

Māori Electoral Engagement Research - Whangarei -

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- Rose Tipene – Māori Party, Tai Tokerau Office, Whangarei
- Rangi Tawhiao – Maori Party, Tai Tokerau Office, Whangarei

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SECTION 1

Māori Electoral Research Study
in
Whangarei

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to assess the reasons why eligible Māori voters do not participate in triennial elections. It was anticipated that this type of study would contribute to ways of increasing Māori participation in voting. Robinson's (1993) Problem-based methodology (PBM) was used as a way forward to articulate the reasoning driving the practice of Māori nonparticipation in voting. This methodology also allowed researchers to separate attitudes and behavior linked to western norms of social and causal factors from behavior that was essentially 'Māori' in origin. To provide the required data feedback was obtained from questionnaires handed out during meetings with eligible Māori voters including focus interviews with key individuals from selected organizations in the urban area of Whangarei (Terenga Paraoa) in Northland (Tai Tokerau). Key findings emerged indicating behavior and attitudes by eligible Maori voters towards triennial elections which describe norms of ordinary social behavior that in some instances were in stark contrast to attitudes intrinsically Māori in origin. It was anticipated that the practical application of the findings would give useful information about Māori reasons for nonparticipation in voting to assist the Electoral Commission to find ways to encourage Māori to register, and also, to exercise their right to vote during triennial elections.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Electoral Commission Research Purpose

The purpose of this research study in Whangarei is part of an overall strategy by the Electoral Commission to find ways of increasing Māori participation rates in voting during triennial elections. The continuing trend of Māori non engagement in voting has been a problem to the commission and is contrary to their agencies vision of an “inclusive and participatory electoral framework and system for all citizens in New Zealand”. By engaging He Puna Marama Trust and Tu Houkura Consultancy and Services Limited the commission anticipated that these intrinsically Maori organizations would be able to assist in identifying the problems that hinder Maori participation in voting. In this way future strategies could be implemented that contribute towards making voting by Maori a normalized activity. Rather than an event that has to be endured every three years because “my aunty or mother forced me to go and vote”.

1.2 Key Organisations and Researchers’ Views – A Declaration

In stating the commission’s purpose it is equally important to declare strongly held views about why Māori participation in politics is low. These views were shared and debated at the Waipapa Marae Hui (26 November 2006) hosted by the Electoral Commission in association with Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga and the Faculty of Arts at Auckland University’s Waipapa Marae. The Waipapa Marae hui forum also provided critical data or literature as well as a starting point for this research investigation. Several key comments of relevance to the research, and the researcher’s views, have been mentioned verbatim in the following paragraphs. These key comments taken from the Waipapa Marae hui attendees include:

1. *That the process is not what Māori want and is the structure right? Is Māori proceeding on the basis that the product is good, is the parliamentary process itself good? Many of us do not know how parliament is structured and what it represents? How do people feel about the machinery of government? Do people want the product?*
2. *People are making a conscious decision not to do it. Is not participating in voting an informed decision? Non-voting is also a political response to Māori not feeling being able to achieve anything. To assume the explanation is that this is the result of dissatisfaction is too simple, far more complex than that.*
3. *Our people prioritize today what is going to benefit them. If it's not going to have an outcome for them they won't go there.*
4. *It's interesting that people would expect a lower engagement, but Māori wouldn't. They would be less surprised. They have a high level of disengagement in mainstream.*
5. *We have a lot of information about what people are doing but not about why?*
6. *Political pathology of Māori. We are immediately examined if something goes wrong.*

7. *Another important aspect is the profiling of candidates. The people thrown up in front of our people and profiled tend to be non-Maori. How do the media portray Māori candidates and who gets the limelight?*
8. *You need a different approach for the first 75%, the next 10%, the last 5%. A combination, a matter of having a campaign that is dynamic enough that is regional able to be utilised and adapted. Raise awareness through TV, the step missing is about engagement, accessibility to information is all over the place. What is important that came from that debate that we have to carefully analyse whatever campaigns we are using, we cannot work by intuition. View greatly challenged, we have to measure the impact the campaigns were having in a Māori way,*

These key comments and other evaluative feedback from the Waipapa Marae Hui (2006) provided a starting point and a predictive model for this study. The decision to use PBM (problem-based research methodology) by Robinson (1993) will play a significant role in investigating an understanding of these matters from data provided from the community. In addition, the researchers' whakapapa to the area provided a tikanga Māori framework that enabled them to work amongst their own whanau and hapu members in the urban/rural spread of Whangarei (or Terenga Paraoa as Maori know it). The starting position, the PBM methodology and the tikanga Maori framework mentioned previously have been applied as principles underpinning the research and are explained in detail later on in this report.

There are also three other reasons why the Waipapa Marae Hui was important to the research team. Each reason is not in order of priority; rather each idea flows "into" each other. Firstly, the Marae is where all debate about Te Ao Māori should flow from and in this context Māori make a reconnection to the past and associated customs, norms and traditions. Tauroa (1986) says that it is not just the physical presence, more importantly it is the intangible values embedded in the spiritual significance of the buildings, in the exchanges between people and in the events that take place on the marae. Secondly, many of the key participants at this hui engage fully in Māori "society", and Māori and mainstream organizations and bring their life experiences, rich data and relevant feedback. In addition and thirdly the narratives and "kanohi ki te kanohi" by these key people gives validity to all engagement with Māori ways of "doing and being". The reconnection to the marae and each other is a key determinant of Māori health and wellbeing according to Durie's (nd) notion of a "secure Māori identity". Further we include the belief that this health and wellbeing should also include the ability for all Māori to participate fully and contribute as citizens of Aotearoa, New Zealand in all processes relevant to this security of identity which includes registering on an electoral roll and voting.

1.3 Review of Literature

A briefing paper prepared for the Electoral commission in 2005 identified that Māori voter turnout was consistently lower than non-Māori. In addition the commission had identified that there was no recent, theory-based published research that explains Māori electoral non-engagement with registering and voting. The first attempt to remedy by the Electoral Commission was to provide opportunities to fill this gap (Electoral Commission - Waipapa Marae Hui, 2004; Electoral Commission research RFP, 2006;

Electoral Commission, 2005a; Annotated Bibliographies for Electoral Commission, Summersby, 2006 and Roberts, 2006).

Summersby's annotated bibliography (2006) provided the team with a wealth of literature to consider at both local and national political levels. To mention a few, at local government level Māori becomes a "community of interest" which must be engaged with because of their minority voting representation and resultant low levels of participation (Drage, 2002). While Hayward (2004) proposes a strategy used in Northland in the early 1960 to mid 1970's (BOI County Council, Kawakawa, Northland) where they had Māori Wards and representation on Council, to as Bargh (2004) suggests; clarify the relationship between Māori and local government. Matunga (1989) on the other hand offers proposals for reforms, using the Auckland region as a case study for Māori political and staff representation. While Bush (1995) supports our stance on Tangata Whenua status. At a local level Whangarei District Council has invited a representative group elected from local Māori (hui held at Terenga Paraoa Marae - April/May 2006) to meet regularly with Council to discuss issues relevant to Māori participation.

On a national political level literature such as Atkinson's (2003) hikoi of 150 years offers an insightful look at Māori political involvement (or non involvement) and voting behaviour over a period of time. Even more discerning is the notion by Banducci et al (2004) that minority representation (such as the Māori roll and Māori party) encourages positive attitudes amongst voters. Hazlehurst (1993) offered the emergence of Mana Motuhake and the current Māori party as examples of Māori protest about a political system that was failing to meet Māori "ethnicity". This stance on Māori political participation past and present by Hazlehurst and Banducci et al is supported by Jackson and McRobie (1998) in their book (Chapter 8) about the 'Māori Dimension' and the advent of MMP as an effective way for Māori to participate in the political process thereby achieving what FPP was unable to do for Māori.

Catt (1997) continues this advocacy for a political system that ensures Māori at community level have a voice in the political process. She refers to her model of engagement with Maori as a "microcosmic representation" and a predictive model of minority representation within a political forum that must "mirror the communities it represents". In addition there is a reminder that the Māori political representation must be seen to be accountable to Maori. A discussion by Catt (1998, 1999) then describes the complex link between Māori voters and their political representatives. She continues by highlighting the inclusiveness of New Zealand's political system when Māori levels of voter turnout and electoral registration continue to be lower than non-Māori. From her view a challenge for democracy is not about a multiple approach being required for the achievement of fair representation instead it should be about which decisions are taken democratically and which groups participate.

From an international view Roberts (2006) annotated bibliography for the Electoral Commission gives a wealth of overseas literature for views on efficacy, particularly in regard to the decline in voting by younger people. This literature also offers some solutions to improving participation and comes from a

closer and more individual level to the community where Catt (2005) and other writers suggest efficacy as a strong predictor of levels of participation, with efficacy from these authors being “an individual’s perception of their ability to know what is going on, to be heard and make a difference politically” (Gerber et al, 2003; Morrell, 2003; Burgess et al, 2000; Dolan, 1995; Koch, 1993). However the writers also point out that there are certain limitations to efficacy. One expressed by Kahne and Westheimer (2006) suggest that the assumption that efficacious programmes or community experiences do not necessarily prepare students for political participation or have as much value as students who experience “roadblocks” or controversy in their learning. Another UK study reports that a 16-24 year old group involved in the study said that politics was boring and complicated and tended to focus on religion and difference rather than health and education. An important point was the impact family friends and the community had on their voting choices and how many respondents were unlikely to go against the traditions of their family/community (Institute for conflict Research, 2005).

The balance in literature supports maintaining Māori “culturation” (Durie, nd). For instance Chapman’s (1963) analysis portrays the change taking effect with Māori ways of voting while still ensuring the retention of their “cultural possessions”. Meanwhile Durie’s (2001) popular book “Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga” provides a benchmark for the political affiliation and voting patterns of Māori as well as for the aspirations of Māori in any context. In 2003 Durie also wrote about the growing significance of Māori voter’s demographic strength to all political parties and the problem that non Māori have in their inability to recognize that group rights (or indigeneity) must be considered as distinct from individual rights. Prolific indigenous writers (Ballara, 2001; Henare, 1995; Walker, 1987, 2004; Bishop, 2000; Linda Smith, 1999; Graham Smith, 1992) support Durie’s (nd) challenge to other people wishing to engage with Māori. He says, they must be able to “live in two worlds by connecting with the worlds where indigenous people spend their everyday lives on the border between the indigenous world and a set of norms constructed by society”. Further that this connection must include, “language, cultural values, cultural protocols and indigenous associations at community, tribal and even national levels as these are important vehicles for communicating and assisting indigenous clients”.

The low participation rate of Māori during elections is the problem identified by the Electoral Commission previous literature has outlined the constraints acting on finding solutions to the problem. Robinson’s PBM was seen as an ideal research methodology to analyze dialogue from research participants in the Whangarei area. The research methodology of PBM was applied by asking a key question, “What is the nature of the practice, and what does the answer tell us about how it should be inquired into?” By this Robinson (1995) suggests using the nature of the participants’ practice as the solution by inquiring into the reasoning processes that produce these solutions (Nickles, 1981; Argyris, 1974) and it is on this basis that the research team proceeded with their study.

1.4 Profile of Whangarei

Whangarei or Terenga Paraoa is a bustling but small urban/rural seaport city that sits under the shadow of Parihaka Maunga. Local Māori Historians and kaumatua, Charlie Kake, Taipari Munroe and Pona Matenga assisted in a postgraduate research project that identified the extensive Māori history that is a part of this urban/rural area and the maunga plays an important part in this history:

This maunga is situated at the east side of Terenga Paraoa (Whangarei) and is the largest Pa site in Tai Tokerau. Parihaka originated from 'Pari' being the steep cliff face of the maunga and 'Haka' was when the people of Parawhau would haka, stand guard, defend their Pa when warring parties came to challenge them with the aim to defeat and overtake. There are three rivers which flow through Whangarei. They are Hoteo (Hatea), Raumaunga, and Waiaorahi. They all meet at the foot of Parihaka where the Te Ahipupu (the Town Basin) is currently situated before the waters continue on their journey into Te Moana A Kiwa. Some of the main tribes that have shaped its history include Ngati Tuu, Ngati Kahu, Nga Tahuu, Te Parawhau, Te Uri Roiroi, Ngati Whatua, Ngati Hau, Ngati Hine, Ngatiwai, Ngapuhi and Te Uri a Hau. Few people know that the city of Whangarei sits on the archeological sites of historical Māori Pa with Parihaka Maunga the biggest Māori Pa site of them all. There is a considerable history of Māori occupation in this area before the advent of settler activity in the late 1800's. (Poa, Wihongi & Mackie, 1996).

There is a high level of economic, educational, social/community and health and disability activity by Māori groups and organizations in Whangarei District and in the central business district. With one marae located within the city centre (Terenga Paraoa Marae) and 4 other marae (Otangarei Marae, Pehiaweri Marae, Ngararatunua Marae and Te Puna o te Matauranga Marae) on the fringes of the city. Several other marae are situated approx. 15 minutes either direction from the city. The following statistics (NZ Statistics Census, 2001; Whangarei District Council Profile, 2006) are mentioned to give a broad idea of the statistical makeup of Whangarei & Districts and gives some indication of the transient nature of our middle teens to young adult generation in the area and the high proportion of older generation 45-65 plus in contrast to the younger fifteen to zero generation.

1.4.1 Ethnicity and Age Distribution

Two main ethnic groups dominate the district and at the 2001 census European/Pakeha comprised 71%, while Māori occupied 20% of the Districts population and other groups 9% of the population. Whangarei also has a growing ethnic community with Asians, Asian Indians and Pacific Islanders forming a small percentage of the overall population. In the 2001 census Whangarei had a median average age of 36.7 years compared to New Zealand's 34.8 years and 14% at 65 years and over with 22% for New Zealand. By in large the district of Whangarei has an ageing population and a large proportion of children under 15 years old.

1.4.2 Employment and Housing

The District has a high level of unemployment in comparison to New Zealand with a high proportion of people living in below average living standards in highly deprived areas. It is predicted that households in the Whangarei area will increase from the 1996 figure of 24,000 to 31,000 by the year 2021. There is a spread of residential areas in Whangarei that make up its unique characteristics. Māori households are not concentrated in any particular area but occupy homes across the urban, rural and coastal districts that comprise Whangarei. This study would only give a small indication of how wide this household spread actually is in Whangarei. It was initially anticipated households in Otangarei and Otaika would form the bulk of the interviewees, but Māori who volunteered to participate came from different areas around urban Whangarei and these areas have been noted on each analysis table.

1.4.3 Income Levels

Income levels have improved in Whangarei over the last 10 years. The median income of people in Whangarei Districts is \$16,400 per annum compared with \$18,500 per annum compared to all of New Zealand. There has been a steady increase in the number of people gainfully employed in the District. In 2001 17% more people were employed since 1991 (the entire population increased by 9% during this period).

1.4.4 Education/Skill Base

Over the last 10 years more people in the Whangarei District were leaving school with qualifications. In 2001 7.4% of District held an advanced qualification and of these 4.3% had a Bachelors Degree. No statistics have been given for Māori as separate from non Māori.

2.0 Research Team

2.1 Main Players – Background Brief

Raewyn Tipene and Averill Poa are the key players in this research project. Both are qualified and experienced to Executive Management level with a wealth of knowledge and experience in both Mainstream and Māori organisations in Business and Management, Financial Management, Education, Social and Community Development, Health and Political sectors. They both work closely together as professional colleagues in Māori and mainstream organisations and government agencies. Both have close whanau ties in Ngapuhi, Ngati Hine, Ngatiwai and Ngati Rangi.

2.1.1 He Puna Marama Trust

Raewyn is Trust Manager for He Puna Marama Trust based in Whangarei. He Puna Marama Trust currently provides services throughout Northland in three main areas Education, Enterprise Development and Housing. The Trust has been a contractor of a range of services for a range of agencies since 1997. Under the Ministry of Education the Trust has held several contracts. These contracts include:

- The first fully operational bilingual childcare centre (six years)
- A Parents as First Teachers programme (four years), and a;
- Promoting participation programme (two years).

The Trust has also been actively engaged in the development of housing portfolios in Northland and has spent six years building solid relationships and developing a range of services to meet particular needs in housing and early childhood sectors.

2.1.2 Tu Houkura Consultancy & Services Limited

Tu Houkura Consultancy & Services Limited is a limited liability company formed as a family business. The business is primarily in the area of building and growing whanau relationships utilizing the expertise and a skill developed within extended whanau and cover several sectors (i.e. Business Management, Education, Health, Information Technology, Research & Evaluation and Property & Māori Land Retention and Development). The PBM methodology came from a University of Auckland (MEdMgt) Masters Degree Education and Management paper completed by Averill as one of a four member project team in a one year research project amongst a cluster of schools in Mangere.

2.2 Main Players Relationships to Participants

Both women are related directly by whakapapa through whanau, hapu and iwi to most of the participants that contributed to the research.

3.0 Principles of Research Statement

During the initial phases of the research a discussion amongst the research team supported by the data recorded previously from the Waipapa Marae hui (*No 1.2 – comment 1*) raised the possibility that not all Māori are totally supportive of the existing political framework and that their non participation may well be a silent form of protest. On the other hand there would be Māori who supported the framework but still maintain their ability to be “Māori”. In consideration of this dilemma the researchers’ approach was to use this as a basis to set in place two critical research principles during their research investigations as an ethical guide to mitigate any tendency they may have to “influence” any participant’s ability to give honest feedback during the collection of data.

3.1 Principles of Research – Applied

Of the two principles acknowledged by the researchers in the previous paragraph the first is explained through the eyes of two key Māori figures.

The first principle can be likened to a ‘two-edged sword’ and is about being Maori and acknowledging this ‘Maoriness’ but while applying these values to consider that not all Māori may have the same awareness. Yet, as Māori researchers, still being able to maintain the ability to listen and respect each participant’s views about what they say and contribute from the initial engagement, to the data collection through to the transcription and analysis of data. This principle is echoed by two prominent New Zealand Māori leaders. The first is National MP Georgina Te Heuheu (2006), who despite her party’s opposition to the Māori seats said, “We live in a democracy and the law allows Māori people to choose. I am in a party who are advocating for their abolition but until that happens I will be staying on the roll.” She affirms this by saying. “The Māori seats are an opportunity to endorse my Maoriness”. Durie (nd:p1) on the other hand alerts researchers to the fact that empirical evidence says Māori alienation from Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) is high, perhaps sixty percent. While a measurement taken from participation rates in Māori networks and ‘culturation’ (including language) suggests only one third of Māori household residents have a secure identity while the rest though they may have little or no access to Māori resources still have, ‘a strong sense of being Māori’. The second principle was to use the notion of PBM (Problem-based research methodology) to enable an investigation of emerging and evolving theories including the previous dilemma faced by the researchers which would clearly separate for them Tikanga Māori (or Māori ways of doing and thinking) from other observations during their research. A clearer explanation of PBM has been given in the next paragraph and this has been written ‘verbatim’ from the author’s view.

3.2 PBM (Problem based methodology) – The Author’s View (Robinson)

PBM was chosen to assist the research team to investigate the problem of low Māori voter participation in elections by engaging directly (kanohi ki te kanohi) to draw out the reasoning causing the “problem” practices. With “engaging” being the ability to take a multifaceted approach to the thinking and reasoning that drives the problem practices of eligible Māori who do not participate in voting. A dialogue with Robinson at a lecture she gave for the Department of Educational Psychology, University College in London clarifies in some respects why PBM was considered the approach to use. The dialogue has been written verbatim to ensure the importance of what she said was not lost in the re-translation.

The question directed at Robinson was:

Q: I can see PBM as being useful in solving practical problems, but when you start looking at very theoretical problems like models of how children read and write and specific learning difficulties, an over-emphasis on how things are done in practice and analyzing the problem at the chalk face are actually going to work against trying to understand internal mechanisms. In that kind of example, I think problem-based methodology would not be so useful.

Robinson’s response was:

A: “Yes. Methodologies do serve particular purposes. I do not want to set up a religion about this, I want to clearly say to you, do you want to make a difference to practice, in terms of this research programme or not? Now if your purpose is, to inquire into some basic cognitive processes use the methodologies that have been fruitful in your field.” Then she suggests, “Maybe there is a sequence....Use your traditional method to inquire into basic processes, to the point you are confident of your model of reading or whatever. But if you want to influence practice, at that point I think you are going to have to engage – particularly if your model challenges existing assumptions...”

The response to Robinson’s answer was

R: “Right it is at the interface isn’t it rather than one that is necessarily saying how research can be done”.

Robinson’s reply was that she was offering a challenge by saying:

R:don’t save the word “research” for just the traditional one and agreed that it was a methodology for those purposes, but suggested. “Exactly as you say it – interface then we need to engage the reasoning. In other words, don’t go along to teachers and say, the research says.....Because so what? I have got a set of reasons in my head about why I teach this kid this way. And if you want to change that, don’t bypass those reasons. Now your knowledge of that theory, and of those cognitive models, may give you grounds for critiquing that teacher’s practice. But then you may need to embed that critique in this methodology (i.e. PBM), in order to test through a critical dialogue process, whether your theory is a better alternative in that context.

