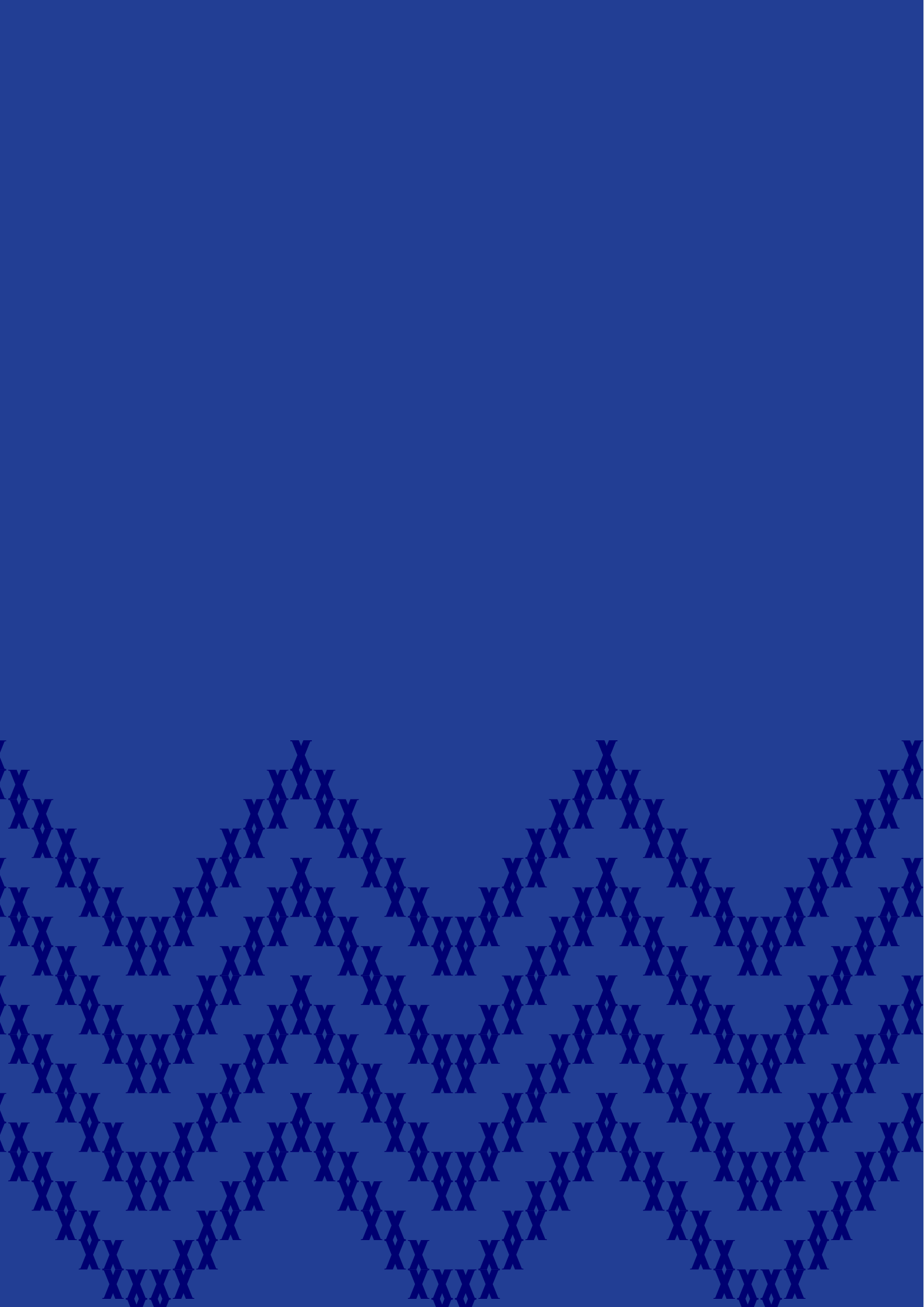




**Overt and covert racism:
Mispronunciation of Māori
names and the impact on
Māori students**



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By Helen Parker
Edited by Dr. Rāwiri Tinirau



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Gail Imhoff, photographer. The rangatahi featured are members of Te Rōpū o Punawai, Whanganui City College. Front: Pera Maraku (Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī, Ngāti Rangī, Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato-Tainui); second row (from left): Raiha Mihaka (Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa, Ngāpuhi, Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī), Briani-Lee Te Ngaru: (Ngāti Maniapoto); back row (from left): Wiremu Raupita (Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī, Ngāti Rangī), Rihari Raupita (Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī, Ngāti Rangī), Tawera Te Ngaru (Ngāti Maniapoto).

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He mihi

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini. Kei aku rangatira, kei aku pūkenga, kei ngā mana i atawhai i ahau kia ū ai ki tēnei kaupapa, he kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Rāwiri Tinirau, Te Atawhai o Te Ao, and Dr. Veronica Tawhai for their feedback on the draft of this research. Nōku te whiwhi, nōku te maringanui. Kei ōku toka tūmoana, my darling Vinnie and our boys Īhaka and Tūrama, Mum, Dad, Kahu and Rach. Mā te huruhuru e rere ai te manu. To the special and amazing students who participated in this research, I dedicate this work to you.

Nāku, nā

Helen Parker

He kōrero wāwahi:

Foreword

Tēnā kautau i runga i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

This publication has been produced as part of our He Kokonga Ngākau Fellowships, an initiative of Te Atawhai o Te Ao that seeks to support and contribute to our research projects, and to grow Māori research capability that promotes Kaupapa Māori (Māori methodologies and frameworks) research. These fellowships were established to support Māori (Indigenous people of Aotearoa) postgraduate students, practitioners, community researchers and writers in their writing on kaupapa (topics) that have relevance to our organisation, our research and our wider community.

Helen Parker (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Tūhoe, Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau, Tūhourangi) draws on her Master's research on the mispronunciation of Māori names and the impact on Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. Through the course of her research, Helen spoke with Māori secondary students about the significance of the names they carry, and garnered their views of when their names are pronounced incorrectly, abbreviated or modified. Importantly, this paper provides recommendations with the aim of eliminating racial micro-aggressions that cause people to mispronounce Māori names, which consequently causes harm to Māori students in mainstream school settings.

Helen's research aligns with the Whakatika Research Project, a Te Atawhai o Te Ao project that focuses on collecting information on rangatiratanga (chieftainship, right to exercise authority) and racism in Aotearoa specifically, and how racism impacts Māori. Through this project, it has been found that existing definitions

of racism do not adequately reflect the experiences of Māori, and that racism for Māori is historically layered but an ever-present issue in contemporary times. The wider objective of the Whakatika Research Project was to generate new quantitative and longitudinal knowledge of intergenerational trauma, which included the analysis of over 2,000 survey responses on Māori experiences of racism.

