DECOLONISATION THROUGH RECONCILIATION

The role of Pākehā identity

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Abstract

Research indicates that claiming a contemporary identity as Pākehā is being redefined by those individuals who engage closely with Te Ao Māori. This reopens the discussion of the implications for Pākehā researchers who engage across Māori research spaces. This article reports a reflective study I conducted using the transtheoretical model and its six stages of change (J. O. Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982) to understand my Pākehā cultural identity. I discuss my rationale for engaging in research with Māori, and then outline the approaches that I, as a non-Indigenous researcher, adopted to appropriately engage in Indigenous research. I discuss responsibilities for Pākehā to take deliberate and conscious steps to decolonise through reconciliation and dismantle disturbing and prevailing prejudiced attitudes. Decolonisation through reconciliation takes various forms, but necessarily involves a process of actions and changes. Our challenge as Pākehā educators is to participate in this change process towards decolonisation through reconciliation.

Keywords

Pākehā, Māori, identity, decolonisation, reconciliation, education research

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Introduction

This article draws on my experiences as a teacher, education facilitator and university researcher to evaluate a journey which prompted me to deeply question my cultural identity as a Pākehā New Zealander. I undertook a reflective study using J. O. Prochaska and DiClemente's (1982) transtheoretical model (TTM) and its six stages of change to examine my personally lived experience of how my cultural identity as Pākehā has evolved. I am often asked by both Pākehā and Māori how I engage in an appropriate manner with research as a non-Indigenous researcher in an Indigenous community. I first use the TTM to explore my personal experiences of crossing cultures and engaging with Te Ao Māori in educational settings and throughout my doctoral research project. I then discuss my rationale for engaging in research with Māori before outlining approaches of how, as a non-Indigenous researcher, I endeavoured to appropriately engage in Indigenous research.

With this article, then, I seek to enter the dialogue on the subject of Pākehā cultural identity and what that means for Pākehā who engage with Māori for research purposes. The "I" who writes this is situated in a particular place and time, from a specific history and culture—what I write is "in context", positioned. Readers will note that I use the terms "Māori", "Pākehā" and "non-Māori". A great diversity exists among each group of peoples. For the purposes of the ensuing discussion, I refer to "Māori" as individuals in the numerous and distinct iwi who are collectively recognised as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. I use "non-Māori" for people who do not identify as Māori, including recent immigrants to Aotearoa. An explanation of Pākehā identity is given later in the article.

Cultural identity

Culture can be seen as the ideas, customs and social behaviour of particular groups of people. Deaux (2006) describes culture as everything that makes up a particular way of living and which belongs to a group of people, such as beliefs, values, language, customs, food, music, stories and style of dress. How an individual takes these aspects of the culture(s) they belong to and uses them shapes and defines their self-cultural identity. Thus, cultural identity goes beyond questions of country of origin, citizenship or language use (Deaux, 2006).

Cultural identity in a collective sense has been explained as qualities attributed to a specific population about their modern identity, traditional ethnicity, race and lifestyle (Friedman, 1994; Young, 2018). Olick and Robbins (1998) add that cultural identity is a fluid construction under continuous evolution in response to present concerns and purposes. Although cultural identities are rooted in the past and reflect common historical experiences and shared cultural codes that provide notions of "us, as one people" (Hall, 1989, p. 69), cultural identities are constantly reconstructed in response to present concerns.

Cultural identity in an individual sense is a person's *sense of belonging* to a specific population and the feelings associated with this group membership (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huanga, 2001). Some researchers advocate that the two most important factors of an individual's cultural identity are the sense of belonging they feel to a group and the feeling that their personal fate greatly connects to their group's fate (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Gleason, 1983; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

In recent decades, researchers have discussed how individual and collective notions of Pākehā cultural identity have changed in response to the social times (Forsyth, 2018; King, 1985; Metge, 2008; Spoonley, 1991; Tilbury, 2001). Webber (2008) discusses the entanglement of what it means to be a person of mixed Māori/Pākehā

descent and how a sense of belonging is established in both groups. This article contributes to discussions on what it means to "become" a Pākehā in relation to Te Ao Māori in contemporary Aotearoa sociocultural contexts.

Search to understand Pākehā Identity

Why was I searching?