3.3 The PBM Framework and the Research Questions

PBM was developed by Robinson (1993), as explained previously, to overcome the gap she had identified between researchers and practitioners by using compelling and contextual evidence to influence educational practice. The notion of PBM is used to find the causal (underlying/original) links between practices aimed at solving a problem (the solution), the participants' reasoning (presented in a constraints set) for using these practices, and the consequences of using these practices. This approach was considered a useful methodology to 'draw out' the reasons why eligible Māori voters participate or do not participate in triennial electoral voting. The purpose of the research was to assess, via dialogue (or *kanohi ki te kanohi*) with individual participants, key individuals and/or groups, the nature of the attitudes which contribute to low participation rates amongst eligible Māori voters in urban Whangarei. A theory-of-practice was developed and is explained throughout this report to explain the causal links between the research participants (eligible Māori voters) and their reasoning (the constraints set) for talking the way they did and the consequences of the talk. Just as critical to this notion are the three principles applied in paragraph 3.1. Other supplementary research questions were also considered to enable the researchers to engage in a process of critical inquiry with eligible Māori voters, these questions are:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | WHAT WAS THE PARTICIPANT'S RATIONALE/THEORY FOR THEIR TALK? |
| 2. | WHAT DID THE RESEARCHERS AND PARTICIPANTS LEARN ABOUT THEIR PRACTICE FROM THE TALK? |

Under PBM the key research question and the practice under observation is

"What are Maori attitudes towards politics, elections and representation?"

Table 1 – PBM FRAMEWORK

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM? (OR THE EXISTING SITUATION)	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	PBM FRAMEWORK
During elections Māori are less likely to vote than non Māori and so their participation in voting is lower.	KEY RESEARCH QUESTION:	
	"What are Māori attitudes towards politics, elections and representation?"	Practices (Solution)
	SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:	
	What were the participant's rationale /theory for their talk?	Constraints
	What did the researchers learn about the participant's practice from the talk?	Consequences

The key research questions were scaled to suit the target audience for the research and were written to allow enquiry by the researchers to continually seek the reasoning that sits behind the 'attitudes' (or *Proposed Constraints Sets - Table 2*) that drive eligible Māori voter practices (of voting or not voting). It is important to note that the constraints sets outlined on Table 2 are were not definitive and during the research it was understood that more may be identified. It was agreed that these would be added according to the dialogue that occurs during interviews, group sessions and other forums.

Table 2 – PROPOSED CONSTRAINTS SETS (Electoral Commission RFP)

PROPOSED ATTITUDES THAT MAY ACT AS CONSTRAINTS TO THE PROBLEM SOLUTION
1. Maori and Iwi Politics - <i>Māori are strongly engaged in iwi and Maori politics just not in national elections</i>
2. Māori identity, voting and the Māori Roll - <i>Turnout in Māori electorates is lower because Māori on the Māori roll have strong Māori identity and so are more involved in iwi politics and not involved in national elections.</i>
3. Will my vote count? - <i>Māori are interested in politics but do not take part because they think their voice is not heard or of value.</i>
4. The Party first or the Candidate? - <i>Candidates are more important than the party to Māori voters.</i>
5. Socio-economic, Educational Attainment, Age and Gender - <i>Low levels of participation are not about being Māori, they are about poverty and education levels and the different age and gender profiles</i>

It is through this type of engagement of critical inquiry into practices and problem solving processes, that researchers would gather data to assess the adequacy of proposed solutions. The dialogue acts as the vehicle for critical reflection and action that researchers will use to analyze the meanings of the 'talk' surrounding the issues. Freire (1972). For Māori 'kanohi te kanohi' or face to face 'talk' gives mana to any engagement with Māori ways of thinking and doing and allows weight to researchers ability to gain deeper insights into Māori ways of reasoning which is a critical factor in this research. It is also important to remember that any engagement with Māori under Tikanga or Kaupapa Māori is considered 'dialogue'.

4.0 Research Context

The team felt it was important to maintain a 'hands off' approach during the interview process by mentally standing back from participants and not influencing what they had to say. They viewed this part of the process as critical to the gathering of first hand data about the problem-practice of voting or not voting by Māori participants in Whangarei. Interview forms were also handed out to key whanau members to be collected when they were completed and handed back to the research manager for collation and analysis.

4.1 Key Research Participants

This study was conducted amongst residents in and around the Whangarei City area and included streets and smaller suburbs depending where the interviews were held with 'willing' participants. Equal sized sample sets amongst four main age groups (18-24, 25-34, 35-45, 45 plus) were originally planned but as the research began more samples were obtained and some of the groups were not fully represented as intended. Whanau groups formed the foundation for obtaining quality feedback and targeted key individuals within three or four whanau groups became an additional reference point for deeper inquiry of participant's reasoning. The ultimate result was that though more samples were obtained the samples sizes were not similar in number but it was felt by the researchers that important data was gathered from the group (18-24 years old) that had the highest rate of non participation in voting. Some forms were completed but for one reason or another were not handed back in and not necessarily by those who were 'disengaged' from voting. The principal participants were predominantly from eligible Māori voters who reside in urban Whangarei in the suburbs of Onerahi, Kamo, Otangarei, Otaika, Kensington, Regent, Tikipunga and the Central Business Districts. But as the research unfolded an unintended, but positive consequence, was that whanau members who were keen to participate also gave forms to transient whanau members who arrived in Whangarei. In addition a set of interviews were carried out with 15-17 year old male and female Māori students attending a training programme at 2Meke PTE.

4.2 Key Players/Facilitators

Prior to the start of the research the team had originally organized to obtain data from one political party survey carried out amongst households in Whangarei "pre-election" but obtaining access to the data was difficult. In its place the decision was made to interview key people who had assisted to plan and carry out the survey in Whangarei. Interviews were also arranged with key political parties and key people in the Whangarei area to gauge their feedback about the problem under study. Local political party members who consented were also approached to gather their views on Maori electoral (non) engagement and where possible to source actual data.

5.0 Data Collection and Analysis

5.1 Data

Fundamental changes, which involved dividing the work into two areas, were made when an extensive “door to door survey” data of eligible Māori voters was not available for this study. The first, and critical to this study, was the gathering of data from interviews with 89 x ‘willing’ Māori participants across the urban area of Whangarei. The second included accessing formal data from key participants, case studies and focus groups, where possible. Transcripts of observations, conversations and questionnaires by participants during interviews were used as evidence as well as any field notes the researchers recorded.

5.2 Data Collection Instruments

5.2.1 First Questionnaire (see Section 3 – Appendix 3)

It was intended that questionnaires probing ‘reasoning’ and ‘hypotheses’ would be used to further define the ‘talk’ and identify practices that could act as constraints or solutions to Māori participation in voting or not voting. From here an open ended questionnaire was then developed and written to allow participants to respond holistically with minimum prompting from the researcher. But during a field test of this first questionnaire a negative reaction due to the “open-ended” nature of the questions was encountered. One Māori male observer actually swore and made the comment, “what the does that mean and I haven’t got the time to do this.....”. He would have left early but was waiting for one of the participants being interviewed. He did not participate in the study but we appreciate his attending the interview.

On the other hand the other four participants answered the questions they could and, if they were available, agreed to participate in the next interview. Before they left two young female participants, and an aunt, who had brought them to the interview sat with the researcher and offered suggestions on how to improve the questionnaire. They agreed that a taped interview might have allowed them to talk without interruption but the fact they said they had more important things to do was a factor that constrained this data collection method. This first engagement meant changes to the research approach was needed and the first questionnaire was discarded and a new questionnaire (*Questionnaire 2 – Section 3*) was designed and developed that would be more appropriate in any situation encountered. A critical thought that emerged from this encounter is Māori in their own ‘community context’ had little patience for this type of engagement particularly if they could not see the ‘relevance’ to them at any point in time. The research manager acknowledges these young people and their contribution to this research with the development of the new questionnaire.

5.2.2 Second Questionnaire (see Section 3 – Appendix 4)

This second questionnaire was designed to align with **Table 2** (see *Table 2 – Proposed Constraints Sets - Electoral Commission RFP*) and was written to ensure information provided was relevant to the reason for the research methodology. It also allowed the researchers to maintain their distance from the participant filling out the forms so as not to influence their answers to the questions asked and yet still allow them to obtain the data required for the study. Each section of the participant's questionnaire is briefly explained as follows, with an explanation aligned to the PBM methodology: The questions are not asked in any set order and have been analyzed by the research manager to draw the information as it is relevant to each analysis done. The following paragraphs give an explanation for each section in the questionnaire:

Questions Nos. 1.0, 2.0 and 3.0 are taken as a 'constraints set' and the approach using PBM is to gather data to find out whether these constraints: low educational attainment, low socio-economic status, age and gender and tribal affiliation (or being Māori) contribute to decreasing participation rates for Māori in elections. This data will then be used to rule in or rule out whether these are contributory factors and how they do or do not contribute, by comparison with other data gathered to draw further inferences.

1.0-1.4 Static Information – Age, gender and an acknowledgement of their Māori whakapapa
2.0-2.5 Education – Secondary and tertiary level education and any other hui/hikoi/wananga
3.0-3.6 Employment – Employment and economic status of participant

Question No. 4.0 is used to gather more data to find out whether lack of political knowledge is also a contributory factor. This constraint is then brought in to rule in or rule out inferences already drawn.

4.0-4.7 General Political Knowledge – What political knowledge each participant has

Questions Nos. 5.0 – 6.0 ask the participant to write about their 'practices' of registering or not and voting or not and their reasons or 'constraints' driving their practice for "doing what they do" and what other (information) they believe they may need to encourage them to participate.

5.0-5.5 Registration, political roll and voting status and If they voted the candidate and party and whether their vote was valuable and made a difference or why it did not make a difference. If they did not vote, why not and would they need more information to help vote next time?
6.0-6.1 Eligible Voters not yet registered – Why they have not yet registered, would more information help and tell us why?

Question No. 7.0 gathers data to find out whether a belief in being Māori makes a difference and participants' feedback about Iwi and Māori politics versus General/National politics. The question about Iwi and Māori politics threw even the most educated of our participants. The prime feedback from here was, "What are Iwi and Māori Politics?" "The word Politics is NOT about Iwi and Māori".

These have been captured in the data analysis section. From this questionnaire section emerged a strong belief (and constraint in this context) about what it means to be Māori for each participant.

7.0-7.1 This part is to find out about iwi and Māori politics, what they know and whether it was similar to national politics.

A section for “any other comments” was added to allow them more room to comment if they wished.

Despite the fact that the second questionnaire had been designed to be ‘user friendly’ and the questions written in a simple question format to gain maximum information it was often a struggle to get Māori participants to fill out the forms and some would sit and ‘twiddle their fingers and pens’ in frustration. It is important to remember that even though some Māori whanau members did not fill out forms or hand them in the mere fact that they ‘thought’ about doing it is a form of engagement. This disengagement often prompts these people to rethink what they are not doing and encourage them to seek more information via their own whanau networks about voting. Often when working with Māori it is important to ‘go with the flow’ and view it as an opportunity to investigate what is happening at ‘that point in time’. An explanation by Smith (1999) adds to this perspective about working with empirical research and Kaupapa Māori theory and how a Māori researcher feels after conducting an interview. She says, “The researcher may return to work and feel good about an interview. But then may often ask themselves, “Was it an interview, a conversation, or dialogue, perhaps? Or was it more than that?”

5.2.3 Key Participants and Case Studies

For the reasons mentioned previously key participants and case studies were added to the mix to allow for further dialogue to occur to delve into the deeper reasoning processes happening with participants because it proved difficult to pin them down again for another interview. For instance 20 samples were obtained from a Samoan who regularly mixes and engages with ‘disaffected’ young Māori, Pacific Island and Europeans at his home every day. Therefore his comments were considered a critical reason to interview him to enquire into the reasoning driving Māori people to not engage with politics and voting.

5.2.4 Focus on Age Groups from 15 – 17

Data was also collected, though unintentionally, from a group of 15-17 year olds attending a tertiary level training programme. The research team believed this group had been ‘influenced’ as they had studied NZ politics as part of their learning. Despite this it was considered a good way to see how they saw their role in the future when they were eligible to vote. This occurred late into the data collection and as a result the researchers felt that it would have been a good sample to have focused on originally. If followed up this group may provide another research opportunity in 2-3 years to see if they had indeed learnt anything about the need to participate in voting.

5.2.5 Case Studies

Two or three case studies were added to the analysis to highlight what happens to those participants who intended to vote, had all the knowledge and support and still did not vote. These were added to provide another insight into the reasoning driving non participation in voting.

5.3 Existing Data

It was intended that an existing survey would be accessed and added to this research but this did not occur. However the research team managed to secure information and this has been added to the analysis as well.

5.4 Analysis of Data – An explanation

The research manager felt an explanation by Smith (1999: p14) illustrates for her the process that the team had to undertake to ensure data from participants were aligned to an 'empirical expectation' for results required while ensuring that the tikanga Māori approach had not been compromised throughout the journey. This involved making sure participants' comments were added without compromising their integrity to ensure that their 'voices' were heard and their contribution thereby valued. Smith says in regard to Kaupapa Māori researchers that many have had to develop a critique of their own disciplinary approach to the research, and, to Māori issues. Then to struggle to make space for their projects within the constraints of the methods and timeframes imposed. How easy or difficult has depended on the discipline and the nature of the issues involved. She then goes on to say, "Increasingly Māori research projects have employed multidisciplinary approaches to a research problem. Māori researchers have themselves developed methods and approaches that have allowed them to do what they want to do."

Smith's notion rang true for this project as the data collected had to be analyzed six times by the research manager to fit the requirements of PBM and to draw out the results that were there without 'compromising' the contributions of each participant and the *Research Principles* proposed under *No 3.0*. Checking back with key participants at all stages of the research was also critical to ensure that contributions by Māori participants were valued and kept intact and yet still fulfilled the intent of the study.

5.5 PBM Constraints

The result is Section Three of a table of field notes and analysis notes aligned to each age group to fit the PBM analysis as described under heading *No 3.3 Research Questions and the PBM Framework*. From the analysis of the data the research manager was then able to draw out the information required to investigate the problem practices (and possible solutions) of low Māori participation rates in voting. These are included under *No 5.6 Key Findings – Results*.

Further the data analysis also highlighted the need to rephrase the constraints sets by using a question by Robinson. “What requirements does the solution to the problem have to satisfy?” Then to identify or list these requirements (or constraints) again in order to write-up the results.

- Does being Māori make a difference to registering and voting for participants?
- Do Māori and Iwi politics play an important role and how are they viewed by participants?
- Is politics in any context making a difference or are relevant to the participants of this study?
- Viewed as a ‘constraints set’ under PBM (*Table 2.0*) are low educational achievement, poverty, age, gender, and, lack of political knowledge critical contributory factors in low participation rates for Māori in elections?

5.6 Key Findings – Results

After the first field test as noted in *No. 5.2* the research questionnaire was redesigned and the most positive aspect was the fact that five young Māori men and women in the community who came with their aunt to the interview contributed to the design of the new questionnaire format. The success of this new design is demonstrated in the results obtained and analyzed in this section.

5.6.1 Field Interviews with Questionnaire One (*Section 3 – Appendices 2 & 3*)

Table 3.0a – Total Sample Group: 18 - 24 years old: 3 x Females Group Status: Females; 1 x REGISTERED /VOTED, 1 x REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE, 1 x NOT REGISTER ED Female 18-24 1 x REGISTERED/VOTED - Otangarei

This participant believed her *practice* of registering on the Māori roll and voting to support the Māori party made a difference to the Māori Party winning. She also mentioned that the candidate was not as important to her decision. A key *constraint* she identified was on the day even though she wanted to vote for the Māori party she was shy (whakamā) and a first timer. But her belief about her vote for the Māori party helped her to counter her shyness by going out with her friends to vote. Her belief in being Māori, her whanau, the support of her friends and her strong wish to vote for the Māori Party helped her go to vote. The *consequence* was that all these reasons helped motivate this participant and her friends to firstly, make sure that were registered and secondly, go together to support each other to ‘tick the boxes’ for the Māori party.

Table 3.0a – Total Sample Group: 18 - 24 years old: 3 x Females Group Status: Females; 1 x REGISTERED /VOTED, 1 x REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE, 1 x NOT REGISTER ED Female 18-24 1 x REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE - Tikipunga
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This participant’s *practice* of enrolling on the Māori electoral roll was due to her belief about being Māori. She says, “I was Māori I wanted to be on the Māori roll”. But despite her belief that her vote would make a difference and that her whanau are all involved in Maoridom and like knowing what

Maori have achieved and what they are about to achieve her actual *practice* is that she did not go out to vote on the day.

The key *constraint* affecting her decision or *consequence* of not going out to vote was, as she says, because family and personal relationship issues influenced her decision. Other *constraints* she believes prevent her from voting include a lack of knowledge about politics and political candidates (even though she named three political parties) and her belief that younger people don't vote because it is not interesting to them, but this could possibly be a reflection of her own view too.

**Table 3.0a – Total Sample Group: 18 - 24 years old: 3 x Females
Group Status: Females; 1 x REGISTERED /VOTED, 1 x REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE, 1 x NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE**

Female 18-24 1 x NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE - Otangarei

The main *practice* for this participant is that she has not yet registered on an electoral roll and the *consequence* is that she cannot vote anyway. But getting her out to vote is another *problem practice* to consider and carries its own inherent *constraints*. By reflecting on this participant's *constraints* we may find a solution to both *problem practices*:

This *participant* says that she does not get politics let alone understand their concepts. But then believes if a programme was set up about politics she would attend to give her more understanding, her reasons being that they (the intending voters) are not told "why" they have to vote. "They say we should just register and vote". Despite her comments for improvement, and the fact that all her whanau vote, there is no guarantee that if she got all the information she would register on an electoral roll.

**Table 3.0a – Total Sample Group: 18 - 24 years old: 1 x Male
Group Status: Male 18-24 1 x NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE - Kensington**

The main *practice* for this participant is that he has not yet registered on an electoral roll and the *consequence* is that he cannot vote anyway. But getting him out to vote is another *problem practice* to consider and carries its own inherent *constraints*. By reflecting on this participant's *constraints* we may find a solution to both *problem practices*. For instance:

This male participant was very honest about his *practice* but his honesty is also an important *constraint* to be considered. He says he didn't vote because he didn't want to and didn't have a reason why that he just didn't want to vote and says – "that's all". Other *constraints* when asked if they talk about politics are as he said "We don't talk about that stuff... we talk about.....cars, but then despite his indifference to politics later names four political parties. He says he does not know any candidates and does not concentrate on politics. Then he contradicts this by saying if he had voted his vote would have made a difference. This stated lack of knowledge about voting and politics means the first hurdle is to change his attitude to voting by getting him interested enough to register on a roll first.

Summary of Data

A key *practice* not mentioned by these participants (including the one that did not fill out the questionnaire) is that they all came as a whanau group with their aunt to participate in this study. Their main *constraint* is that they all believed they needed a valid reason for registering and more information would help them to do this. Being Māori was important to all the participants with a preference for the Māori roll and not just because of any particular candidate. Further checking shows common *constraints* are expressed as an indifferent attitude towards politics and the need to make it relevant to their lives as Māori at “any point in time” and not just during the election year. In addition they need to have more information so they all know “why” they are voting. The *consequence* if this happens would be five fully engaged Māori supporting other Māori, to register and then go to vote together, just as the participant who voted did. The aunt who brought them in to the interview is also a key figure in their lives. She is registered on the Māori roll and voted at the last election and can play an important part in their future decisions.

5.6.2 Field Interviews with Questionnaire Two (Section 3 – Appendices 2 & 4)

These were far more comprehensive and all data collected have been analyzed according to the tables for each age group.

Table 3.1a & 3.1b – Total Sample Group: 15 – 17 years old: 4 x Males plus 7 x Females Group Status: NOT OLD ENOUGH TO REGISTER ON THE ELECTORAL ROLL

Taking into consideration the nature of this 15-17 age group (i.e. they are all under 18) the *practice* (or *solution*) to the problem is already in place and still evolving because they are not eligible to register and therefore are unable to vote anyway. Further, this group has left secondary school and had been ‘influenced’ or taught depending on one’s perspective and spent time learning about politics in a tertiary training establishment. The *consequence* is they all had similar beliefs about national politics and spoke strongly about iwi and Māori politics as being about Māori and how it only affects Māori.

Their key *constraints* are their beliefs about politics which are very passionately Māori and are about the importance of Māori issues, looking after “us” as Māori and having a say in their everyday society. They have some knowledge about iwi and Māori politics with the foreshore and seabed important topics and they knew about 5-6 MP’s with 4 or more being Māori. Significant is the fact that 10 participants out of the 11 acknowledged their tribal affiliation. For the moment they all say they will register on the Māori roll when they are old enough. Several will be ready to register and vote next election. Whether they can maintain the momentum created by this current learning group will depend on the social and/or whanau group each student socializes with up to the time of the next election. Nuthall (2001, 8-9) in Lane (2005) says of these learning groups that students live in a personal and social world of their own in the classroom and they care more about how their peers evaluate their behaviour than they care about the teacher’s judgement. Within this pervasive peer culture, sexism

and racism can be alive and flourishing even when the teacher actively promotes fully inclusive learning activities. All these strong beliefs will act as constraints when they are old enough to register to vote and can either encourage them to register and support the Māori vote or turn them against politics itself. So the context (i.e. training programme, social/peer and whanau group) they are in at that point in time will be critical to their final decision.