One of the areas of focus within the Whakatika Survey pertains to tūpuna (forebears; ancestors; grandparents) or Māori names, where 71% of respondents confirmed having a Māori name. A little over half of all respondents (53%) have to spell their name all of the time or often, and similar numbers said they had to explain their Māori name(s) regularly. When given the chance to name a child, 86% of Māori have chosen tūpuna or Māori names, and most people (75%) have talked to that child about what to do when their name is mispronounced.

The Whakatika Survey, as well as Helen's research on the mispronunciation of Māori secondary student names, confirms that racism impacts on Māori on a daily basis, in many ways. The harms of racism include grief and anger, and it impacts our connections to tūpuna and mokopuna (grandchild; grandchildren) across generations. Racism and discrimination are widespread, and will not be conquered through isolated activities; in addressing racism, what is needed, is a constant, consistent, Māori-focused multipronged approach.

Piki te kaha, piki te ora, piki te māramatanga ki tātau katoa.

Dr Rāwiri Tinirau

He rārangi upoko:

Table of contents

He kōrero wāwahi: Foreword	4
He ariā: Abstract	6
He kupu whakaūpoko: Introduction	6
Te horopaki: Background	6
Importance of Māori names	8
Attitudes towards te reo Māori	8
Impact on students and their Whare Tapa Whā	9
Tikanga rangahau: Methodology	9
Ngā kitenga: Findings	10
Importance of names to the students	12
Experiences of mispronunciation	12
Impact on the students	14
He matapaki: Discussion	16
Impacts of attitudes on students	18
<i>Those who try to pronounce Māori names correctly (Group 1)</i>	18
<i>Those who might try at the beginning to get the name correct but will eventually revert back to how they think it is said (Group 2)</i>	18
<i>Those who repeatedly mispronounce Māori names (Group 3)</i>	18
The impacts on Te Whare Tapa Whā	19
He kupu whakakapi: Conclusion	22
Limitations	22
Recommendations	24
Kuputaka: Glossary	26
He rārangi rauemi: References	28
Ngā āhuatanga toi: Conceptual design	30

He ariā: Abstract

This paper presents the findings of research about Māori secondary school students in mainstream schools and their experiences of having their names mispronounced. It also discusses the associated racism in those schools directed towards Māori students. Participants were asked about the importance of their names, how they felt about their Māori names being mispronounced, shortened or changed without their consent, and how those experiences have impacted on, or continue to impact on them. The main findings from this study were that the repeated mispronunciation of Māori names can cause Māori students to disengage and withdraw from school and education. Recommendations arising from this research include making te reo Māori pronunciation compulsory for teacher training institutions to ensure that the mispronunciation of Māori names does not continue to disadvantage and marginalise Māori students in mainstream schools.

He kupu whakaūpoko: Introduction

The mispronunciation of Māori names continues to be a significant issue in mainstream schools in Aotearoa. Frequent or repeated mispronunciation of Māori names can show that racist attitudes called 'racial microaggressions' are being normalised. I will argue that such attitudes can have such a severe impact on whanaungatanga (the building of relationships), that no relationship is able to be built or nurtured between teacher and student. This article arose from a larger study around the impacts of the mispronunciation of Māori names on rangatahi Māori (Māori youth). Focus group interviews with Māori secondary students proved that when their names are mispronounced, the entire 'Whare Tapa Whā' (holistic Māori health and well-being model) (Durie, 2003) is impacted upon to varying degrees. This research also found that depending on how occurrences of this issue are managed by educators, the impacts can range in severity from students feeling anxiety through to full

disengagement from school and education. Extremely concerning is the potential for Māori students to leave school without any qualifications because of a pattern of apathy arising from the recurrent mispronunciation of their names. The impacts of name mispronunciation on Māori students can therefore be devastating on the educational success that they are able to achieve in the mainstream school system. Emerging from this research are recommendations to assist educators and help inform policy making around this issue. There is also a critical need for further research to help mainstream institutions in Aotearoa understand the links between racism, racial microaggressions and the disengagement of Māori students from the education system.

Te horopaki: Background

In my experiences as a secondary school teacher, hearing the mispronunciation of Māori student names and having students report their grievances to me motivated my further investigation into this issue. The students would sometimes walk into my class and say things like, "My teacher kicked me out of class", and I would ask "why?" to which the students would say, "they're racist, they said my name wrong and I corrected them, then I got kicked out for being disrespectful". It became very clear that the students did not want to go back to the teacher in question as they felt minimised or belittled, and this would cause them to skip classes and avoid the subject altogether. They were being made to feel ashamed of their Māori names and that advocating for the correct pronunciation of their names was a burden on the teacher and other students, or that somehow they were being 'defiant'. I had also experienced times like prizegiving throughout and at the end of the school year, where I would hear Māori names being mispronounced. Although I had personally sought out some of the presenters to offer support with their pronunciation, I was on one occasion declined. I then sat in the audience and heard that same presenter fumble through the Māori names that she had earlier so adamantly insisted she could pronounce correctly. To see that kind of arrogance prevail was extremely disappointing but not surprising.



The irony of these ceremonies is the purpose of celebrating students, while instead marginalising them.

Māori students have previously identified that in order to succeed in a mainstream school context, they reluctantly “leave...Māoritanga (all aspects of being Māori) at the door” (Berryman et al., 2017, p. 480). The Ministry of Education’s (2013) goal of ‘Success as Māori’ is therefore impossible under these circumstances as Māori students become complicit in the subordination of their own culture in order to be recognised by the centralised education system in Aotearoa. Māori students must be allowed to be who they are – no compromises. This includes not having to argue and justify why they wear taonga to school and why they have to be away at tangihanga for five days. Instances like these are described as ‘racial microaggressions’ (Huber, 2011; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Payne et al., 2018; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Sue et al., 2007). These are explained by Sue et al. (2007) as “...brief and commonplace daily verbal ... indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate ... negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group” (p. 271). It is absolutely imperative that teachers and schools take time to understand how to build meaningful relationships with Māori students and their whānau (extended family) (Berryman et al., 2015; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Ngāpō, 2013) instead of the ‘one size fits all’ assimilationist approach that continues to dominate (Durie, 2006; Kenrick, 2010; Tito, 2008). The very first thing that teachers can do to initiate the relationship building process with their students is to get to know their names and pronounce them correctly.

Importance of Māori names

Knowing the importance of Māori names to Māori can help people unfamiliar with the culture to understand why it is important to pronounce them correctly and why it hurts when they are mispronounced. Māori names are of huge significance to Māori people because of the whakapapa (genealogy) from which they are chosen, the meanings of the names, who may have decided on the name and why, as well as the whanaungatanga that is able to be achieved through acknowledgement of a particular name or names.

