

Representing Māori youth voices in community education research

Joanna Kidman, Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington

Abstract

Advocates of participatory research with young people frequently use the language of democracy, emancipation and inclusiveness to argue their case. In New Zealand, various agencies have allocated funding for research reports and resource kits aimed at eliciting and better understanding students' "voices" as a means of increasing young people's educational and civic participation. While there is widespread agreement that the inclusion of young people's "voices" in educational research is to be desired, the practice is often poorly understood and highly contested. This paper explores some of the tensions that arose during a study involving groups of Māori youth who created photographic representations of their social, cultural and tribal environments. During the course of the research, questions emerged about how members of tribal communities and researchers respectively think very differently about matters of "voice", "partnership" and inclusiveness in relation to Māori young people. Ultimately, the research processes were adapted to encompass the priorities and protocols of the participants' communities.

Keywords: *Māori, representation, voice, reconciliation, community*

Introduction

Advocates of participatory research with young people frequently use the language of democracy, emancipation and inclusiveness to argue their case. In New Zealand, various agencies such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Youth Development, and Ako Aotearoa have allocated funding for research reports and resource kits aimed at eliciting and better understanding students' "voices" particularly as a means of increasing young people's educational and civic participation. While there is widespread agreement that the inclusion of young people's "voices" in educational research is to be desired, the practice is often poorly understood and highly contested. Some commentators argue that the inclusion of student voice can serve progressive ends while others contend that it can be either neutralised or manipulated to support neoliberal agendas (Whitty & Wisby, 2007). Some maintain that these apparently participatory approaches are all too often tokenistic (Fox, 2013), or that inflated knowledge claims embedded in particular voice discourses reify the experiences of some groups at the expense of others. Concerns have also been raised about the dangers of presenting the "voices" and experiences of a small number of individuals within a group as being representative of an entire group (Cook-Sather, 2006). In light of these debates, some commentators have argued that the notion of developing research partnerships with young people in research contexts is a more transformative approach to the problems of education than simply eliciting their voices (Thomson & Gunter, 2006). However, both these conceptual frameworks, at times, reflect and reinforce views about youth and

childhood that are particularly problematic when conducting community-based education research with young Māori.

This paper explores some of the tensions that arose during a study involving groups of Māori youth who created photographic representations of their social, cultural and community environments. The study differs from much education research in New Zealand in that it is not tied to the agendas of the schoolyard or the classroom, but instead draws on data gathered within Māori communities. The aim of the research was to elicit visual data that mapped the contemporary social, cultural, and political landscapes of young Māori and their experiences of “growing up Māori in twenty-first century New Zealand”. In this respect, it follows the work of Shirley Brice-Heath (2004) who argues,

The history of groups taught under the rubric of “multicultural [or bicultural] education” must not present all the struggles as those of the past, with no concurrent attention to recent and contemporary regional, economic and social stresses and strains carrying strong influence on institutions such as families, communities, community organizations [...] and occupations (Brice-Heath, 2004, p.160).

During the course of this research, questions emerged about how members of tribal communities and researchers, respectively think very differently about matters of voice, partnership and inclusiveness in relation to Māori young people. As it turned out, this was a particularly sensitive issue in communities that were involved in Treaty of Waitangi ¹ claims at the time the study took place. Preparation and management of these claims takes up a great deal of time in Māori communities and often involves tense negotiations about who will tell the stories of the past, how they will be represented in the claims process and what significance the voices of members of Māori communities have in forging new, reconciled relationships with the state. Importantly, as Treaty claims are put together, tribal representatives gather and pass on to community members and Crown agents, an enormous amount of empirical evidence about tribal histories. Alongside this data gathering process, community hui, wānanga and seminars are held and young Māori community members are often directly involved in these initiatives. Thus, these tribal processes are presented here as important sites of learning for young Māori within those communities.

