non-Māori need to explore diverse ways of taking action when considering Māori educational aspirations and challenges to the educational system. The ground is fertile for growing ways to counter our own Pākehā cultural paralysis, and think through beneficial educational relations alongside diverse Māori communities.

Locating myself

My interest in historical and contemporary Māori–Pākehā relations in education arise out of my Pākehā family participation in and support for kaupapa Māori education initiatives in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. As a graduate of te kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa in Tauranga Moana, and later bilingual education at secondary school, I have sought a nuanced understanding of the impact these early educational experiences had on me, my family, and other Pākehā (Barnes, 2006).[12]

Our family came into regular contact with Māori whānau through my father's[13] involvements in Pākehā anti-racism groups in the mid-1980s and his marae-based community development work. Over time, local whānau came to know our family and they became known to us. These

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[10] See Durie, 1998; Bargh, 2007; Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011; Simon & Smith, 2001; Walker, 1990; McIntosh and Mulholland, 2011, Waitangi Tribunal, 2012; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004; May & Hill, 2005; Penetito, 2010.

[11] See Penetito, 2010; McKinley & Hoskins, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2008; Ministry of Education, 2013.

[12] See http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/2517160/ideas-for-29-april-2012

[13] I want to acknowledge the political activism of my mother, Mary. She passed away while decisions regarding our early education were being made, but her interest in cultural and social justice influenced the choices my father took in participating in kaupapa Māori education.

relationships played an important role in my father's decision to continue our participation in Māori education, particularly kaupapa Māori education. When I asked my father why he decided to send my twin brother and I to kōhanga reo, and then kura kaupapa, he replied:

> I had an opportunity for you to learn a broader base of ideas as a part of who you are. My upbringing often felt stiflingly narrow and limited because it seemed so monocultural, even when I could learn as an adult to change. I knew I could use my current experience to offer you what I thought would be a much more useful base. I was resolute that the good things within the Māori world along with our privilege as Pākehā would be a whole new combination for you to choose from as you got older. (Barnes, 2006, p. 2)

My formative kaupapa Māori and bilingual educational experiences impressed upon me an appreciation of mātauranga and tikanga Māori. I have benefited culturally and intellectually from this experience (Barnes, 2006). However these benefits have not come without a sense of accountability and obligation to the Māori communities that generously share their knowledge, time, challenges and encouragement. I appreciate the complexity, and at times my own emotional and intellectual confusion, about notions of "Pākehā accountability", "Pākehā paralysis" and ways of giving back to "Māori" as "Pākehā". I have started to question static understandings of Māori–Pākehā relations. I am inspired to find creative and enabling ways of addressing the dimensions of being Pākehā working with diverse Māori groups in order to improve Māori experiences of the education system.

Two interconnected elements have come to influence the ways I navigate what Jones (2012) terms "working the Māori-Pākehā hyphen". First, I have a commitment to working with Māori communities in order to advance kaupapa Māori initiatives. I have observed the possibilities and challenges that face these initiatives. Professionally, I have been involved in working within kaupapa Māori paradigms particularly as a programme evaluator for a hapū (Selby & Barnes, 2013), undertaking voluntary work with Māori,[14] and as a researcher for a kaupapa Māori environmental consultancy (Moore, Royal, & Barnes, 2011). Presently, I hold a position as kairangahau in Te Wāhanga, the kaupapa Māori research team located in the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER).

Secondly, in committing to the advancement of kaupapa Māori initiatives alongside Māori colleagues and whānau, I recognise the potential of offering my Pākehā colleagues opportunities to reorientate how they work with diverse Māori groups. There is power and potential in being Pākehā and working with other Pākehā towards a socially and culturally just educational present and future. This has been evidenced to me by my involvement with Pākehā Treaty Workers, a network of community educationalists and researchers committed to honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Margaret, 2002). This network has provided me with critical frameworks for thinking about contemporary Māori, Pākehā, and non-Māori relationships through the prism of inclusion, and social and cultural justice.

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[14]   I am involved in reo Māori revitalisation efforts locally and nationally.

As a "Pākehā product" of early kaupapa Māori educational efforts I remain steadfast as an adult in my commitment to kaupapa Māori initiatives. This means I choose to straddle Māori and Pākehā worlds personally and professionally. I have found that this position can be empowering, exciting, and paralysing. Different emotional and intellectual responses result in me adapting personal, professional, and political identities depending on cultural and political circumstances. For example, I critically reflect about "Pākehātanga"[15] in relation to aronga, the interplay of kaupapa and tikanga, and Pākehā understanding, use, and ongoing learning about these philosophies and practices.[16] While I am focusing on my own identity here, Māori traverse these complex issues far more often than Pākehā by virtue of being Māori in colonised country. Māori efforts to reconnect, maintain, and nurture their own cultural identity are immense.

The potential intergenerational sharing of specific Māori–Pākehā experiences and knowledge can be a site of individual and collective transformation. This research aims to shed light on the shades of transformation that can take place by working with Pākehā to strengthen educational research approaches that better reflect the changing times and circumstances of Māori–Pākehā relations. Exploring this terrain unveils questions about power, paralysis, ethics, positioning, and agency.

Locating the participants

As a qualitative "project in development", I was interested in approaching people who had worked in a variety of kaupapa Māori settings over a considerable period of time. My assumption has been that these people have valuable experiences to offer other Pākehā and non-Māori. Their understandings contribute to building knowledge about the changing educational relations between Māori and Pākehā.

I limited the number of participants to a manageable four.[17] I used my existing personal relationships, and the professional networks of fellow NZCER colleagues, to identify prospective participants. The criteria for participation included:

- a self-disclosed identity as a Pākehā educational researcher
- a history of conducting educational research with Māori in Māori cultural paradigms e.g. kaupapa Māori research
- research links with one of the following educational sectors: early childhood, primary/secondary school, tertiary, and/or adult community education
- a body of published educational research.