Correct recitation of names is absolutely critical in Māori culture because a name allows a Māori person to connect with their ancestral land, including their maunga (mountain), awa (river), waka (canoe), marae (traditional gathering place, including meeting house), hapū (cluster of extended families, descended from an eponymous ancestor) and iwi (tribe). A name allows Māori to draw links that can determine belonging to your people and your connections to land, which is vital in regards to whakapapa for whanaungatanga and the survival of Māori and our culture (Williams, 2017).

The importance of names is not a sentiment that is unique to Māori, rather it is shared by many cultures worldwide (Jeshion, 2009; Rice, 2015; Watzlawik et al., 2016; Yurtbasi, 2016; Zalaznick, 2018). Your name is your identity and can represent your culture, showing where you come from and the language of that place. Names are carried with pride and honour and help give people a sense of their place in the world.

Attitudes towards te reo Māori

Racist attitudes exist which continue to subjugate and subordinate the Māori language and culture, and Māori students are still experiencing this in the classroom on a daily basis. Bishop and Berryman (2006) describe negative expression or behaviour towards a particular culture as ‘deficit thinking or deficit theorising’ driven by the covert and overt racist attitudes that people hold. The mispronunciation of Māori names is a product of such thinking. Attitudes derive from assimilationist influences dating back to the time state schooling was established in Aotearoa. It is imperative that this mindset changes through decolonisation and dismantling of the systems that continue to suppress te reo Māori and Māori culture. According to Dr. Veronica Tawhai (personal communication, March 2021):

It can appear at a glance that Aotearoa has harmonious bicultural relations, however, prejudices towards the Māori language that remain to this day demonstrate that there is still a long way to go in the fight against racism in this country.

The 'Effective Teacher Profile' (Bishop & Berryman, 2006) mentions the correct pronunciation of names as an important element of being responsive and supportive to Māori learners in mainstream school contexts. As a person's name is often the first thing that you will learn about them, it is therefore the most important for Māori, and can set the scene for future interactions. It is your way of forming a connection with them and getting to know them. This research shows that the impacts of meeting a person and mispronouncing their name can be easily fixed if the person who got it wrong takes steps to correct it. However, repeatedly saying someone's name incorrectly because you are unfamiliar with the language sets a negative tone for the relationship going forward and presents as a blatant disregard for a person's identity.

Impact on students and their Whare Tapa Whā

The 'Whare Tapa Whā' model (Durie, 2003) is a well-known and acknowledged successful method of measuring well-being for Māori. For a Māori person to be comprehensively in good health and able to reach their full potential, all four aspects of their Whare Tapa Whā must be well (Durie, 2003). Whether mispronunciation of a name is intentional or not, it has an impact on the person who carries that name. The impact of name mispronunciation on students can be felt across all aspects of their own Whare Tapa Whā: te taha wairua (spiritual well-being), te taha hinengaro (mental and emotional well-being), te taha tinana (physical well-being), and te taha whānau (whānau well-being). The 'Whare Tapa Whā' model and the collective thinking of this model that includes whānau, hapū and iwi shows just how deeply felt the impacts of mispronunciation of names is felt by Māori, across all facets of their being (Durie, 2003). The responsibility is on the person saying their name, especially where a power imbalance exists (for example the teacher-student relationship), to pronounce the name correctly using any methods necessary.

Tikanga rangahau: Methodology

A letter of invitation to participate in focus groups of 4-5 students was extended to Māori students 16 years of age or older, with a Māori name (either first name, middle or surname) and who attend a mainstream secondary school. Participation was voluntary with consent given individually by the students, who were all over 16 years of age. Parental consent was however still allowed and encouraged if necessary for all participants. I interviewed at three different secondary schools and interviews were 45-60 minutes long. As per Massey University research regulations, a low risk ethics application was submitted, and only when it had been checked, feedback provided and rechecked were these three schools approached for permission to collect data. This involved developing an appropriate covering letter, information letter and consent forms for sign off by the school principals.

A Kaupapa Māori approach (Smith, 1997; Smith, 2007) to this research was considered extremely important to me because it allowed for tikanga like whanaungatanga, mana motuhake (self-determination) and kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) to be the guiding principles. Williams (2017) describes whanaungatanga as being fundamental to Māori culture. It is the essence of being Māori. It is the relationships that you have already, as well as the potential to build new ones. It is an important connection to the natural environment through whakapapa. Whanaungatanga was achieved with participants in this research through the interweaving of tikanga Māori (Māori custom). An example of this is the use of karakia (ritual) to open meetings, mihimihi (greetings), and kaitahi (sharing food). Taking this approach allowed me to express my true self and my identity within my research and also make meaningful connections with the participants to help them feel that their voices were being heard.

Because of the whanaungatanga environment created, both the participants and myself were comfortable switching between te reo Māori and English, based on which language they felt would adequately express their thoughts and feelings.

Mana motuhake, as interpreted in this context, is the freedom to choose to be involved. It was absolutely essential that all participants were there by choice and did not feel pressured in any way to participate. Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, (or the 'seen face' (which Mead (2003) refers to as 'he kanohi kitea') means to be present and connected during interactions and is an integral element of tikanga Māori. Conducting face-to-face interviews with participants was important to me as opposed to a non-contact method, because I wanted to match the responses of the participants with the emotion conveyed in their kōrero (narratives). Since a large part of the findings is based on the impact that mispronunciation has on the participants' well-being, it was therefore very important for me to be able to see them in person and create an environment based around whanaungatanga.

Ensuring the hauora (well-being) of participants was also paramount at all times. Even though my research was deemed to be low-risk by the Human Ethics Committee of Massey University, I assessed the things that I saw as being risks like the possibility of harm to participants, and before my interviews started, I encouraged participants to see a school counsellor, talk to their whānau or another trusted person if the questions or answers upset them in any way, or to stop the interviews at any time.

Students were assured that their names and schools would remain confidential and asked if they understood that part. I also asked that the students refrain from naming any of the teachers who had mispronounced their names and instead use 'this teacher' or something similar. They were also reminded that they had the right to withdraw from the study – no questions asked – at any time up until the responses were analysed. They were given an approximate timeline for this, and my contact details were provided so that they could contact me directly if they no longer wished to participate. If they wished to abstain from answering a question, they were told that this was also fine. Kai (food) was provided as a koha (gift) for participating in the focus groups.

It was not something that the students knew beforehand, I would just bring it with me.

I transcribed all of my own data. This was primarily to protect the identities of the students involved and to ensure that I had a relationship with the kōrero I was collecting. I used the Quirkos data analysis programme which made the thematic analysis of my qualitative data easier to undertake. From here, I was able to identify links between themes and major findings that have shown a gap in knowledge around mispronunciation of Māori names and how it affects Māori students, as well as implications for further research around this issue.