I have been an educator for more than 25 years. During that time I have been predominantly based in Aotearoa, but I have also worked for two years in England, five years in Japan and six years in Hawai'i. For the past 12 years I have worked in primary, secondary and tertiary education contexts in Aotearoa. Since 2011, the tertiary education positions I have held have involved me participating closely with Māori students and staff. Such experiences triggered my active search to understand conceptualisations of Pākehā identity because I found myself reconsidering my Pākehā identity narrative as I more intimately encountered Te Ao Māori.

My journey became inextricably interwoven with learning to understand Māori identity, impacts of colonisation and the importance of Pākehā-Māori reconciliation. Forsyth (2018) suggests that extensive cross-cultural engagement has a transformative potential in relation to self-cultural identity perceptions. When a Pākehā decides to explore and accept the impact of colonisation upon Māori, there is an unsettling upheaval in their self-perception as a logical result (Spoonley, 1995a, 1995b). The search to understand my Pākehā identity is still unsettling, uncomfortable and not without tension. However, without doubt it is a worthwhile, therapeutic and essential journey.

As part of fulfilling doctoral degree requirements, I began researching with a group of 20 Māori tertiary education students from three institutions: the University of Waikato, Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology and Te Whare Wānanga of Awanuiārangi. This research used a critical social theory and culturally responsive methodology research design to investigate participants' personally lived experiences of their transition into tertiary education. It was a cross-cultural study where the researcher (me) was a Pākehā New Zealander and the participants were Māori New Zealanders. We met regularly over five semesters. The focus was transition experiences of the participants; I did not set out to investigate my own self-perceptions of being Pākehā during this research process. In this article, I reflect on those unexpected personal outcomes from my doctoral research journey which prompted me to deeply question and search for my identity as a Pākehā New Zealander.

What did my journey look like?

I adapted J. O. Prochaska and DiClemente's (1982) TTM to reflect on the changes I experienced. TTM was established in the 1980s around changing health behaviours such as smoking cessation (Calderwood, 2011; Norcross, Krebs, & Prochaska, 2011). Since then, its use has expanded into a range of fields. Its usefulness and relevance for therapeutic change processes are well established in the literature (Calderwood, 2011; Geller et al., 2008; Ha, Jayasuriya, & Owen, 2005; J. M. Prochaska, Prochaska, & Levesque, 2001; Whitelaw, Baldwin, Bunton, & Flynn, 2000).

TTM is a stage theory—a theory that characterises human change in terms of levels or stages. Another stage theory, presented by Howard (2006), explores white identity development, building upon the work of Helms (1990). Despite the many useful aspects of this theory, it did not readily apply to my experience. The six-stage (two-phase) theory posits that, after abandoning racial privilege and evolving a non-racist identity, white people finally begin to learn about other racial groups (Howard, 2006). In my case, it was the learning about and interaction with other groups (i.e., Māori) *throughout* the process, rather than just the

last stage, which was significant to my identity development. TTM engages with the notion of a continual process of becoming, not dissimilar to Newton's (2009) "politics of error", which speaks to the fragile, uncertain and reflexive space of Pākehā postcolonial researcher identity development in proximity to Māori.

Stage theories offer descriptive insights but have been criticised for lacking explanatory power (Bandura, 1998; Casey, Day, & Howells, 2005). Critics of TTM argue that while TTM accounts for high-frequency behaviour (e.g., smoking), the process of attitudinal and behavioural change may be less cyclical with less frequent behaviours (Casey et al., 2005). However, an advantage of TTM is that helps to identify where a person is in terms of readiness to change; in other words, the stages of change represent different aspects of the change process. Therefore, TTM is a model which may be used to motivate change rather than labelling an individual as unwilling or resistant to change (Casey et al., 2005).

The process of *how* people change entails a different explanation. Overt and covert activities of change that I undertook encompassed cognitive, affective, behavioural, attitudinal and spiritual aspects. The reporting of these may form a sequel to the present article, but my purpose here is to describe my journey and to articulate the stages of change I experienced. TTM has evolved since its inception; the current theory comprises six stages: pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance and relapse (J. M. Prochaska et al., 2001), as described in Table 1.

J. O. Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross (1992) explain that the "change cycle" typically involves between three and seven cycles before long-term maintenance is achieved. Moves towards long-term maintenance are sporadically interrupted by spiralling back to previous stages, which is subsequently followed by forward progress. Figure 1 shows J. O. Prochaska and DiClemente's (1982) TTM adapted to represent my cycle of Pākehā self-cultural identity change in environments which stimulated close Pākehā-Māori engagement.