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[15] Generally described in this paper as Pākehā identity, values and ways of seeing the world.
[16] For a concise overview of how āronga, kaupapa and tikanga can interact, see Winiata, 2013.
[17] This limitation should not detract from the fact that there are other Pākehā working in kaupapa Māori educational spaces, and a range of other kaupapa Māori areas particularly public health, mental health, social services and environmental areas.

On initial contact all invitees agreed to participate and I outlined the background and aims of the research. We then negotiated and organised appropriate times and places to meet. I sent each person semi-structured interview questions along with information about the research process.[18] The semi-structured interview questions were based on the research questions. Each individual semi-structured interview generally took between 1 and 2 hours. All participants consented to being named. Pseudonyms have not been used. Finally, I asked each participant to provide a brief biography in order to introduce them to readers. These biographies, in the participants own words, follow.

Ann Milne

I was born in Whangarei but grew up from the age of 5 years in the small coastal and predominantly Māori community of Pataua. I attended the tiny sole teacher Pataua School throughout my primary schooling. My father operated the daily bus service between Pataua and Whangarei. I trained as a primary school teacher at Ardmore Teachers' College in the early 1960s.

I am the principal of Kia Aroha College, a 'special-character' Year 7 to 13 state school in Otara, Auckland. I have worked in the school and Otara community for almost 30 years. I've helped to develop a learning model focused on Māori and Pasifika bilingual education, and culturally responsive, critical, social justice pedagogies. As a Pākehā educator, I am a strong advocate for approaches that impact on the education of Māori and Pasifika students. I'm a mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother of Māori children whose own school experiences, over these three generations, have often outraged me.

I've presented research throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally. My PhD thesis is entitled *Colouring in the White Spaces: Reclaiming Cultural Identity in Whitestream Schools*. It examines how our Eurocentric, white system alienates Māori and Pasifika learners and perpetuates inequity.

Alison Jones

I was born in Auckland in 1953 to English immigrants (though my mother's grandmother was born in Otago) and raised in small New Zealand towns before returning home to Auckland permanently. I gained a BSc from Massey University in 1970s, an MPhil and PhD in Education in the 1980s and a professorial chair in Education at the University of Auckland in 2006. I have two adult Pākehā sons, one of whom was a founding pupil at Ritimana kōhanga reo.

My early warm memories of kuia with moko kauae sitting in the main street of Whakatāne and close relationships with Māori school friends preceded lasting engagements with Māori students and colleagues.

I find huge pleasure in my relationships with the people of Te Tai Tokerau, the site of my work with Kuni Jenkins on the early 19th-century educational engagements between a Pākehā and Māori (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). My most recent work is in two fields: with Te Kawehau Hoskins, interrogating the potential insights of "new materialisms" for Māori–Pākehā relationships, and, with Kuni Jenkins, a continued examination of the educational experiences of Māori in England and Australia before 1820.

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[18]   See Appendix 1 for a list of the individual semi-structured questions.

Ted Glynn

I am an Emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Waikato, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand. I have had extensive background of research and teaching in applied behavior analysis, inclusive education, and in promoting students' literacy through home and school collaboration.

Over the last 20 years, my research and teaching has focused on developing assessment and teaching strategies to enhance the behaviour and literacy outcomes for Māori students in both Māori- and English-medium education. My current focus is on the implications of kaupapa Māori research principles for the respectful engagement, participation, collaboration, and positioning of Pākehā researchers who wish to work alongside Māori teachers, whānau, and communities.

Christine Herzog

My current work as an ally in kaupapa Māori contexts is grounded in my confusion about both the overtly discriminatory experiences of the black student who sat next to me in junior high school and her disinclination to challenge them. It was the 1960s in San Francisco; so I was soon involved protesting about a range of issues including the war, poverty, ageism, sexism, and homophobia, but my abiding concern was and continues to be racism.

When I came to New Zealand in 1976, supposedly for only 9 months, I became intrigued by possibilities suggested by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Exploring them has led to involvement in Project Waitangi, work with Nganeko Minhinnick, various roles in Te Tari Mātauranga Māori at Manukau Institute of Technology, establishment of the Treaty Resource Centre, long-term support of a Māori social services trust and, currently, a management role with Ngāti Tamaoho Trust.

An accidental encounter in the 1980s with the structural analysis programme of tools to support social justice work provided a conceptual framework that linked my learnings from these diverse experiences. One of its many useful insights is why it is more important for dominant group allies to support initiatives of marginalised groups than to challenge injustices independently.

Contributing to the field

In beginning this study it quickly became obvious to me that critical Pākehā reflections on Māori–Pākehā encounters in education that advance Māori educational aspirations are not new (Jones with Jenkins, 2008; Metge, 2010). Joan Metge (2008, p. 15) offers one such critical recollection of the mid-20th century, where she describes "individual bridge builders"—Māori and Pākehā who, "reached out across the cultural divide, advancing mutual understanding and pioneering innovative strategies" in Māori education.

This working paper builds on the efforts of these bridge builders by exploring how Pākehā can strengthen our research approaches with Māori. I expand on Jones' (2012) suggestion to broaden our Māori–Pākehā educational research ideas in Aotearoa New Zealand:

 it is in the struggle, discomfort and energy of positive encounter between us that new ideas can emerge—and these do not necessarily need to be called kaupapa Māori. But as kaupapa Māori in its modern academic incarnation moves into its third decade, new ideas and critiques developed in

the spirit of whanaungatanga—that is ethically, with care and respect for others—(along with a consciousness of how power works in everyday interactions) are surely to be welcomed and debated. (p. 109)

As one optimistic contribution to such encounters between Māori and Pākehā in educational research, this paper describes some of the impacts kaupapa Māori research is having on Pākehā educationalists. This inquiry offers knowledge about how these relations come to be, and what Pākehā and non-Māori can learn from these encounters. Broadly, this inquiry contributes to ongoing international debates and critical inquiry about indigenous and non-indigenous research relationships (Davis, 2010; Margaret, 2010; Margaret, 2013; Berryman, SooHoo & Nevin, 2013).

Two fields of critical educational theory have been used to form the analytical and descriptive framework for the study: "local theories of Pākehā change", and "praxis-related research". Both theories and their relevance to the project are briefly described next.

