

The Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement

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A Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) is proposed. The MMM-ICE is a hierarchically organised self-report (Likert-type) instrument designed to assess six distinct dimensions of identity and cultural engagement in Māori populations. Scale content was developed based on a detailed review of qualitative and quantitative literature on Māori identity and related constructs, and was extensively pilot tested with Māori from various backgrounds. The six dimensions assessed by the MMM-ICE are: (1) Group Membership Evaluation, (2) Socio-Political Consciousness, (3) Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement, (4) Spirituality, (5) Interdependent Self-Concept, and (6) Authenticity Beliefs. These dimensions are subsumed under more general or abstracted factors representing (at the third-tier level of analysis): (1) Self-Identification and Cultural Engagement in Socio-Political Context, (2) Enculturated Experiences of Māori Identity Traditions, and (3) Constitutive Representations of "Being" Māori. Exploratory Factor Analysis of 270 people who self-identified as Māori and/or had ancestors who were Māori provided good support for the proposed factorial structure. We argue that the MMM-ICE provides a culturally sensitive, valid and reliable self-report measure of subjective identification as Māori. A full version of the MMM-ICE is included.

The wide variety of cultural and social features among Māori present a formidable challenge to those who seek to understand Māori identity – what 'it' is and how 'it' may be conceptualised and defined.

Māori cultural heterogeneity is recognised by Durie (1994) who identified three Māori sub-groups. One group, Durie argued, are 'culturally' Māori in that they understand Māori *whakapapa* (genealogy) and are familiar with *te reo Māori* (Māori language) and *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs). Another group are 'bicultural' and identify as Māori but also operate effectively among Pākehā (white New Zealanders mainly of British descent). A third group of Māori are described as 'marginalised' and not able to relate to Māori or Pākehā effectively. A similar typology described

by Williams (2000) describes one group representing a 'traditional Māori core.' This group are most enculturated, often rural dwelling and speak both Māori and English. The second group Williams described as 'primarily urban' and bicultural. A third group Williams referred to as 'unconnected.' People in this group may be biologically Māori but know little of their Māori heritage and culture. In addition, Williams describes a large group of people who are socially and culturally indistinguishable from Pākehā.

The above typologies emphasise that there are many different ways of "being" Māori. We take this as a starting point for developing a valid and reliable self-report measure of the different dimensions or distinct experiential domains which Māori consider (to

varying degrees) to be important in their subjective experience of identification and cultural engagement as Māori. For these purposes we view as Māori anyone who self-identifies as Māori and/or has an ancestor who was Māori. Our definition of the social category Māori thus aims to be inclusive.

Recent census data is consistent with Durie (1994) and Williams' (2000) assertions that Māori experience their identities differently. In the 2006 census those claiming Māori descent numbered 644,000, but those marking their ethnicity as 'Māori' according to the census ethnicity question numbered 565,000. Furthermore, one in six Māori (102,000) were not able to name which iwi (tribe) from which they were descended. Data from the 2009 New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study paints a similar picture of the complexity of identifying as Māori in terms of ethnicity (Sibley, 2009). Of the 6,021 registered voters surveyed, 21.2% (*N*

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Table 1. Data from the 2009 New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study detailing the proportion of people reporting Māori ancestry who identified with different ethnic categories (N = 1,322 people who responded 'yes' to the question 'Do you identify as Māori and/or have any ancestors who are Māori?').

	Percentage	N
Reported solely as Māori		
Proportion of total	30.9%	408
Reported ethnicity as Māori and also		
reported ethnicity as European	39.6%	523
reported ethnicity as Pacific Nations	1.2%	26
reported ethnicity as Asian	0.4%	5
reported ethnicity as ME/LA/A	0.0%	0
reported ethnicity as 'other/ outside scope'	0.4%	5
reported ethnicity as two or more categories	2.3%	31
Proportion of total	43.9%	580
Reported Māori ancestry, but did not report ethnicity as Māori		
reported ethnicity solely as European	20.7%	274
reported ethnicity solely as Pacific Nations	1.6%	21
reported ethnicity solely as Asian	1.0%	13
reported ethnicity solely as ME/LA/A	0.0%	0
reported ethnicity solely as 'other/ outside scope'	1.8%	24
reported ethnicity as two or more (non-Māori) categories	0.2%	2
Proportion of total	25.3%	334
Total people identifying as Māori and/or reporting Māori ancestry	100%	1322