**Table 3.2a – Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 13 x Māori Female
Group Status: NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE x 4 (Participants 1 – 4)**

The main *practices* for *Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4* are that they have not yet registered on any electoral roll and the *consequence* is that they all cannot vote anyway. But getting all 4 *participants* out to vote is another *problem practice* to consider and carries its own inherent *constraints*. By reflecting on this group's *constraints* we may find a solution to both *problem practices*. For instance:

Participant 1 said she had not been sent the information to enrol but she never considered the possibility she could have asked for it anyway. *Participant 4* said she would register when she was ready and more information would not make any difference.

The key *constraints* for *Participant 2 and Participant 3* were that they were both **not** old enough to register at the last election. In addition one of these young women was slightly confused as she said she did not know what roll she had enrolled on but then said she was too young at the time anyway. The fact both were too young to vote at the time rules out any other *constraints from Table 2* unless we look to the future and consider what may prevent them from registering next time around.

We find in considering *Table 2 constraints sets Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4* are well educated and motivated, two work part time, one is on a work based training programme and one is employed fulltime. All four noted their tribal affiliations, have some knowledge of general politics and one mentioned that "Māori politics are the Māori representatives". We also find that all four are educated and motivated young women, one is going to University next year and she says she will register and vote. With more information and strategies in place to target this age group to register and vote the other three may register on an electoral roll and then be able to vote as well.

**Table 3.2a – Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 13 x Māori Female
Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 6**

The main *practices* for *Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6* are that they said they were registered on an electoral roll with *participants 4, 5 and 6* saying they were registered on the Maori electoral roll. But despite being enrolled they all did not vote at the last elections.

The main *constraint* for *participants 1, 2, and 3* seemed to be their confusion around which electoral roll they had registered on. Further *constraints* for *Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6* include the following:

Participant 1 says she is registered, but then contradicts herself by saying she would not know which one to enroll on. Then she adds that she did not vote because she was “not around at the time”.

Participant 2 believes her reasons for not voting was, “I think no matter who I vote for it is all about power tripping money hungry people who don’t care about our people”. In addition she says she prefers the Maori Roll and she supports this with her response to the questions about Iwi and Māori politics that, “they have every right to stand up for our (Māori) rights.

Participant 3 says her vote would have made a difference, but then says she believes her reason for not voting was, “cuz I didn’t want to. I hate politics”. But then says for the question on whether Iwi and Māori politics were the same as national politics, “they should be because we are all equal”.

Participant 4 believes, “Maori is the bomb and NZ is Maori land and in Aotearoa, hard love Maoris” and says she prefers the Maori roll. Yet despite this passion she said she did not have time to go and vote.

Participant 5 had very little to say, acknowledges being Maori but still did not want to go and vote.

Participant 6 Believes Maori need more links and support in parliament and should be heard.

Summary of Data

If we consider the *constraints on Table 2* and the information supplied by each participant we can rule out poverty, low educational achievement, lack of political knowledge and at this point age and gender as being major reasons for non participation. But we need to rule in the passion of being Maori as all participants acknowledged their “Maoriness” (Te Heuheu, 2006). Considering the passionate comments about “being Maori” this could have made a difference to their not going to vote. But if we rule in the fact 3 were registered and 3 had not checked the electoral roll they were registered on then only 3 could have voted if they wanted to. In addition the uncertainty about their enrolment status, the strong feelings about being Māori; the dislike of politics for various reasons and just plain not wanting to go and vote, all combined to contribute to the *consequence* of the *practice* of all 6 participants of not going to vote.

Table 3.2a – Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 13 x Māori Female Group Status: REGISTERED/VOTED x 3

The *practices* for all *participants 1, 2 and 3* are that they were all registered on an electoral roll and went to cast their vote on the day. Beliefs that could have acted as *constraints* have instead contributed to their positive *practice*. For instance:

Participant 1 believes about Iwi and Māori politics, “I think some of them are just a bunch of people that like to be heard, like the sound of their own voice...you know...all talk no action.” To the question whether Iwi and Māori politics are the same as national politics she said, “Yes well I am not sure

really... So far they've done a bit to look like they're moving forward...They seem like and show we'll get somewhere (well let's hope or they're a b..... lot of good b..... s.....!). Despite her comments she acknowledges her tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and is aware of the political scene nationally and in Māori and Iwi politics and believes Māori politicians are moving forward. She is also well educated, employed fulltime and believes "every person that votes is another count for the party...". The *consequence* of her background and beliefs is reflected in her *practice* of registering on the Māori roll and going out to vote for the Labour party and Dover Samuels.

Participant 2 believes the only way the Māori voice can be heard is to vote our Māori MP's into parliament and also believes she would like to see Aotearoa governed by a Māori Prime Minister. Further, although she did not comment on Iwi and Māori politics she acknowledges her tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and believes that Māori politicians are moving forward. This participant is well educated, employed fulltime, has some knowledge of politics and a strong belief in the Māori politicians and supports the Labour party's policies. The *consequence* of her convictions is reflected in her *practice* when she registered on the Māori roll and voted for the Labour Party and Hone Harawira as the candidate.

Participant 3 unlike *1 and 2* had very little to say and her main *constraint* was that she did not know which party or candidate she voted for on the day. Despite this she is well educated, employed fulltime and active in the community and has some knowledge about politics. The *consequence* is that even though she does not know the party or candidate her *practice* is that she registered on the Māori roll and then went out to vote. The *consequence* of their positive beliefs is that the *practice* of registering on an electoral roll and voting is a normal triennial activity for these 3 participants.

Table 3.2b – Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 20 x Māori Male Group Status: REGISTERED AND VOTED x 4

The *practices* for all *participants 1, 2, 3 and 4* are that they were all registered on an electoral roll and went to cast their votes on the day. Beliefs that could have acted as *constraints* have instead contributed to their positive *practice*. For instance:

Participant1 believed he had voted to make a difference and "to represent our Māori heritage" his reasoning was, "cause every vote counts and the more votes the better". He also believed that Iwi and Māori politics are about the Treaty and Māori interests and that they are not the same as National politics.

Participant 2 believed that his vote had counted and helped to establish the Māori party and that he had helped Hone to get his seat. He also believed that registering on the Māori roll was "supporting the people".

Although *Participant 3* did not know the name of the candidate or party he said, “because I am Māori” he registered and then went out to vote.

Participant 4 believed because he was Māori and proud to be Māori and despite the fact that he did not know if his vote made a difference he went out to vote.

In addition by taking into consideration the *Table 2 constraints set* consideration Table 2 and the constraints sets and consequences of their practices all 4 *participants* registered and voted even though they were unemployed and two had attended tertiary level training and two had five years secondary school.

Table 3.2b – Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 20 x Māori Male Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 8
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The main *practices* for all *Participants 1, 2, 3 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8* are that they said they were registered on an electoral roll. But despite being enrolled they all did not vote at the last elections.

The main *constraints* for *participants 1, 2, and 8* seemed to be their confusion around which electoral roll they had registered on. Further *constraints* for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 include the following:

Participant 1 contradicted himself throughout the questionnaire, he says he was “bizzy working” but is registered as unemployed with WINZ for one year. He says he is registered on the roll but then does not know what roll he is on. But he says if he was registered he would opt for the Māori roll.

Participant 2 says he was too “Lazy” to go and vote. But despite this he believes iwi and Māori politics are different to national politics and is about whenua, maintaining traditional rights, the Foreshore and harvesting seafood. As a result he says he would like to be on the Māori roll, but according to him he is already registered on the General roll.

Two participants felt they had genuine reasons for not voting. *Participant 3* said he was ill on the day and could not go to vote and *Participant 4* said that he had just registered and could not vote. Both did not answer the questions about lwi and Māori politics although both acknowledged their affiliation to Ngapuhi.

Participant 5 said “can’t sort my shit out” and so didn’t go to vote. But is registered on the Māori roll and believes that his vote would have made a difference. He also believes that lwi and Māori politics is about Treaty and Māori interests.

Participant 6 said that, he “prioritized (to vote) but circumstances prevented him from voting”. He believes that lwi and Māori politics are about a new view on Māori independence determining, that Māori have the freedom to speak up through government and make changes.

Participant 7 is registered on the General roll but did not vote and gave no reason why. He also says he has no views on Māori politics.

Participant 8 said “It was my first time voting and I didn’t know when and where to go although it had been advertised for a while I still didn’t know much about it”.

Summary of Data

All the *participants* are well rounded and well educated individuals with one attending two years and the rest attending four to five years of secondary school. All attended tertiary training programmes. Two are fulltime employed, one was just made redundant but is now working fulltime the other two are attending courses at tertiary level institutes.

The *constraints* echoed by *Participants 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8* are for “that moment” when they did not vote. Taking into consideration the *constraints sets* identified in *Table 2* for this study these young Māori men are highly motivated individuals whose practices as noted contradict the identified *Table 2 constraints*. That is, they are well educated, in some instances in fulltime employment or in tertiary level training, knowledgeable in politics with no strong “leanings” as yet towards any political party and identifiably Māori as they acknowledge their tribal affiliations and three are on the Māori roll. *Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8* are still uncertain about Iwi and Māori politics. The consequence of their not voting this time could easily be turned around next election by a strategy targeted specifically at this age group of young Māori men.

Table 3.2b– Total Sample Group: 18-24 years old: 20 x Māori Male Group Status: NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE x 8
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The main *practices* for *Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8* are that they have not yet registered on any electoral roll and the *consequence* is that they all cannot vote anyway. But engaging all 8 *participants* in voting is another *problem practice* to consider and carries its own inherent *constraints*. By reflecting on this group’s *constraints* we may find a solution to both *problem practices*. For instance:

Participant 1 says he needs more information to vote, then (considering he isn’t registered) contradicts his statement by saying he doesn’t vote the first time anyway. He then says he would like to be on the Māori roll because he is Māori, but then contradicts this statement again by saying he does not know what roll he is on. Has basic knowledge about politics and though he knows very little about Iwi and Māori politics he says that he is “going for the Māori side”.

Participant 2 believes if he had been sent an enrolment form he would register on the Māori roll because it is his choice. He also believes that Iwi and Māori politics are “MP members that represent the Māori people” and Iwi and Māori politics are different to national politics.

Participant 3 believes he did not have the information to enroll and then says that even with more information he does not know if he would vote next time anyway. Taking into consideration that he is not registered on any roll and does not know what roll he would choose voting is ruled out until he has enrolled.

Participant 4 believes he would register and vote next time if he was given more information but his prevailing attitude is that he just couldn't be bothered to (register) and vote this time. But he has strong beliefs about "being Māori" and says Māori and iwi politics are about "trying to fight for the rights of our (Māori) people.....YEAH!!" And adds, "go the Māori party – Represent". Also believes in protest and went on a hikoī at Waitangi.

Participant 5's main constraint is that he has been overseas since 18 and has just returned and registering to vote was not a priority for him. But he says that his preference is to enroll on the Māori roll "so they can do what Māori want or need". He also believes that iwi and Māori politics are, "Māori trying to get the best things for Māori people".

Participant 6 believes he was not registered because he had not been sent a form and he does not know why. But believes that iwi and Māori politics are about, "Māori that represent us and what we have to say". He also believes in Māori protest and went on the 2004 Foreshore hikoī and supports registering on the Māori roll because he is Māori.

Participant 7 believes that he did not see the validity in any of the political parties, but now believes that the Māori party has changed his view. He also believes that iwi and Māori politics are that they are both, "totally different to government", "involved the marae and the hapu", and "the iwi focus on their own people". "The government puts Māori true needs at a very low priority. It doesn't understand where our people are coming from". They say there is still not enough Māori power in politics, "just voices and steam!" He also believes in Māori protest and was on the 2004 Foreshore hikoī and has attended hui at Marae and Wānanga.

Participant 8 does not know why he did not register the last time and whether he will the next time but believes that if he registers next time it will be on the General roll.

Summary of Data

Firstly and looking to the future, the key *constraint* for this group is they all believe if they were given more information and support (allowing for prevailing individual reservations and perspectives) they would register on an electoral roll. Another *constraint* may include that of "being Māori". Because, with the exception of *Participants 3* and *8*, the rest in this group *Participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7* believe in their own way that "being Māori" is important. *Participants 1, 2, 5, and 6* said they would enroll on the Māori roll next time, this included participant 5 who travels between NZ and Australia.

If we look at the *constraints sets* on Table 2 we find that 6 of this sample group has general knowledge about politics, the political parties and named some MP's but *participant 5* left the question blank and *participant 8* only knew the correct voting age was 18 years old. All 8 averaged 3-4 years at secondary school, all attended PTE tertiary training programmes. *Participants 2, 4, 5, and 7* have completed tertiary qualifications. *Participants 2, 5 and 7* of this group are fully employed and *Participants 1, 3, 4, 6 and 8* are unemployed. All 8 participants felt that they needed more information to vote but they felt "others" should supply this information and so despite being well educated and motivated they seemed to expect someone else to make sure they had the information. Another less obvious *constraint* that emerged with this group is that at least 5 or 6 of the 8 participants have not been at any fixed abode for several years and have led transient lifestyles before they turned 16 and are still in some respects moving around different homes and perhaps even countries.

**Table 3.3a – Total Sample Group: 25 – 34 years old: 9 x Māori Female
Group Status: REGISTERED AND VOTED x 7**

Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 have *constraints sets and practices* that are very similar even though they all live in different areas of Whangarei. All 7 women believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and voted for that reason. All 7 are also registered on the Māori Roll and have similar views on their contribution to Māori although one is thinking of changing to the General roll because she is unfamiliar with the Māori roll. In regard to knowledge of Iwi and Māori politics Participant 1, 2 and 7 say, "Iwi politics include current affairs affecting Maori". "Iwi and Māori politics look after our future generations and how we can enhance it", and, "Māori politics are too complex to connect to tauiwi ways". Participant 3 and 4 say they need to understand more about Māori and Iwi politics, but all 7 affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas.

Summary of Data

All 7 have extensive knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP's (both Māori and Non Māori). Three voted for Hone Harawira and one for Pita Sharples and for the Māori Party. Two voted for Labour and Helen Clarke and one for Mere Mangu and NZ First. Using the constraints set on Table 2 five completed 5 years, one did 4 years and one did 3 years at secondary school. All have done tertiary training and two have undergraduate Degrees. Three are in fulltime employment, one is registered with WINZ and three are not employed. All seven women are well educated, highly motivated and well rounded Māori women who are fully aware of both the Maori and Non Maori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequence* of their positive *practices* and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

**Table 3.3a – Total Sample Group: 25 – 34 years old: 9 x Māori Female
Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 2**

The main *practices* for all *Participants 1 and 2* are that they said they were registered on an electoral roll. But despite being enrolled they all did not vote at the last election. *Constraints* for *Participants 1 and 2* include the following:

Participant 1 says she did not vote and her key constraint is “Because I don’t understand what the whole thing is about”. She admits she does not know when the general elections are held and has no idea what iwi and Māori politics are about. But then she expresses a preference for the Māori roll by enrolling on it and saying, “I have always been on it”. And although she admits not knowing what Māori and Iwi politics are about she says her tribal affiliation is to Ngāpuhi. Further data related to Table 2 indicates that she has done 4 years at secondary school did a bar course at a Private Training Institute and is employed full-time as a caregiver. This participant is well educated, self motivated and employed, but the information she requests must be suited to fit her needs. The consequence is that even if the information was provided and conducive “to help her understand” as she requested there is no guarantee she will vote next time either unless she has been given a good reason to engage with politics.

Participant 2’s response to the question about Iwi and Māori politics, “Not sure have never really paid any attention to politics” is her practice and could be a form of disengagement (or protest) from politics (and thereby voting). Because in checking other data she contradicts what she says about not paying attention when she says it is, “Too political did not have any faith in any of the parties and persons”. In addition and despite the contradiction between her practice and constraint she can name 6 political parties and 10 politicians (5 were Māori) and she is also enrolled on the Māori roll and has a preference for it. To check other data by the use of the *Table 2 constraints set* she completed 3 years at secondary school, attended a Diploma in Social Service course, Te Ara Reo Māori 1-2, Whakamaramatanga and a Certificate in Counseling and is employed part time as a caregiver. So she is well educated, has a depth of knowledge about tikanga and Te reo and is a highly self motivated individual. Despite her stated “lack of interest in politics” she would have an excellent knowledge of politics through her Diploma in Social Service and Counseling Training as these programmes have a high content of political and legal statutory requirements. The *consequence* of her strong feelings about politics may come in some part from an extensive education and may be one of the reasons why she has disengaged from voting because of as she says, “Too political did not have any faith in any of the parties and persons”.

Table 3.3b – Total Sample Group: 25 – 34 years old: 7 x Māori Male Group Status: NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE x 1
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This participant’s *practice* is that he did not register because he says the, “registration forms are ‘too much’” and his key *constraint* was that he didn’t think his vote would count. Further data shows

however that he has given a lot of thought to politics. For instance he believes that iwi and Māori politics are two different questions and that iwi is the area our Māori Electorates are representing. He says that “Māori Politics needs to be explained and simplified for younger Māori, for them to understand what and why, they do their jobs”. In addition the question about whether Iwi and Māori politics are the same as national politics he says – “Unsure. People understand politics more every time elections come around. I understand the ‘Parties’, the ‘Party Leaders’, its minor electorates I need more information about Māori politics is it a new concept in today’s society; Māori people need to learn how much they can do for communities. Information!!!” He also made further comments that “Asking more general knowledge about the General and Māori politics”. Two important thoughts have been teased out from his dialogue. One is that he does not think his vote will count and he is asking for more information and more simplified information about Māori and general politics. The second is he really believes that not having this information is the reason he has not registered.

**Table 3.3b – Total Sample Group: 25 – 34 years old: 7 x Māori Male
Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 1**

This participant’s key *practice* is he did not vote and a *constraint* acting on this is the belief that he felt his vote would not make a difference and would not be valuable to the Party. His *key constraint* for not voting was that he says he was at work at the time. So the *constraint* in this respect could possibly be lack of knowledge of how he could have registered a special vote and planned to do this if he was going to work. Further he says he is registered on the Māori roll and he doesn’t care which roll he is on. But on checking his dialogue his answers to questions on Iwi and Māori politics were “Seabed & Foreshore and Treaty Claims” and his tribal affiliation tribe is Ngapuhi. He has done 3 years at secondary school and no tertiary training. However he has attended other training courses in “4 Quadrant Leadership Course for Pacemakers”. He is currently employed full-time as a Nightshift Manager. He knows 3 key political parties and 4 MP’s. He knows that parliament sits in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18. He is well educated; self motivated and employed has some knowledge of general politics, knows something about Māori political issues and acknowledges his tribal affiliation. With more knowledge about registering and voting and of how to cast a special vote this participant might have voted before going to work.

**Table 3.3b – Total Sample Group: 25 – 34 years old: 7 x Māori Male
Group Status: REGISTERED/ VOTED x 5**

Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 have constraints sets and practices that are very similar even though they all live in different areas of Whangarei with one whanau participant from Otahuhu. All 5 men believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and voted for that reason and they are also registered on the Māori Roll with similar views about their contribution to Māori. In regard to

knowledge of Iwi and Māori politics each participant says respectively, “seabed and foreshore claims”. “Māori politics are on Māori health, corrections, unemployment, Treaty of Waitangi, Foreshore, seabed and education”, and, “Māori issues”. “I believe the Māori party has some good values, I guess if every vote counts then my vote is a step closer to the top”. “Confrontational and making a difference for all Māori, a Māori vote by Māori for Māori tautoko movement”. But all 5 affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas. All 5 have some knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP’s (both Māori and Non Māori) even though one has reservations about his knowledge of politics. Using the *constraints set on Table 2* they have 4 years at secondary school and except for one participant have completed some form of tertiary training and four are in fulltime employment with one unemployed. All five men are educated, motivated and well rounded Maori men who are fully aware of both the Maori and Non Maori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequences* of their positive *practices* and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

**Table 3.4a – Total Sample Group: 35-44 years old: 3 x Māori Female
Group Status: REGISTERED/VOTED x 3**

Participants 1, 2, 3 have constraints sets and practices that are very similar even though they live in different areas of Whangarei. All 3 women believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and are registered and voted for that reason. Two were enrolled on the Māori roll the third had been enrolled on the General roll for the last two elections but expressed her preference for the Māori roll and the hope the Māori party had given that Māori can utilize their tinorangatiranga. In regard to knowledge of Iwi and Māori politics each participant expressed their own views. But all 3 affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas. All 3 have some knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP’s (both Māori and Non Māori). Using the *constraints set on Table 2* two have 3 and one has 4 years at secondary school and all have completed some form of tertiary training and two are in fulltime employment with and the third participant completing a double degree major in health and sociology. All three women are educated, motivated and well rounded Maori women who are fully aware of both the Maori and Non Maori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequences* of their positive practices and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

**Table 3.4b – Total Sample Group: 35-44 years old: 4 x Māori Male
Group Status: REGISTERED/VOTED x 4**

Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4 have constraints sets and practices that are very similar even though they live in different areas of Whangarei. All 4 men believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and are registered and voted for that reason. Three are enrolled on the Māori roll the fourth is enrolled on the General roll. In regard to knowledge of Iwi and Māori politics each participant expressed their own views. But all 4 affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas. All 4 have some knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP’s (both Māori and Non Māori).