Local theories of Pākehā change

> The descendants of the colonisers have different decolonisation tasks from the descendants of the colonised. (Nairn, 2002, p. 210)

Local theories of Pākehā change have generally evolved out of 20th- and 21st-century Pākehā responses to Māori groups challenging colonial and neocolonial power relations in Aotearoa New Zealand (Huygens, 2007; Black, 2010; Margaret, 2002). In general, theories of Pākehā change focus on the consciousness-raising processes that Pākehā can collectively or individually engage in. These local theories assume that Pākehā change experiences can positively transform Pākehā self-understandings, and awareness of colonial history, thereby creating positive avenues for Pākehā to create more informed relationships with Māori (Brown, 2011; Huygens, 2007). A seminal study in this area is Huygens' (2007) research into how collective Pākehā consciousness can change in response to learning about the Treaty of Waitangi. Huygens identified the many elements that can facilitate and inhibit Pākehā group change.[19] On an individual level, Brown's (2011) research revealed "five occurrences" that can underpin "Pākehā decolonisation"[20] when we engage with te ao Māori.[21] These collective and individual theories of Pākehā change demonstrate a cultural,

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[19] Huygens (2007) discusses the *facilitative factors* as having a sense of justice/empathy, having support, timely and relevant information, putting new ideas into practice, shifting self-interest, and linking/connecting with others. *Inhibiting factors* include fear, rigidity, and complacency (my emphasis, pp. 173–175).

[20] I note that notions about majority or defining culture decolonisation is contested. For example, I am aware of questions about whether the decolonisation process can take place amongst "the colonisers" because they have not been colonised themselves. Added to this, is the argument that decolonisation of the majority culture does not always create positive change for indigenous people, rather the process can have the opposite effect: benefitting the majority culture by adding to their knowledge of "the other" and not redistributing acquired material privilege, or changing power relations between groups.

[21] Brown (2011) describes these "five occurrences" as 1. Encounters with te ao Māori; 2. Ngā wairua o te ao Māori; 3. *Othering* experiences from Pākehā; 4. Awareness and experience of sites/locations where equality

political, and intellectual desire; an aspiration for a sophisticated engagement in Māori–Pākehā relations as individuals, organisations, and as collective social movements.

Exploring how Pākehā have become involved in kaupapa Māori research, and what inhibits or facilitates this involvement deepens the array of Pākehā responses to challenges and invitations from Māori for an improved relationship. Indeed, Huygens (2007, p. 75) calls for "new, counter-hegemonic discourses and social practices developed by Pākehā in response to challenges from Māori".

Praxis-related research

Praxis-related research offers a constructive framework to describe Pākehā educational researcher thinking and action in relation to kaupapa Māori environments. Mattsson and Kemmis (2007) describe praxis-related research as:

> an approach concerned with addressing and overcoming human suffering, injustice and oppression. It is also concerned with developing and expressing the creativity and capacity of human beings who participate in collaborative work to build a better world. (p. 187)

This inquiry begins to generate forms of "Pākehā cultural research praxis". It brings into view the ways that individual Pākehā can take informed, committed action in the world via their research with Māori and, through this, change social fields and structures (Kemmis, p. 186). Based on the description of praxis-related research provided by Mattsson and Kemmis (2007), this paper suggests that Pākehā cultural research praxis should focus on individual and structural changes by:

- creating a *dialectical* process between individual researchers about how our (in this case Pākehā) information and actions *change* as a result of encounters with kaupapa Māori research methodologies
- understanding the potential of Pākehā researchers to *transform* the Eurocentric *social fields* and *structures* that influence Pākehā cultural research thinking and doing with diverse Māori.[22]

Pākehā experiences of kaupapa Māori research via praxis-related research should not be misconstrued as *technē*. Kemmis (2010. p. 15) describes technē as "constructing rules for practitioners and others to follow". This paper does not promote formulating a checklist of what

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between Māori and Pākehā exist; and 5. Learning successful *Pākehā educating Pākehā* strategies (original emphasis, pp. 2–3).

[22] These two elements assisted in clarifying the position I was taking in "the field" and helped as an analytical framework of the qualitative information gathered.

Pākehā researchers "should" or "should not" do when working (or aspiring to work) in Māori-controlled settings. As found in international research, and in this study, a singular formula for building indigenous and non-indigenous relationships is at best imaginary, yet full with possibilities:

> We have learned that there is no simple recipe for respectful relationships, no 'best practices'. Relationship building is an ongoing process that is fluid and unfolding. It requires commitment, attention, awareness and communication. There are 'ups' and 'downs' but through it all there are tremendous opportunities to work in solidarity and to make changes that will result in a more just world for present and future generations. (Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010, p. 347)

Māori–Pākehā educational relationships are contextual: how one responds and acts differs depending on their unique setting and relationships. Pākehā must resist the seduction of cultural reduction that simplify the ethics of engagement and the power relations that exist between us. We need to resist research that presents Māori as the culturally romantic "Other", or that perpetuate racist notions of Māori deficiency. Different critical reflections amongst educational researchers that accurately reflect their particular "sites" of Māori–Pākehā research need to be described, shared and learnt from.

In describing Pākehā cultural research praxis I do not evaluate actual changes in Pākehā research theory and practice over a defined period (see Mattsson & Kemmis, 2007, pp. 192–209). Such a project would entail a different research design with a larger base of participants. Rather, as a qualitative exploratory inquiry this paper is a "snapshot in time" describing Pākehā experiences of engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research. The analytical frameworks for this paper are one attempt to interpret cultural and ethical contexts that Pākehā find themselves in when engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research methodologies. In the next section, I present my interpretation of the narratives offered by the four educational researchers, bearing in mind the cautions and resolutions offered above.

3. Departures and arrivals

The four Pākehā educational researchers in this study drew on their experiences of:

- kaupapa Māori research in academia
- secondary and tertiary level teaching/mentoring
- involvement in co-ordinating and teaching in adult community education
- conducting independent research with hapū and iwi.