Note. The 2009 New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study measured self-reported ethnicity using the 2006 New Zealand Census question, and was coded using the 2005 statistical standard for coding ethnicity provided by Statistics New Zealand (the same coding scheme used in the 2006 census). ME/LA/A = Middle Eastern, Latin American and African. Data reported in this table were based on the 1,322 (21.2%) of registered voters from the total sample of 6,021 who responded 'yes' to the question 'Do you identify as Māori and/or have any ancestors who are Māori?' Note also that the proportion of the sample that would be coded as Māori according to the Statistics New Zealand coding scheme would be 16.4% (N = 988/6,021). By contrast, 14.7% of the NZ population were coded as Māori in the 2006 census.

= 1,322) answered 'yes' to the question "Do you identify as Māori and/or have ancestors who are Māori?" As shown in Table 1, 30.9% of people who identified as Māori and/or reported Māori ancestry marked their ethnicity as 'Māori' when asked to indicate their ethnicity using the 2006 census question. Nearly 44% of people who identified as Māori and/or reported Māori ancestry marked their ethnicity as both 'Māori' and one (or more) other ethnic group, and 25.3% of people with Māori ancestry did not report their ethnicity as Māori at all. As shown in Table 1, most of this latter category instead marked their ethnicity as 'European.'

Te Hoe Nuku Roa (a longitudinal survey of 700 Māori households which began in 1994) has observed similar findings. *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* sampled 956 Māori from the Manawatu, Gisborne, Wellington and Auckland regions of New Zealand. Participants were asked to choose an identity label that best described them. Although over half (51.1%) chose Māori, 25.9% preferred to be described as either a 'Kiwi' or a 'New Zealander.' Among that same group of adults, when asked if speaking Māori or being able to speak Māori was important to them, 42.4% said it was extremely important, 37% said it was important, while 19.5% said it was

unimportant, or extremely unimportant (Durie et al., 1999).

The diversity of the Māori population poses a challenge to policy makers seeking to understand Māori identity for the purposes of interventions which support Māori development. Understanding the lived experiences of Māori identity has practical implications in New Zealand as Māori continue to feature prominently in many negative social statistics (The Social Report, 2008). As such, developing ways to support Māori and effectively engage with Māori communities to deliver appropriate social services has become a matter of some urgency to policy makers. In the present study we seek to contribute to research in this area by developing a self-report instrument operationalising and reliably assessing different dimensions of Māori identity and cultural engagement. We hope that this instrument will be a useful assessment tool allowing researchers to improve outcomes for Māori who may score particularly low or high on different dimensions of subjectively experienced Māori identity. We also hope the instrument will be useful for modeling change (and the effects of interventions) on identity development and related processes longitudinally.

Māori identity and the socio-political context of biculturalism

The implications of a legal element to recognising Māori identity cannot be overlooked—particularly the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was signed by Māori chiefs and The British Crown in 1840 and effectively established New Zealand as a colony under British rule. Due primarily to Māori political activism, the Treaty has become increasingly more influential in New Zealand governmental policy following the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (a forum where Māori could make claims for compensation for breaches of their Treaty rights). A policy of 'biculturalism' (equality and partnership) between Māori and Pākehā was adopted in the 1970s and in the mid-1980s the government extended the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal to examine Māori grievances retrospective to 1840 (Van-Meijl, 1995).

This provided Māori with the legally recognised right to self-determination as a people, and equality with Pākehā in New Zealand society (Awatere, 1984; Chadwick, 1998; Hazlehurst, 1993; Poata-Smith, 1997a, 1997b, 2004). Various pieces of legislation in New Zealand (most if not all under common law) now obligate Government officials to ensure that Māori rights to cultural, social and economic equality are promoted through the work of state institutions (education, health, welfare and corrections included).