I recognise that this process may not apply to all Pākehā individuals. In my case the above model offered a framework to articulate a complicated and iterative change process. My experience was not a neat and tidy progression: I oscillated between stages, noticed that I was sometimes between stages, experienced some aspects of one stage while experiencing some

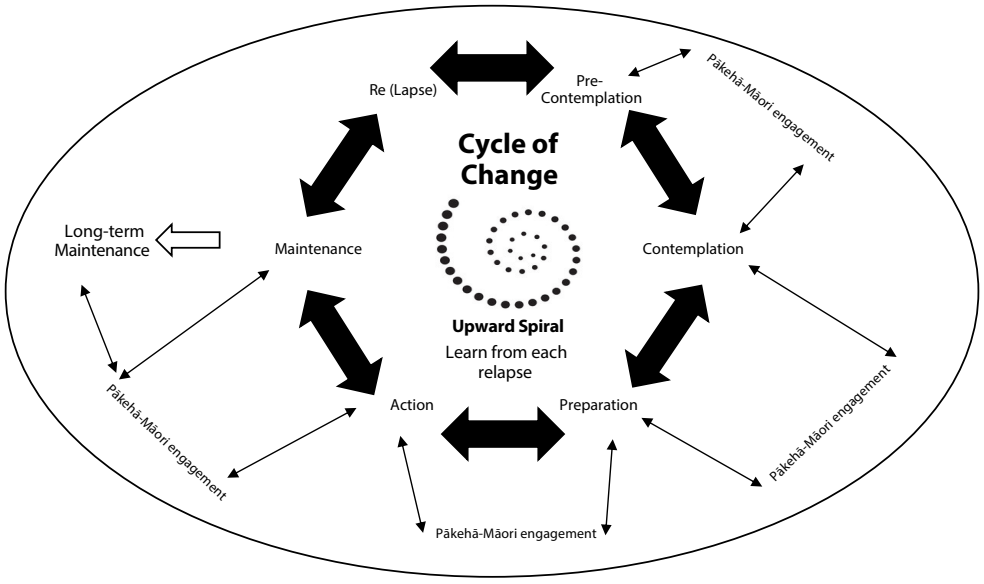

FIGURE 1 TTM Change Cycle adapted to Pākehā self-cultural identity change

TABLE 1 The six stages of J. M. Prochaska et al.'s (2001) change cycle utilised in my doctoral research

Stage	Author's review of change cycle stages	Author's experience
Pre-contemplation	There is no intention of changing attitudes or behaviour in the future. A person/cultural group/organisation is unaware of any issues or problems, although others around them may recognise that they are in a pre-contemplative stage.	[Intention]
Contemplation	There is awareness of the issue and serious thought about overcoming it. No commitment has been made to take action, however. Struggles arise when evaluating how much effort, energy and loss must be expended to overcome the issue. Initial acceptance that there is a problem which requires transformation within the self is accompanied by a realisation that change may take longer than first thought. Ambivalence prevails as one remains unprepared to make significant changes.	[Intention]
Preparation	There is an intention to make changes and take action soon. Small changes are being made ("baby steps") and perhaps some reduction in undesirable behaviour and attitudes. But a criterion for effective action has not yet been reached. The preparation stage is a transition from ambivalence about change to actually making changes—emotions in this stage include feeling confused, overwhelmed, guilty, hesitant and fearful of what moving on might bring.	[Transition from intention to action]
Action	Modification is made to behaviour, attitudes, experiences and/or environment in order to overcome the issue. Action involves the most overt changes, requiring considerable time and energy commitments. Undesirable behaviour and attitudes have been altered (for a period up to six months).	[Action]
Maintenance	Work is under way to prevent relapse and consolidate gains made during the action stage. This stage extends beyond six months to an indeterminate period past initial action. Criteria for maintenance include consistently engaging in a new approach which has overcome the initial issue for more than a six-month period.	[Action]
Relapse	Relapse is not seen as failure but as a predictable pattern in the change process. This allows any relapse to be reframed, viewed as a learning opportunity and made available for refining future change and maintenance. As relapse leads back to the pre-contemplation stage, there may not be awareness of any issues.	[Transition from action to intention]