Ultimately, the research processes we developed in this study were adapted to encompass the priorities and protocols of the participants’ communities. For example, before the researchers (who were themselves Māori) were granted permission to approach prospective participants, community discussions were opened up to members of the participating communities to discuss the research process and how we would manage and represent the stories told to us by the participants. During these forums, concerns were raised by some of the attendees about the protocols of who could and should have the authority to represent the priorities and cultural landscapes of each community and the families within them. This required a lengthy period of relationship-building and also involved significant community input into the research processes, protocols and priorities that were applied in the field. The voices of young Māori that subsequently emerged were a

powerful reminder of the need to incorporate community partnerships and relationships into research methodologies involving Māori youth, particularly if criticisms of student voice approaches are taken into account.

The dilemmas of voice research

Cook-Sather (2006) notes that student voice and participation have been increasingly sought and validated by educational researchers, policy makers and educators since the early 1990s. She argues that the desire to involve young people in collaborative decision making processes, mutually agreed research protocols and school reform is part of a broader movement of rethinking the role of youth and childhood that directly challenges inequalities in the way children are positioned within power relations. Indeed, the active inclusion of young people's perspectives, ideas and opinions is seen by many researchers as a means of breaking free of a particular culture of silence that has permeated some aspects of educational research in the past. These ideas about youth voice have been framed as being part of an emancipatory political project, which McLeod (2011) argues, is sometimes linked to strategies for "promoting empowerment, inclusion and equity" (McLeod (2011, p.179) for underrepresented, silenced or marginalised groups of young people. Certainly the work of educators like Jonathon Kozol (1967) and Paulo Freire (1986) has been influential in highlighting the forms of domination that come into play when members of marginalised groups do not have a voice in naming the facets of their own oppression or experience. Fielding (2001) also aligns this shift towards student voice with changes in pedagogical practice (formative assessment, for example) that have opened up new possibilities for dialogue between students and teachers.

Voice research in New Zealand

The inclusion of young people in the data gathering phases of qualitative educational research in New Zealand was also relatively limited prior to the early 1990s. There were a few small scale studies that incorporated young people's perspectives as research participants but there was very little that drew directly on the life experiences of young Māori, or indeed young Pacific peoples although researchers like Alison Jones (1989) and Adrienne Alton-Lee (Alton-Lee, Nuthall & Patrick, 1987) provided some notable and important exceptions. In the main, however, Māori youth were talked about by the adults around them, often in rather despairing terms, in relation to educational underachievement or unequal social outcomes. They were also the subject of much discussion and debate in the expanding domain of Māori education research but seldom did policy makers and researchers speak directly and in person to young Māori themselves particularly within community contexts. Indeed, in much qualitative educational research, they were simply not present at all other than as a focus of adult discussion and anxiety. Diane Reay (2007) has talked about how, in British urban neighbourhoods where middle class families live alongside working class communities, it is often the case that dominant middle class imaginaries, shaped in the main by government and media, come to represent and define the working class spaces, peoples and lives of their neighbours. A similar case can be made in New Zealand where an assortment of middle class adult voices drawn from professional contexts (for example, teachers

and education policy-makers) frequently act as a proxy for all youth voices, including those of Māori.

Capturing young people's voices in youth research and community education research is often a fraught process. This is, in part, as Thomson and Gunter (2006) argue, because young people's voices are neither neutral nor authentic insofar as they are produced by and within dominant discourses. Researchers sometimes forget that young people's voices are as classed, raced and gendered (Whitty & Wisby, 2007 p. 313) as those of adults. Conducting research with young Māori is therefore characterised by significant within-group differences relating to life experience, social class, geographical location, and the nature and degree of cultural identification with Māori tribal selfhoods. Part of the role of the qualitative researcher, however, is to look for underlying patterns and trends amongst participants that generate understandings about defining characteristics or aid in the forecast of future behaviours. Or, as Berg suggests, "[q]uality refers to the what, how, when and where of a thing—its essence and ambience. Qualitative research thus refers to meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things." (Berg, 2007, p.3). But capturing voice, like capturing Berg's notion of "essence", has its problems. For example, in the analysis phases of a study, the pursuit of patterns, essences or commonly agreed meanings may produce persuasive research themes but it may also have the effect of flattening participant voice. This can happen when the focus of attention is on highlighting the instances when data sets appear to agree and there is an apparent level of consistency or accord amongst participants, rather than the more unwieldy outlier moments when discordant or un-patterned responses predominate.