This varied educational and research work illustrates the breadth of experience participants have in working with diverse Māori. Given this broad scope, asking how they became involved in kaupapa Māori research implies that they "depart" from the "Pākehā world" to "arrive" in Māori controlled spaces. The following narratives illustrate what has influenced shifts in their research thinking and practice. I am not suggesting that when Pākehā engage in educational research with Māori that we depart from some identities and arrive at others. I propose that our multiple identities (particularly ethnic, gender, class, sexuality, and disability) travel with us at all times. That said, departures and arrivals proved to be a useful way of describing how multiple identities influence, and are constantly negotiated by, different Pākehā as they build relationships with diverse Māori.

To begin, family upbringing and early relationships with Māori had tremendous effects on these educational researchers, giving them a sense of "arrival" into te ao Māori:

> My parents were English immigrants, and had standard racist attitudes, something based in complete ignorance. I have strong memories as a child to being very attracted to Māori kids at my school. I always picked out the Māori kids to be my friends. When I was with Māori I felt excited about the fullness of heart that I experienced, because my own family were relatively uptight ... I liked Māori parents, food, uncles, busy-ness, happiness, being bad but enjoying it. Breaking rules interested me as a small child. (Alison)

Alison recounted critical moments in her childhood that illustrated to her the material and cultural differences between Pākehā and Māori. Her "rule breaking" included forming relationships with Māori that "oriented me to something that nobody was talking about—it was my first critical consciousness—this idea that there's a reality, a truth that everyone seems to pretend isn't there. As a young person that was pretty profound—a sense of a Māori truth that my own people had no sense of."

In a similar vein, Ann reflected that being raised in an all-Māori community meant "we had privilege that my [Pākehā] family didn't understand. We would go to weddings or tangi and were at the top table all the time. I never thought about why. I absorbed the richness of a Māori community, but from a position of privilege."

Ted discussed how he had been interested in reo Māori and tikanga during his schooling. It was a mixture of overseas travel and then uncovering that he had an older Māori brother, which led him to become involved in Māori educational issues. He started to form working relationships with Māori colleagues, students, and whānau working on Māori literacy and behaviour issues:

> I have chances to experience another culture, and its values, beliefs and practices. From within this worldview, the issues in special education and its 'problems' look different... Working with Māori kids in projects like Hei Awhina Matua, I realised that Māori students must be consulted in any efforts made to understand or respond to their own behaviour. These students were in the gun a lot for their 'bad behaviour'.

> From working with Rangiwhakaehu Walker, Mate Reweti, Mere, and the students themselves I realised I had to learn to walk the talk and get street cred from the kids… We learnt a lot from the kids about that. For me that's kaupapa Māori. It's not a completely wild idea to have the kids involved, but it was to me as a Pākehā 'expert' at that time. Now I've changed. (Ted)

Christine's arrival into kaupapa Māori areas was marked by an interest in the philosophies of Paulo Freire in adult community education. She was particularly interested in how to work with Māori to "go where they want to go". Her university experience with kaupapa Māori theorist and practitioner Linda Tuhiwai Smith strengthened her theoretical orientation, and she started to question the role Pākehā can play in kaupapa Māori:

> The pivotal thing that answered my question about my role [as Pākehā in kaupapa Māori] was Ranginui Walker. He said there's not enough Māori to do it by themselves. He said that Māori need to get on with figuring out the context to involve Pākehā in this work.[23] He talked about this in an informal way. If there aren't enough Māori to do it, then I thought I could get involved. It wasn't hugely theoretical. It's a very practical orientation. (Christine)

Finding practical approaches to support Māori education and wellbeing as Pākehā came to the forefront of Ann's consciousness when she married into a Māori whānau and had children. As a trained English-medium teacher, her children's experience of the "mainstream" schooling system was disorientating; it led her to think critically about how ineffective Eurocentric schooling systems can be for Māori:

> The different treatment of my children in a white system made me start to question my own practice. I realised there was a lot of stuff I did without knowing my own privilege and position. Back then there weren't enough resources I could find, the biggest influence was my children.

> My four children have grown up as speakers of Māori, and my grandchildren, and now great grandchildren have been raised with reo Māori. There's been a deliberate counterhegemonic shift that they have been part of. Graham Smith talks about that shift of thinking in the 80s of whānau thinking; that's what happened in our whānau. So all the way along I've wondered how do I fit into that and what "hat" do I wear in each different situation? (Ann)

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[23] For another example of Māori identifying the need to work with Pākehā see P. Walker (2011). For the early focus of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000) on the "Pākehā Mission" see ibid., pp. 69–83.

These "arrival experiences" demonstrate that Pākehā researchers became involved in kaupapa Māori educational research as a result of personal, emotional, political, and practical concerns and encounters with Māori. All participants had critical incidents in their lives as children and as adults that disrupted Pākehā social and cultural norms. These findings support Huygens' (2007, p. 180) assertion that individual Pākehā transformation involves "sequential stages of change—from ignorance to awakenings and awareness, and thence to learning and action".

Critically, each individual made conscious choices to work in kaupapa Māori settings. This finding is consistent with the emerging international literature on indigenous and non-indigenous relationships (Davis, 2010; Margaret, 2013). The choices participants made to be involved in te ao Māori represent a form of "Pākehā privilege"; Pākehā often have a choice about opting in or out of this work, whereas Māori do not always have this privilege:

> That's the privilege about being a Pākehā in a Māori environment. We can sit outside it, as well as be part of it. Being Pākehā I've often thought, I'm glad I'm not on the inside; it would be too difficult. Being outside allows you to hold the bullshit as well as the exciting aspects to it, without feeling you have to be implicated in some way. Sometimes I have thought 'I wish I could be Māori and I could be on the inside', but really I'm happy I'm not, because it would probably be too hard! (Alison)

Overall, the impact of these experiences resulted in people choosing to depart—or finding themselves departing—from their Pākehā ways of interpreting the world, and moving towards an appreciation of Māori realities and educational issues. Monocultural or monological perceptions became unsettled and a complicated relational worldview where new understandings of themselves, family, politics, and professional life formed. In combination these factors created processes of Pākehā reorientation that include working with Māori on educational issues that were at once uncertain and complex, but fuelled by mutual commitment and joy.