TABLE 2 Application of TTM to my experiences searching for my Pākehā self

Prochaska and DiClemente's (1982) stages of change	Stage of change applied to search for Pākehā self	Behaviours and attitudes of Pākehā self in this stage
Pre-contemplation	Dependence (on power and privilege)	• Living in mainstream society • Limited knowledge of Māori culture, language • Influenced by media • Ignorant of Treaty/history • Discriminating actions or remarks towards Māori (intentional and unintentional)
Contemplation	Exposure to Māori (triggers awareness of dependence)	• Exposure involves interaction with Māori people or Māori knowledge • Triggers awareness; admission of there being past and present lingering colonisation issues for Māori • Acknowledgement that Pākehā may be dependent on white power and privilege
Preparation	Breakdown (engagement with Māori culture)	• Trying to understand Te Ao Māori • Disillusionment with prior understanding of being Pākehā • Guilt about settler history
Action	Detox (abandonment of Pākehā culture to immerse in Te Ao Māori)	• Leaving the shores of the mainstream to swim in Māoridom • Losing Pākehā identity • Deliberate disowning, shame, wanting to wash hands of connections to Pākehā settler history
Maintenance	Rehabilitation & Recovery (awareness of being in a "third space", being a "recovering racist")	• Never returning to the shore but arriving in a new place that is somewhere between Pākehādom and Māoridom (in-betweenness) • Realisation that a Pākehā New Zealander identity is inextricably interwoven with Māori identity
Lasting maintenance	Decolonisation (sustaining the changes made over time)	• Carrying out activities to decolonise, reconcile and rebuild a power-sharing societal structure • Taking an active part to shape a better future with and for Māori
Relapse	Relapse (until an event triggers awareness of relapse)	• Important aspect of change • Can lead to a return to behaviours and attitudes of concern (see Dependency) • May not be aware of relapse until there is appropriate exposure to Māori to trigger awareness

aspects of another. These stages sit along a continuum in practice; they are simply presented as unique categories for purpose of description. From the outset, I did not believe that I required any "healing"; however, upon reflection, the change process of "becoming" Pākehā was therapeutic. I was beginning to heal from our history that promotes a dependency on power and privilege for contemporary white New Zealanders. Further evaluation of my experiences revealed similarities to individuals who undergo change processes to "break the habit" of a dependency. Table 2 illustrates how I applied TTM to my experiences.

Bandura (1998) disregarded stage theories on the basis that human functioning is too multifaceted and multidetermined to be minimised into discrete categories. In TTM's pure form, people would supposedly move through the following stages: (1) pre-contemplator—one has no intention to change; (2) contemplator—one intends to change; (3) actor—one has adopted new behaviour (but not yet regularly); (4) maintainer—one behaves in this new way regularly (J. O. Prochaska et al., 1992). I depart from the essential assumptions of a stage theory that there are transformations across each distinct stage, that the sequence of change does not vary, and that there is non-reversibility. In my experience, transformation across each stage was blurry, indistinct and not clear-cut; the sequence of my change did vary and was reversible, as indicated by the two-way arrows in Figure 1 (the original model's arrows go in the forward direction only). In short, the stages as discussed here are not pure stages. People do not fit neatly into pre-fixed categories, necessitating the creation of sub-stages or transitional stages to explain fluctuations. Furthermore, categorising people as, for example, "pre-contemplators" does not explain why they do or do not consider making changes that might benefit them.

The stages describe attitudes and behaviour and have value for recognising and identifying aspects of how Pākehā identity evolves. Although I have related this cycle of change to my individual experience, it *may* be possible for other Pākehā to recognise similarities to their own experiences. It may have relevance within discussions of a national Pākehā identity in connection to decolonisation. The application of TTM for empowerment of social movements and class/race struggles warrants further development.

What is my Pākehā identity?

King (1985) explored Pākehā identity in his ethnic autobiography *Being Pakeha*. In his work, he emphasised a sense of belonging as central to Pākehā identity and used the (flawed) argument that, just like other Pākehā, he has no other home; therefore, just like Māori, he belongs in New Zealand (King, 1985, p. 177). He later advocated that a Pākehā identity comes not only from this sense of belonging but also from interaction with Māori (King, 1991). Building on King's argument, Spoonley (1995a, 1995b) suggested that in addition to a sense of belonging, and a relationship with Māori, a Pākehā identity acknowledges the effects of colonisation and politics that affirm Treaty claim resolution and support of tino rangatiratanga.

Bell (1996) subsequently joined the debate and, whilst emphasising these aspects of Pākehā identity, refuted King's (1991) position that a sense of belonging for white New Zealanders should attempt to incorporate indigeneity. Lawn's (1994) contribution warned Pākehā not to "lose sight of their own privilege and neglect to evaluate the effectiveness of their own anti-racist tactics" (p. 299). Her attention to whiteness and white privilege is significant, although not readily adopted by all. More recent work on Pākehā identity (Bell, 2009, 2014; Metge, 2010) includes discussion of Pākehā identity predicaments over settler belonging and decolonisation.