Apart from gaining legal recognition of many (but arguably not all) Treaty rights and rights under common law, there has been an increasing focus on reversing the effects of Māori assimilation and colonisation by encouraging Māori to ‘heal’ their cultural identities through immersion in their own culture or ‘Māoritanga’ (Awatere, 1984). There seems to be relative consensus in the argument made by many Māori that no policies or interventions meant to benefit Māori as a social group will be effective if the unique cultural needs and identity of Māori people are not accommodated effectively (Durie, 1985, 1986, 2004; Ratima & Ratima 1997; Hirini, 1997; Kupenga, Rata & Nepe, 1993; Puketapu, 1979). In order to engage Māori in this regard social policy must address Māori peoples’ values, beliefs and ways of thinking.

As a reflection of these circumstances Māori and government initiatives meant to reduce inequalities in relation to health (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2003), criminal offending (Cram, Pihama, Karehana, & McCreanor, 1999; New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2005) and education (Hohepa & Jenkins, 2004) are increasingly concerned with enhancing outcomes for Māori by recognising the unique cultural needs of Māori people.

Prevailing conceptions of Māori identity and culture

What might the different dimensions underlying the subjective experience of “being” Māori look like? In terms of conceptualising Māori identity, prevailing views cohere around concepts which derive from a traditional Māori ecology and emphasise the centrality

of traditional Māori values and social organisation (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Qualitative literature describes various features in this regard. Foremost among these are strong associations with *whanau* (family) *hapu* (extended family) and *iwi* (tribe), which are seen as central to Māori identity. Rangihau (1975) emphasised the centrality of these kingroups for Māori identity when observing that being Māori is about growing up in a Māori community and participating in the customs and traditions unique to one’s *iwi*. Similarly, Pere (1979, 1988) observed that *whanaungatanga*—that is, the mutual responsibilities and relationships individuals have with their kin group—provide the individual with a sense of identity.

Related to traditional values and social organisation, the ability to speak *Te Reo Māori* (the Māori language) is also regarded as central to Māori identity (Karetu, 1993). This view is epitomised in the statement by a prominent Māori leader, Sir Apirana Ngata, who stated: “*Ki te kore koe e mohio ki te korero Māori ehara koe i te Māori*” – roughly translated as “*If you do not speak Māori you are not Māori.*” Alongside speaking Māori, understanding *tikanga Māori* (Māori culture) and engagement in Māori organisations and activities are also seen as relevant to Māori identity. Similarly, although less extreme in its formulation, The Social Report (2006, p. 81) published by the Ministry of Social Development deemed knowledge of Māori language an important indicator of Māori cultural identity and “... a necessary skill for full participation in Māori society.” Māori cultural knowledge, and time spent with other Māori in *iwi* organisations and Māori sports and community groups have all been incorporated into typologies of Māori identity as a corollary (Durie, 1995).

Another critical aspect of *tikanga Māori* (and therefore Māori identity) is *Wairuatanga* (Māori spirituality) (Barlow, 1991). Although there is not one ‘correct’ way to describe Māori spirituality in relation to identity, having an awareness of one’s *tipuna* (ancestors), following ancestral customs and traditions and having a close relationship with the natural environment are all factors typically cited as central

to the subjective experience of Māori spirituality (Johnson & Pihama, 1995). From a Māori perspective, identity, spirituality and the natural environment tend not to be conceptualised as separate entities. For example Bennett (1979 cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996) asserted that Māori identity emanates from the land. According to this view, self-awareness, spirituality, and *mana* (prestige and self respect) originate from the land. Walker (1989) explains how Māori identity and spirituality derive from Māori *iwi* history and affiliation. Pre-colonial *iwi* lived in fairly well demarcated geographical boundaries and therefore tribal landmarks such as mountains and rivers became central to Māori self-conception and social identity. These self-conceptions combined with traditional Māori understandings of human existence (which do not separate the spiritual and secular worlds) to create the cultural belief that the self is intrinsically linked to the natural world in mind, body and spirit (Barlow, 1991; Walker, 1990a). In summary, our analysis of this literature and our own lived experiences suggest that interconnected cognitive, behavioral, social and spiritual elements are important for Māori identity to various degrees.