With this in mind, one of the questions that arises when analysing data about young people in Māori communities is *how* their voices are represented and to what end? Michael Fielding's (2004) caution is pertinent here; he asks, "[h]ow confident are we that our research does not redescribe and reconfigure students in ways that bind them more securely into the fabric of the status quo?" (Fielding, 2004 p.302). This comment is particularly germane in the context of Māori community education research. The focus of much sociology of education research in Europe and the United Kingdom lies with the analysis of social class relations. In New Zealand, however, socio-economic and social class analyses in education policy and research have tended to take a backseat to studies that conceive of social organisation primarily in terms of ethnicised cultural relations. While there are several notable exceptions (see the works of Thrupp & Mika, 2011; and Nairn, Higgins & Sligo, 2012, for example), there has been a growing silence in education policy and research circles since the economic reforms of the 1990s about how socio-economic realities intersect and shape the kinds of ethnic or cultural choices that young Māori are able to make and enact in the political economy of the school, the classroom or the playground. We can see these constraints in action in education policy and research where Māori children and young people are framed almost exclusively in terms of their cultural identities in ways that suggest that these ethnicised representations of selfhood are somehow disconnected from the wider economic and social forces that surround them and their communities.

The effect of this disconnection between the notion of culture (as it is framed by government and the media) and the many troubling silences surrounding discussion and debate about social and economic stratification in New Zealand society is a particularly kiwi way of framing social relations and it is one that has given rise to a series of no go areas in education research and policy. Insofar as social class is concerned, for example, there is still a widespread notion that New Zealand is an egalitarian and classless society with roots in a relatively benevolent colonial past. Thrupp (2007) argues that the notion of egalitarianism is an important touchstone in the New Zealand imagination and has an especially powerful hold on middle-class Pākehā beliefs about New Zealand as a fair and just society free from social stratification and ranking systems that create inequality.

Alongside these silences about economic relations and their impact on young people's lives, there is an accompanying belief in some education research and policy contexts that the problem of racism has been solved in New Zealand with the introduction of culturally responsive pedagogies in classrooms and schools and an increased emphasis on positive portrayals of cultural diversity and indigeneity. Indeed, many institutions have equity and diversity strategies in place as part of their compliance framework with government and much time and effort is put into producing equity targets and goals. Troyna (1994) suggests that these institutional responses underpin a deracialised discourse of education that both reifies culture and buys into what he refers to as "comforting myths" (Troyna, 1994, p.326) that the problem of racism is either resolved or in the process of being disestablished through institutional endeavours to formally recognise and celebrate cultural and ethnic diversity.

In education and government circles, the pervasive imagery of New Zealand as an egalitarian, classless society characterised by harmonious cultural and ethnic relations is, however, very powerful and leaves us without a ready framework for discussion or analysis that presents an opposing view despite much supporting statistical evidence in the areas of education, housing, health and employment. In addition, the steady focus on formal schooling in education research often displaces research about the outside-of-school environments of Māori young people. In doing so, it reinforces a view of education that Brice-Heath (2004) argues, classifies others together, "stripped of their variations and individual differences and uniformly pictured as victimised and dependent on the White majority to come to their aid or provide models for the future." (Brice-Heath, 2004, p.160).