Ngā kitenga: Findings

Students invited to participate were those who are Māori, and with one or more Māori names.¹ Participants attended one of three mainstream secondary schools, and data regarding their gender (where (w) denotes wahine (female), and (t) denotes tāne (male)) is noted in the following table:

Te Kura o Te Kare ā-roto (TKoTK)

- Aroha (w)
- Amorangi (t)
- Tiaki (t)
- Manaaki (w)

Te Kura o Te Manu (TKoTM)

- Pākurakura (w)
- Hōkioi (t)
- Kārearea (w)

Te Kura o Te Rākau (TKoTR)

- Kahikatoa (t)
- Kōwhai (w)
- Puhikaioreore (t)
- Kawakawa (w)

1. All names of participants and schools, as well as any other identifying details, have been changed to protect their identities.



Importance of names to the students

Whakapapa was acknowledged as being a significant factor in the carrying of names:

To me it's very important cos my name was given to me after my great grandmother so it's an important name to me and my family because of that ... I think I'm the only one that's carrying that name so far. (Pākura, TKoTM)

The students spoke about the importance of names with regards to identity:

Yeah I guess my name is important, I was named after one of my uncles ... Yeah it's important to me cos my name defines who I am. (Hōkioi, TKoTM)

The students said that their names enabled whanaungatanga, which is for them to make connections with others through whakapapa, and acknowledge where they are from. They were able to express the depth of the relationship between the person's name and their identity:

It represents you, so your name is you ... like Māori culture is celebrated around New Zealand but it's also in our names, and it's historical because it comes down from generations, so it holds all the tradition and everything that we don't know about so we can go back and look at our Māori culture. (Aroha, TKoTK)

All of the students I interviewed, said that their names held significance to not only them, but their wider whānau, hapū and iwi. They spoke about things like why their names were chosen, what their meaning was, who named them, the origins of the names, and how names could connect them to their language and culture:

My name is Kārearea and my name is important to me because my nan who passed away was the one that gave it to me. (Kārearea, TKoTM)

The students identified that there is mana (prestige) in a name and that mana needs to be upheld and not taken for granted with one saying:

I feel like I didn't really know how important my name was to me until like I started getting it mispronounced. (Kawakawa, TKoTR)

Having to defend her name was connected to upholding her mana and the mana of her whānau.

Experiences of mispronunciation

All of the students who I interviewed were from mainstream schools and they all identified school as a place where their name is mispronounced:

I remember when I was young, my name was never mispronounced when I was at a Māori school obviously, and I come here and it started changing. (Puhikaioore, TKoTR)

They talked about the roll call as being one of the main times their names are mispronounced or shortened and how that affects them:

I don't know if it's just me but when the rolls, like you're just waiting for your name like 'oh they're gonna say it wrong'. (Tiaki, TKoTK)

Another student explained:

... once I did get called a nickname, it was a reliever here, I got called a nickname, but I'd never talked to her before, but she called me Kawa on the roll and I didn't answer. She said Kawa, and I was really surprised and I didn't know what to say because I was like I've never been called [a nickname], they either mispronounce, or they just say it right, they don't cut it down unless they know me ... then afterwards, you could tell my reaction was not nice... (Kawakawa, TKoTR)



Impact on the students

Because Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2003) is a Māori determined model of well-being, and globally recognised as identified earlier, this has been used to measure the impact on the students. Having the teacher struggle with their Māori names and continue to butcher the pronunciation in front of everyone caused the students stress and anxiety. Some student names had been mispronounced their whole lives so the associated anxiety was something that they had experienced for a long time. Coping mechanisms employed by the students included desensitising themselves to have a 'yeah whatever' approach by allowing the teacher or other person to just pronounce the name any way they chose. Some had changed their names to non-Māori names because of not wanting their names to be butchered and then ridiculed by others. They also didn't want other people thinking that was how their name was actually pronounced:

I'm blocking it out, that's me. (Kahikatoa, TKoTR)

It's like too hard for them, so you start to just not care and you're just like, 'you can call me whatever'. (Kawakawa, TKoTR)

Students identified that if their teacher didn't pronounce their name properly from the beginning, this would cause resentment and damage the relationship with that teacher, or prevent a relationship from ever being built:

I feel like the ones that can pronounce my name and make the effort, I have a closer connection to them. So I'm more easily going to go to them and ask them questions and be more open with them and be willing to help my learning. But there's the teachers who don't try, or call me my nickname or whatever, they're like the type of teacher where instead of going to them, I'll go to someone else for help. (Manaaki, TKoTK)

Another student said:

Well if they can't take the time to just learn a name which is your name, then it seems they would never take the time to see if you're alright if something happened, or even care if you did anything wrong or weren't getting anything, [as in, understanding concepts] they just seem like they don't care. (Aroha, TKoTK)

The students also noticed that if a teacher didn't say someone's name properly, it would cause that student to withdraw because of a feeling of shame and insignificance:

I think it separates them, makes them feel more isolated than the others. Especially here, like you notice a difference between the interactions, especially with teachers. The interactions with the students who the teachers can say their names... (Manaaki, TKoTK)

It'd start affecting other parts of your life like school, it could start affecting your education. (Tiaki, TKoTK)

I feel like the ones that can pronounce my name and make the effort, I have a closer connection to them. So I'm more easily going to go to them and ask them questions and be more open with them and be willing to help my learning. But there's the teachers who don't try, or call me my nickname or whatever, they're like the type of teacher where instead of going to them, I'll go to someone else for help. (Manaaki, TKoTK)

Research tells us that if you are not able to build a relationship with your teacher, this leads to disengaged students who will inevitably leave school (Bishop & Berryman, 2006).

So something as seemingly small as the teacher making an effort to pronounce names correctly, can determine if they stay at school or not. The impacts also do not fall solely on the student, but instead, as determined by Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2003), reach further out into the whānau, hapū and iwi:

Yeah because the littlest things like mispronouncing someone's name and stuff like that, it may seem little, but it does have an effect on the person, especially in Māori culture because it represents so much more than who you are, but also your family and everyone else. (Manaaki, TKoTK)

Smith et al. (2021) agrees that racism aimed at individual Māori also impacts their wider whānau and goes further to say that racism is felt intergenerationally. The comments from the students in this study confirms their experiences.

All of the above impacts on all aspects of Te Whare Tapa Whā, and therefore directly impacts upon the person. Mispronunciation of names can impact upon a person to the degree that they are unable to function or operate in a way that allows them to reach their full potential (Durie, 2003, 2006).

He matapaki: Discussion

There were a range of reasons that students gave regarding the importance of their names, with many of them talking about how Māori names foster a connection to Māori language, culture and identity, making them very special and significant. They also connect people to their whakapapa, to the environment, and spiritually to those who have passed on (Moorfield, 2003-2021; Ngāpō, 2013; Seed-Pihama,

2005; Williams, 2017). It was deemed an honour by the students to carry those names that had been passed down to them and they wanted teachers and other people to pronounce them correctly. All students were able to identify times when their names had been mispronounced, and they were not exclusively by teachers, however teachers were overrepresented in the narratives.