Using the *constraints set on Table 2* they all have 5 years each at secondary school and all have completed some form of tertiary training and three are in fulltime employment with one on a casual basis. All four men are educated, motivated and well rounded Maori men who are fully aware of both the Maori and Non Maori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequences* of their positive practices and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

**Table 3.5a – Total Sample Group: 45+ years old: 11 x Māori Female
Group Status: VOTED x 10**

Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 have constraints sets and practices that are very similar even though they live in different areas of Whangarei with one in Tamaki Makaurau. All 10 women believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and are registered and voted for that reason. Seven are enrolled on the Māori roll and six (one was uncertain) voted for the Māori party and three are enrolled on the General roll. In regard to knowledge of Iwi and Māori politics each participant expressed their own views. But all affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas. All 10 have some knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP's (both Māori and Non Māori). Using the constraints set on Table 2, two did not give the years they attended school, two did five years, two did 4 years, two did three years, and two did two years at secondary school. Seven attended Tertiary training courses three did not note whether they had attended any tertiary training. Two are in full time employment and one works on a casual basis the rest are not employed. All women are mature, educated, motivated and well rounded Maori women who are fully aware of both the Maori and Non Maori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequences* of their positive *practices* and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

**Table 3.5a – Total Sample Group: 45+ years old: 11 x Māori Female
Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 1**

The *constraint* for this participant is that this year she forgot to vote but that it was normal *practice* for her to vote every year (i.e. triennially). Using the *constraint sets on Table 2* this participant has 4 years secondary school education, has attended tertiary education level courses and is employed fulltime as a checkout operator. She has some knowledge of politics and prefers to be on the General roll and has always voted on this roll in previous years. This *participant* simply forgot to vote and says she has always voted.

**Table 3.5b – Total Sample Group: 45+ years old: 7 x Māori Male
Group Status: REGISTERED/VOTED x 6**

Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 have constraints sets and practices that are very similar even though they live in different areas of Whangarei with two in Tamaki Makaurau. All 6 men believe their votes made a difference and were valuable to the party and are registered and voted for that reason. Four are enrolled on the Māori roll and two are enrolled on the General roll. In regard to knowledge of Iwi

and Māori politics each participant expressed their own views. But all 6 affiliate themselves to their respective tribal areas. All 6 have some knowledge about politics, the political parties and MP's (both Māori and Non Māori). Using the *constraints set on Table 2* three have 4 years, one has two years, one has four years and one has five years at secondary school and all have completed some form of tertiary training. Six are in fulltime employment. All six men are educated, motivated and well rounded Māori men who are fully aware of both the Māori and Non Māori world view. They all engage fully in whanau/hapu, local and national activities relevant to their context. The *consequences* of their positive practices and attitudes make voting a normal triennial activity.

Table 3.5b – Total Sample Group: 45+ years old: 7 x Māori Male Group Status: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 1

This participant is registered and intended to vote, as he usually does, but missed the polling booth (because he was late back from work). He did not say who he was going to vote for but it was one he always chooses. He attended secondary school for five years and tertiary level training in computers and automotive engineering. Has extensive knowledge of politics and is employed fulltime. This participant always votes and genuinely missed the polling booth with the *consequence* that he did not vote this election but normally does register his vote.

5.7 Key Participant Interviews

TOHU POU - Whangarei Youth Counselor, Ratana Apotoro Rehita (Registered Apostle) Minister and Secondary School Teacher & Counselor 7 – Kamo Tohu's Parents: Tim and Susan Pou

Tohu Pou is a Counselor at Kamo High School, Kamo a suburb in Whangarei, Apotoro/Minister for the local Ratana Church and a secondary school teacher. He has worked with young people in the school and community in Whangarei for over 15 years. While working with these young Māori people in these roles he says of them that it is imperative that they know where they come from, who they are and where they are going. The following is knowledge of young Māori people Tohu has gathered during his years working in the community and has been written verbatim from a taped interview.

- in terms of politics students 18 years and upwards feel that “my vote won't make a difference” and feel that “I shouldn't vote” and he says that the harshest thing of all is that “we” don't think their vote will count for much”. They (the young people) want to contribute but nobody ever asks what they want. They do have real ideas of what they want but nobody ever gives the time to listen. So they prefer NOT to listen as a way of protest
- the difficulty for Māori is they feel trapped by their tikanga Māori and the global and national view of what we should do and they find it difficult to bring into line their particular Maoriness.
- they tend not to vote or they vote as a form of protest and usually for the underdog or the people who connect to people rather than policy and so he believes that political parties must have an aspect of whanau, hapu and iwi
- they are still forming their ideas, still asking questions but when they ask the questions we tend to tell them not to say anything
- unless they have been brought up in a political environment, politics is the last thing they want to know about
- and anyway politics is actually a way of dividing everyone into different categories therefore making more conflict than resolution
- young people are very fundamental in their views of the world, very innocent and very open and they like open honest dialogue and are on to how people relate, talk and act
- Inclusiveness comes from being Māori of coming together as one we as Māori talk about whanau with whanau being mum, dad, the children, aunty, uncle and relations. Then when we get together from different whanau we make our hapu, our different hapu make up our iwi. That unfortunately, for too many young people the whanau, hapu and iwi is not a trade in for politics and they know where they are in their whanau, hapu and iwi.

WHAEA GINA TAMAKI – Tohunga and Healer for Te Whakatohia Te Hauora O Te Tangata Trust, Otangarei, Whangarei. A traditional Māori Healing & Rongoa Centre funded under the Manaia PHO.

Whaea Gina has worked in Whangarei and the wider community and overseas with Māori and non Māori and all ethnic groups including all Māori whanau for 40 years or more in traditional healing and rongoa. She has and still does act as an advocate for people in all forums where she is needed. In their homes, marae, prisons, hospitals, police cells, schools, marae, trusts in fact in any context. Much of her work with young people is in the courts and prisons and helping whanau to deal with what happens when they are in trauma. Her work has now been funded through the Ministry of Health under the Manaia PHO in Whangarei to establish a traditional Māori Rongoa and Healing Whare. From knowledge gained in the years she has worked in the community she has said of young people and in particular young Māori men and women that:

- They do what they must do to cope with all the different things going on in their lives
- They feel people expect too much of them that they must of necessity “turn off” and escape from all the expectations the world has of them”.
- There is no trust for the system and they often “turn on it” in frustration and anger. Much of this frustration is fuelled by their inability to articulate how they are feeling. Protest action in the form of hikoi often gives them the freedom to articulate how they are feeling.

QUENTIN HARDER – Volunteer Community Youth Worker and Friend to young people

‘Que’ as the young people call him has spent time with young people and provided a forum for them to be in that has “no expectations of them”. He says of these young people:

- in regard to voting the majority of them can’t be bothered
- a couple staying with him at the time said they cared very little about the voting side of it but would put more effort into the Māori political side, of voting.
- there is a mixed response to politics in general
- there was a concern for how the Māori side of it was going and would show more interest if they were more informed about how the Māori side is affected by the voting
- were not interested in the “other” side of things
- they were not informed so they would not have it “hanging on the back of their heads to vote”.
- some do not have voting on their schedule and some are working
- half know what’s been going on with the battle for land and less than half don’t know
- some feel the system has been “raped”

Que admits he did not vote himself so as a role model his reasons were no different to those ones who had participated in the survey. He supports some of what is said about politics.

Whanau is the most significant influence in this key participant's pathway of life. Christianity has been another major influence due in the most part to his father being a Minister for the Anglican Church, and was heavily supported by his mother; he refers to his parents as "a very strong team". His whanau was transient, as this was the nature of his father's work. He spent his early childhood and teenage formative years in areas outside of Ngapuhi – Te Tai Tokerau – despite the fact that both his parents are of Ngati-Hine descent, and both were staunchly supportive of Ngati-Hine and Ngapuhi. Kara's childhood was spent amongst all the major iwi in Aotearoa where his father and mother served in the Anglican church and traveled with their whanau. He has worked in government agencies such as Māori Affairs, Social Welfare, Housing New Zealand and the Māori Trustee Office and several other organizations. He is currently working in a senior executive management role involved in the Health sector or Māori Health sector in Tai Tokerau with a Health and Disabilities Funding Co Purchaser in Tai Tokerau. In his early years he also spent time working in a social welfare boys home in the country with about 120 boys. It is in this position he realized how Māori people and young teenagers were being locked up in secured blocks and it was a stark contrast to his own whanau life. He says, "My father and my mother were like my mentors, they were my advisors and mentors.. My family have always been involved with me wherever I've gone into doing any work things, I've always made it my business to take my family with me or to involve them. My whanau is number one for me and I don't commit myself wholly to my career that is now number two maybe even now number three. Whanau is far more important in all aspects".

Why do young people do what they do?

Reply – "I think largely because we have been pretty poor, to a degree, a lot of us have been pretty poor role models. We've allowed young people to swing away and do their own thing." "I think that there has been a breakdown somewhere, and one of those break down I think is - the eventual breakdown of any Māori or indigenous structure systems, you got to get expect some consequences." "So moving away from rural to urban of course back in the 1940's and 50's but of also stemmed by I guess a whole movement away into new employment and moving away from the marae and also coming away from Māori structures, where it wasn't cool to be Māori, that's probably helped to break down the respect of our Māori systems. Maybe it's going to be build up with new Kohanga Reo, Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga."

How I do I feel about politics?

Reply – "In the previous, well when I was a teenager I always had a very keen interest in politics, very strong. I was always aware of politics as a young kid, because that's what we were all told, we all knew about it, so I was very keen in politics, because I'd brought up to understand that the future of our Māori, relied strongly on politics, because that's where all your decision making would come from."

“That politics extends not only into National government but also into local district councils, and I’ve noticed more so in the paper, that Māori are starting to see that political power is not just at Government, it’s right here in our own back yard at our local district council level I still don’t know why we haven’t got that into that yet.” “Politics, I got strongly involved in it last year, or two years ago with the Māori party.” “I joined the Māori Party because I was quite keen on seeing a Māori voice, a Māori push, it was something that was happening, we need Māori Leadership, and I thought, hey here we have something great that Tariana Turia has bought, right I want to be a part of it.”

“I joined the party up in Tai Tokerau, and I was asked to be the “Returning Officer” for the voting within the Māori Party, to elect an incumbent position to represent the Māori Party in the previous elections.” “Hone Harawira was appointed to that, and it was really really great to have known that I had part in those votings, or the elections, that was something great.” “Now me and my family, I took my nephews along to the assist with those processes, we moved around Tai Tokerau and Auckland, and my family were involved in it, they became so proud to be part of it, they were all wearing the T-shirts, the Logo’s, because it was Māori, it was the Māori Party, we all wanted to be a part of it.”

Is Leadership in the Whanau critical or important today?

Reply – “Yes it is - I think that if we didn’t have strong leadership values within our whanau we would head up as a headless race, or as a headless people, a people that’s got nowhere to go to, nowhere to turn too.” “We don’t seem to believe that Māori have got that political clout, in fact we’ve been told that in the past, that we always make mistakes.” “Right down to Winstone Peters with so called, he wasn’t able to handle Tau Henare and Tuku Morgan and when Tuku Morgan set up their own Party – Most Pacific – that soon failed itself, so we get all criticized, and see Māori don’t really know what they are doing in politics.” “I think that Leadership in the whanau and in the general community is critical, but we need leaders not only to work with fisheries, and work with Māori economic resources and to work with Treaty claims, we need some leaders who can take a good look at our iwi, whanau, and hapu, to be able to show some care and concern and be real role models, and realize this – that the success for Māoridom is not going to come from a Māori business, who think that they can get setup and just get money and benefit from the Māori economy, that’s only just part of the equation.” “I think the real success is going to be, when some Māori leader comes along one day and says – Look that’s enough this is what we can do, lets head towards it, and I’m still hoping that the Māori Party is still going to be a part of that vision.”

Question:

How does Leadership affect the thinking of the younger people?

Reply – “Leadership is going to be dependent upon being able to inspire and enthuse the next generation.” “We can either keep on going where we’ve obviously made some serious losses in Māoridom, but we’ve also made some gains in Health status, gradual, we’ve made gains in our economy, gradual, we’ve made gains in also Education, quite a lot, we’ve made gains in incomes, increasing our knowledge and awareness, those are some of the greater gains, but we still have a long way to go, and I still think we that if we have great leaders who can work together and start to show some real genuine care and concern, I don’t what, but some sort of programmes to inspire younger people, then our race stands to make some real great gains.” “Now once you make such great gains to inspire younger people, you then got the greater power of influencing them with political clout and then helping them to adjust their thinking, so that they can realize that change will come about through political power.” “Now if we start to get that younger generation involved, I just watched TV the other day, we it was said that in 50 years time, one-third of the population of New Zealand is going to have a Māori ancestor.” “Now if we had great leaders who could inspire the younger generation, 50 years time, if nearly just over 30% of the New Zealand population could be greatly affected, positively, to get involved in real political change and political clout, you got a 30% extra powerful chance of making some great changes for Māori advancements, Māori changes and in so doing making greater changes for the country. That’s what I think anyway.”

5.8 Case Studies

Case Study One - 18-20 years old Māori Male

This young man is 20 years old and has been registered for one year on the Māori Roll. He has never voted yet. But while he was working fulltime at a local Māori tertiary training institute he had been encouraged by his aunties, uncles and cousins (male and female) to vote. His Manager even encouraged his whole team to attend hui with the Māori Party whenever they met in Whangarei and we believed he attended one hui. He lives at home and has full support at home from his parents and sisters, aunts and uncles in all facets of his life. He promised the kaumatua and kuia as well as his whanau he would vote and had chosen Hone Harawira and the Māori Party as his favorites. At the last minute before the elections finished he left home to see his mates and never came back until after the elections had ended. When asked by his mother and father whether he had voted – He said no – I forgot and was busy. He will be encouraged to ‘actually vote’ next time by his whole whanau as all the whanau engage with voting.

Case Study Two – 15–17 year old x 1 Māori Male, 18-24 years old x 1 Māori Male, 25-34 years old x 3 – Otangarei/Kamo/Kensington

Five young men reside in a house with their father, mother and their younger brother. Their ages range from 15 to 35 years old. Three of the young men travel between New Zealand and Australia on a regular basis and so neither are registered to vote. The third lives in Whangarei and has two young boys. The fourth is too young to vote and lives with his mother and father. The father forgot to vote because he was working. The mother always votes and so does her whole family (mother, brothers and sisters). Four of the young men have secured jobs in Whangarei but whether they will be all still be here for the next election is uncertain as it is dependant on jobs being available in Whangarei for them until then. All four are not registered and did not vote, two participated in this study. The younger fifth brother will be due for registration next election and whether he does will depend on where he resides and whether he is still at his current job. Their aunt and uncle will be making sure if they are all still in New Zealand next election that they register and vote. Any electoral strategies put in place now will prepare them to register and enroll (and give information about special votes) before the next election.

Case Study Three – 18-24 year old Māori Male

A niece, who also participated in the study and is registered and voted, shared this story about her son who is also participated in this study. She also has an executive management position in health and is currently undertaking studies towards a Masters Degree in Management with Auckland University. Her son (18-24 year old Māori Male group) is registered but did not vote. She gave him several of our interview forms to fill out and he took four or five forms and gave them to his mates (not registered to vote) to fill out. When they were ready he txt his mother via his mobile phone to pick the forms up from him. Not only did this group of young men participate but here is one practical way of engaging these young men socially in a political activity, as a group, that does seem to work.

6.0 Discussion

Three *fundamental practices* directly related to individual Māori participation or non participation in voting provided the key to compiling data for this study. The application of PBM (Robinson, 1993) then allowed the authors to organize the data to reveal other *underlying practices* and the inherent *constraints* and subsequent *consequences* surrounding these *practices*. Further by separating each practice the reasoning surrounding individual Māori participation or non participation in voting was more clearly articulated and this is demonstrated on each table for each age group under paragraphs 5.0. From a more practical rather than intrinsic perspective the authors believe an understanding about the participants' reasoning surrounding these key practices is a vital tool in turning low Māori participation rates around. On this note the *three key practices* identified were:

1. Eligibility to Vote (i.e. 18 years and older) and Registration on an Electoral Roll or (*NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE*)

Basically without the fulfillment of these two entry level criteria the *consequence* is that voting cannot happen anyway as demonstrated in the 15-17 year old sample group. This *practice* needs to be addressed first and will be the critical point in turning low Māori participation rates in voting around. Simply because it provides 'first contact' with eligible voters and a means to improve communication and the flow of information between eligible voters and the agency concerned. But the movement or the transient nature of whanau members especially younger voters between homes, electoral areas and even movement overseas needs to be considered. Comments from participants' data also support the need to have 'useful, relevant and informative' information. Further *constraints* and complex reasoning arises when it comes to 'being Māori' and making a choice about which roll (Māori or General) to enroll on. It is at this stage when the state of 'being Māori' can act as a positive or a negative *constraint* in making a decision to participate or not to participate. But the reasoning when we enter into this thinking is far more complex and is socially constructed and ethnically-based (Durie, nd; Waipapa Marae Hui, 2006). For instance the authors tested the premise of poverty and low educational attainment being prime factors and find that it is more attitudinal and age related it just happens to be amongst WINZ beneficiaries or lower income earners who often happen to have good to excellent educational achievement records at secondary and tertiary levels. Examples of these are also in the data tables provided.

Under this *key practice and the other two key practices* the 18-24 year age group has the lowest participation rates. It is Catt (2005) who says, "Voters in the 18-24 age bracket were more likely to be undecided about their voting intentions or have not given the election much thought yet, in contrast to voters aged 55+ where nearly two thirds already intend to vote and know who for". Taken from this

first *practice* for this study the following statistics support Catt's statement, in these figures the 15-17 year old sample is not counted as they are ineligible to apply for registration due to their ages.

In the 18-24 year old age group of the Females 5 of the total 16 (31%) and of the Males 9 of the total 21 (43%) interviewed are NOT registered to vote.

For the rest of the age groups (i.e. 25-34, 35-44 and 45+) of the total 39 female participants interviewed 34 female participants (not counting the 5 in the 18-24 age group) have indicated they are registered on an electoral roll.

Of the Males for the same age groups (i.e. 25-34, 35-44 and 45+) of the total 39 Male participants interviewed, 29 male participants (not counting the 9 in the 18-24 age group) have indicated they are registered on an electoral roll with the remaining 1 (one) in the 25-34 age group noted as being NOT registered to vote

2. Registering under an Electoral Roll and Choosing a Party and Candidate to Vote For – But Did Not Vote (REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE)

Once the participant is registered on a roll of their choice the *second key practice* is fulfilled and they are much closer to going out to vote. The *main constraint* about this *practice* surrounds the confusion expressed by participants about which roll they were registered on. For instance some said they were enrolled, but did not say which roll it was but then said they had a 'preference' for being on the Māori roll. This indecisiveness could be attributed to participants not receiving relevant and updated information about their enrolment status. But it could also be due to the transient and mobile nature of individuals and their own failure to update their enrolment details and addresses. By improving communication and the flow of information between eligible voters and the agency these non participants could be tracked and kept informed.

There is a need to look closer as there are two further underlying *practices* after registration on the electoral roll is completed. Both *practices* include the need to first choose a party and then to choose a candidate to vote for. It is at this point where subsequent *constraints* surface. For instance the assumption is if you choose the Māori Party then Hone Harawira is the automatic candidate selected. But under MMP the choices are not limited and a Labour Party candidate can be chosen instead. The complexity (*constraints*) around choosing a candidate and a party adds to the confusion for relatively unschooled participants to politics. Ethnicity adds other *constraints sets* and being passionate about 'being Māori' complicates choices even more. In the data the *consequence* of making the choice not to vote can be based around a strong belief that 'being Māori' means not voting for a system that supports unfair practices against Māori ways of being and doing. This belief may even persist against Māori candidates as well who are seen by some participants to be 'corrupt' and supportive of a system

working against Māori as mentioned in the data. The statistics for this practice are interesting as well and show that the 18-24 age group has the highest number who are registered but did NOT vote:

There are 10 Female participants who are registered but did NOT vote. Seven (7) are in the 18-24 age group, two (2) in the 25-34 age group and one (1) in the 45+ age group.

For the Male participants there are ten (10) who are registered but did NOT vote. Eight (8) are in the 18-24 age group, one (1) in the 35-44 age group and one (1) in the 45+ age group.