4. "Being there": Processes of reorientation

> Being there is the big thing. You've got to keep turning up. Kanohi ki te kanohi, kanohi kitea—hui, tangi, sports, endless discussions and be willing to be in the kitchen. It's a huge commitment of time and energy. You can't just dabble with it. For many people that's why they say they can't do it, because it will take too much of their life. I've made certain decisions that balance that—having a Pākehā family has limited my involvement in the Māori world. Some of my Pākehā friends find it hard to sit through hui. For some reason, I do not have that problem. (Alison)

Participants discussed how being Pākehā and working in kaupapa Māori spaces meant that a host of issues arise personally, culturally, politically, and practically. In-depth descriptions and analysis regarding all of these issues is beyond this working paper. However, prominent themes included:

- knowing yourself
- being with the complex and unknown
- reflecting on the benefits.

These issues are not exhaustive and are interrelated. Indeed, the three themes are consistent with international literature about how alliances between indigenous and non-indigenous people can form (Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010; Margaret, 2013). The themes highlight the critical thinking and openness needed among Pākehā working in, or aspiring towards, research relations with Māori. Participants explained that a simplistic "them/us" understanding of Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori educational research does not represent the dynamism, commitment, challenge, learning, and potential mutual benefits that can be generated.

Knowing yourself

> The knowing self is partial, in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly, and *therefore* able to join with another, to see together without claiming to be another. (Haraway, original emphasis, 2003, p. 396)

Being clear about your intentions and having a solid sense of self that is able to negotiate and change depending on different cultural circumstances is critical to Pākehā working in Māori-controlled research. Participants explained that clarity about one's research intentions, and reflecting on the driving factors behind ones involvement in kaupapa Māori, are important references. These issues are especially important to counter Pākehā paralysis and develop personal agency:

> There will be things that don't make sense, but I just go with it. Be clear about what you're in for. Leave your ego at the door … You don't know what you don't know. Don't be paralysed, but be

conscious, and be able to cope with uncertainty and keep going. Māori keep telling me that to be useful I should aspire to be a first-rate Pākehā, not to try and be Māori. Be strong about what you can contribute—without being overbearing and exercising institutional power. Being a doormat is not useful. (Christine)

As academic researchers in a tertiary setting Ted and Alison discussed that they have become aware of the power they can assume because of their institutional identities. The complexities of institutional and individual power become key issues to be negotiated. This self-refection has revolved around the expectation that as academic researchers they have "deep knowledge" or "professional expertise" to contribute. While this knowledge is highly valued in academic settings, it was found that assuming the "expert role" has been counterproductive when working with some Māori:

My early positivist and behaviourist position and understandings might tempt me to contribute to a decision on the basis of professional knowledge and experience expertise. But as a Treaty partner trying to work in a cross-cultural context, this can be quite harmful to building trusting and respectful working relationships. If I do offer professional expertise in these contexts, I try to make it clear that I am speaking as a Pākehā person, from within my own worldview. (Ted)

Participant reflections illustrate the nuanced way they understand their personal and professional identities when working with Māori. Their experiences demonstrate that they constantly negotiate identities and positions. This can impact on the diverse roles they take in the research, or in relation to the Māori community they work with (Fisher, 2010). By "keeping it real" people were clear about their own identity, intentions, and what they can contribute through their expertise. This was opposed to being passive, paralysed or attempting to "be Māori". "Keeping it real" entails an awareness of the power and influence "expert" professional knowledge can have; a need to make judgements about when this expertise can support, or get in the way of relationships and projects. Participant experiences suggest that Pākehā working in kaupapa Māori research must be open to mātauranga Māori in their research contexts, while upholding a sense of confidence about one's identity and content knowledge. A critical issue for Pākehā is to develop awareness of when "expert" knowledge becomes overbearing, and does not contribute to the collective efforts of the group involved in the research. As Alison explained, this can be counterproductive to Māori–Pākehā research relations:

Many Pākehā think they know everything. I often catch myself being so unashamedly Pākehā-thinking I know everything and putting everyone straight: "I've done the [historical] research, and [I need] to tell people the truth of the [historical] matter." But I don't always have authority in Māori settings.

It's a good lesson to learn: sometimes you just have to shut up and not pass judgment, which is hard for me. Having your say doesn't matter… It sounds patronising to just sit there, but sometimes that is what it comes down to. To be self-aware, be aware of the will to power, to recognize my desire to make things correct, to set everyone right, to share my excellent knowledge and save people. That's a lot for a bossy Pākehā to learn! (Alison)

Letting go of expert power and control has institutional implications. Ted, Alison, and Christine point out that Pākehā friends and colleagues have challenged them about their work in Māori spaces. According to Ted, some colleagues have said he was "crazy to go down this [kaupapa Māori] track" because he might lose his "professional credibility as an expert" to publish in his discipline or field. This is significant because of the pressure placed upon individual academics to contribute to the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF). Within this framework, the amount and "quality" of publications in a discipline determines tertiary level funding. This situation creates a disjuncture between the policy objectives of an academic institution, and the educational questions that a Māori group or community want to explore, understand, and address. Alison was advised by senior colleagues not to work closely with Māori because she would "lose control" over her work. Christine agreed, saying that at times "Pākehā can be more marginalised in Pākehā society when they are working in Māori spaces."[24]

Being with the complex and unknown

All participants acknowledged that working in kaupapa Māori settings is not straightforward. Ann discussed how emerging Pākehā educational researchers can become attracted to kaupapa Māori methodologies because of their transformative potential. However, she found that this attraction can blind Pākehā to the cultural and practical implications involved in selecting kaupapa Māori research methodologies:

> To go in and just appropriate kaupapa Māori as your methodology won't work unless you are a genuine participant, have a strong relationship with the whānau, are prepared to engage on Māori terms, and understand your position. We're quite good at saying 'it's kaupapa Māori theory', but you have to go back to the whānau and talk about what you've found and be prepared to change it. So how prepared are you to go through and follow that process? If you're just doing the writing and thinking on your terms, it's not 'kaupapa Māori', it's 'kaupapa academic'. (Ann)