The students were able to identify people with specific attitudes towards pronunciation of te reo Māori names. The attitudes noticed by the students have been categorised into three main groups to summarise the student voice:

1. **Those who try to pronounce Māori names correctly:** They may pronounce Māori names incorrectly to begin with but will eventually get it correct with assistance. They may need to practice name pronunciation with someone who is competent, or somewhere else away from the students so that they don't embarrass them. They may already be doing things like this.
2. **Those who might try at the beginning to get the name correct but will eventually revert back to how they think it is said:** These people may approach pronunciation of te reo Māori names as if they are English words and if they are corrected, they might say it correctly once, but will then revert back to their original behaviour. It can become awkward when the student corrects this person, and they keep getting it wrong.
3. **Those who repeatedly mispronounce Māori names:** These people have no intention of saying names correctly. They may shorten a name without permission, or even change the name to something else.

So something as seemingly small as the teacher making an effort to pronounce names correctly, can determine if they stay at school or not.

**Yeah because the littlest things like mispronouncing someone's name and stuff like that, it may seem little, but it does have an effect on the person, especially in Māori culture because it represents so much more than who you are, but also your family and everyone else.
(Manaaki, TKoTK)**

Impacts of attitudes on students

Some people genuinely wanted to try and pronounce Māori names correctly, while others did not. The ones who did not try were labelled by the students as 'lazy' or 'uncaring'. What this research found was that those who did not try to pronounce Māori words and names correctly hold the attitude that the Māori language is not important. This manifests as a careless and inconsiderate attitude towards pronunciation. These attitudes are racial microaggressions and serve to disempower Indigenous people and minoritised groups (Doerr, 2009). Racial microaggressions were noticeable where some teachers asked if they had a shorter name, instead of trying to pronounce their name. Students acknowledged that Māori names to the untrained eye can appear challenging. However they stated that if the person tries to get it correct, they would be more accepting towards that attitude than towards those who didn't appear to try at all.

The above attitudes discussed can be applied to a spectrum (see Figure 1).

Those who try to pronounce Māori names correctly (Group 1)

Those who have a high intention to pronounce Māori names correctly appear in green. They have a good attitude towards te reo Māori (see Group 1) and are open to learning, but maybe due to ignorance they initially don't ask the student how to pronounce the name before announcing it incorrectly in front of a classroom or audience. The main thing however is that they try and eventually get it right with practice. This group are likely to get high engagement from Māori students which leads to success for those students. According to the students, 'making an effort', or in this case, having a high intention to pronounce Māori names correctly, spoke volumes in terms of building a relationship with them. Although the effects of an initial name mispronunciation still caused the students embarrassment and shame, they mostly agreed that if someone at least tries to pronounce their names right, and continues with that, the students were likely to be very forgiving and accepting of their efforts:

I think that when teachers get it wrong, I feel ok when they try. If they try, I'm like 'ok, that's good'. (Puhikaioore, TKoTR)

The effort of the person was therefore a critical factor in being able to mitigate the impacts the student felt

Those who might try at the beginning to get the name correct but will eventually revert back to how they think it is said (Group 2)

Those appearing in the middle (in yellow, Group 2) could go either way. They have an average intent to pronounce Māori names correctly – which could mean that they say the name correctly with help but can easily revert back to incorrect pronunciation and continue on that path if the name is not practised. It then becomes difficult for students to correct mispronunciation due to power imbalances in the classroom. People in this category are not making enough of an effort and so they are unlikely to have high engagement from Māori students. Reverting back to the way they think it is said and failing to check with the student how their name is pronounced correctly would cause hurt and embarrassment:

If it's the first time pronouncing it wrong, then I'll smile and laugh it off, because it's not that bad, because they don't know it. But then if it's someone that I know and they should have got, like, like by now they should get it, I get annoyed, really annoyed. (Aroha, TKoTK)

Students said that they 'numb' themselves, appearing unemotional in order to cope with the hurt as well as ultimately yielding to the mispronunciation.

Those who repeatedly mispronounce Māori names (Group 3)

The red group (Group 3) are those who don't have any intention to pronounce Māori names correctly, they are not open to being corrected, and potentially think that their way of pronunciation is correct. People who intentionally or unintentionally cause hurt to the students (see Group 3) are those who sustain racial microaggressions in their classrooms. Within the schools, there were particular teachers who were known for this type of behaviour:

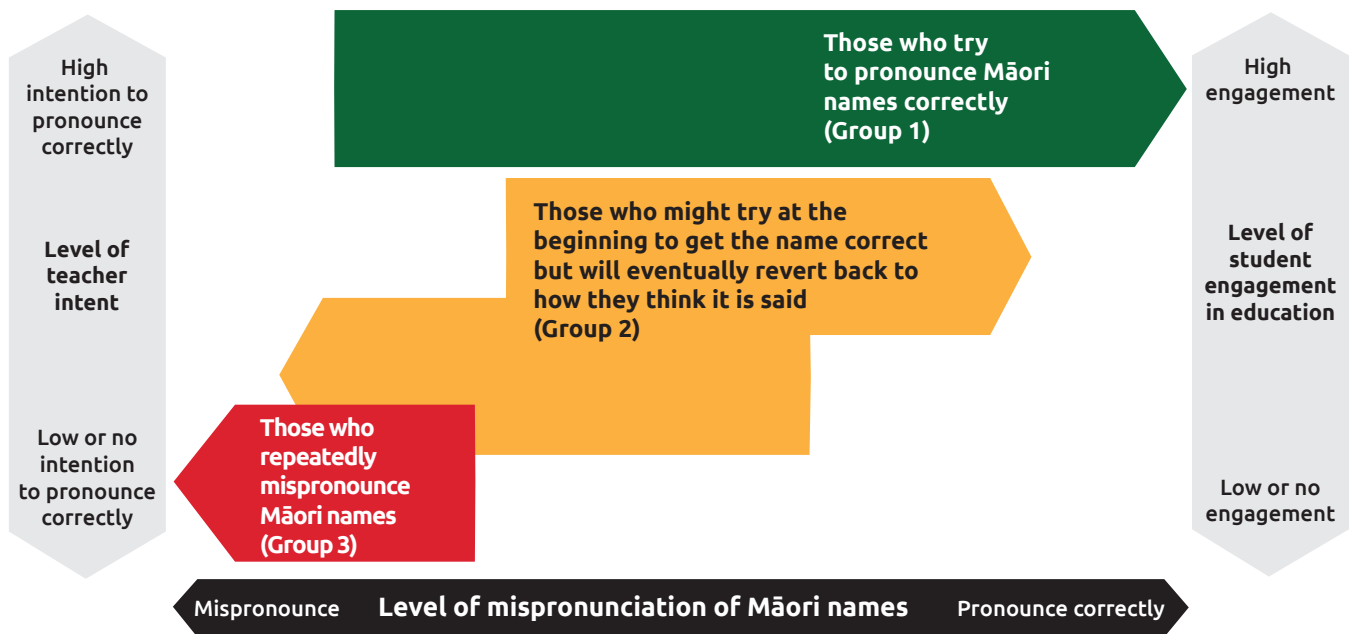


Figure 1. Levels of pronunciation, teacher intent and student engagement

Just certain teachers, I think there are certain teachers that definitely don't try. (Aroha, TKoTK)