I am not suggesting that what I explore below exhausts the identity possibilities for Pākehā New Zealanders—I am merely articulating the main elements pertinent to my journey. My

decision to become involved in researching with Māori did not entail a conscious decision to become actively involved in the politics of research with Māori. Somewhere within the process of "becoming Pākehā" (Newton, 2009) researcher working with Māori communities, I began to think a great deal about my own role and the role of research in general for Māori. Identifying myself as a Pākehā has only come about since then.

I am a white-skinned third-generation Pākehā New Zealander of Scottish and English descent. I identify myself as a Pākehā New Zealander for the following reasons. First, self-identifying as a Pākehā is a political act. It is a statement about my relationship to Māori as tangata whenua with a recognition of a colonial past that needs greater discussion. Next, claiming a Pākehā identity is to say that Pākehā is not a derogatory term; it is a positive term. It is a taonga. "Pākehā" has been gifted to Pākehā by the Indigenous people of Aotearoa and defines the terms of how Pākehā are in their land, in their space. Claiming to be a Pākehā is to accept this gift, and to be respectful through honouring the priority of Māori in this land and the place of Pākehā in relation to Māori.

Third, no other term quite fits. If I am given the term Tauiwi (instead of Pākehā), I am positioned more as a visitor, stranger or foreigner, which may ignore or deny deeper personal connections I feel to Aotearoa as a third-generation New Zealander. Rather, Tauiwi would be a more appropriate term if I were to emigrate to Europe, specifically Scotland, where my ethnic heritage lies. To me, however, Scotland is a foreign land in which I have only stepped foot for three days. Further linking to this reason, the term "European New Zealander" may position me in terms of my Pākehā whakapapa, but it does not sufficiently represent my sense of belonging—a necessity for a cultural identity. My connection to Scotland is through ancestral bloodlines, but not through a spiritual oneness, nor a sense of belonging and well-being. In this sense, "European New Zealander" may identify my ethnic origins, but it does not identify *who and what I am* because it fails to acknowledge the Māori culture and socialisation that has crept into me in being Pākehā. My cultural identity is more connected with kapa haka, hangi and piupiu than with bagpipes, haggis and kilts. I have a greater sense of belonging in the lakes, rivers and moana of Aotearoa than in the lochs and glens of Scotland.

Fourth, the term Pākehā contains inherent meanings of "whiteness". White privilege is the benefit that white New Zealanders have access to simply through belonging to the dominant ethnic group—it is a privilege that consists of living in a country where to be white is to be "normal" (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). It is not that I seek this privilege; it is that I seek to admit that it is afforded to me in the present sociocultural times to the detriment of Māori and other minority groups. White privilege is a wrong which must be righted.

Fifth, having a Pākehā identity positions those of us who use it as being of Aotearoa New Zealand, within Aotearoa itself. Is there another colonised society where a word from the colonised people's language is adopted by the majority (descendants of colonisers) and used to refer to themselves? This returns to the earlier point of Pākehā identity as a political act. If it is such, then Pākehā cannot ignore a moral obligation and purpose to engage with Māori for the purpose of decolonisation and reconciliation.

Rationale for engaging in research with Māori

Pākehā-Māori and Māori-Pākehā research

Just as notions of Pākehā identity have undergone changes in response to evolving social times, so have beliefs about the role of Pākehā in research with Māori. In the 1970s and 1980s, pent-up criticism of 19th-century researchers

and angry reactions by some to Pākehā scholars (e.g., Michael King and Joan Metge) demonstrated a general view that Māori had not been well served by Pākehā researchers. A public backlash against Pākehā researchers was stirring among Māori. Cram (2001) explains: "We just got a little side-tracked by non-Māori researchers' notions that we were deficient when they examined us through their western gaze" (p. 50). These beliefs alongside frustration about the limited recognition of Māori views and knowledge reinforced the rationale for more Māori-centred research and the development of kaupapa Māori research. Key Māori researchers continued to advocate for and develop Māori-centred and kaupapa Māori research approaches through the 1980s, 1990s and beyond (Cram, 2001; Durie, 1998, 2003, 2005; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Pohatu, 2004; G. Smith, 2000, 2012; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2013; Walker, 1996).