3. Registered on an Electoral Roll and Voted for a Party and Candidate of their choice – (REGISTERED/VOTED)

Registering on an electoral roll, choosing a candidate and then a party to vote for are not the final *practices*. The final, and of course the ultimate *practice*, is to then get the participant to go out to tick the boxes and place their voting form in the ballot box. So, it comes down to the fact that despite all the hard work in preparing someone to vote it can all be undone if an individual decides for one reason or another not to go out and vote on the day. Case study one illustrates what happens in this instance when a young Māori man had all the support and still did not vote. So despite his passion for 'being Māori', support from extended whanau (kaumatua and kuia) his social life came first. But under this particular practice we have several positive experiences. For instance one participant talked about being whakamā (shy) about going out to vote alone and so she asked her friends to go with her to support her on the day. The *consequence* is that they all went and voted as a group. Because these statistics are about those who did register and vote the comparison to illustrate data is made by taking the total number of participants in each age group and dividing it by those who actually voted. Using this method of comparison the group of 18-24 year olds has the lowest participation rates in registering and voting compared to the other age groups:

For the Female participants in the 18-24 age group 4 out of 16 (25%) vote; in the 25-34 age group 7 of 9 (78%) vote; in the 35-44 age group 3 out of 3 (100%) vote; in the 45+ age group 10 out of 11 (91%) vote.

For the Male participants in the 18-24 age group 4 out of 21 (19%) vote; in the 22-34 age group 5 out of 7 (71%) vote; in the 35-44 age group 4 out of 4 (100%) vote; in the 45+ age group 6 out of 7 (86%) vote.

Although this research sample was a small one (89 participants) there are some practical ideas that have emerged from each participant that can be useful tools to set up strategies to involve Māori in triennial elections. It is important to note that the majority of non participants can only be engaged as Catt suggests from within "the communities of interest" and this notion of going back to the community to find the answers is critical to changing Māori individual and group attitudes towards politics and their reasons for not wanting to engage in voting. In addition, the data provided from each Māori whanau

member that participated in this study can be used as a basic template to find answers to the problem under study.

From a Māori perspective it is about the social and economic impact on individual whanau members and their whanau networks. This impact is felt simply because many of our Māori whanau are reliant on the decisions government agencies make about their lives on a daily basis (e.g. WINZ, secondary and tertiary education, Ministry of Health, the Justice Department, Police and so on). Quotes from the Waipapa Marae Hui (2006) support this discussion:

1. *People are making a conscious decision not to do it. Is not participating in voting an informed decision? Non-voting is also a political response to Māori not feeling being able to achieve anything. To assume the explanation is that this is the result of dissatisfaction is too simple, far more complex than that.*
3. *Our people prioritize today what is going to benefit them. If it's not going to have an outcome for them they won't go there.*
4. *It's interesting that people would expect a lower engagement, but Māori wouldn't. They would be less surprised. They have a high level of disengagement in mainstream.*
6. *Political pathology of Māori. We are immediately examined if something goes wrong.*

The research methodology of PBM articulated what young and old, engaged and disengaged Māori participants had to say about politics and to translate it as it was intended by the participant to a wider audience. Being Māori was a critical advantage for the researchers and knowing when to engage with participants and when to leave well enough alone. But the additional advantage was as whanau researchers could access other layers of information if it was needed to check out whether we had interpreted what was said correctly. For instance one or two participants (18-24 year old young men) said they were sick but our niece said they had a night out together before the elections and were “too hung over to go and vote”. The reason they gave for not voting (they were sick) was correct but it also presents problems of accessibility and timing to consider when looking at strategies to encourage voting amongst this younger group. Because what is real for these young men, whether Māori or non Māori, is that engaging socially with my mates, cars and ‘chicky babes’ (in that order) has priority over going out to vote for Hone Harawira and the Māori party no matter how ‘gangsta’ (that’s cool in their language) he is to them. The problem here is that Māori have a higher non participation rate in politics and a lower representation than non Māori and finding a way around this problem is critical. A method to encourage these young men to engage in registering and then voting as a normal triennial activity needs to be found so that voting is normalized for them and becomes a triennial habit.

The results identified that the 18-24 year old Māori male and female groups, especially in regard to politics and politicians, are the most disengaged and we believe the most disenchanting with society as a whole. Several of this group has had encounters with the educational system both principals and teachers before leaving secondary school and are having problems (to the point of being jailed for just being Māori) with the local police and justice system. For example again sourced through a niece one

young male research participant had an encounter with the police because he happened to be with a mate that is on their 'books'. The repercussion of this type of negative encounter turns them against the society that generates these legal bullies. Whaea Gina Tamaki and Tohu Pou are two people who have been many times to "rescue" young men from these encounters and this is why their input into this research has been so important. It would not surprise the authors of this report if this is endemic in other communities with these young Maori men.

6.1 Implications

The following paragraph including the evaluative feedback explained in 1.2 from the Waipapa Marae Hui offered several solutions and literally predicted the outcome of what would need to be done before the study commenced in Whangarei. An indication that the people who were involved in this hui have an intimate and intuitive knowledge of Māori whanau:

8. *You need a different approach for the first 75%, the next 10%, the last 5%. A combination, a matter of having a campaign that is dynamic enough that is regional able to be utilised and adapted. Raise awareness through TV, the step missing is about engagement, accessibility to information is all over the place. What is important that came from that debate that we have to carefully analyze whatever campaigns we are using, we cannot work by intuition. View greatly challenged, we have to measure the impact the campaigns were having in a Māori way*

The most disengaged group by comparison to other age groups according to this study sample and regional area (Whangarei/Tai Tokerau) are the Female and Male 18-24 year old age group. For example:

For the Female participants in the 18-24 age group 4 out of 16 (25%) vote and for the Male participants in the 18-24 age group 4 out of 21 (19%) vote. So for the purposes of this study on an average 75% (female) and 80% (male) participants in this age group do not vote according to the core sample we took in Whangarei.

As noted previously a different approach will be needed for the first 75% (i.e. the 18-24 age group) the next 10% (i.e. the 25-24 age group) and the next 5% (i.e. the 35-44 and 45+ age groups). Any campaign must target the age group most disengaged from voting and must be dynamically structured to capture this target group. The group in this example, as mentioned previously, happens to be the 18-24 age group.

For instance there are several campaign strategies that may capture this group. One could be through car registrations as the majority of young men and women in this age group have cars. Another campaign could be aimed at checking and updating their electoral status when they apply for birth certificates and ID's to enter bars and night clubs when they turn 18. In Whangarei the bars and nightclubs are the social venues where these age groups meet frequently and they all need ID's to enter the nightclubs. Registration with WINZ is also another way to find these young people as they are all required to attend induction training, before they qualify for the benefit and free TOPs training

programs. There are also many training programs where these young people are registered, far more than at secondary school, and this is also another forum to engage with them in. Many of these young men spend their spare time playing spacies or 'gaming' as they call it now on the internet with mates. So it follows that advertising and television does not necessarily 'engage' young people and may be a useful media tool but only if you have a video game playing at the same time.

The campaigns suggested are important but it is the participants' state of "being Māori" which places some responsibility back on the shoulders of Māori politicians, and, Māori leaders in politics to find a way to engage Māori non participants in voting. One aspect of this responsibility should include finding out the numbers of Māori who are not enrolled and did not vote in their respective electorates and then initiating planning with key Māori community leaders and organizations to turn the statistics around before the next election. In this way the impact the campaigns are having can be monitored and measured in a Māori way as suggested. But this is only one strategy, what would be useful is a group similar to the Waipapa Marae Hui whanau sitting down together to design a campaign aimed at whanau to address all the regional Maori Electoral areas.

Participants' in this study felt that receiving Information about enrolling and voting was important, but their passion about 'being Māori' adds an additional dimension to consider. The state of 'Maoriness' as described by Te Heuheu (2006) becomes an important context in the design, development and implementation of interventions for Māori. It is a context which can work as a 'two edged sword' and just as quickly turn a Māori participant away from political involvement as it can engage them. In addition political knowledge is a vast subject so only relevant information would allow participants to make a more 'informed' decision. Any information set to them would need to be concise and specific and be able to engage them on the first page.

Another suggestion by the Waipapa Marae Hui whanau was the profiling of Maori candidates in Parliament as a critical means to engage our young people. Because they felt our young men and women need to see their political representatives. In this way they could find out what they had to contribute and thus make an informed choice about the candidate and party they had to vote for:

7. *Another important aspect is the profiling of candidates. The people thrown up in front of our people and profiled tend to be non-Maori. How do the media portray Māori candidates and who gets the limelight?*

For the future, the 15-17 year old sample group, have all left secondary school education and we already see very strong and passionate political beliefs emerging. These beliefs are based around "being essentially Māori" and are about "Māori issues" as one participant called it. By applying the methodology of PBM a caution is that these beliefs could actually operate as constraints in the future and may cause them to decide not to engage with registering and/or voting because it could support

the “other” people instead of Māori. It is therefore critical that their current passion for supporting the Māori party and enrolling on the Māori roll is sustained until they can enroll and/or vote. For instance, if they are enrolled in a tertiary level programme that encourages participation just as 2Meke PTE Training has done it is highly likely they will all register and vote next election as a group. This context has a solution for the Electoral Commission to consider.

6.2 Further Research

The Whangarei Research study was only a small population sample for the region but contributed ‘korero’ to the research from a ‘grassroots and community level’. It also highlighted some interesting issues in regard to Maori ways of thinking and doing in regard to politics. It would be useful to use the same approach and methodology in two or three other Maori electorates to test what Maori are saying in other regions by comparison.

The Waipapa Marae Hui whanau would also be an interesting group to study and to gain feedback from besides the evaluative feedback they posted on the website. The authors also acknowledge their feedback and contribution to this research study.

He mihi aroha kia koutou katoa.

6.3 Conclusion

The authors believe the study number was too small and based in only one Māori Electorate to draw definitive conclusions about the theory of what drives Maori in Aotearoa to vote or not vote. A more concentrated and comparative research project across several selected regional electorate areas with a larger target audience using PBM would test the theories in practice by eligible Māori voters far more rigorously. The ‘voices from the communities involved’ need to be articulated as was done in this study. Just as the young group contributed to the design of the questionnaire so it is these ‘disengaged’ young people who need to be encouraged to participate to solve the problem. It is now for those whose responsibility it is to take this to the next level.

The authors also found rather than a disengaged group in regards to politics they discovered instead a group that is relatively unsophisticated in regard to politics. Not just local and national politics but also Iwi and Maori politics. There is a need for relevant and timely information and this was mentioned several times by different participants. But this information must have relevance and be useful to these participants. This information also needs to be distributed at community level and not just in the schools because education has its own problems engaging with Maori and many of our young people leave school early sometimes at 12,13 and up to 15-17 years old as noted in the sample group. Playing hooky from school is an exciting pastime and young disengaged Maori people believe the

problem is their parents and the schools not theirs. But the problem as extensive literature has written about in education is deeper than just this.

In conclusion, comments from three of the key participants' have been added to this final section to give 'mana to' and to close the 'korero' on this study for our whanau who are represented here. These people play key roles in Tai Tokerau in their mahi (work) for our whanau and are Rangatira (leaders) in the true sense by the unpaid and voluntary work they do in Whangarei and Tai Tokerau for whanau across the rohe.

Tohu Pou

Tohu's view as a youth counselor is that students 18 years and upwards feel that "my vote won't make a difference" and feel that "I shouldn't vote" and he says that the harshest thing of all is that "we" don't think their vote will count for much". They (the young people) want to contribute but nobody ever asks what they want. They do have real ideas of what they want but nobody ever gives the time to listen. So they prefer NOT to listen as a way of protest. Inclusiveness comes from being Māori of coming together as one we as Māori talk about whanau with whanau being mum, dad, the children, aunty, uncle and relations. Then when we get together from different whanau we make our hapu, our different hapu make up our iwi. For many of our young people the whanau, hapu and iwi is not a trade in for politics and they know where they are in their whanau, hapu and iwi. The young people tend not to vote or they vote as a form of protest and usually for the underdog or the people who connect to people rather than policy and so he believes that political parties must have an aspect of whanau, hapu and iwi.

Whaea Gina Tamaki

Our tohunga (traditional Māori healer) whaea Gina from Otangarei reminds us that young people do what they must do to cope with all the different things going on in their lives. They often feel people expect too much of them and that they must of necessity "turn off" and escape from all the expectations the world has of them". They also have no trust for the system and they often "turn on it" in frustration and anger. Much of this frustration is fuelled by their inability to articulate how they are feeling. Protest action in the form of hikoi often gives them the freedom to articulate how they are feeling.

Kara Paraone Shortland

Kara has the view that it is leadership that will count now and in the future when he says, "I think that Leadership in the whanau and in the general community is critical, but we need leaders not only to work with fisheries, and work with Māori economic resources and to work with Treaty claims, we need some leaders who can take a good look at our iwi, whanau, and hapu, to be able to show some care

and concern and be real role models, and realize this – that the success for Māoridom is not going to come from a Māori business, who think that they can get setup and just get money and benefit from the Māori economy, that's only just part of the equation.” “I think the real success is going to be, when some Māori leader comes along one day and says – Look that's enough this is what we can do, let's head towards it, and I'm still hoping that the Māori Party is still going to be a part of that vision.”

He also believes Māori are starting to see that political power is not just at Government, it's right here in our own back yard at our local district council level I still don't know why we haven't got that into that yet.” “Politics, I got strongly involved in it last year, or two years ago with the Māori party.” “I joined the Māori Party because I was quite keen on seeing a Māori voice, a Māori push, it was something that was happening, we need Māori Leadership, and I thought, hey here we have something great that Tariana Turia has bought, right I want to be a part of it.”

“I joined the party up in Tai Tokerau, and I was asked to be the “Returning Officer” for the voting within the Māori Party, to elect an incumbent position to represent the Māori Party in the previous elections.” “Hone Harawira was appointed to that, and it was really really great to have known that I had part in those votings, or the elections, that was something great.” “Now me and my family, I took my nephews along to the assist with those processes, we moved around Tai Tokerau and Auckland, and my family were involved in it, they became so proud to be part of it, they were all wearing the T-shirts, the Logo's, because it was Māori, it was the Māori Party, we all wanted to be a part of it.”

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SECTION 2

A Political Discussion

- Whangarei -

*Not published as contains substantial interviewee material not cleared for
public release*

SECTION 3

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Summary of Participant's Data

Appendix 2 – PBM Analysis of Participant's Data

Appendix 3 – Questionnaire One

Appendix 4 – Questionnaire Two

Appendix 1 - Table 4.0: Summary Of Participant's Data

TABLES		NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE	REGISTERED AND DID NOT VOTE	REGISTERED AND VOTED	TOTALS (including 15- 17yr old)	GRAND TOTALS:
	FEMALE					
3.0a	18-24	1	1	1	3	
3.1a	15-17	7			7	
3.2a	18-24	4	6	3	13	
3.3a	25-34		2	7	9	
3.4a	35-44			3	3	
3.5a	45 +		1	10	11	
	TOTAL	12	10	24	46 (less 7 from 15-17yr)	39
	MALE:					
3.0b	18-24	1			1	
3.1b	15-17	4			4	
3.2b	18-24	8	8	4	20	
3.3b	25-34	1		5	7	
3.4b	35-44		1	4	4	
3.5b	45 +		1	6	7	
	TOTAL	14	10	19	43 (less 4 from 15-17yr)	39
	TOTAL SAMPLE					78

Appendix 2 - PBM Analysis of Participant's Data (Pages 60 - 78)

Table 3.0a Total Sample Group 3 x Māori Female QUESTIONNAIRE ONE				Male 18-24 years old - DID NOT REGISTER - QUESTIONNAIRE ONE
Participation Patterns:	1 x Female REGISTERED AND VOTED	1x Female REGISTERED BUT DID NOT VOTE	1 x Female DID NOT REGISTER	1 x Male DID NOT REGISTER
	Participant1-Otangarei Female	Participant1-Tikipunga-Female	Participant1- Otangarei – Female	Participant1- Kensington – Male
Constraints:	Because she is Māori and she supported the Māori Party	"I was Māori I wanted to be on the Māori roll" and she believes that her vote would have counted if she had voted.	Does not get politics and believes that because of this lack of interest in politics she understands it even less.	"We don't talk about that stuff... we talk about.....cars, but then later names four political parties.
	And believed her vote would make a difference to the Māori Party winning.	But believes that her lack of knowledge about politics prevented her from voting.	But believes if a programme was set up about politics she would attend to give her more understanding.	Says he does not know any candidates and does not concentrate on politics
	Believed that the party not the candidate made a difference to whether she voted or not.	Though she does not know any candidates she is able to name three political parties (Labour, Greens and Māori).	Believes that they (the intending voters) are not told "why" they have to vote. "They say we should just register and vote".	But then believes if he had registered and voted his vote would have made a difference.
	Felt too shy (whakama) to go alone to vote on the Election Day so asked a group of friends to go with her.	Believes that younger people don't vote because it is not interesting to them and this could possibly reflect her personal view too.	Says that all her whanau vote so this should eventually have a positive effect on her.	He says he does not know any candidates and does not concentrate on politics.
Practices:	Went to vote with a group of friends as she was too shy to go alone.	She says her whanau are all involved in Maoridom and like knowing what Maori have achieved and what they are about to achieve as Māori voting.	Says all her whanau voted on the day of the election.	Is not registered to vote but then says if he did his vote would have made a difference.
	But she believed her vote had counted, "Yeah, because we got our seats so.....your voice was heard and your vote counted".	She wanted to be on the Māori roll and so she had registered on the Māori roll.	Has made positive comments about improving her ability to go and vote	This male participant was very honest about his practice. He says he didn't vote because he didn't want to and didn't have a reason why that he just didn't want to vote and says – "that's all".
	And went to vote for the Māori party .because being Māori and supporting her whanau made a difference to her.	Registered on the Māori Roll and was keen to support the Māori Party but said family issues stopped her from going to vote.	She has not bothered to register on an electoral roll because she does not get politics or understand their concepts.	When asked about politics he says "We don't talk about that stuff... we talk about.....cars". But then he names four political parties and took time out of his day to come with his aunty to attend this interview.
Consequences:	Went with her friends to vote for the Māori Party.	Did not go on the day to cast her vote.	Is not registered on an electoral roll so cannot vote anyway.	Is not registered on an electoral roll so cannot vote anyway.

Table 3.1a Total Sample Group 7 x Māori Female 15-17 years old					
Participation Patterns – NOT OLD ENOUGH TO REGISTER & VOTE x 7 (Participants 1 – 5)					
	Participant1- Woodhill	Participant2- Kamo	Participant3- Kamo	Participant4- Otaika	Participant5- Regent
Constraints:	Believes Iwi and Maori politics “it’s about learning about Maori issues and how it effects us”.	Believes that Iwi and Maori politics “it’s about learning about the interests of Maori issues, foreshore and seabed”.	Believes that Iwi and Māori politics were “foreshore and seabed and learning about Maori issues affecting us”.	Believes that Iwi and Maori politics “it’s about learning about the interests of Maori issues, foreshore and seabed”.	Believes that Iwi and Maori politics were “looking after the interest of Maori and Maori issues”.
	Also believes iwi and Māori politics only affects Māori.	Also believes iwi and Māori politics only affects Māori.	Also believes iwi and Māori politics only affects Māori.	Also believes iwi and Māori politics only affects Māori.	Also believes iwi and Māori politics only affects Māori.
	Prefers to register on the on the Maori Roll as she says “Cause I’m Maori” And says she is Ngati Whatua	Prefers to register on the Māori roll as she says” so we all can get all our Māori party seats”. She has also been on a Hikoi with the Maori Party And says she is Nga pihī and Ngati Kuri.	Prefers to register on the Maori Roll as she says “Because I’m Maori hard”. And says she is Ngapuhi and Ngato Kuri.	Believes that “I think that Helen Clarke should acknowledge more of the Maori, offer more entertainment to the rangatahi in New Zealand.” Has been on a Māori party Hikoi to Wellington. And says she is Ngapuhi and Ngati Kuri.	Prefers to register on the Māori roll “Because I am Māori and will represent Māori all the way and I will not vote for pakeha”. She made further comments in this section “Don Brash is a rasicum person he is stuk up as a ... bloody pakeha.”. And says she is Ngapuhi and Ngati Hine.
Practices:	Completed 3 years at Secondary School and attended a hospitality course at a PTE (NZQA accredited)	Completed 2 years at secondary school and attended tertiary training at a PTE (NZQA accredited).	Completed 3 years of secondary school and attended a tertiary training programme at a PTE	Completed 2 years at secondary school and attended a tertiary training programme at a PTE.	Completed four years at secondary school and attended tertiary training programme at a PTE.
	Can name 6 x political parties and 5 politicians and basic knowledge about politics.	Can name 5 politicians. And has basic knowledge about politics.	Can name 5 politicians and has basic knowledge about politics.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 7 x political parties and knows 7 politicians. And has basic knowledge about politics.	Can name 7 political parties and 6 politicians and has basic knowledge about politics.
	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.
Consequences:	In a programme learning about politics but cannot register and vote as she says “cause I’m not yet 18 years of age”	In a programme learning about politics but cannot register and vote as she says “because we are to young to vote”.	In a programme learning about politics but cannot register and vote as she says “because I am not of age”.	In a programme learning about politics but cannot register and vote as she says “because we are to young to vote”.	In a programme learning about politics but cannot register and vote as she says “because we are to young to vote”.