Previous models of Māori identity integrate many of these elements. For example The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) used an analogy of four pillars to highlight the most significant aspects of Māori cultural identity (*Nga Pou Mana*). These comprised (1) *whanaungatanga* (family cohesion), (2) *taonga tuku iho* (cultural inheritance), (3) *te ao turoa* (the environment), and (4) *turangawaewae* (security). In this model the individuals’ capacity to express themselves and lay claim to competence and self-acceptance in each area is viewed as indicative of the development of a secure cultural identity and general well-being. Similarly, Māori educationalist, Rose Pere (1988) outlined six elements of Māori identity.

- A relationship with the land (which provides a sense of belonging).
- Spirituality (which provides a sense of meaning, connection and purpose).

- Ancestral ties (which provide ancestral-based wisdom and appropriate guidelines for living).
- Tikanga Māori (customs which carry values and cultural practices unique to Māori people).
- Kinship ties (which carry obligations to contribute to well-being of the family and extended family).
- A sense of humanity (which involves a sense of belonging to a wider community).

Pere's six elements are conceptually embedded in the assessment of Māori identity employed by Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie, 1995). In recent years a significant amount of work has been carried out using the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori identity assessment framework and, as such, we give considerable attention to their approach here.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa provides an identity assessment system which asks participants questions relating to their current cultural knowledge and competencies, cultural needs and aspirations in relation to their Māori identity as well as health, education, employment, income, housing, and household and lifestyle activities. The items on the measure are derived from a matrix which explains Māori experience within a social ecology. Various axes are included: *Nga Putake* (the 'roots' of experience) is comprised of *Tangata* (human relationships), *Te Ao Māori* (Māori cultural identity), *Nga Ahuatanga noho a tangata* (Socio-economic circumstances) and *Nga Whakanekeneketanga* (transformations over time). These factors give rise to *Nga Peka* or branches which provide indicators of specific aspects of Māori identity. Associated with *Nga Peka*, questions assess how much knowledge individuals possess regarding their Māori ancestry, Māori cultural heritage (including language and cultural practices), ancestral lands and associated natural resources. Questions are also included to assess participants' involvement in Māori social and cultural institutions (such as marae, hapu and iwi participation) as well as their commitment to and satisfaction with their level of Māori cultural knowledge.

The assessment criteria employed by Te Hoe Nuku Roa are therefore based primarily on self-reported behaviours, skills, or knowledge deemed to be relevant for identification as Māori. This provides insight into how well the individual "matches" criteria deemed to be important for Māori identification and cultural competency. It does not however, assess the different dimensions that emerge from the subjective experience of "being" Māori, or personal level of identification. Our measure is designed to assess this latter, more subjective or experiential aspect of identification and cultural engagement as Māori. An analogous comparison from mainstream psychology would be between different methods of assessing personality.

One framework might predetermine particular behavioral tendencies as a starting point because these are deemed to be of critical interest, and then assess the extent to which the individual matches a given behaviour in terms of frequency or ability. This would be more consistent with the process used by Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Our approach, in contrast, is akin to that of developing a large number of different items or descriptions of behavioral tendencies, and then assessing how these different sets or clusters of behavioral tendencies group together into distinct factors. This latter approach would therefore provide information on the number and dimensional structure of factors that emerge as governing multiple different instances of behaviour tendency and identity expression (or personality orientation in our example). The former, in contrast, would be more suited for assessing how well a given individual matches a predetermined standard. Our point here is that both approaches have strengths and weaknesses depending upon one's goals, and therefore, we do not view these two approaches as mutually exclusive.