Ted explained that for him always choosing the "unknowing position" and being a "careful listener", while unsettling, is one way of manoeuvring through power issues in research relationships with Māori as Pākehā:

> No matter how much I think I know about a topic, it's not necessarily what they know, or what they want to know. Experiencing discomfort and uncertainty, but remaining with a respectful attention in this type of situation unlocks a powerful learning opportunity. I saw myself once as needing to try to control the situation. But I've since learnt that what I need to do is to listen and learn, and to understand the situation. I have found that Māori respect a researcher who is firstly a careful listener. (Ted)

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[24] For more examples of Pākehā experiences of marginalisation by other Pākehā because of their support for Māori educational issues see: Jones, 2012, p. 100; Brown, 2011, pp. 210–222.

Pākehā research reflexivity—how Pākehā are positioned, share power, and sustain relationships—highlights the multiple tensions between academic individual research aims and collective trust and accountability (Hill & May, 2013; Margaret, 2010). For example, Christine reflected that when "a Māori community accepts you in, that becomes a lifelong commitment; it's hard to sustain whānau relationships if you're spread too thinly."

Pākehā research reflexivity extended to the use and knowledge of reo Māori and tikanga in kaupapa Māori settings. All participants agreed that knowledge of reo Māori and tikanga was very important for Pākehā working in kaupapa Māori research. However, Christine explained that our use and understanding is never simple. She discussed how her Māori colleagues support her reo Māori use as part of their general commitment to reviving the language and tikanga. Yet she was also aware of the diametrical opposition of some Māori who "are concerned about Pākehā using te reo because we can then colonise the language and/or further marginalise Māori who don't speak it." The issues of gender add another layer of complexity and tension to reo Māori use as Pākehā educational researchers (Pihama, 2013, p. 51). In my experience Pākehā can be asked by Māori kaumātua or community leaders to lead particular processes, ranging from whakatau or pōwhiri through to karanga, whaikōrero or leading mihimihi or karakia.[25] These circumstances mean being prepared to act or not act, considering the tikanga, cultural safety, and political implications of ones decision and actions in the moment. Christine concluded that:

> Different people will have different answers, with very good rationale and conclusions about whether or whether or not I should use reo Māori. From what I've learnt from Māori, relationships are key. So I discuss use of reo in my relationships which leads to different practices in different contexts, but I am always mindful of the challenges, and must be prepared to publically explain myself if need be.

> I think it's often fine to use reo, but don't use it without understanding the politics of it. There's a thin line—you're accountable for your behaviour, and should check in a new situation before using it, but sometimes you have to act on the instant and this is a challenge. When I have time, I think of my basic principles such as the wave,[26] structural analysis,[27] my relationships and so on. (Christine)

All participants suggested that Pākehā researchers working in Māori settings often want a kaupapa Māori "recipe" or "formula". In their research experience a research "checklist for Māori" does not work. Research reflexivity is not static, but ever changing and adapting, based on local relationships and circumstances (Chacko, 2004). Participants suggested that what is effective is making the commitment to build and sustain relationships over a long period, being prepared to walk alongside Māori groups, and look after oneself throughout the process. Such practices are not always easy to learn and often involve personal discomfort. Indeed, one colleague reminded

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[25] For deeper explanations of these tikanga, see Mikaere & Hutchings (2013); Mead (2003); Marsden (2003); Barlow (1991).

[26] For a description of The Wave see: http://www.awea.org.nz/introducing-wave

[27] For a description of structural analysis see: http://www.awea.org.nz/about-structural-analysis

recently that it is through our own cultural discomfort that Pākehā learning and change happens. For these Pākehā working in kaupapa Māori this situation means responding to relationships with heart, care, respect, and an appreciation for context:

> It's to do with feeling at home, feeling present, excited and engaged. If you don't feel that sense of at-homeness, engagement, solidity, and you don't have genuinely good friendships with Māori people, then you should re-examine what you're trying to do because it may not work. (Alison)

Reflecting on the benefits

Knowledge of one's self and intentions, having trusted relationships with Māori, and accepting the "unknowingness" of cross-cultural research all influenced how these Pākehā orientated themselves in kaupapa Māori research. Everyone discussed the individual and collective challenges and benefits they experienced as a result of involvement in kaupapa Māori educational research. For example, Christine reflected that in her experience "there are an increasing number of places where Māori are in control of decision-making, and Pākehā have something to contribute. It's exciting and I don't have to worry as much as I have in the past when Māori were advisors but not decision-makers."

Participants discussed how the benefits have varied. Some have resulted in long-term Māori friendships and working relationships. Other benefits and inquires have been political, personal, and intellectual through the engagement of different ideas and worldviews. There are beneficial roles Pākehā can play in kaupapa Māori educational issues, including "sifting through both worlds" by applying specific skills. Christine described "sifting" as offering practical skills that may be needed in "the moment". For example, Pākehā may contribute to the writing and recording of a research process; collecting research evidence to apply for Māori research grants; or accessing additional resources through professional networks and expertise (Jones with Jenkins, 2008; Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010). Reflecting on whether one's contribution is making a positive difference is important, but not always obvious. Relationships can be beneficial in different ways, depending on the circumstances:

> A lot of my thinking is about how do I know if what I've been doing is useful, and who says so? How to decide is whether what Pākehā are doing is useful or not, is it ineffectual, or even countereffective? Sometimes there are people who I would never think would connect with Māori politically, but they connect through wairua or the arts. I focus on politics or inequities, but there are other ways to engage. (Christine)

People discussed how realising benefits of an effective Māori–Pākehā research relationship often depends on asking "is the right person in the relationship?" Participant experiences demonstrated that it is not just about "being a Pākehā"; there needs to be the "right mix of Pākehā person" in the Māori community to understand what the needs are in the moment. Again, these sorts of issues are not absolute, but once the "right mix of people" converges, mutual benefits can result.