If there are tensions around the representation of young people in educational research, how then might researchers engage with young Māori within the informal learning contexts of family or tribal communities? And, how can analyses be structured in a way that does not fetishise, exoticise, essentialise or re-racialise them, or bind them more firmly to the status quo? Smith (1999) has highlighted the importance of asking these kinds of questions in relation to studies that involve Māori participants. She argues that research needs to make a "positive difference" (Smith, 1999, p.191) for the researched. This positive difference may not necessarily be realised as an "immediate or direct benefit" (Smith, 1999, p.191) but projects need to be designed in negotiation with participating groups from the outset because, as

she reminds us, “historically, indigenous peoples have not seen the positive benefits of research” (Smith, 1999, p.191). It is certainly the case that representatives of Māori communities are often well aware of the benefits that accrue to educational researchers who build careers on research conducted within and around Māori children and representations of their schooling, tribal and cultural communities. They are equally aware of the “glittering prizes” awarded to researchers for these endeavours, such as academic promotions, international conferences, enhanced professional reputations and increased academic capital – none of which are usually extended to participant groups. In light of this, questions about the value and benefit of research to participant groups are important and need to be asked.

The following sections of this paper outline some of the tensions and challenges encountered in the course of a study involving young Māori and their communities. The purpose of the study was to explore young people’s understandings of their social, cultural and community environments. Part of the research process involved initiating a series of community hui (meetings) for local adults and young people to discuss participation and the management of the project. At the outset of the project, members of participating communities raised questions about the value of the research and the way that the participants’ voices would be represented and this is discussed below.

Methodology

As has been described elsewhere (Kidman, 2012), the study included 24 young people aged between 14 and 16 years who had ancestral, or other family links, to the tribal regions in which they lived. Four communities located in the North and South Islands of New Zealand participated in the project, including residents of a rural coastal village, a small town in a river valley, a seaside community located within 30 kilometres of a large urban centre, and a township in an agricultural region. We sought Māori young people who were located in smaller regional centres rather than in more tribally diverse urban areas although participants in two regions lived reasonably close to large cities and visited them regularly.

A team of Māori researchers collected data for this project and each team member had tribal affiliations or other cultural connections (such as family or marriage connections) with the particular community in which they worked. These connections were an important factor in establishing good relationships with members of the participating communities, many of whom would have otherwise been unwilling to admit outsiders. This was particularly the case because, despite the fact that the study had university ethics approval, members of participant communities were more concerned that *tikanga* (tribal custom) was respected and upheld by the researchers in the course of their work with young Māori. The tribal affiliations of the researchers were also a driving factor in the selection of participating communities and how access to those communities was negotiated.

A visual methods approach was developed for this study and participants were asked to produce photographic images that portrayed a range of interactions with their immediate social fields. We were less interested in constructing a documentary

record of young peoples' lives, however, than we were in exploring the ways that Māori teenagers express their relationships with the people and places around them.

At the beginning of the project, participants in each of the four communities compiled lists of keywords that exemplified for them, various aspects of their lives. The research team then facilitated negotiations between participants in each region about which keywords would be selected. The final list of keywords agreed upon by all the young people in each region was: Land, Belonging, Journeys, the Past, and Mana (prestige or authority). These keywords acted as thematic devices around which the participants constructed photographic narratives. The methods we used to elicit Māori voices were specifically designed with the intention of generating a collaborative research venture for young people which also included their families and wider communities. In this paper the processes through which we sought consent from the participating communities is the focus because it was through these processes, which involved a series of community hui (meetings), that some of the most heated debates about the representation of Māori youth voices took place. The discussion below draws on field notes from these hui. A photograph taken by a participant as part of this study is also included in this paper. An extended description of the study and the methodology can be found in Kidman (2012).

Community hui

In keeping with Māori cultural protocols, we negotiated entry into the site communities by initiating a series of community gatherings where people with a direct interest in the wellbeing of young Māori were invited to attend. These hui were also an important part of the recruitment process for this study. The gatherings took place in a range of venues including marae, community centres and schools and were well attended by young people and their families as well as by kaumātua², teachers, community workers, and other community-based representatives (see Wood & Kidman, 2013). These hui were initiated because we take the view that while young people's voices are, at times, individual utterances representing personal concerns, at other times they are expressions of meaning that are embedded within and shaped by the wider collective. We were particularly interested in this latter approach because it emphasises the community and family learning contexts of young Māori outside of school.