This attitude is the most harmful to the students because students lose respect for a teacher who does not care about their identity. An attitude of not caring impacts negatively on Māori student engagement levels, and therefore, their future education chances. These attitudes also cause the deepest hurt, embarrassment and anxiety to the students. It is therefore extremely important for all teachers to assess where they fit on this spectrum and plan to move to the green group (Group 1) if they are not there already.

The impacts on Te Whare Tapa Whā

When asked if the students knew about Te Whare Tapa Whā, some were able to articulate what it was, while others were not. When I explained or reminded them that it was about their holistic well-being and included te taha whānau, wairua, hinengaro and tinana, they all understood and were able to express their feelings which were then linked to an aspect of Te Whare Tapa Whā. The ways in which those facets of their beings had been affected became clearer, as we discussed each 'taha' individually.

Te taha hinengaro was impacted negatively because of the mental stress, anxiety and embarrassment that they would feel from having their names mispronounced in front of other people:

That's why I get anxious when relievers come in, ones that I don't know. (Manaaki, TKoTK)

They felt upset and ultimately ashamed of being Māori or having a Māori name. Te taha wairua was impacted because their very core, their wairua or spiritual essence, the fundamentals of who they are, were being disrespected and therefore caused them to become unwell. Te taha tinana was described as physically 'recoiling' when mispronunciations were heard. Considering the significance that the names had to their whānau, hapū and iwi, it was not only the individual students who were impacted negatively in some way when their names were mispronounced. The impacts were also felt collectively through te taha whānau. Te taha whānau was impacted because their whānau would feel angry and ashamed to hear the beautiful, meaningful Māori names which they had carefully chosen for their tamariki (children), being mutilated in front of an audience, some beyond recognition. An important consideration is that even if one 'taha' of Te Whare Tapa Whā is diminished, a person's overall well-being is affected, so for all taha to be impacted simultaneously speaks to the seriousness of name mispronunciation.



Te taha hinengaro	Te taha wairua	Te taha tinana	Te taha whānau
Feeling distressed, anxiety or depression due to being embarrassed in front of peers	Feeling ashamed of Māori names or identity	Physically withdrawing	Feeling anger or shame due to public mispronunciation
Effects of power imbalances e.g. being reprimanded for correcting the teacher	Not wanting to be in the mainstream school space	Shrinking down in seat, feeling embarrassed	Not choosing Māori names for tamariki
Feeling anger and frustration	Unable to build relationships with key stakeholders	Distancing self from class and education	Changing names when enrolling tamariki in mainstream schools to avoid discrimination or mispronunciation
		Physical impacts of stress	

Table 1: *The impacts of mispronunciations of Māori names using Te Whare Tapa Whā*

Table one gives a summary of how mispronunciation of Māori names impacts under each of the areas of Te Whare Tapa Whā.

As mentioned before, some students trying to correct the mispronunciation encountered teachers who made them feel that by challenging the behaviour of their teachers, they were being disrespectful. This has been seen in research in Aotearoa, as well as overseas. These incidents are examples of racial microaggressions (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Ngāpō, 2013; Sue et al., 2007) whereby the teacher is using the power imbalance in the classroom to assert their authority rather than admit that they were wrong and take steps to amend the problem (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012).

Coping mechanisms were a strategy to mask the hurt, shame and anger that they felt because of name mispronunciation; that could be to simply ‘laugh off’ the awkward situation. The laughter is however not a ‘happy’ type of laughter. It is instead an outlet for the anxiety that they are feeling as they try to counter the hegemonic behaviour that they have experienced (Doerr, 2009). So, many students would just allow racial microaggressions to continue because they felt that if they fought to have their name pronounced correctly, it would cause them to be unfairly targeted or treated as if they were arrogant. The students would then abandon

efforts to correct the teacher as they didn’t want to ‘make a fuss’ or inconvenience the class over their name:

So my name is one of those where when the teachers say it when they go down the roll, they stop. It annoys me cos the whole class will know that it’s me and so they turn to me and then they all start shouting out different ways to say my name or like nicknames and stuff like that. And then the teacher normally ‘has a go’ and completely butchers my name, and then I’ll try and break it down for them and repeat it. But then you can tell like the teacher’s hōhā [annoyed] and they can’t be bothered repeating it, so they just call me by my nickname... (Manaaki, TKoTK)

Additionally, mispronunciations by the teacher in front of the class were sometimes used by other students to ridicule and bully the victim:

When I first started school in my (subject) class, I had a teacher mispronounce my name everyday even though I told him. Even though I tried to correct him ... then everyone else started calling me that for like ages... (Kārearea, TKoTM)

I found this sad as well as ironic, because all of the students knew the importance of their names, but felt that they had to minimise that importance in order to not feel as though they were getting in the way of the education of others. Students then find themselves stuck in an environment where they are being marginalised on a daily basis for just trying to be who they are (Ngāpō, 2013).

Racial microaggressions, like the mispronunciation of Māori names while pronouncing English sounding names correctly, are not acceptable. Stopping at Māori names on the roll and making confused faces while pronouncing English sounding names correctly, is not acceptable. It is also not acceptable to allow a student who has experienced the mispronunciation of their name be ridiculed in front of their class without any intervention or apology. As mentioned before, whether intentional or not, the mispronunciation of names causes students to feel effects that can be long lasting (Ngāpō, 2013). This marginalisation can cause students to lose their desire to be at school and because of their withdrawal, the future prospects for their whānau development are immediately affected.

He kupu whakakapi: Conclusion

Māori students have historically been marginalised and ultimately failed by the education system. This research set out to prove that this is still happening by collating Māori student experiences of having their Māori names mispronounced.