Table 3.1a Total Sample Group 7 x Māori Female 15-17 years old			Table 3.1b Total Sample Group 4 x Māori Male 15-17 years old			
Participation Patterns – NOT OLD ENOUGH TO REGISTER & VOTE x 7 (Participant 6 – 7)			Participation Patterns: NOT OLD ENOUGH TO REGISTER & VOTE x 4 (Participants 1-4)			
	Participant6- Tikipunga	Participant7- Otangarei	Participant1-Otaika	Participant2- Otaika	Participant3- Raumanga	Participant4- Osaka, Whangarei
Constraints:	Believes that Iwi and Maori politics were “looking after the interest in Maori, the Māori issues, the foreshore and seabed”.	Believes that Iwi and Maori politics were “Foreshore and seabed & Maori issues”.	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were “it’s about looking after us as Maori and having a say about what happens in our everyday society”.	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were “learning about interest of us Maori people”	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were about “Maori issues”.	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were about “Foreshore and seabed. Maori issues and how it affects us as Maori”.
	Believes that Maori and Iwi politics only affects Māori	Believes that Maori and Iwi politics only affects Māori.	Believes and says about Iwi and Maori politics “no because it affects Maori as a culture and the other rolls affect the other cultures”.	Believes and says about Iwi and Maori politics “no because it only affects Maori as a culture	Believes Iwi and Maori politics are “no, Maoris only”.	Believes and says of iwi and Māori politics “No, Because it only applies to Maoris”.
	Acknowledges she is Māori and affiliates to Ngapuhi	Did not note tribal affiliation.	He says his tribal affiliation is “Westside Ngapuhi”.	His tribes are Ngapuhi and Ngatikuri	His tribes are Ngapuhi and Tainui	His tribes are Ngati Whatua/Nga Puhī and Te Uri o Hau.
	Prefers to register on the on the Maori Roll as she says “to get more seat for the Maori party” when she is old enough.	Prefers to be on the Māori roll when she registers as she says “Because Maoris rule, Maoris hard”. And believes that “Well those white ones are too stuck up. They don’t notice us Maoris on the streets and you’s need to pull your heads out of your ass!”	The participant did not care which Roll he would be registered on and cannot vote because he is not old enough. But when he registers he would prefer to be on the Māori roll.	When he registers he would prefer to be on the Maori Roll as he states “because I hate palangi rules”	When he registers he would prefer to be on the Maori Roll and his reason is “Maori Hard”.	When he registers he would prefer to be on the Maori Roll as he says “Because I am Maori, hard”
Practices:	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 6 x political parties and knows 9 politicians.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 6 x political parties and knows 5 politicians.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 7 x political parties and knows 5 politicians.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 6 x political parties and knows 5 politicians.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 7 x political parties and knows 5 politicians.	Has some knowledge about politics, knows 7 x political parties and knows 9 politicians.
	Has completed 3 years secondary training and is at tertiary level training with a PTE.	Has completed 3 years at secondary school and is in a tertiary training course with a PTE in Food production and Hospitality and has attended Marae Wānanga.	Has completed 3 years at secondary school. Is in tertiary training with a PTE and is currently unemployed.	Has completed 1 year at secondary school. Is in tertiary training with a PTE and is currently unemployed.	Has completed 2 years at secondary school. Is in tertiary training with a PTE and is currently unemployed.	Has completed 4 years at secondary school. Is in tertiary training with a PTE and is currently unemployed.
	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.	Is passionate about being Māori says will vote on the Māori roll.
Consequences:	Cannot register and vote as she says “cause I’m not yet 18 years of age”	Cannot register and vote as she is too young.	He cannot vote, due to his age.	He said he cannot vote “because we are too young”.	Did not care which Roll as he says “cause I’m to young”.	Cannot register and vote until 2008,

TABLE 3.2a TOTAL SAMPLE GROUP – 13 x Māori Female -18 -24 years old				
Participation Patterns- NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE X 4 (Participants 1-4)				
	Participant1 - Kensington	Participant2 - Kensington	Participant 3 - Whau Valley	Participant 4 – Hikurangi
Constraints	Believes she should have had all the election information sent to her as she said “I have not registered to vote yet as I have not been sent the election information form”.	Contradicts herself when she says she does not know what roll she is enrolled on because she also says that she was too young at the time to vote.	This young woman had just turned 18 and so was not eligible to vote at the time .but wanted to be part of this research study.	Believes Māori roll registration will allow her to vote for a candidate for the Māori roll. And to help increase the number of people on the Māori roll. Acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi.
	Because she knows the eligible age for voting is 18, parliament is in Wellington, knows 4 main political parties and 3 key politicians such as Winston Peters, Don Brash and Helen Clark she has some knowledge of politics.	She adds to this uncertainty by then answering the question about which electoral roll she would register on by saying “I don’t know”. And when asked why she didn’t know she said she was “not sure yet”.	She has definite views about general politics and says that she would prefer to be registered on the general roll as she knows all the local candidates better. She also says that Iwi and Maori politics only deal with Maori issues.	Believes her problem is that just going to register and that she will eventually get around to it one day. As she just has not got around to it yet. She believes more information will not matter to her personally.
	In addition she can identify the difference between General politics and Māori and Iwi politics because she said that “Maori politics are the Maori representatives”. Most of all she acknowledges being Māori through her tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Despite this she has some knowledge of politics and knows parliament is in Wellington, general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.	She also knows 4 main political parties and Clark, Brash, Peters and Heatley. Her political knowledge shows that she knows parliament is in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.	She also knows 7 main political parties and 11 Māori politicians.. Her political knowledge shows that she knows parliament is in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.
	Says that even if she had a choice of electoral rolls she would not know which one she would register on.	She acknowledges being Māori through her tribal affiliations to Ngati Porou and Ngati Tuwharetoa	She has not listed that she has any tribal affiliation but through her grandmother is Te Parawhau, Te Uruiroiroi, Ngati Whatua and Ngapuhi.	She has not listed that she has any tribal affiliation but through her grandmother is Te Parawhau, Te Uruiroiroi, Ngati Whatua and Ngapuhi.
Practices:	She is also well educated as she has completed 4 years at secondary school and has also been in work-based training at tertiary level even though she is unemployed.	She is also well educated with 4 years at secondary school, has not listed any tertiary level training. But says she works part-time as a bar attendant.	She is well educated with 5 years at secondary school and is employed as a casual café assistant and though she did not say it she is preparing to go to University soon.	She is well educated with 4 years at secondary school. Is fully employed as a ECE Administrator.
	Despite being well educated and with some knowledge of politics she did not register to vote and says someone should have sent her the information she needed.	Because she was too young to vote she did not bother about voting and never bothered to check what roll she is registered on.	Wanted to participate in this research even though she was not able to register to vote.	Says she will register on a roll when she gets around to it.
Consequences:	Not registered on an electoral roll as yet.	To young and not eligible to register.	To young and not eligible to register. Highly likely she will register before the next election and will vote.	Not registered on an electoral roll as yet.

TABLE 3.2a TOTAL SAMPLE GROUP – 7 x Māori Female -18 -24 years old						
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED BUT DID NOT VOTE x 6 (Participants 1 – 6)						
	Participant1 - Tikipunga	Participant2 - Tikipunga	Participant 3 – Kamo	Participant 4 –Raumanga	Participant 5- Otangarei	Participant 6 - Raumanga
Constraints:	Does not know what roll she is on or which one she would enroll on.	Does not know what role she is on. Believes her reason for not voting was simply, “cuz I didn’t want too. I hate politics”. Yet she expresses a preference for the Māori roll simply because as she says “cuz I’m Māori”.	Does not know what roll she is on. Believes her vote would make a difference or was of value to the Party, But she answered “I think no matter who I vote for it all is power tripping, money hungry people who don’t care about our people”.	Believes “Māori is the Bomb and NZ is Māori land and in Aotearoa, hard love Māoris” And so has a preference for the Māori roll. Says she never had the time to go and vote.	This participant has very little to say except she is registered on the Māori roll	Believes our Māori people can be heard more
	Acknowledges her tribal affiliation is Naipu and by this I believe she means Ngapuhi.	She confirms this by acknowledging her tribal affiliation to Ngati Whatua. But on iwi and Māori politics her reply was “I don’t know” Yet her response about whether iwi and Māori politics is the same as general politics is “They should be because we are all equal”.	Believes with iwi and Māori politics “they have every right to stand up for our (Maori) rights”. On whether iwi and Maori politics as the same as general politics she says “I don’t know, does it make a difference? NO.” Acknowledges her tribal affiliation to Nga Puhi and Ngati Kuri	Acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi. But makes no comment about iwi and Māori politics at all.	Acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi, Ngati Tuwharetoa and the Waikato. Says she does not know anything about iwi and Māori politics to all the questions.	Acknowledges affiliation to Ngato Porou, Ngapuhi, NgatiKahunganu But makes no comment about iwi and Māori politics at all.
	Knows general elections held every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows Labour and two key MPs Helen Clark and Winston Peters and that parliament is in Wellington and the voting age is 18, but not when elections are held.	She knows the Green and Labour Party and Helen Clark. She says she doesn’t care which Roll she is on. Knows parliament is in Wellington, voting age is 18, but not when elections are held.	Knows parliament is in Wellington, general elections held every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows parliament is in Wellington, general elections held every 3 years and the voting age is 18 and mentioned Helen Clark as one MP.	Knows 8 politicians and 5 political parties. Knows parliament in Wellington and elections are held every 3 years and voting age is 18.
Practices:	Has completed 3 years at secondary school has no tertiary training listed. But she has done training in PD and is currently unemployed.	Has completed 5 years at secondary school and done training at a PTE in the following courses – Retail, Computing, Business admin, CAN, telecom & seminars. Registered with WINZ for one year.	Has completed 5 years at secondary school and also tertiary courses at a PTE and Polytechnic. These courses included Cheffing, Computing Level & Technicians Level 5. Registered with WINZ for one year.	Has completed 5 years at Secondary School and not done any Tertiary training as yet and has been unemployed for two years.	Acknowledges she is Māori but this is all but didn’t want to vote.	3 years at secondary school and computer course at Polytechnic 2003-2005. Attended Noho Marae (Kotahitanga) Kaikohe. Employed fulltime as Kaiawhina.
	Registered but does not know which roll	Registered but does not know which roll	Registered but does not know or care which roll it is.	Registered on the Māori roll because she is Māori.	Registered but did not vote last election.	Registered on Māori Roll but said she did not get there on time to vote
	Not checked roll and was “not around” for elections.	Prefers the Māori roll because is Maori. Yet says she hates politics.	Speaks up for Māori rights but does not care what roll she is on.	Speaks up for being Māori.		Didn’t vote but said Māori need more links and support in Parliament
Consequences:	Did not vote at last election.	Did not vote at last election.	Did not vote at last election.	But did not vote last election.	Did not vote last election.	Did not vote last election.

TABLE 3.2a TOTAL SAMPLE GROUP – 13 x Māori Female -18 -2 4 years old			
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED AND VOTED x 3 (Participants 1-3)			
	Participant1 - Otaika	Participant2 - Otaika	Participant 3 - Otaika
Constraints:	Believes that 'every' person that votes is another 'count' for the Party, and Her vote counted.	Believes that for us as Māori people the only way for our voice to be heard is to vote our Māori MP's into parliament.	Did not know who she voted for or what party
	On Iwi and Māori politics she believes that Iwi and Maori politics are about Māori people who as she says, "I think "SOME" of them are just a bunch of people that like to be heard, like the sound of their own voice ... ya know ... all talk no action." And says she is not sure if they are the same as the ones you have to vote and register for in NZ. But says she believes they are moving forward.	Would like to see Aotearoa governed by a Māori Prime Minister. Believed Labour had the best policies. Did not comment on Iwi and Māori politics.	Did not comment on Iwi and Māori politics. Acknowledges affiliation to Ngapuhi and Ngati Tuwharetoa.
	Knows 10 politicians and 7 political parties parliament is in Wellington, voting age is 18 and elections are every 3 years. Believes that they Māori politicians are moving forward and she acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Knows 9 politicians and 6 political parties parliament is in Whangarei not Wellington, voting age is 18 and elections are every 3 years. Believes that they Māori politicians are moving forward and she acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Did not name any politicians or political parties.
Practices:	Completed 3 years at Secondary School. And attended occupational health & safety course, food preparation, hospitality & tourism and Business Admin courses. Attended Marae hui, protest hikoi and other hui. Also full time employed as telephone operator and commercial cleaner.	Completed 5 years at Secondary School. And attended Dip in ECE. Attended Marae hui, Trust Board hui, A Cultural Committee and other hui. Also full time employed as ECE Educator. Completed Cert in Nautical Studies.	Completed 3 years at Secondary School.. And attended Nanny course at a PTE. Full time employed as a Kaiawhina.
	Registered on the Māori roll	Registered on the Māori roll	Registered on the Māori roll
	Voted for Labour and Dover Samuels to make her vote count.	Voted for Labour Party and Hone Harawira as the candidate.	Voted even though she did not know which party or which candidate she voted for.
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.

Table 3.2 b Total Sample Group: 20 x Māori Male 18-24 years old				
Participation Patterns: REGISTERED/VOTED x 4 (Participants 1 – 4)				
	Participant1-Kamo	Participant2-Otaika	Participant3-Kamo	Participant4 - Tikipunga
Constraints:	Registered on the Māori roll as he says, "To represent our Māori heritage" and voted to make a difference. Believes that, "Cause every vote counts and the more votes the better"	Registered on the Maori Roll for the candidate Hone Harawira and as he says, "Because my vote was counted and helped to establish the Maori party. Helped Hone get his seat".	Registered on the Maori Roll. He didn't know the name of the party or candidate that he voted for. He also didn't know whether his vote made a difference or was of value to the Party.	Belief because he is Māori and proud to be Māori, he enrolled on the Māori Roll.
	He also believes Māori politics are about the Treaty and Māori interests.	His reason for wanting to be on the Maori roll is because it is, "Supporting the people".	His reason for wanting to be registered on the Maori Roll is "because I'm Maori".	Does not know if his vote made a difference.
	His answer to whether Māori and Iwi politics are the same as National politics he answers "Yeah! But not for the same reason". He supports this by acknowledging his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and Ngati hine	For Maori and Iwi politics he answered not applicable. Because he was not sure what the question meant.	When asked the questions on Iwi and Maori politics, he said "Don't know". But he acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Believes that Iwi and Māori politics are about leaders (he thinks). He acknowledges his affiliation to Ngapuhi.
	His knows 4x political Parties and 3 key politicians Clark, Brash, Harawira.. Knows parliament is in Wellington, elections are three years and the voting age is 18.	He knows 5 political parties.. He named 4 politicians he knows. Parliament is in Wellington, elections are every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	He knows the Green Party, but he did not name any MPs. Knows the voting age is 18.	He knows two political parties, does not name any MP's. Knows very little about politics, but this didn't count.
Practices:	Although he only attended secondary school for 2 years and is currently registered un employed with WINZ He has attended a Catering services (hospitality) course at Northland Polytechnic.	He attended 5 years of secondary school And did a Diploma in Sports and Leisure with Northland Polytechnic. And although he has been registered unemployed with WINZ for 3 months.	Attended 5 years of secondary school. He is currently unemployed and says he has not registered with WINZ. But contradicted himself when he said he was registered with WINZ for 2 years.	Attended 5 years of secondary school, and a joinery programme course at Regent Training Centre. And has been registered unemployed with WINZ for 1 year.
	He wanted to represent our Māori heritage and to make a difference so he registered on the Māori roll.	He registered and voted because he said his vote was counted and helped to establish the Maori party. Helped Hone get his seat.	Though he registered on the Maori Roll and he didn't know the name of the party or candidate that he voted for or if his vote made a difference or was of value to the Party.	He was proud to be Māori and registered on the Māori roll,
Consequences:	He went and voted on the day.	He went out on the day and voted for Hone Harawira.	He went and voted on the day.	He went and voted on the day.

Table 3.2b		Total Sample Group: 20 x Māori Male		18-24 years old	
Participation Patterns: REGISTERED /DID NOT VOTE x 8 (Participants 1 – 4)					
	Participant1 – Otangarei	Participant2-Whakapara	Participant3-Ruakaka	Participant4-Raumanga	
Constraints:	Said he was bizzzy working and never had time to vote yet he is unemployed and registered with WINZ	“Lazy” was the only word he used for not voting.	“Unable to vote because of ill health”	“I didn’t vote because I just registered”	
	Says he would like to be on the Māori roll “cause I am Māori” But then says he does not know what roll he is on.	Says he would like to be on the Maori Roll because of “whenua”, but then says he is registered on the General roll.			
	Acknowledges his tribal affiliation as Ngapuhi but has not been on any hikoī, marae or Māori hui.	Acknowledges his tribal affiliation as Ngapuhi and says that iwi politics was a tribal affair and maintaining traditional rights with “whenua” the foreshore asnd harvesting seafood	Acknowledges his tribal affiliation Is Ngapuhi but has not been on any hikoī, marae or Māori hui.	Acknowldges his tribal affiliation is to Ngapuhi but has not been on any hikoī, marae or Māori hui.	
	But admits that he does not know Iwi & Māori politics and whether they are similar to National politics	Believes Iwi & Māori politics are different to National politics but does not say why.	Crossed out questions about Iwi & Māori politics so we assumed he is not interested or does not know.	Did not answer questions about Iwi & Māori politics	
	Knows elections are held every 3 years, parliament is in Wellington and the eligible voting age is 18. Named Helen Clark.	Knows elections are held every 3 years, parliament is in Wellington and the eligible voting age is 18. Named 4 Parties	Knows elections are 3 years, parliament in Wellington and 18 is the voting age. Named 4 parties & Clark, Peters, Fitzsimmons & Brash	Knows elections are 3 years, parliament in Wellington and 18 is the voting age. Named 3 Parties and Peters & Clark	
Practices:	Attended secondary school for one year before leaving and has not attended any tertiary level programmes as yet. Has been registered with WINZ for one year	Has only attended 2 years at secondary school. But has attended courses at a PTE, Polytechnic and Waananga in sports & recreation, performing arts and welding. Is registered with WINZ for one year	Well educated and motivated as he attended secondary school for five years and did a building apprentice course and is now self-employed.	Well educated as he attended secondary school for five years and did an Army cadetship course. Is also employed fulltime as a Youth Co-ordinator	
	Said he is registered to vote but does not know what roll he is on. And says he was busy working at the time of the elections.	Is registered on the General roll but says he was too lazy to go and vote.	Is registered on the General Roll But was too ill to go and vote	Is registered on the Māori Electoral roll “because I am Māori “.	
Consequences:	Did not go out to vote.	Did not go out to vote.	Did not go out to vote.	Did not go out to vote.	