Tolich (2002) notes that throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, Pākehā postgraduate researchers "learned that they had no place researching Māori" (p. 165) and were not educated in how to conduct cross-cultural research. Moreover, Pākehā university researchers adopted the attitude that Pākehā-Māori cross-cultural research was a "political minefield", and they became paralysed in undertaking research in these contexts—a phenomenon Tolich (2002) dubbed "Pākehā paralysis".

Kaupapa Māori approaches to research are based on key assumptions that the research involves Māori, that Māori knowledge is valid and legitimate, that Māori ethics provide the research foundations, and that the research undertaken with or about Māori is beneficial to Māori through making a positive contribution to Māori aspirations (Mikahere-Hall, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2013). As Jones (2012) points out, kaupapa Māori research is a political statement of Māori *inclusion* rather than Pākehā *exclusion*. Amongst both Māori and Pākehā researchers, the concept of kaupapa Māori research carried out *by* Māori, *with* Māori and *for* Māori has been fiercely debated. Discussions centre on claims that Māori are the best qualified people to undertake research with Māori and, accordingly, whether "being Māori" itself is enough to conduct kaupapa research (Mikahere-Hall, 2017; Walker, 1996). Furthermore, many prominent scholars have commented on whether and to what degree Pākehā can be involved (Bishop, 2010; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Durie, 1998; Irwin, 1994; Pihama et al., 2002; G. Smith, 2003; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2013; Walker, 1996). For example, L. T. Smith (1999) asks,

> "Can a non-indigenous researcher carry out Kaupapa Maori research?" The answer on current definitions is more complex. Perhaps it might read, "a non-indigenous, non-Maori person can be involved in Kaupapa Maori research, but not on their own; and if they were involved in such research, they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-indigenous person." (p. 184)

Bishop and Glynn's (1992, 1999) research posited that there is a place for Pākehā and non-Māori researchers and their expertise in kaupapa Māori, however the research methodology must be empowering. Their "IBRLA" framework comprises five chief principles: initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). They suggest a collaborative and interactive approach whereby the power and control of the research process remain with the whānau, hapū or iwi, who hold the researchers accountable. Viewed in this way, researchers, whether Māori, Pākehā or non-Māori, have the capacity and responsibility to collaboratively deliver research benefits to Māori participants and communities.

I suggest that the identities (and fates) of Pākehā and Māori are intertwined. Understandably, numerous Māori are wary of Pākehā researchers. An interesting question,

then, is why might Pākehā engagement in research with Māori be of value for Māori? This question is better responded to by Māori themselves, rather than a Pākehā researcher. Mahuika (2009) gives an insight into potential reasons, from a Māori perspective, drawing upon Freire's (1970) notion of liberation as a praxis. He states that "the transformation of 'nation' is not a process or dream that can be realized by Māori alone" (Mahuika, 2009, p. 143). Mahuika (2009) suggests that Māori language, culture and identities must be revitalised and realised in a living sense in collaboration with Pākehā.

Possibilities for Pākehā researchers (in collaboration with Māori) to transform the social structures that influence education theories, praxis and outcomes need less underestimation and more prioritisation. Metge (2008) provides examples of both Māori and Pākehā "individual bridge builders" who have forged new approaches to bridge the cultural divide in education. Some Māori researchers (e.g., Mikahere-Hall, 2017; Ratima & Ratima, 2003) point out that judicious use of certain Western ideologies has positively influenced development of Māori theories as they can be adapted or applied in ways that are consistent with a Māori research paradigm. Freire's (1970) emancipatory approach in relation to critical theory, which underpins kaupapa Māori theory, is one instance. Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin's (2013) culturally responsive methodologies also add to a body of knowledge in which Western research methodologies can be adapted to align with Māori epistemologies and ontologies.

Decolonisation through reconciliation in education

Decolonisation involves efforts by Pākehā and Māori to reflectively work together to shape current and future cultural identities, politics and economics. This process may be painful as it necessarily traverses self-critique, self-negation and self-rediscovery if we are to move to a more dignified social structure and organisation of education.

Decolonising research methodologies are possible approaches to reconcile historic injustices as they endeavour to change the continued power of Pākehā governance. Césaire's (2000) definition of decolonisation relates mainly to the decolonisation of the consciousness and "rejection of values, norms, customs and worldviews imposed by the [former] colonisers" (p. 89). Tuck and Yang (2012) argue for a more material emphasis, proposing that decolonisation means giving back land and power, as well as recognition by Pākehā that pre-existing frameworks may limit our understanding of the scope of the term "decolonisation". Sleeter's (2011) decolonising work as a white researcher/educator offers constructive ways to confront whiteness using insights from critical race theory to move beyond disconnects between teacher education and the diversity of school students.