A key function of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework is that it permits the assessment of correlations between Māori cultural identity and other critical factors. For instance, Te Hoe Nuku Roa has reported a link between higher Māori identity scores and positive health and educational outcomes as measured by the framework (Durie et al., 1999). While Te Hoe Nuku Roa continues

to make important contributions to understandings of the relationship between Māori identity and well-being, one key issue remains largely unaddressed: How do Māori who are not enculturated relate to the elements of the measure? Given the complexity of modern Māori society, models of Māori identity which account for the different shared dimensions that underlie identification as Māori yet embrace the rich complexities in the way individuals experience being Māori are certainly needed. We believe a psychological perspective which explores individual evaluations of identity will help to ensure that diverse perspectives of identity are encompassed.

A psychological perspective of Māori identity

Throughout the social sciences, "identity" is an umbrella term used to describe an individual's comprehension of him or herself as both an object and an actor in the social world. By social world we mean a world in which social categories and groups are salient, in which people necessarily position themselves as individuals versus members of groups with varying levels of distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991). We opt for a view of the self consistent with Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). This perspective positions identity as a multi-dimensional feature of self experience, made up of self-conceptions and self-images which are stored schematically in a representational network. According to this view, individuals have objective dimensions of identity (self-definitions, self-evaluations and self-meanings) that accumulate over the course of a lifetime and specify who they are and what that means as a member of society in different contexts. A Self-Categorisation Theory approach is useful as it recognises the potential for multiple identities which are under constant revision that exhibit different levels of cognitive accessibility depending on the social situation.

Our view also acknowledges Love's (2004) perspective. Love argued that the Māori concept of self and its underlying assumptions are distinctive from Western perspectives. Love employed Sampson's (1988)

concept of ensembled individualism to explain Māori identity in terms of socio-centrism which recognises that in Māori culture, an individual can be understood only in relation to their social and cultural contexts and relationships. In this view, identity is recognised as being inextricably linked to the relationships Māori have with others. Durie (1994) has also noted this aspect of Māori culture and suggested that the Western ideal of independence and ‘standing on your own two feet’ is seen as maladaptive by Māori while interdependence, connectedness and whanau commitment and loyalty is actively encouraged. Harrington and Liu (2004) make a similar point, and observed that Māori are more strongly oriented toward the collective than Pākehā.

From this perspective, Māori identity is assumed to be a multidimensional construct involving the feelings, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and behaviors individuals associate with being Māori in their everyday experience and social representations. We therefore take the epistemological position that aspects of Māori identity, along with other self-conceptions related to other group and role memberships (e.g. those relating to being male, female, a parent etc) are assumed to be organised and stored as internal representations of the world within the self-concept. The subjective experience of different elements of the individuals’ identification as Māori can therefore be measured (albeit imperfectly) using self-report instruments. Two pertinent questions that emerge from this perspective are:

- What different dimensions of Māori identity will be found?
- How might these different dimensions be empirically structured or subsumed under more global (or abstracted) representational structures?

The present study

We seek to address the above questions. Our model of Māori identity highlights concepts that focus on individual efficacy (as seems to be the case in many Western models of identification), but also schemata that emphasise the individual’s integral

and unified position within group context. In this model, identity is treated as a psychological experience someone ‘has’ that is derived from the group. We therefore define identity as constituting those aspects of the self-concept (including beliefs/values/attitudes) that pertain to ‘who’ a person is as Māori, how they ‘fit in’ with others in the social world and what that means in terms of behaviour. Our model goes beyond enculturation or knowledge of Māori cultural features and Māori cultural engagement to incorporate subjective feelings of being a group member, attitudes, group allegiances, as well as collective identification and role-related self-perceptions, political attitudes and beliefs.

We aimed to develop an indigenous measure appropriate for Māori. Thus, although we were informed by the international literature, our final choice of item wording and the dimensions we sought to examine was governed by our reading of qualitative research on Māori identity and our own lived experiences and discussions with Māori peoples (both academic and non-academic) regarding perceptions and experiences of “being” Māori. We see our paper as adopting both *etic* and *emic* approaches. Emic research centers on the Indigenous-generated or ‘insider’s’ view of reality and therefore emphasises concepts employed in the insider’s culture to understand and interpret the phenomena under study (Berry, 1989). On the other hand, etic approaches utilise perspectives derived externally (i.e., from a culture other than the one under study). In this way, the phenomena studied are described and understood using ‘external’ or ‘outsider’s’ perspectives and worldviews (Berry, 1989). Our research utilises both approaches in that we use Māori ‘insider’ concepts and perspectives to understand Māori identity, however, these are explored using (i.e., quantitative/outsider) methods in order to generate an innovative measure of Māori identity. In this regard we see both emic and etic positions as complimentary and both relevant in terms of informing current understandings of Māori identity.