All participants proposed that Pākehā play a positive role in Māori educational issues by questioning assumed decision-making processes, particularly in non-Māori spaces or organisations. Ann described how her long-standing relationship with her local Māori and Pasifika community, coupled with her school leadership experiences, enabled her to "tell our school-community story" as a Pākehā collaborator. The storytelling process benefited Māori educational aspirations by publically naming "our [Pākehā] own issues and responsibilities". This naming included questioning educational issues of Pākehā power, privilege, racism, and Māori educational exclusion. This experience suggested that by asking the question "how is this working for Māori" helped non-Māori orientate towards issues of Māori educational achievement, wellbeing and success. How Pākehā then act in relation to this question is important. In this instance, Hill and May (2013) encourage non-indigenous researchers to adhere to kaupapa Māori research frameworks and principles that include questions about research initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability.[28] Ted explained that his engagement with the design and delivery of Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) programmes enabled him to see how different Māori legitimation processes can take shape:

> I don't make decisions for Māori. I will ask for a range of Māori views and respect these. It's not for me to make a decision. I can play a role in having different Māori perspectives emerge, but I make sure I never get to the point where I'm the arbiter [holder of decision-making power]. I would try and surface the different pieces of information. (Ted)

Ted and Christine both agreed that ensuring there are more Māori than Pākehā around the decision-making table enabled the research process to remain determined by Māori. Practically, participants discussed how this experience means they design their research with Māori differently, always ensuring that Māori aspirations and concerns remain at the forefront. Ted discussed how he learnt most when "I've been the sole non-Māori in a group… That's anxiety provoking, but it makes you listen, and it tells you that you had better learn some reo Māori."

Alison found that her tertiary teaching amongst Māori students has been very rewarding because of its impact. In her experience, Pākehā students will generally study in order to "go to jobs that will benefit themselves or immediate families, they don't go into work with an eye of benefitting whole groups of people. Whereas Māori students do generally have a strong sense of engagement and commitment to Māori communities." The potential positive impact of Māori graduates contributing to their local communities has strengthened her resolve to teach in, and engage with, kaupapa Māori ideas and practices.

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[28] For more detailed discussion about these kaupapa Māori principles see Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 129.

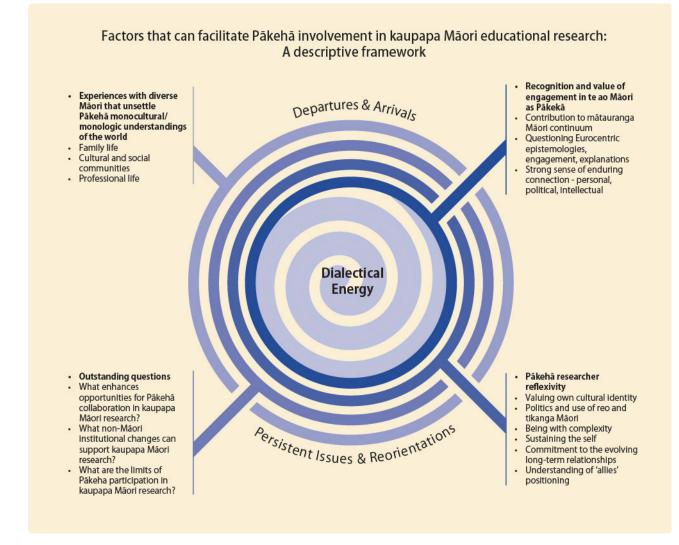# 5. Pākehā in kaupapa Māori research: A descriptive framework

> When you think about it, there is nowhere else in the world that one can be Pākehā. Whether the term remains forever linked to the shameful role of the oppressor or whether it can become a positive source of identity and pride is up to Pākehā themselves. All that is required from them is a leap of faith. (Mikaere, 2011, p. 119)

This inquiry begins to contribute to local theories of Pākehā change by highlighting Pākehā research praxis with Māori, in kaupapa Māori research. A dialectical process between individual Pākehā researchers has been created to better understand how our research thinking and practices can change as a result of encounters with kaupapa Māori research methodologies. This dialogue is an important step in transforming Eurocentric structures that can overtly and covertly influence our research practices with Māori communities.

Following on from critical educational theories and findings of this project, I have devised a descriptive framework. This framework (Figure 1) is a place to start in understanding the complexity of Pākehā engaging in kaupapa Māori research.

Processes of departing and arriving, of reorientation and asking outstanding questions about Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori research, create dialectical energy. Participants in this study consciously *depart* from a Eurocentric understanding of the world through personal, professional, and community experiences. This departure has entailed *arriving* and negotiating their identity and roles in te ao Māori, which has galvanised their commitment to mātauranga Māori and Māori success and wellbeing. Their arrival and departure is not static. It constantly changes and thus represents forms of *Pākehā researcher reflexivity.* In this context, Pākehā researcher reflexivity relates to addressing questions about how collective relationships are held and negotiated. This includes being reflective and upfront about one's personal values and intentions over time, and how to 'be' with/in complex and often political cultural spaces. Working with these tensions requires levels of Pākehā researcher reflexivity about the research process as it unfolds. It invites the researcher to ask, Who will benefit from the work being undertaken? How can one's own energy and the relationships that have been formed be sustained now and into the future? The issues and subsequent questions raised are heuristic; they are snapshots of participant learning and problem-solving. As a moment in time the descriptive model is not set in stone. The model is deliberately cyclical and open to change. The themes are broad-based to offer generative thinking and further inquiry. Diverse experiences, issues and persistent questions about Māori–Pākehā relations persist across educational research sites.This framework is one tool that can help people understand the complicated terrain of Pākehā engagement in kaupapa Māori research. In proposing a descriptive

model I do not suggest that *all Pākehā* who orientate towards kaupapa Māori research are involved for the same reasons, or in the same way. Just as Māori work in diverse ways, there are different modes of Pākehā practice and thought when working in, or aspiring to engage with, kaupapa Māori research. Acknowledging the diversity of research thinking and doing among Māori and Pākehā is important if new knowledge and practice is to emerge, and be learnt from. I suggest that more exploration is required, across different educational sites, in order to explicate theories and practices that enhance Māori–Pākehā educational research relations.