The impacts of name mispronunciation on Māori students were analysed and the main findings were that students do not like it when people mispronounce their names. It causes them hurt and anxiety. In order for Māori students to succeed, they need to be able to build a relationship with their teacher. They are saying that if a teacher continually mispronounces their name, the students don't want to build a relationship with that teacher because by mispronouncing their names,

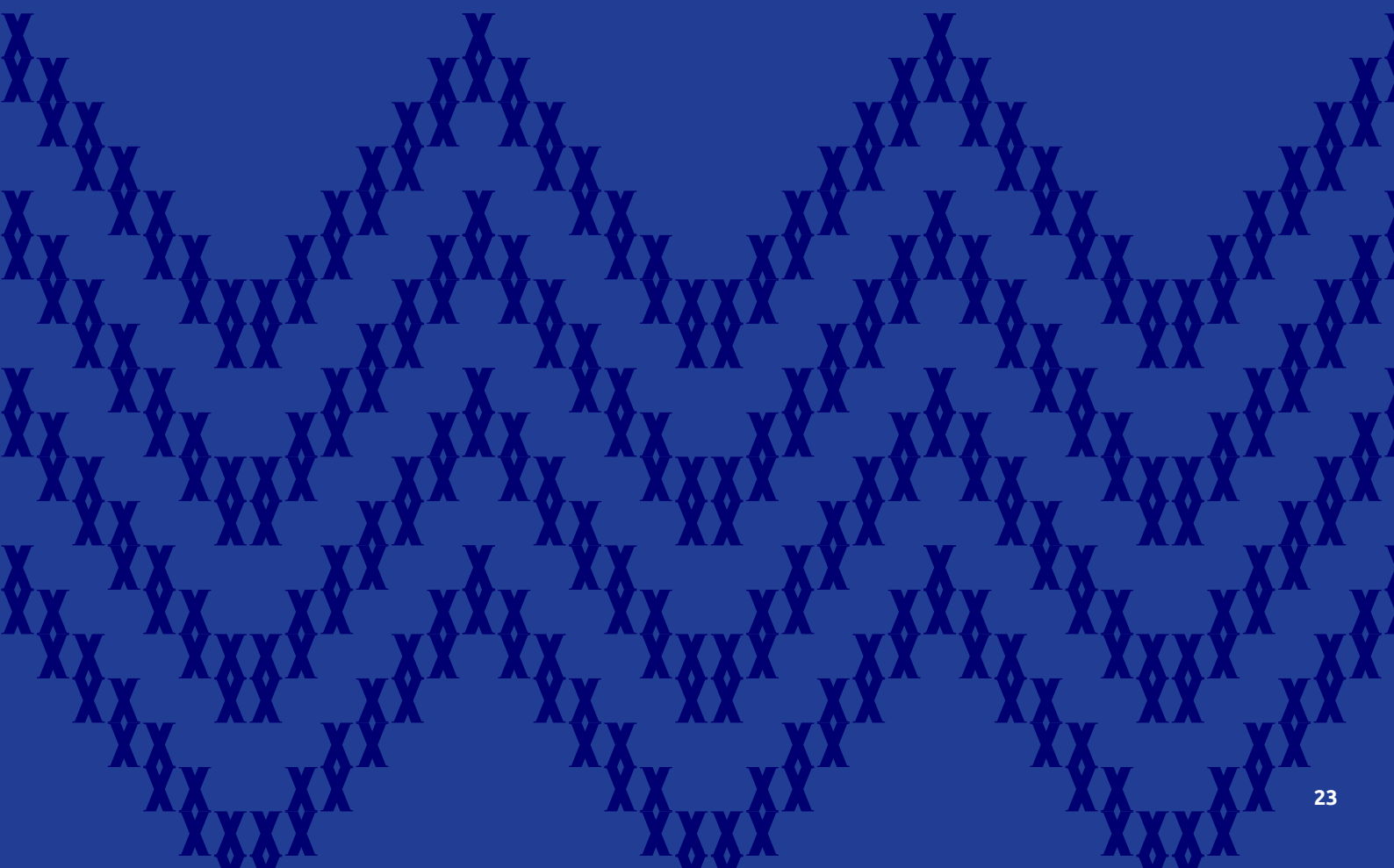
the teacher is showing that they are not interested in their culture or getting to know who the student is. However, what the students are also saying is that if you mispronounce someone's name you may still be able to salvage the relationship by working hard to get it right and learning as well as practising the name in a way that is mana enhancing for the student.

Not having a relationship with the teacher means that Māori students will start to disengage from school and education (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Unfortunately, what this means for Māori students is that they could drop out of school because of the mispronunciation of their names. This is a failure of the education system to adequately support Māori students into educational pathways. All student participants wanted teachers to pronounce their names correctly and also say their full names without shortening them. All teachers in Aotearoa should know or learn how to pronounce Māori names, there are no excuses (Ngāpō, 2013).

Limitations

There are limitations of this research that need to be considered. Due to the large numbers of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools, the conclusions that were able to be drawn were limited because I was only able to interview three small groups (eleven students in total). There is a lot of research about the importance of names, the mispronunciation of Indigenous names and colonisation. There is however, a small amount that are specifically about Māori names being mispronounced and the impacts on Māori students. So the question remains as to how widespread this issue is. Based on the findings from this research my hypothesis is that students are experiencing mispronunciation of their Māori names in the majority, if not all mainstream schools in Aotearoa. Further research is therefore needed in order to explore this issue in more depth.

This marginalisation can cause students to lose their desire to be at school and because of their withdrawal, the future prospects for their whānau development are immediately affected.



Recommendations

Those in charge of policy making have a responsibility to make structural change. This includes changes to the teaching standards to include compulsory learning of basic te reo Māori for all teachers during their training programmes. Also, teachers participate in Māori pronunciation workshops at the beginning of the year with a focus to lifting overall Māori achievement. It is a small step in the right direction and it would go considerably towards building whanaungatanga between teacher and student. Research around building relationships with Māori students also identified competency in Māori culture as a basic classroom need:

If you are a teacher you have to learn about the Māori culture ... like how to pronounce Māori names. (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 12)

If the teacher education curriculum is not modernised to be responsive to Māori students, the question needs to be asked if education providers and the government are genuinely doing all they can to foster Māori student achievement.

With many Māori students essentially being 'forced' to attend mainstream schools, they are expected to conform to the school's requirements, abandoning their cultural needs as Māori. Schools are still expecting Māori students to assimilate and the schools are then appearing perplexed by high disengagement and dropout rates. The answers lie in small intentional acts of cultural competency. Pronouncing names correctly, for example, can go a long way in demonstrating to Māori students that one cares about their culture. Ngāpō (2013) suggests different activities and resources to help teachers incorporate te reo Māori into their classrooms in a non-tokenistic way. The reality though is that change needs to be demanded from a government level to really make a difference to Māori students in mainstream schools. The teacher does however have the power to make change at a classroom level.

The correct pronunciation of Māori names is vital to Māori student engagement in learning. If the student encounters a teacher for the first time who immediately pronounces their name incorrectly without trying to get it right, this has a significant impact on Te Whare Tapa Whā and creates a negative relationship between the teacher and student which is unable to foster success. Without meaningful learning relationships in mainstream institutions, Māori students are highly likely to withdraw from the education system. It is therefore the responsibility of schools to make sure all educators are pronouncing names correctly so that Māori students are not being disadvantaged further by something that is easily fixed. Racism and racial microaggressions therefore need to be addressed as being a problem in schools and authentic efforts need to be made to adjust the mindset of certain educational institutions in this country. The intention is to lift Māori student attendance rates, student success rates and be more considerate of te reo Māori and Māori culture in its homeland.