Table 3.2 b Total Sample Group: 20 x Māori Male 18-24 years old				
Participation Patterns: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 8 - - (Participants 5-8)				
	Participant5-Regent	Participant6-Kamo	Participant7-Kensington	Participant8-Onerahi
Constraints:	<p>"Can't sort my own shit out"</p> <p>Yet believes if he had voted that his vote would have made a difference to Māori seats.</p>	<p>Says "Prioritized but circumstances prevented him from voting"</p>	<p>Has noted that he is registered on the General Roll and said because "its General"</p>	<p>Said "It was my first time voting and didn't know when and where to go although it had been advertised for a while I still didn't know much about it."</p> <p>But says he would enrol on the General Roll.</p>
	<p>Has been to tangihanga, powhiri, kapa haka and had hangi.</p> <p>Knows he is Māori but is Unsure what his iwi is.</p>	<p>Ngapuhi Ngati Horihia but has been at tangihanga, powhiri, kapahaka making hangi. Worked and educated in Te Waananga O Aotearoa.</p>	<p>Is Ngapuhi but his view on Maori politics is that "I don't know".</p>	<p>His comments on Iwi and Maori politics were they were "A group of people going against each other" and he noted in "Any other comments the word "choice".</p>
	<p>Believes Maori politics Are about the Treaty and Māori interests. But does not know if Māori and Iwi politics are the same as National politics</p>	<p>Believes Māori politics a new view on Māori independence determining that Māori have the freedom to speak up thru government & make changes in our society.</p>		<p>Did not know if Iwi and Maori politics are the same as general politics. And acknowledges his affiliation to Ngapuhi.</p>
	<p>Knows elections are 3 years, parliament in Wellington and 18 is the voting age. Named 4 Parties and Clark, English and Brash.</p>	<p>Knows elections are 3 years, parliament in Wellington and 18 is the voting age. Named 7 Parties and knows 8 politicians.</p>	<p>Named 4 Parties & Clark and Peters. Says parliament is in Wellington, elections are held every three years and 18 years is the eligible voting age.</p>	<p>Says parliament is in Wellington, does not know when general elections are held and that 18 is age for voting. But knows 5 political parties And 3 key MPs-Clark, Peters and Brash.</p>
Practices:	<p>Attended secondary school for four years and is now employed fulltime as a concrete labourer.</p>	<p>Attended secondary school for four years and attended a small business management course Level 4 and Kiwihost course. Employed until made redundant.</p>	<p>Attended 4 years secondary school but said he had no tertiary education and yet he attended a course on automotive training at the Regent Training Centre. Is currently employed fulltime as a produce worker.</p>	<p>Attended secondary school for 2 years and did tertiary training at a PTE on a welding/fabrication course. Says WINZ have registered him unemployed for one year. But then says he is currently unemployed and is not registered with WINZ.</p>
	<p>Is registered on the Māori Electoral roll "because he is part Maori"</p>	<p>Is registered on the Māori Electoral roll "because I am of Māori descent"</p>	<p>Registered on General Roll just needs to vote.</p>	<p>Is confused about whether he is registered or not. Says he has registered on the General Roll but did not vote at the last election</p>
	<p>Highly motivated and well educated in a variety of areas and has some knowledge of Māori and general politics. If he does sort "his shit out" this young man will vote next time.</p>	<p>Has all the support of his whanau (extended) and is well educated, has knowledge of politics (Māori and General) highly likely he will vote next time.</p>	<p>Has a good educational background and is fulltime employed and has some knowledge of politics.</p>	<p>Interested in Māori politics and has some knowledge of general politics. Has a good educational background and seems motivated.</p>
Consequences:	<p>Registered on Maori roll but did not vote this time but may possibly vote next time with the right kind of support (i.e. information).</p>	<p>Registered on Maori roll but did not vote this time. Highly likely he will vote next time with the right kind of support. (i.e. information).</p>	<p>Registered on General Roll but did not vote this time. Highly likely with the right kind of support he may vote next time.(i.e. information)</p>	<p>Registered on General Roll but did not vote this time. Highly likely with the right support he may vote next time (i.e. information)</p>

Table 3.2b Total Sample Group: 20 x Māori Male 18-24 years old				
Participation Patterns: NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE x 8 (Participants 1-4)				
	Participant1 – Raumanga	Participant2-Kamo	Participant3-Ruakaka	Participant4-Vinetown
Constraints:	Believes with more information he might vote then he made the comment that he “doesn’t usually vote first time”.	Believes that if he had been sent an enrolment form he would have registered.	Says he doesn’t know if he would vote next time even if he was given more information.	Said, “I just couldn’t be bothered (voting) but yeah I probably would vote if I was given more information”.
	Did not know if Iwi & Māori politics were similar to National politics Says he would like to be on the Māori role because he is Māori. But then he says he does not know what roll he is on.	Believes Maori politics are “MP members that represent the Maori people”. Says he would register on the Māori roll because “just my choice”. Believes Iwi and Māori politics are different to general politics.	“Don’t know’ seems to be a familiar phrase for this young man as he answered the same for questions 7.1 and 7.2 about iwi and Maori politics.	Believes Iwi and Maori politics, are about “Trying to fight for the rights of our people ... YEAH!!” Went on the hikoi at Waitangi.
	Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and Though he admits he has not been on any hikoi, marae or Māori hui. He says that he is “going for the Māori side”	Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi/Ngati hine.	Did not mention his tribal affiliation.	Said about Iwi and Māori politics I don’t know that one” but he says “Go the Maori party! Represent!” Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngati Kahu & Te Rarawa.
	Knows elections are held every 3 years, parliament is in Auckland and the eligible voting age is 18. Named Helen Clark.	Has some knowledge of 4 political Parties parliament is in Wellington and eligible voting age is 18 and elections are every 3 years.	Has some knowledge of 3 political parties and named 3 key politicians and that parliament is in Wellington, elections are every three years and voting age 18.	Has knowledge of 5 political parties and Turia, Harawera and Tanczos. That parliament is in Wellington, and general elections are held every 3 years and 18 is the voting age.
Practices:	Did not fill out years he attended secondary school But attended a Regent PTE training programme. Says he is not registered unemployed with WINZ, Then says he has been registered with WINZ for 3 yrs.	He is well educated and attended secondary school for 3 years and a Panelbeating course at a Tertiary Training. So is now employed fulltime as a Panelbeater’s apprentice.	Is educated as he attended secondary school for 4 years did not mention any tertiary training courses. Is unemployed and does not say if he is registered with WINZ	Well educated and motivated as he attended 3 years at secondary school and two courses at Waiariki (Forestry) and G&H Trade Training Ltd (Joinery and seminars at WINZ for the benefit. Registered unemployed with WINZ for one year.
	Says he would like to be on the Māori roll. But has been contradicting himself and is uncertain about what he has done or needs to do.	Not registered on any roll But expresses a preference for the Māori roll.	Not registered on any roll And says he does not know what roll he would register on.	Says if he was given more information about voting, he might register and vote next time.
	Also did not try to find out if he could get some enrolment forms to register.	But he did not try to find out if he could get some enrolment forms and information so he could register on the Māori roll.	Says he did not have the information he needed to enroll.	Did not bother to register or to get the information to do it.
Consequences:	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.

Table 3.2b Total Sample Group: 20 x Māori Male 18-24 years old				
Participation Patterns: NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE X 8 (Participants 5 - 8)				
	Participant5-Kamo	Participant6 – Kamo	Participant7- Otangarei	Participant8 - Tikipunga
Constraints:	Has been overseas for several years before he was 18 and has just returned.	Believes he is not registered because he had not been sent a form and he says he does not know why.	Did not see the validity of any of the parties at the last election But now believes that the Māori party has changed his view	Does not know why he didn't register and whether he will next time. Believes if he does register it will be on the General roll.
	Believes Iwi and Maori politics, are "Maori trying to get the best things for Maori people". Does not know about Iwi and Māori politics But says his preference is for the Māori roll and says "so they can get what Māori want or need". Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Believes Maori and Iwi politics are, "Māori that represent us and what we have to say". Acknowledges his affiliation to Ngati Kahu. Believes in Māori protest and went on the 2004 Foreshore hikoi. Believes if he registers it will be on the Māori roll because he is Māori.	Believes Iwi and Māori politics are that they are both, "totally different to government", "involved the marae and the hapu", and "the iwi focus on their own people". He also says, "The government puts Māori's true needs at a very low priority. It doesn't understand where our people are coming from". There are still not enough Māori power in politics. Just voices and steam!" Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngati Hine, Ngapuhi and Rongomaiwaihine. Believes in protest and was on the 2004 foreshore hikoi and has attended Mare hui and Wānanga	Did not answer the iwi and Māori politics questions., but acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngati Hine.
	Has knowledge of politics that parliament is in Wellington, and general elections are held every 3 years and 18 is the voting age.	He has some knowledge of politics knows political parties and 3 key politicians. Parliament is in Wellington, elections are every three years and the voting age is 18.	Has some knowledge of politics and that parliament meets in Wellington, elections are every three years and 18 years is the eligible age for registering to vote.	Says parliament meets in Whangarei elections are every six years. But was correct with the voting age at 18 years old.
Practices:	He is well educated with 3 years at secondary school and completed a butchery course at Northland Polytechnic. Is now fulltime employed as a butcher.	Although he is not employed and has been registered with WINZ for 2 years He is well educated and motivated with 3 years at secondary school and training courses at Regent training and G & H Trade Training.	He is well educated and motivated with 5 years at secondary school and training in a Hospitality course and a Diploma in Computing and Network Support course at Tertiary level Training. In addition he is employed fulltime as a Shift Manager in Retail.	Is educated with 3 years at secondary school and training on a Forestry course at Tertiary level training.
	Just returned back to New Zealand and registering was not a priority for him.	But he did not register to vote because he said he was not sent the forms to register with But he did not bother to find out the information for himself	Supports the Māori vote and since the election the Māori Party has changed his view But at the time he felt he did not have the information he needed to make this choice as he did not believe in the other parties	He says if he does enrol it will be on the General roll. Still does not know if he will register next election.
Consequences:	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.	So he was unable to vote as he was not registered on any electoral roll.

Table 3.3a Total Sample Group: 9 x Māori Female 25-34 years old							
Participation Patterns: REGISTERED/VOTED x 7 – (Participants 1 – 7)							
	Participant1- Glenfield	Participant2-Whananaki	Participant3-regent	Participant4- Tikipunga	Participant5-Otaika	Participant6–Mangere	Participant7- Nguguru
Constraints:	Believes every vote counts & thinks her vote made a difference	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the party
	Believes voting is subsection of politics	Her feelings are for her Māori people & how we can change for the future	Changing to general roll as unfamiliar with Maori roll	Prefers Māori Roll as they support Maoritanga.	Was enrolled on general changed to Māori roll. Would have voted for Māori party but looking after her career.	Believes her vote adds to the collective vote.	Strong views about the Māori Party's value to Māori and Māori Politics are too complex to connect to Tauivi ways
	Believes iwi politics include current affairs affecting Māori	Feels iwi & Māori politics a look after our future generations & how we can enhance it	Feels she needs to understand more about iwi politics	"Don't know" about Māori politics	Believes she gets more from labour than the Māori party	Believes question is rhetorical as she voted for Māori and wanted to be on Māori Roll.	Prefers Māori roll as she states it supports voice of Māori in parliament
	Has some knowledge of politics.	Prefers being on Māori Roll "to speak as one people" Knows Māori candidates Has Knowledge of politics.	Has knowledge of politics and knows 3 political candidates	Has knowledge of politics and knows 8 (4xMaori) political candidates.	Has knowledge of politics and knows 10(6xMaori) political candidates	Has knowledge of politics and knows 4(3xMaori) political candidates	Has knowledge of politics and knows 6(4xMaori) political candidates
	Says she is Ngati Hine and Ngati Porou	Says she is Ngatiwai, Ngariki, Kaiputahi and Ngapaerangi.	Says she is Te Atiawa.	Says she is Ngati Hine	Says she is Ngapuhi and Ngati Porou	Says she is Ngati Porou	Says she is Ngapuhi
	Not employed and not regd with WINZ	Unemployed & Regd with WINZ	Employed fulltime as Retail manager	Not employed and not regd with WINZ	Employed fulltime regd Nurse	Unemployed and registered with WINZ	Employed fulltime as Manager in Health.
Practices:	Regd on the Māori Roll and voted for Labour and Helen Clarke.	Regd on Māori Roll and voted for Hone Harawira and Māori Party.	Regd on Māori Roll and voted for NZ First and Mere Mangu.	Regd on Māori Roll and voted for Hone Harawira and Māori Party.	Regd on Maori Roll and voted for Helen Clarke and Labour.	Regd on Māori Roll and voted for Pita Sharples and Māori Party.	Regd on Māori Roll and voted for Māori Party and Hone Harawira.
	Well educated and motivated with 5 yrs at Secondary School and has a range of quals i.e. Dip..BA in Law and Certificates.	Well educated and motivated with 5 years at Secondary School and has done a range of tertiary training programmes.	Well educated and motivated with 5 years Secondary School and has done a range of training programme.	Well educated and motivated and has done a range of training programme	Well educated and motivated. Registered Nurse and has done a range of tertiary training.	Well educated and motivated 3 yrs at secondary school and has done a range of tertiary training.	Well educated and motivated with 5 yrs secondary school and a n honours degree in Bus Mgt,
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity

Table 3.3a Total Sample Group: 9 x Māori Female 25-34 years old		Table 3.3b Total Sample Group: 7 x Māori Male 25-34 years old		
Participation Patterns: REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 2 (Participants 1 – 2)		NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE x 1	REGISTERED/ DID NOT VOTE x 1	
	Participant1- Kamo	Participant2-Tikipunga	Participant1 – Regent	Participant1-Tikipunga
Constraints:	<p>Because she didn't know what the whole thing (elections and voting) was about she believes with more information she may have voted</p> <p>Also she says she does not pay any attention to politics and does not know when the general elections are held.</p> <p>But then although she says she has little knowledge about politics she knows and names 5 political parties and names 10 politicians (5xMaori).</p> <p>Though she has no knowledge of Māori or Iwi politics she acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi.</p>	<p>Believes everything is too political and she did not have any faith in the parties and persons.</p> <p>And on Māori and Iwi politics she says that she is not sure as she has not paid attention to politics.</p> <p>Yet she then names 6 political parties and names 10 politicians (5 Māori).</p> <p>And then expresses here preference for the Māori roll. But did not mention her tribal affiliation.</p>	<p>Believed that the registration forms were too much.</p> <p>Plus he did not believe that his vote would count.</p> <p>Believes Iwi is the area our Maori Electorates are representing and that Maori Politics needs to be explained and simplified for younger Maori, for them to understand what, why, they do their jobs.</p> <p>"Unsure. People understand politics more every time elections come around. I understand the "Parties", the "Party Leaders", its minor electorates I need more information about. Maori politics as it is a new concept in today's society".</p> <p>Believes that Maori people need to learn how much they can do for communities. Information!!!"</p> <p>"Asking more general knowledge about general, Maori politics".</p>	<p>He noted that his vote did not make a difference or was valuable to the Party, as he did not vote. His reason for not voting was "I was working". His answers to questions on Iwi and Maori politics were "Seabed & Foreshore and Treaty Claims". His tribe is Ngapuhi. The political parties he knows are Labour, National and Greens. The MPs he knows are Winston Bro, Helen Clarke, Don Brash and Dover Samuels. He doesn't care which Roll he is on because he states "I just don't care". He knows that parliament sits in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.</p>
Practices:	<p>She is well educated and highly motivated and has completed four years at secondary school and;</p> <p>Has also attended training courses in Dip in Social Services, Te Ara Reo Māori 1-2 and Tohu Whakamaramatanga and a Certificate in Counseling at Tertiary level.</p> <p>Plus she has part time employment as a Caregiver.</p>	<p>She is well educated and has completed 4 years at Secondary School, and attended tertiary training courses for Social Sciences, Te Ara Reo Māori and Tohuwhakamaramatanga.</p> <p>In addition she is employed on a part-time basis as a retail assistant.</p>	<p>Attended 4 years at secondary school but has not attended any other training courses.</p> <p>Knows 6 political parties and 5 politicians. Parliament is in Wellington, elections are every three years and voting age is 18 years old.</p>	<p>He has done 3 years at secondary school and no tertiary training. However he has attended other training courses in "4 Quadrant Leadership Course for Placemakers". He is currently employed full-time as a Nightshift Manager.</p>
	<p>She says she is registered and enrolled on the Māori roll and prefers to be on it.</p> <p>Yet despite the fact that she is well educated and highly motivated and informed she did not get the information she thought she needed to vote.</p>	<p>She says she is registered and enrolled on the Māori roll and prefers to be on it.</p> <p>Because she did not have any faith in the parties and persons during the last election she did not get enough information to change this view.</p>	<p>Calls for information about general and Maori politics but needs to do this for his knowledge as well.</p>	<p>Registered on the Maori electoral Roll.</p> <p>But did not vote as he says he was working.</p>
Consequences:	<p>She did not vote on the day.</p>	<p>She did not vote on the day.</p>	<p>Not registered on an electoral roll and is unable to vote.</p>	<p>He did not vote at the last elections.</p>

Table 3.3/b Total Sample Group 7 x Male 25-34 years old					
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED/VOTED x 5 (Participants 1 – 5)					
	Participant1-Otaika	Participant2- Tikipunga	Participant3- Otahuhu	Participant4- Onerahi, Whangarei	Participant5-Kensington
Constraints:	Believes his vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party because it counted. Felt justified because Labour and National party results were close. Was not happy with National's policy of abolishing Māori seats.	He believes his vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party.	He believes his vote made a difference and was valuable to the Green Party but didn't know his candidate as he states "I'm really not sure."	He believes his vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party. He also says that "I believe the Maori party has some good values; I guess if every vote counts, then my vote is getting them one step closer to the top."	He believes his vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party, he stated "I wanted to see the equality percentage in Maori and also see a brown face in parliament to make a difference for Te Iwi Maori Katoa o Aotearoa. He also noted that he had sufficient information to vote
	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were "Seabed & Foreshore and Treaty Claims" Iwi and Maori politics are "Iwi politics governs the issues relating to that particular iwi. Maori politics focuses <u>more</u> on Maori people as a whole, and the relationship between all iwi, and the relationship between Maori, tauiwi and the Crown." His final comments in this section were " <i>kia tau te waimarie ki a koutou</i> ". Affiliates to Ngati Porou and Ngati Hine	Believes Iwi and Maori politics are on "Maori Issues – Health, Corrections, Unemployment, 'Treaty of Waitangi', Foreshore, Seabed, and Education." Unsure about Iwi and Māori Politics being same as general politics. His tribe is Ngati Hine	He has no idea what Iwi and Maori politics and if they are the same as the ones you have to register and vote for in NZ, he said "? Not sure what you mean. Not really a follower of Politics." Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngati Porou and Ngapuhi.	He is unsure what his tribe is	When asked if Iwi and Maori politics are the same as National politics he placed a question mark in the answer area, noting he did not understand the question thoroughly. His thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics were "Confrontational, making a difference for all Maori, a Maori voice by Maori for Maori tautokomovement. His tribe is Ngati Kura, and Ngapuhi Nui Tonu.
	Knows 4 politicians, parliament sits in Wellington, elections are every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows 8 politicians, parliament is in Wellington and elections are 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows 6 politicians, parliament sits in Wellington, general elections are held every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows 6 politicians that parliament sits in Wellington, elections are every 3 years and the voting age is 18.	Knows 5 political parties, knows 12 politicians, parliament sits in Wellington, the voting age is 18.
Practices:	He prefers being on the Maori Roll as he states "Because I am proud of my Maori ancestry. I would also like Maori to take more ownership of their issues instead of tauiwi who I believe to some extent have a conflict of interest."		Said he was regd on the Maori roll but did not state who his candidate was	He prefers being on the Maori Roll because "I like to think that my vote would make a difference & us Maori need all the votes we can get".	He prefers being on the Maori Roll because This is the roopu I believe will support Maoridom".
	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and PTE and Polytechnic training in computers, Māori, carpentry and other training. Employed on a casual basis as a Sales Representative	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and tertiary training at a PTE. Employed full-time at a Liquor Retail Store.	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and attended tertiary training at a PTE-> Is currently unemployed	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and attended tertiary training at a polytechnic. Employed fulltime as a automotive technician	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and attended course at PTE, Polytechnic, University and Wānanga in Social Work, Te Reo and Clinical Teaching in Hauora. Employed as a supported employment worker.
	Registered on the Maori roll and chose Rangī Tawhiao (Māori party) as his candidate	Registered on the Maori roll and chose Hone Harawira as his candidate		Registered on the Maori roll, but does not remember who his candidate is	Registered on the Maori Roll and chose Hone Harawira and the Māori Party to vote for
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity	Voting is a normal triennial activity

Table 3.4a Total Sample Group 3 x Female - 35-44 years old			
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED/VOTED x 3 (Participants 1 – 3)			
	Participant1-Onerahi	Participant2- Whangaruru	Participant 3 – Kamo
Constraints:	She believes her vote makes a difference and is valuable to the Party because “Now is not the time for Maori to be complacent. Better to have fought than not to have fought at all!”	The participant is registered on the General Roll and did not want to give her party and candidate name as she felt “This is private information, I do not wish to share this information”. She thinks her vote makes a difference and is valuable to the Party because “The party needs votes to stay in parliament. My single vote contributes towards that happening She noted that she would prefer to be on the Māori roll but has been on the General roll for the last two elections. However the Māori party has given me hope that we as Māori can utilize our Tinorangiratanga.	She believes her vote makes a difference and is valuable to the Party because it made a positive difference to our people. I definitely like the idea of having more Maori seats in Parliament. Maori making a stand for who we are and what we believe in which is equality right throughout the motu.
	Unsure about what the full meaning of the terms Iwi and Māori politics means though she has heard about them before. But acknowledges her affiliation to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangī.	Her thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics were “Sadly at this time the word ‘IWI and ‘Maori Politics’ are just words that the crown have created for us so that they (Crown) can put us into little square boxes that they are comfortable with.” Acknowledges her tribal affiliation to Ngatiwai and Ngati Rehia. She has also attended Marae hui and a Hikoi (Foreshore & seabed).	“My understanding is that IWI politics is to support (tautoko) what is happening in your own area/region. Maori politics is virtually similar only on a wider, broader scale involving all Maori who live here in NZ and overseas. She made further comments “If Maori don’t vote how changes for the betterment of our people going to happen are?” Acknowledges tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and Ngati Rahiri.
	The political parties she knows are Maori Party, NZ First, Labour, National, Green Party and Alliance	She made further comments that there needs to be “Accessibility to forms for changing from General to Maori.”	She would prefer to be on the Maori Roll. She knows parliament sits in Wellington, general elections are held every 3 years and that eligible voting age is 18.
	The MPs she know are Harawira, Peters, Sharples, Turia, Brash, Anderton, Hide, Te Heuheu, King, Mallard, Samuels, Parekura Horomia and Fitzsimmons.	The political parties she knows are NZ First, Greens, Act, National, Labour, Maori Party and United. The MPs she knows are Peter Sharples, Hone Harawira, Tariana Turia, Nanaia Mahuta, Georgina Te Heuheu, Tau Henare and Helen Clarke.	The political parties she knows Labour, National, NZ First, Green, Alliance, Maori and Act. The MPs she knows are Clark, Brash, Anderton, Harawira, Bradford, Turia, Flavell, Henare, Dyson, Peters, Sharples, Tanczos, English, and Carter.
Practices:	Completed 4 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a PTE, Polytechnic, University and Wānanga Employed as a full-time administrator.	Completed 3 years at secondary school Completed courses at Tertiary Institutes for Certi in Management, a Certificate in Social Services and is still doing a double major in Health and Social Services/Sociology with Auckland University. Has been registered with WINZ for 5 years.	Completed 3 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a PTE and Polytechnic. She has attended courses in the following Human resources and education She is currently employed as a community support coordinator.
	Registered on the Māori roll and voting for Māori.	Registered on the general roll and chose not to reveal her choices she voted for.	This participant is registered on the Maori Roll. Her party’s name is Maori and her candidate’s name is Hone Harawira.
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.