Factors that can facilitate Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori educational research: A descriptive framework

Departures & Arrivals

- **Experiences with diverse Māori that unsettle Pākehā monocultural/ monologic understandings of the world**
- Family life
- Cultural and social communities
- Professional life

- **Recognition and value of engagement in te ao Māori as Pākekā**
- Contribution to mātauranga Māori continuum
- Questioning Eurocentric epistemologies, engagement, explanations
- Strong sense of enduring connection - personal, political, intellectual

Dialectical Energy

- **Outstanding questions**
- What enhances opportunities for Pākehā collaboration in kaupapa Māori research?
- What non-Māori institutional changes can support kaupapa Māori research?
- What are the limits of Pākeha participation in kaupapa Māori research?

- **Pākehā researcher reflexivity**
- Valuing own cultural identity
- Politics and use of reo and tikanga Māori
- Being with complexity
- Sustaining the self
- Commitment to the evolving long-term relationships
- Understanding of 'allies' positioning

Persistent Issues & Reorientations

Figure 1. Factors that can facilitate Pākeha involvement in kaupapa Māori educational research

Personal, political, cultural, professional, and institutional issues regarding Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori research, will continue to persist. I suggest that assuming that there will be positions for Pākehā to contribute to kaupapa Māori research spaces, while optimistic, is presently naïve. The roles of non-Māori or Pākehā engagement in kaupapa Māori are not a given, primarily owing to ongoing scepticism that our involvement will result in few benefits for diverse Māori.

However, it is also clear that due to a greater focus on "accelerating Māori student success" Pākehā researchers and educationalists will need to engage with Māori generally on a variety educational issues. This brings into sharp relief the cultural integrity of our work, and how the educational priorities of different Māori communities shape our working approaches with them. In practice, this means being open and willing to address the outstanding questions identified in the framework. Such questions are not new in critical educational research,[29] yet they continue to have profound relevance for Māori–Pākehā research relations:

- **What enhances opportunities for Pākehā collaboration in kaupapa Māori?** How are you and/or your institution contributing practically, ethically, and intellectually to the Māori community involved in the research? What are the benefits for the Māori community? What can other non-Māori learn from your experience?
- **What non-Māori institutional changes can support kaupapa Māori research?** How are resources, timeframes, research methodologies, and methods organised so that the research reflects the present and future aspirations of Māori communities? How are diverse Māori community realities reflected in the research? What theories and philosophies underpin your engagement? How are the key messages shared and enacted amongst diverse whānau, hapū, iwi, and, if appropriate, Crown agencies and other non-Māori organisations?
- **What are the limits of Pākehā participation in kaupapa Māori research?** When should you be involved? On what terms has your relationship with Māori been formed? How do you understand and articulate your role and contribution to the research relationship, and how might your role and understandings of it change over time? What cultural and political issues influence your changing role and identity? How might you "check in" with Māori collaborators about the limits of your participation?

The practical implications of being involved in kaupapa Māori research, or as part of a research whānau, means that the power of the individual researcher to determine the research process and findings are at best unrealistic, and at worst damage relationships (Bishop, 1996). For Pākehā aspiring to work in kaupapa Māori education, superficial "basic research rules", such as carefully selecting a research design based on its ability to answer a research question(s), are unsettled and thrown into sharp relief.

Conclusion

As Māori-determined and controlled research has become more influential across a range of research domains, its methodological features have expanded, particularly in educational research (Hoskins & Jones, 2012). This expansion has included Pākehā educational researcher efforts to contribute to kaupapa Māori research. Describing and analysing efforts of Pākehā cultural research

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[29] For example see Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Kincheloe, 2005; Ledwith, 2007; Kemmis & Mattsson, 2007; Kemmis, 2010.

praxis with Māori counters Pākehā paralysis, and contributes to changing researcher praxis by, as Kemmis (2010) suggests:

> developing an inquiry culture in a field, setting, developing a critical approach among participants, empowering participants to take action, building their sense of solidarity, drawing on and developing their life experiences, opening communicative space between them, and so on, all of which can contribute to changes in currently established modes of praxis. (p. 17)

A focus on what Pākehā are learning from engaging in kaupapa Māori research contributes valuable knowledge about how Pākehā and non-Māori can better work together on pressing educational issues, such as Māori educational wellbeing. The communicative space between Pākehā and Māori working in kaupapa Māori educational research is a unique and complex site that requires more critical discussion and reflection if we are to learn more. I argue that Pākehā must be prepared to explore our own research praxis with Māori, otherwise we run the risk of perpetuating research that is monocultural or monological. This could inevitably mean our research approaches become out of step with the diverse realities and educational aspirations of a growing Māori population. As Pākehā educational researchers we have an opportunity to act consciously, piecing together the features of our research praxis with Māori both professionally and organisationally. These spaces hold powerful learning opportunities and transformative potential. Through critical research inquiry, Pākehā and non-Māori can take proactive steps in affirming Māori educational aspirations, while also facilitating discussion about common educational visions for the 21st century.

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Appendix 1:   Websites

Auckland Workers Educational Association

http://www.awea.org.nz/introducing-wavehttp://www.awea.org.nz/introducing-wave

http://www.awea.org.nz/about-structural-analysis

Radio New Zealand National:
http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/2517160/ideas-for-29-april-2012

Kaupapa Māori research site:

www.rangahau.co.nz

Treaty Resource Centre

www.trc.org.nz

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview questions

- How have you have become involved in cross-cultural educational research with Māori?

- In your experience, what are some of the *challenges* (personal/professional/institutional) that face Pākehā educational researchers when working with Māori?

- In considering future Pākehā–Māori educational research, what particular research issues do you think Pākehā need to consider and address?

- In your experience, what is the *potential benefit* (personally/professionally/institutionally) of Pākehā educational researchers working with Māori?

Are there any other significant issues that you believe may *inhibit* or *facilitate* Pākehā educational researchers working with Māori communities?

TE WĀHANGA

HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA

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