Glossary

arapaki	woven panels, also referred to as tukutuku
awa	river
haka	posture dance
hapū	cluster of extended families, descended from an eponymous ancestor
hauora	well-being
Hinengākau	a Whanganui tupuna, responsible for Tongariro to Retaruke of the Whanganui River
hōhā	annoyed
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaitahi	sharing food
kanohi kitea	seen face
kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face-to-face; in person
kaokao	a "v" shape, derived from an arapaki pattern
kapa haka	Māori performing arts
karakia	ritual
koha	gift
kōrero	narratives
kaupapa	topic
Kaupapa Māori	Māori methodologies and frameworks
kuia	elderly woman; grandmother
mahi-ā-ringa	hand gesture
mamae	pain; hurt; suffering
mana	prestige
mana motuhake	self-determination
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
marae	traditional gathering place, including meeting house
maunga	mountain
mihimihi	greetings
mokopuna	grandchild; grandchildren
Ngā Paerangi	hapū of the Whanganui River
Ngāti Hinearo	hapū of the Whanganui River

Ngāti Tuera	hapū of the Whanganui River
pātikitiki	flounder
poi	a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment
piupiu	waist-to-knee garment made of flax, used for kapa haka
rangatahi Māori	Māori youth
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, right to exercise authority
raukura	white feather, symbolic of resistance through peaceable activities
takapou wharanui	matrimonial woven mats
tamariki	children
tapu	sacredness
te taha hinengaro	mental and emotional well-being
te taha tinana	physical well-being
te taha wairua	spiritual well-being
te taha whānau	whānau well-being
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Te Whare Tapa Whā	health philosophy, based on a holistic health and well-being model, developed by Dr Mason Durie in 1982
tikanga Māori	Māori custom
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination; sovereignty
tukutuku	woven panels, also referred to as arapaki
tupuna	ancestor; grandparent
tūpuna	forebears; ancestors; grandparents
uri	descendants
waka	canoe
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	building relationships
Whanganui mūmū	a checkerboard arapaki pattern that represents tribal alliances and marriages

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Ngā āhuatanga toi: Conceptual design

We use the term rangatiratanga to describe well-being for an individual, whānau, hapū, and iwi. We also use this term to describe leadership and self-determination, and along with the prefix of 'tino', rangatiratanga was also used in the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi). Defining racism as anything that is an attack on our rangatiratanga makes this definition uniquely Māori. The mamae (pain; hurt; suffering) we feel when exposed to racism resonates intergenerationally, and each time we experience racism, the mamae ripples outwards. With this in mind, the conceptual design for this publication, that sits under the Whakatika Research Project, is based on addressing the past, present and future mamae; and reclaiming rangatiratanga.

The arapaki (woven panels, also referred to as tukutuku) design used throughout this publication has various meanings, but exemplifies the kaokao pattern (a "v" shape, derived from an arapaki pattern). The pattern is presented within the Whanganui mūmū (a checkerboard arapaki pattern that represents tribal alliances and marriages) arapaki that are displayed at the Whanganui Regional Museum. These arapaki were woven by kuia (elderly woman; grandmother) at Pūtiki Wharanui Pā in time for the opening of the museum extension in 1968, which included the Māori Court, Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī (Horwood & Wilson, 2008).

There are various meanings for the kaokao pattern. The downwards slanting chevron is representative of a warrior, in the haka (posture dance) stance, readying themselves for protection and, if needed, attack. In the context of the Whakatika Research Project, the kaokao signifies strength and integrity, and protecting

our rangatiratanga. The descendants of Hinengākau (a Whanganui tupuna, responsible for Tongariro to Retaruke of the Whanganui River) from the upper reaches of the Whanganui River view kaokao as the armpit, which is symbolic of physical strength, and the repeating pattern represents a group of people swinging their arms as they march forth in unison (Jones, 1975). Within Whanganui, and according to Te Otinga Waretini (1990), the kaokao pattern was used on takapou wharanui (matrimonial woven mats), used for those of high rank, and woven using human hair. The tapu (sacredness) associated with takapou wharanui is therefore apparent, and was used to help with conception and ensure a long line of succession.

Meanings associated with the kaokao pattern are complementary to our definition of racism and at the same time, the design suggests that there are several ways to address attacks on our rangatiratanga. But as rangatiratanga asserts, we will decide how that will be best achieved to address the mamae of our tūpuna, for us, and for our uri (descendants). Kaokao, therefore, is a symbol of change, and encourages us to move forward with the original intentions of our tūpuna who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in our hearts and minds.

The blue colour throughout this publication, or more specifically, royal blue, is borrowed from the uniforms of Te Rōpū o Punawai of Whanganui City College, featured on the cover photo and throughout this publication. The term 'royal' here in reference to the colour blue, affirms that all rangatahi are the rising generation and our future leaders, with a noble birth right. The raukura (white feather) worn by the rangatahi pictured on the front cover signifies resistance through peaceable activities, and symbolises the doctrine of Te Whiti o Rongomai. The white poi (a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment) references the teachings of

Tohu Kākahi, who together with Te Whiti o Rongomai, taught strategies of resilience in the face of adversity. In particular, the teachings of Tohu Kākahi were maintained by lower Whanganui River hapū, including Ngā Paerangi, Ngāti Tuera and Ngāti Hinearo. The piupiu (waist-to-knee garment made of flax, used for kapa haka) pattern worn by the rangatahi of Te Rōpū o Punawai is known as pātikitiki (flounder), a fish species found within the Whanganui River. This design reflects the importance and bounty located within our natural environs. The mahi-ā-ringa (hand gesture) portrayed by the rangatahi reflects the acknowledgement of others and the action of speaking; one must honour one's word.

The rangatahi, the uniforms of Te Rōpū o Punawai and kapa haka (Māori performing arts) are appropriately used here, as they reference the importance of discipline, of perseverance, and of striving for excellence. The symbolism extends to teachers and others, that by putting in this effort, it will bring the students to a place of peace, and thus make their environment more conducive to learning and therefore, facilitating pathways towards the bounty of opportunities before them. If this does not sit well with the profession of a teacher, then one must ask themselves, why did they become one and to revisit their original intentions and aspirations. Do their actions and intents still align?

The journey towards whakatika, or making things right, will require commitment and hard work from all, including Māori, Pākehā, government agencies, schools, play centres, universities, educators, health professionals and others, if racism is to be eliminated. A lofty goal, but a worthy one.

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