I am suggesting reconciliation for educators as a means of decolonisation. Reconciliation has been extensively researched across many disciplines (Hirsch, 2012; Kymlicka & Bashir, 2008). Reconciliation is shaped by a drive for social justice and reconstruction following conflict. Broadly, reconciliation aims at all levels (interpersonal, societal, national, international) to reshape antagonistic identities, values and behaviour which remain a source of conflict through building a shared society (Hughes, 2017). Thus, reconciliation entails notions of peace-making with goals of a positive transformation of relationships and shared acknowledgement between both parties. Reconciliation pursues a profound transformation of the dynamics of relationships between societies and peoples through intertwined political and social changes. Various forms of actions and changes are integral to reconciliation processes. Part of our challenge as Pākehā educators to participate in this process of action and change towards decolonisation through reconciliation is to begin nurturing a habit of

listening to our discomforts. It is an unlearning as much as a relearning to orient our approach away from avoidance.

Education needs a decolonising reconciliation approach to address the reality of ongoing disparities between Pākehā and Māori. Hughes (2017) notes that engagement with reconciliation is a process less about making quantum leaps and more about making small but purposeful steps. Pākehā need to do more to ensure that Māori ways of knowing and being are embedded within our education framework by listening to our discomforts, moving away from avoidance and moving towards reconciliation.

Māori have been taking part in acts of reconciliation since 1840 (or even before) in their part as the colonised, the oppressed and the underserved group. Reconciliation places a big onus on the coloniser, the oppressor, the dominant group (Pākehā) to make steps towards reconciliation. In practical terms, this entails Pākehā taking collective responsibility for our role and actions. The involvement of Pākehā academics in decolonisation "requires self-reflexivity" (Langdon, 2013, p. 385) through recognition of privilege, personal change and growth, as well as unlearning of old knowledge designed to subjugate and exploit "the other". This is essentially about taking responsibility to engage with Māori on complex issues like restitution and transformative justice within education structures.

How can Pākehā researchers appropriately engage in Māori research contexts?

This is another complex question to answer as a Pākehā, and we are best to ask the Māori communities with whom we are invited to research for their answers. Aspirations by Pākehā researchers to participate in positive social change for Māori can be fraught with tension. As I pointed out earlier, historically such supposedly well-intentioned involvement contributed to oppressive policies which underserved Māori communities. Perhaps this question may be better reframed as "How can Māori and Pākehā appropriately research together to shape a socially and culturally just present and future?"

When researching with Māori participants during my doctoral studies, there was a definite wariness felt by some participants about a Pākehā researcher in a Māori domain; however, there was also a great deal of support for the work we were doing. Hotere-Barnes (2015) explains that working in spaces outside of Pākehā normality (dominance) necessitates getting comfortable with discomfort, both emotionally and intellectually. Conditions must be created where disagreements, emotional flux and living with doubt are seen to be "normal". Hotere-Barnes (2015) adds that this "letting go" requires intellectual diligence, emotional maturity and an awareness of how power circulates—a challenging and time-consuming process. This might be on the continuum between the *action* and *maintenance* stages of the cycle of change.

My role as a Pākehā researcher of Māori educational issues was not easy or straightforward. It seemed there was no single "right way" to carry out the research, yet there were a multitude of "wrong ways". Furthermore, my position as a Pākehā researcher was influenced by wider aspects of my identity such as being middle-aged, middle-class, heterosexual and female. In this regard, my approach to researching with Māori might be totally different to other Pākehā researchers. Earlier, I described my cultural identity journey to "become" Pākehā, yet I acknowledge that Pākehā identity, like Māori identity, is diverse and not homogeneous. My experiences led to the following list of recommendations for Pākehā researchers who wish to undertake cross-cultural research with Māori communities:

1. *Understand self:* This may begin with, for instance, recognising where we are

on the change cycle and tracing ancestry and whakapapa connections. Berryman et al. (2013) advocate for researchers who engage with culturally responsive methodologies to know and understand the self, suggesting that it is the researcher's responsibility for self-interrogation of their personal position within the research agenda. An important aspect of understanding self is understanding Pākehā identity.