The participants' consent to be involved with the project was negotiated at these hui but it was also during the meetings that it became evident that community members considered that permission for the use of the images would be an ongoing process extending beyond the end of the data gathering process. It was also made clear that in cases where photographs depicting sites of tribal significance were produced, committee members wished to retain control over how the storage and dissemination of the images would be managed. For this reason, community and marae-based representatives assumed responsibility for decisions about the dissemination of the images in academic forums. Issues relating to the ownership of the photographs were also hotly debated and in the end it was agreed that intellectual ownership of photographs showing identifiable individuals that did not depict urupā, ancestral marae or wāhi tapu², would be divided between the researchers and the young people themselves. I was given ongoing permission to use

images that did not identify individuals or sites of tribal significance as I chose (Wood & Kidman, 2013).

This was an important discussion because the right to represent young people's voices and in the case of this study, the visual artefacts they created, could not be assumed. Questions about the ownership of data in voice research in this context needed to be asked and answered if consent was going to be given. It was during one of these hui that concerns were raised about how we would portray the communities involved with the study and whether or not the young people should bother to be involved at all. This was the subject of considerable debate as some of the attendees argued that although the members of the research team were Māori and had tribal or other family links to the site communities, we were also academic researchers with vested interests based on our university affiliations and disciplinary allegiances. In this respect, the arguments that were made against giving consent to participate in the study centred on concerns that despite research team members having emic knowledge of the site communities, we were also community outsiders who were coming into these environments with our own agendas and priorities.

In the cultural context of community hui, difficult questions are often asked and challenges are laid down and this creates a unique learning and socialisation environment for young Māori operating within these kinds of community contexts. Also, in any community forum there may be prospective participants who are suspicious or mistrustful of the research process. In this case, the community hui created a public space whereby community members could lay down a face-to-face challenge and hear our response. They were also a place where we were able to listen to people's concerns, speak to them directly and subsequently, work towards articulating mutually agreed goals. However, there were also a number of underlying anxieties that were unique to these communities which influenced the discussions that took place. These anxieties also had an impact on the way that the notion of voice as it related to Māori in general and young Māori in particular was conceived by members of the site communities as is discussed below.

Memory regimes and the voices of young Māori

Concerns were expressed in one hui about the way that Māori voices, tribal histories and memory regimes have been either co-opted by outsiders over time or else expunged from the official record. We were asked if, as researchers, we would simply replicate this kind of marginalisation. It should be noted here that the study was carried out in communities that had a high degree of familiarity with the Treaty of Waitangi claims process and it was only when we met with these groups that it became apparent how important this was in terms of our reception in those areas. At the time the study took place, three participating communities were either preparing or managing Treaty claims and as a result, discussion and debates about the way that tribal communities are mandated and represented were regularly being held in people's homes, marae and tribal committees. In addition, the data collection phase of the research took place against the backdrop of the Seabed and Foreshore ³ protests during the summer and autumn of 2005 when Māori anger towards the Crown was at its peak (Kidman, 2012).

The wider political context of Treaty settlements that surrounded these communities cannot be under-estimated. The Treaty claims process and other political events relating to Māori rights to customary title had a significant impact on the way that community members dealt with us notwithstanding the insider status that each member of the research team had respectively within these communities. We were aware of ongoing discussions in these areas about iwi engagement with the Treaty claims process and the enormous impact this had on the everyday lives of many of the participants and their families, kaumātua and tribal communities but we were less prepared for the way these debates would influence attitudes towards ourselves as Māori researchers.