Table 3.4b Total Sample Group 4 x Male - 35-44 years old				
Participation Patterns- REGISTERED/VOTED x 4 (Participants 1 – 4)				
	Participant1- Tikipunga	Participant2- Ngunguru	Participant3- Maungaturoto	Participant4- Otaika
Constraints:	Believes his vote made a difference and is valuable to the Party and says "Yes. I think it made a difference as it was vital for the party to get its foot in the door, its first time out".	Believes his vote made a difference and is valuable to the Party and says "I feel that my vote made a difference as the results showed by winning Maori seats (or what ever they get?) Voting for Hone help achieve the Tai Tokerau seat".	Believes his vote made a difference and is valuable to the Party and says "Elections, was close but the party vote pulled party through".	He thinks his vote made a difference and is valuable to the Party as he says "Now that election is over I realize in hindsight that I should've voted for the Maori Party <u>BUT</u> the Maori Party lacks credence in its choice of General seat members."
	Believes Iwi and Maori politics are "It's a fair representation of the Maori people. And it's someone really taking notice of the community and who has a realistic idea of what's going on in the real world"	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were "I understand these to be one in the same. We as the Iwi have our views, tikanga, take & issues that need to be put forward in government by Maori for Maori, , other races might be able to speak our language, they will never know what it is to be Maori, to feel Maori & to understand how we as a people operate."	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were "they are distinct & different". He wrote "Unsure" when asked the question on Iwi and Maori politics being the same as the ones you have to register and vote for in NZ. His further comments in this section were "Thank you for the opportunity to quote".	Believes Iwi and Maori politics being the same as the ones you have to register and vote for in NZ, he said "Iwi Politics are still a division within itself?".
	His final comments in this section were "I think that some people would have difficulty or become annoyed at writing reasons for their answers." Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi and Ngati Porou	Believes that Iwi and Māori politics are the same as the general politics we vote for. We are striving for the best for our people in this day & age. We have the professional whanau to lead our country just as good as anyone. As mentioned we have issues that should be dealt with by our own". Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngapuhi/Te Rarawa, Ngati Pakau/Ngati Manawa. He was part of the Māori Party hikoi, Waka Wānanga, Kapa and Mau raau Wānanga.	His comments on Iwi and Maori politics were "they are distinct & different". Acknowledges his tribal affiliation to Ngati Whatua and Ngapuhi.	Believes with Iwi and Maori that he "I've never stopped to consider any difference because I think we've confused "Fisheries" and power empire building with the need to focus on real issues affecting our race – and no one has canvassed the iwi using real marketing strategies." His tribe is Ngapuhi
	Knows 7 politicians parliament sits in Wellington, elections are 3 years and the voting age is 18. He knows 6 Political parties..	Knows 5 politicians that parliament sits in Wellington, general elections are every 3 years and the eligible age is 18.	Knows "All of them" for the political parties he knows. He knows all the MPS for Labour NZ First and the Māori party. Knows parliament sits in Wellington, general elections are 3 years and the voting age is 18.	The MPs he knows are Clarke, Turia and Harawira.
Practices:	He prefers being on the Maori Roll as he says "I recently changed to this roll as I was sick of what was happening in society." Registered on Māori Roll and voted for Labour Party.	He prefers being on the Maori Roll as he says "cause I'm already on Maori roll". Voted for the Māori party.	He is also a representative on the NZ Council NZ Labour Party. Registered on the Māori roll and voted for the Māori party.	He prefers being on the Maori Roll and his reason for this is that "Several years ago there was a push to go from Maori to General as a strategy to help Maori gain political power. I think I will stay there too."
	5 years at secondary school Has done tertiary training at a PTE, Polytechnic and Wananga. He has attended other types of training in First Aid, Sale of Liquor Act, Methven (Drug awareness) GST seminar @ IRD and Assessor training. Employed on a casual basis as a tutor	5 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a Polytechnic. He has attended courses in Business Management/Te Reo. University and Wananga and attended courses in Language Acquisitions, Small Business, Day Skipper/VHF Radio and Adult Teaching. Employed as a full-time Housing Co-ordinator	5 years at secondary school He wrote Did tertiary training at a Polytechnic. He has attended courses in Business Management/Te Reo. He is currently employed full-time as a Political Advisor.	5 years at secondary school Done tertiary training at a Polytechnic and University Employed fulltime as a Health Promotion Practitioner
	Registered on the Maori Roll, and voted for the Labour Party	Registered on the Maori Roll, and voted for the Maori Party	Registered on the Maori Roll and voted for the Labour Party	Registered on the General Roll, and voted for the Labour Party
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.

Table 3.5a Total Sample Group 11 x Female 45+ years old					
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED /VOTED x 10 (Participants 1 – 5)					
	Participant1- Morningside	Participant2- Otaika	Participant3- Kensington	Participant4- Glenfield	Participant5- Otaika
Constraints:	Feels her vote made a difference and was valued as “the Māori party is the voice for our people and to keep the parties true to the people as the Māori party goes back to their people”. Is Pro Māori.	She feels her vote made a difference and was valued as “Already they are making a difference & speaking up for our People & culture”.	She thinks that her vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party.	She thinks that her vote made a difference and was valued by the Party because “Hone Harawira is an MP now.”	As she states “I thought my opinion is to vote for the person because we have a lot of issues that has to be seen to as our Maori people..... the white government now is selling our resources to countries overseas. We have to stop this.
	Her thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics were “They should listen to their people and have a balanced view”. She also made further comments that “The funding to help Maori’s to get out there and make Maori more politically aware of why there to vote is important”. Did not note Tribal affiliation	Her thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics are “Maori Politics are there to make sure that we are counted in everything that is right for us, that consultation with our people is paramount at all times. We have been suppressed too long.” She made further comments that “The more Maori on the roll will keep our members there to have & represent us & speak on our behalf.” Acknowledges her affiliation to Ngatiwai and Ngapuhi	She has done other things such as being part of the Marae and the Church Acknowledges her tribal affiliation to Ngati Rehia.	She also made further comments that “Gaps in knowledge for me? Why do we need to register with an Iwi? Is registering about \$\$ for us or the Iwi. I would like to know more about Iwi, the Fisheries, compensation for losses as well as which is the better parliamentary choice at voting time e.g. General Roll or Maori Roll.” Nagti Hine and Ngapuhi	When asked the question on whether Iwi and Maori politics are the same as the ones you have to register and vote for in NZ, she said “Yes when the government wants our votes they seem to be the nicest people around but I feel they are corrupted people.” Her thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics were “Treaty of Waitangi, Health Education, Tikanga Māori fishing writes, land ownership” Acknowledges her affiliation to Ngapuhi.
	She knows 3 x MP’s (2 x Māori)	The MPs she knows 4 x MP’s (3 x Māori)	She knows 3 MPs	She knows 11 x MPS in parliament	She knows 5 x MPs
Practices	“Because I’m Pro Maori”. Parliament is in Wellington, and that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.	She prefers being on the Maori Roll and the reason for this is “Because I’m Maori”. She knows that parliament is in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.	She knows that parliament sits in Wellington, that general elections are held every 3 years and that the eligible voting age is 18.	“My vote contributed to enabling him to do this.” When asked about Iwi and Maori politics, she said “I don’t see Iwi politics as being the same as Maori. All Iwi are different, whereas all Maori (in terms of ethnicity & like-mindedness) are the same.”	She made further comments that “We can’t save the world we are in as political Government Jumps in on anything we do sports complex ideas, marae issue (etc).”
:	3 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a PTE on Adult Education Employed on a casual basis as a tutor	3 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a Wānanga and marae hui. Currently unemployed	No secondary school years noted. Currently unemployed She has done other things such as being part of the Marae and the Church	2 years at secondary school Attended tertiary training at a PTE, University and Wananga Employed fulltime as a Health Promotion Practitioner	No secondary school years stated. Attended tertiary training at Polytechnic She has been unemployed for 3 years
		Says that her registering and then vote made a difference.	She prefers being on the Maori Roll and her reason for being on it is “for improvements”.	She prefers being on the Maori Roll as she says “I would like to see Maori representation increased in Parliament. Political power is an important system in ensuring that Maori aspirations are maintained & acknowledged.”	She says her vote made a difference and is of value to the Party.
Consequences:	Voting is a triennial activity	Voting is a triennial normal activity	Voting is a triennial normal activity	Voting is a triennial normal activity	Voting is a triennial normal activity

Table 3.5a Total Sample Group 11 x Female 45+ years old						1 x Female 45+ years old
Participation Patterns – REGISTERED/ VOTED x 10 (Participants 6 – 10)						Participation Patterns – Registered and did not vote x 1
	Participant6- Kamo	Participant7- Raumanga	Participant8-Kensington	Participant9-Tikipunga	Participant 10-Kamo	Participant 1-Portland
Constraints:	Believes her vote made a difference as “She (Clarke) is always available to answer your questions. We need a local strong candidate.”	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable as she states “Yes I think my vote made a difference. Because every vote counts for the Party.”	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party.	She thinks her vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party as she states “Pita Sharples is a person who has been a strong advocate for Maori Education.... he had a high profile at the University of Auckland.... fluent in Maori and English. Most of all he has a passion for what he is doing.	Believes her vote made a difference and was valuable to the Party “Because on the voting night there was a huge numbers counted for the Party and the candidates name”	Believes her reason for not voting was “Forgot to vote. Previously years I have voted. Yes definitely. I have voted every year.”
	Said “No. Iwi & Maori Politics are more local. And are about dealing with issues in the areas they live in.” Acknowledges affiliation to Ngati Whatua. Believes Iwi and Māori politics are about Treaty of Waitangi	When asked whether Iwi and Maori politics are the same as the ones you have to register and vote for in NZ, she said “Yes they all want the same things for Maori.” Acknowledges affiliation to Ngapuhi.	The MPs she knows are Samuels, Clark and Peters. Acknowledges affiliation to Ngati Whatua.	Says Iwi and Maori politics are “Iwi politics are the grass roots of Māoridom. Iwi leaders are sometimes there because of their lineage. Others have earned that status” Acknowledges affiliation to Ngati Porou. Believes Māori politicians have good hearts but politics is a different level playing field.	Iwi and Maori politics were “Just about trying to try helping Maori with issues.” She said she did not know if Iwi and Maori politics are similar to National politics. Acknowledges affiliation to Ngati Kuri and Ngapuhi.	Acknowledges affiliation to Ngapuhi.
	She knows 10 MPs. Parliament is in Wellington elections are 3 years and the voting age is 18.	She knows 13 MPs.	Knows Parliament is in Wellington, Elections are three years and voting age is 18 years old.	She knows 12 Politicians (8 are Māori)	She knows 9 MP’s (8 x Māori).	Knows are 3 political parties.. The MP she knows is Helen Clark. Also knows parliament in Wellington elections are held every 3 years and the voting age is 18 years old.
Practices:	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school and tertiary training at a PTE and Polytechnic Employed as a Stomalthrapy Specialist Nurse.	Has done 2 years at secondary school but has no tertiary training or other courses and is unemployed .	Did not note years at secondary school. Did not fill out employment or tertiary training section She is unemployed	5 years at secondary school Completed tertiary training at a PTE She is unemployed Registered on he Māori rol.	5 years at secondary school Completed tertiary training in Polytechnic and Wananga She is unemployed	4 years at secondary school Completed tertiary training in Polytechnic and a Wānanga. The courses she has attended are Food & Safety, Computing and Job Skills. She has not attended any other types of courses. In full employment as a Check-out Supervisor.
	She prefers being on the General Roll due to “local candidates”.	Regd on General roll voted labour.	She prefers being on General Roll as she is “Hoping for change” Voted Labour.	The polling booth was not what she expected but had in her mind to vote for Pita Sharples because he was always to the forefront and canvassed house to house.	Regd on the Māori roll voted for the Māori Party.	She is registered on the General Roll She prefers being on the General Roll as her “Parents are registered on the General Roll (Dad) not quite sure whether mum was on general roll.”
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Usually voted but missed out this time. Voting is actually a normal triennial activity.

Table 3.5b Total Sample Group 7 x Male 45+ years old Participations Patterns – REGISTERED /VOTED x 6 (Participants 1 – 6)							REGISTERED/DID NOT VOTE x 1
	Participant1- Birkdale	Participant2- Whau Valley	Participant3- Raumanga	Participant4- Otahuhu	Participant5- Kamo	Participant6- Kamo	Participant1-Kamo
Constraints:	Believes his vote was valuable and made a difference.	Believes his vote made a difference and was valued by the party as he said "The candidate I voted for was elected in my electorate"	Believes his vote counts.	Believes his vote was valuable and made a difference as shown by "Their success and what they are doing now in parliament".	Believes his vote makes a difference and is valued by the Party because this is "the person I believe who will represent my views".	Believes his vote makes a difference and is valued by the Party. Believes better labour got in than National's Don Brash who would have got rid of Māori things.	Registered but missed out on voting. Had meant to vote.
	Has no comments about Iwi and Māori politics. Names 4 x MP's (3 x Māori). Did not note tribal affiliation Been on Marae and a Land Trust	Belives Iwi and Maori politics "Based around Treaty of Waitangi claims and usage of funding and assets from the Treaty" Believes Iwi and Maori politics are different to national politics. Maori politics is about Iwi and Maori issues and at local Marae. Acknowledges affiliation to Ngapuhi.	Made no comments on Iwi and Maori politics. Affiliated to Ngapuhi	Believes Iwi and Maori politics were "1. Better future for Maori, 2. Getting the best for Maori, 3. Being kaitiaki of our taonga, looking at iwi and Māori politics from the grassroots up. Believes you need to be Māori and to value and guard those gifts (taonga) that are about Māori. Acknowledges his affiliation to Ngapuhi and Ngati Horohia.	His thoughts on Iwi and Maori politics were "the same as any politics" and "far and equitable representations". Believes Iwi and Maori politics are the similar to general politics. Affiliated to Ngati Te Rino.	Iwi and Maori politics were "These are Maori issues that are supposed to help us to live,work and be educated properly." Believes Māori politicians must give better help and a better direction. Especially our reo. Māori party did well to take 4 of the 7.seats. Acknowledges tribal affiliation to Affiliated to Ngati Te Rino.	He knows parliament is in Wellington, that general elections are 3 years and voting age is 18. Acknowledges affiliation to Ngapuhi Has attended Marae hui.
	Knows general elections are every 3 years and the voting age is 18	Knows 9 x MP's (1 x Māori)	Knows 8 Politicians. Parliament is in Wellington, elections are 3 yrs voting age is 18.	Knows parliament is in Wellington, elections are every 3 yrs voting age is 18.	He knows 5 x Political parties and 10 x MP's (6 x Māori).	He knows 4 political parties. Knows of 10 MP's (9 x Maori)	Did not mention any MP's or political parties. But has knowledge of politics.
Practices:	Well educated with 3 years at secondary school. Attended courses at a PTE and Wānanga in panelbeating. Manager of an Automotive Panel & Paint shop.	Well educated with 5 years at secondary school. Has done Health & Safety courses & seminars, sales seminars and courses. Employed full-time as an Accounts Manager.	Educated with 2 years at secondary school. But did not attend any tertiary training. Employed full-time in a grocery store	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school. Attended tertiary training at a PTE, and Polytechnic.. Employed fulltime as a Training and Compliance Co-ordinator.	Educated with 4 years at secondary school. Has completed Trade and Adv Trade Cert in Telecommunications. Employed fulltime as a Telecom. Technician	Well educated with 4 years at secondary school. Attended a course at ACE Auckland College of Education and training in counseling, health, education etc. Employed fulltime as a Teacher/Guidance Counselor	Well educated with 5 years of secondary school. Attended PTE and Polytechnic in computers, automotive engineering, seminars and workplace audits. Employed full time as a Wharf Co-ordinator (Stevedore).
	Regd on Māori roll and his candidate is Hone Harawira "to make changes".	He prefers to be on the General Roll as "I know the local candidates better on the general roll"	Registered on the General Roll. Voted for National and Phil Heatley.	Regd on Māori roll candidate's name is Pita Sharples.	Regd on Māori roll candidate's name is Hone Harawira. Gains more Māori representation.	He prefers being on the Maori Roll as "That's what my parents have said. "I must stay on Māori roll because I am Māori.	Meant to vote but was at work and said he missed the polling booth.
Consequences:	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.	Voting is a normal triennial activity.

Appendix 3 - Questionnaire One

HE PUNA MARAMA TRUST (Corporate Services)
TU HOUKURA CONSULTANCY & SERVICES LTD (Research Team)

QUESTIONNAIRE ONE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KANOHI KI KANOHI INTERVIEWS
With ELIGIBLE MAORI VOTERS
MAORI ELECTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT 2006

STATIC INFORMATION

Ingoa:

Gender: Female Male
Age Group 18-24 25-34 35-44 45+

Iwi/Hapu Affiliation:

Think holistically

1. Eligible Voters Registration:

Are you registered to vote?
Which roll are you registered on? Does the roll matter? Why?
If a registered voter, did you vote in the last election?
Are eligible to vote but not registered? Can you explain why?

2. Voters - If you voted answer these questions:

What motivated you to go out and vote?
Do you think that your vote will make a difference? Why?
Did your attitude about voting have any other affects:

Prompts For you personally...
For your whānau/hapu/iwi...
For your friends...
For Whangarei...

3. Non-voters - If you **did not** vote answer these questions:

What do you think motivated you **not** to go out and vote?
Do you think that by **not** voting it would not have made any difference to which party or candidate would win anyway?
Why do you feel that way? Did your beliefs about voting have any other affects:

Prompts For you personally...
For your whānau/hapu/iwi...
For your friends...
For Whangarei...

Additional Questions (if the initial questions did not bring them out)

1. Are candidates more important than the party to Māori voters?
2. Māori are interested in politics but do not take part because they think their voice is not heard or of value. Is this a fact? Explain.
3. Do you believe that poverty; low achievement rates in education and age differences stop Maori from voting?
4. Are Māori more strongly engaged in iwi and Māori politics and so are less interested in national elections?

Appendix 4 - Questionnaire Two

HE PUNA MARAMA TRUST (Corporate Services)
TU HOUKURA CONSULTANCY & SERVICES LTD (Research Team)

QUESTIONNAIRE TWO

MAORI ELECTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT 2006
PRE-INTERVIEW SHEET – PERSONAL PROFILE
Kia ora _____

This form will give us basic information about you, please complete all sections as requested by the researcher. The researcher will assist you with any questions you may have. Thank you for your contribution to this research.

1.0 Static Information:

1.1 Name: _____

1.2 Gender: Female Male

1.3 Age Group: 18-24 25-34 35-44 45+

1.4 Iwi/Hapu Affiliation: _____

2.0 Education:

2.1 How many years did you attend secondary school? 1 2 3 4 5

2.2 Since leaving have you attended a:

Private Training Establishment Yes No

Polytechnic Yes No

University Yes No

Wananga Yes No

(If you answered no to all of the above go to Question No. 2.4)

2.3 If yes, what types of courses did you attend?

2.4 Have you attended any other type of training, courses, seminars, meetings, hiko (political rallies or marches), marae hui etc. Yes No

2.5 If yes, can you tell us what they were?

3.0 Employment:

3.1 Are you employed? Yes No (If NO go on to questions Nos. 3.4-3.6)

3.2 What is your job? _____

3.3 Is it Full-time (40hrs per wk) /Part-time(over 30hrs) /Casual(less than 30hrs)

3.4 Are you unemployed, but **not yet** registered with WINZ? Yes No

3.5 Are you registered unemployed with WINZ? Yes No

3.6 How long have you been registered unemployed? 1yr 2yrs 3yrs 4yrs 5yrs

4.0 General Political Knowledge:

4.1 Write the names of any of the political parties in NZ that you know.

4.2 Write the names of any of the Members of Parliament that you know.

4.3 If you were eligible to vote which Electoral Roll would you want to be registered on?

The General Roll The Maori Roll I don't know I don't care

4.4 Tell us why you chose the answer you did for No. 4.3?

4.5 In which main city do our politicians work from and parliament sits for most of the year?

Rotorua Auckland Whangarei Wellington

4.6 How often are the general elections held in New Zealand?

Every 10 years Every 6 years Every 3 years I don't know

4.7 What age do you have to be eligible to register to vote?

20 years 15 years 18 years 25 years I don't know

MAORI ELECTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT 2006
MAIN INTERVIEW SHEET QUESTIONNAIRE

5.0 Eligible Voters:

5.1 Are you registered to vote? YES NO

(If NO you are not registered, please go to question No. 6.0 Eligible Voters Not Yet Registered)

Any other Comments