2. *Respect cultural identity:* This means valuing our own cultural identity and the cultural identity of the research participants. A Pākehā researcher overtly valuing Māori cultural identity is an individual who is taking decolonising steps towards reconciliation. This might be through learning te reo Māori, gaining knowledge of Māori history and Māori tikanga and keeping abreast of contemporary Māori social justice issues. Recognition of the political dimension of the use of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori is another way of respecting Māori cultural identity. Respecting cultural identity will ultimately influence the direction of the research.
3. *Enter and commit to long-term relationships:* Pākehā researchers who enter and commit to long-term relationships with Māori illustrate an understanding of ethical accountability in Te Ao Māori. A research relationship that focuses on partnership in planning and decision-making reflects an understanding of the differential power relationships that are inherent in the research process. Through seeking collaboration and developing and sustaining long-term relationships, Pākehā identity and Māori identity are sustained and open to continuous evolution.
4. *Be transparent and humble:* During my doctoral research, I "arrived as a respectful visitor" (Berryman et al., 2013). What does this mean? I realised the importance of Māori participants being able to "feel" me as well as see me. I let them know who I was as a person. I listened, and I waited to be invited; I used all of my senses, paying attention to body language and cultural cues. The research was about learning alongside each other, co-constructing new knowledge with other people in a relationship of mutual trust. This environment created the ability to be comfortable with complexity and tensions.
5. *Listen and reconcile:* Gain an understanding of where Māori sit within a wider education, political and social agenda. The present sociocultural context in Aotearoa privileges Pākehā New Zealanders through its dominant Westernised ideology, reflected and reproduced in social structures such as education and health organisations (Mikahere-Hall, 2017). Commit to researching in a way that seeks better conditions and social justice for Māori and other marginalised groups. Education in Aotearoa needs a decolonising and reconciling approach to address ongoing disparities between Pākehā and Māori. Listen for ways that this can be done with the strength of both Pākehā and Māori working together.

Conclusion

Evolution of Pākehā identity is a continuous process of Pākehā situating themselves in relation to Māori and within wider Aotearoa society. Based on the rationale I have presented in this article, part of developing a Pākehā identity includes engaging with Te Ao Māori. However, what about the other way around? In other words, is Māori identity shaped through Māori-Pākehā engagement, and, if it is, what effect do these interactions have on Māori cultural identity development? The historical and structural legacy of colonialism continues to reinforce old patterns of white power and privilege that is evident through the injustices

faced by Māori today within education and other arenas. It may be helpful for Pākehā to become aware of what their role is in relation to the evolution of Māori identity.

There is no doubt that there is still a sense of mutual burden from the colonial past, with some Māori feeling and experiencing cultural marginalisation and some Pākehā fearing that Māori will secure undeserved advantages at their expense. Yet these concerns disguise an underlying and mutual respect between Pākehā and Māori, a respect which is reflected in the acknowledgement that there are positive aspects of Māori identity and Pākehā identity which help shape both of them. According to Mikahere-Hall (2017), contemporary Māori lifestyle requires engagement in both Māori and Western-based realities. Equally, I suggest that contemporary Pākehā lifestyles should entail engagement in both Pākehā- and Māori-based realities. This means a responsibility for Pākehā to take deliberate and conscious steps to decolonise through reconciliation and dismantle disturbing and prevailing prejudiced attitudes. It starts with a search for self-identity as a Pākehā.

Decolonisation is not an "end". It is a "new space" to be developed together. Pākehā educators and academics are challenged to consider epistemologies that perpetuate past injustices and rewrite epistemologies so that they have potential to confer dignity on all New Zealanders. This requires Pākehā to find courage to struggle in spaces that have long been "comfortable". Yet if that courage can be found, and if such action can be taken with respect and a willingness to be open to vulnerability, the process of reconciliation may take us on a journey towards a decolonised landscape.

Glossary

Aotearoa	lit. "land of the long white cloud", Māori name for New Zealand
hangi	pit in which food is cooked, the food cooked in a hangi
hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kapa haka	traditional Māori dancing and chanting
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach or ideology
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander
moana	body of water, the sea
Pākehā	white New Zealander in relation to Māori
piupiu	traditional Māori skirt made of flax leaves
tangata whenua	Indigenous people of the land, Māori
taonga	precious, gift
Tauiwi	foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist
Te Ao Māori/ Pākehā	the Māori/Pākehā worldview
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	Māori customs, protocol
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, Māori sovereignty
whakapapa	genealogical connections
whānau	family; nuclear/extended family

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