For example, during a hui that took place in an area where a Treaty claim was being mounted, heated and often very angry debates about tribal mandates in the claims process (namely, who has the authority to speak and who is recognised as a speaker of tribal histories) were ongoing and some of this anger spilled into discussions about our study. At one hui, several attendees talked about the importance of being able to tell their own stories in their own way and in their own time and questioned the need for researchers to come in and do it for them. Other speakers responded that if the young people did not engage with our study, their voices might never be heard outside the local community context and their stories would not necessarily be told in ways that other people might learn from. It seemed that the group had reached an impasse but eventually one of the prospective participants, a 16-year old female, argued that if she agreed to be part of the study, it would mean that what she had to say would be on record; that it would not be forgotten and she would have the photographs to show for it. The meeting closed shortly afterwards with permission given for the study to proceed.

Placing one's story, or voice, on the official record has particular significance in Māori communities where historical injustices are under investigation by the Waitangi Tribunal. Richard Boast (2006) argues that the role of the Waitangi Tribunal is to "create an authoritative record which will continue to play an educative function and provide a public resource in years to come" (Boast, 2006, p.5). For many Māori communities, placing their historical accounts and tribal memories on the official record as part of a formal reconciliation and settlement process has a profound impact. As Seuffert (2005) argues, these histories, which are included as part of Tribunal hearings or the Treaty settlement process, become part of the New Zealand nation's foundation stories. She notes that these testimonies are "particularly important as stories of inclusion and exclusion in these collective identities" (Seuffert, 2005, p.489). This is recognised by the Waitangi Tribunal itself as being a critical factor in the reconciliation process:

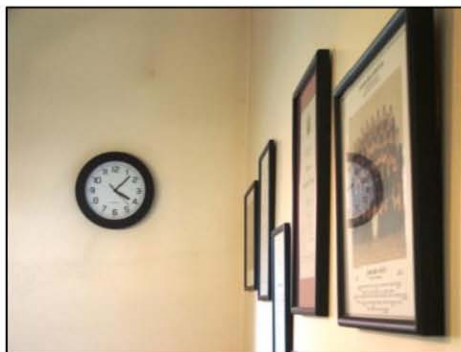
A Tribunal hearing is a forum not only for arguments and stories, but also for emotions. It is well recognised that Tribunal hearings can provide an important catharsis for claimants, and this is a critical part of the Treaty claims resolution process. Time must be taken, where appropriate, to ensure that this aspect of the Tribunal's role is not undermined. (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.)

The Tribunal process is not merely a cathartic outpouring of pain, however, nor an exercise in therapeutic justice. The stories that Māori and expert witnesses tell in the course of these proceedings serve a particular purpose that is both nation-building, educative and future-focussed insofar as it is geared towards reconciliation between Māori peoples and the Crown and young people are important actors in that process. It is also a way for Māori communities to place tribal memory on the record. Many of these memories centre on deep-seated grievances that have carried across generations and continue to have direct economic, social and cultural consequences in the present. Boraine (2006) argues that reconciliation only becomes possible in societies divided by conflicting accounts of historical injustice when the past is acknowledged and a common memory is created and agreed upon by those who represented the unjust system, those who fought against it and those who live in the aftermath of conflict (Boraine, 2006, p.22). Our field notes show that members of Māori communities who are involved with the Treaty claims process take these ideas very seriously and, because iwi members in three of the communities that we approached were directly engaged in Treaty claims at the time, issues relating to the right to tell one's own stories in one's own way were uppermost in many people's minds.

During the course of the study, the young people did tell stories about historical injustice and the ancestral past and they also told us about the engagement of young people in the contemporary Treaty claims process. For example, in some areas, students at Kura Kaupapa Māori schools attend Tribunal hearings and listen to the historical evidence. Some participants were also privy to discussions about the Treaty claims process that were going on at marae, in hapu or iwi hui, and at community gatherings and family occasions (Kidman, 2012). Many of the participants were aware that these events were taking place around them and this gave them a sense of being part of a national history that was in the process of being made. For the most part, however, history is comprised of smaller narratives and the stories the young people told us were on a more everyday scale and covered a diverse range of topics. Nevertheless, within these small narratives, an awareness of wider power relations was often brought into play. For example, several participants talked about the way that time sometimes seems to drag at the end of the school day; and how decisions about the way young people are permitted to pass their time are generally made by other people. They talked about how the formal structures of school and the State brought people who often had very different priorities, like teachers and school principals, into their lives and that these people had the power to assert those priorities on behalf of young people and their families and communities. In many respects, these little stories about everyday experiences spoke to broader understandings about the way that power relations are implicated in the structuring of the school day and indeed, the multi-faceted experiences of young people who grow up Māori in twenty-first century New Zealand. This stands in stark contrast to the way the participants were learning about the politics of history and the passage of time within their own tribal communities where stories about the past elicited raw and often unresolved emotions. One participant expressed something of this sense of disjunction in the image below.

Discussion

Arnot and Reay (2007) argue that one of the problems of eliciting hitherto silenced voices is that the focus on unequal power relations *between* social categories can obscure the inequalities *within* them. In response to recent criticisms of voice research, particularly those that challenge context-dependent standpoint theories, Arnot and Reay (2007) advocate the development of what they call a “sociology of pedagogic voice”. In line with this, they argue that young people’s experiences are not in themselves as important to research as developing an



“School never ends!” Female participant, 14 yrs old

understanding of the forces that shape, limit, constrain and produce those experiences within a field of practice. They contend that voice research requires researchers to analyse the power relations that surround the production of voice, stating that “voice cannot change power relations, but that shifts in power relations can change ‘voices’” (Arnot & Reay, 2007, p.316ff).

Reflecting on these arguments in relation to the present study, it was clear that the tensions embedded in power relations between Māori communities and the Crown influenced the way that people represented themselves variously as members of tribal communities that had experienced economic, social and historical injustice over time. In this respect, their voices were shaped in many different ways by what was going on around them in the social and political field. In practice, Māori communities are dynamic, many-faceted, and highly diverse but this is frequently downplayed in education policy research particularly when Māori young people are represented primarily as a single homogeneous cultural category within the context of the school or the classroom. This is also when within-group differences can be obscured. For this reason, community-based education research that recognises a wider range of roles and identities for young people can ultimately provide a useful lens on their priorities and understandings about the world they live in.

On the other hand, the political forces that shape between group conflicts continue to be important in the New Zealand context. In the present study, the attitudes of members of Māori communities were shaped by external forces and the Treaty claims process exerted a powerful external influence on their lives. The impact of these kinds of political forces on local communities, however, is not well understood and is rarely acknowledged in school-focused education research. In addition, the stories that are created within Māori communities shape the way that young people engage with aspects of the wider society. Insofar as the Treaty claims process itself is concerned, the archive is still being created; many stories and historical accounts are in the process of being told. As such they exert a powerful influence not only on the way that many Māori communities structure their

interactions with researchers and other outsiders but also on the stories that young people themselves are able to tell.

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¹ The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Crown representatives and many Māori tribes in 1840, is considered to be the founding document of modern New Zealand. It provided a set of principles intended to guide the relationship between Māori and the Crown. Over time, the Crown violated the terms of the Treaty and its promises to Māori. By 1975, Māori anger about the extensive loss of tribal lands and sovereignty threatened to spill into wider civil disorder. In response, the Waitangi Tribunal was established as a permanent commission of inquiry charged with investigating contemporary breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1985, its brief was extended to historical injustices against Māori going back to 1840;

² Kamātua = tribal elder(s); urupā = burial grounds; marae = tribal meeting ground, an area that symbolises tribal identity and solidarity; wāhi tapu = an area of special spiritual, cultural or historical tribal significance.

³ The seabed and foreshore dispute between Māori peoples and the Crown centred on legislation passed into law in 2004 that gave ownership of the foreshore and seabed to the New Zealand government. Many Māori tribes, however, claim customary title to these areas. The legislation effectively extinguished Māori claims of customary rights.

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