We sought to develop an initial pool containing items worded in the positive direction (that people would

agree with if they strongly identified as Māori, such as ‘My Māori ancestry is important to me’), but also items worded in the reverse or negative direction (that people would disagree with if they strongly identified as Māori, such as ‘Being Māori is *not* important to who I am as a person’). Most examples derived or inspired by the qualitative literature were worded in the positive direction, although we also observed strong discourses regarding wanting to remove or hide observable markers of one’s membership in the social category Māori. For example, from a study of Māori identity among 35 Māori women, Houkamau (2006, p.168) provided the following excerpt which expresses the views of one Māori woman who was socialised to be as ‘white’ as possible:

Mum wanted us to be White, because to her we would have a better life, and if you’re White people don’t pick on you, or things are easier for you if you’re White... I understand my mother now, actually I feel sorry for her now... It was just her upbringing... My mother was brought up in ... a very racist area, and you know, Māoris were limited in many ways. They couldn’t go to the pictures because Māoris weren’t allowed there... and I think when you have those sorts of experiences all through your life you don’t want that for your kids. So you know ... you look over to the White side, and think yeah things are good over there, they’re allowed to go to the pictures. So I guess you can understand why my mother practically dipped us in Janola [bleach]... she just believed if we were educated White you know, and we just acted like Pākehās then no one would hurt us, or we’d be acceptable, but then again Māori weren’t because that’s not the way of the world. (Participant 8)

We sought to draw on negatively- or reverse-worded discourses where possible, and reworded other content to form additional reverse-worded items where needed.

These were:

1. *Identity centrality.* This is

similar in nature to the concepts of centrality and salience discussed by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) in their research on African American identity, and also similar to the identity subscale described by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992). We expected that a similar general dimension assessing the centrality of identity in self-concept would emerge for Māori.

2. *Collective self-esteem.* Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) also argued that feelings of positive self-concept derived from group membership, and that in particular, the positivity of social or collective self-concept should form a key dimension of identity. We expected to observe a similar dimension with regard to identification as Māori.

3. *Cultural efficacy.* Cultural efficacy refers to the extent to which the individual perceives they have the personal resources required (i.e. the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts. This dimension is conceptually similar to that emphasised by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework, although we operationalise this dimension as assessing the individuals' subjective evaluations and feelings regarding their efficacy, rather than assessing their relative "fit" or "discrepancy" with an a priori standard.

4. *Active identity engagement.* The above quote from a research participant in Houkamau's (2006) study... "my mother practically dipped us in Janola", emphasises that some Māori may be raised in contexts that de-emphasise Māori identity. This may result in a motivation to actively seek knowledge or engage in Māori traditions and identity work as an adult. Similarly, we view identity as an ongoing and dynamic process that the individual actively seeks out and engages in to various degrees, versus simply "being" without active or deliberative action. As such, we expected that the extent to which the individual actively engages in, or intended to engage in, their identity as Māori would form an important dimension of Māori identity.

5. *Spirituality.* As discussed above, many writers have emphasised that spirituality and associations

between the self and land form a critical component of Māori identity. We therefore expected to observe a dimension reflecting the expression and experience of Māori spirituality.

6. *Socio-political consciousness.* Māori exist in socio-political context. This context is continually debated and repositioned by the media and political elites, and by many members of the public on a daily basis (see Sibley, in 2010; Sibley & Liu, 2004, 2007; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008). Given the context of intergroup relations in New Zealand and the recurring themes and discussion surrounding the Treaty of Waitangi and related political discourse, we expected that socio-political consciousness would form a critical dimension reflecting the lived experience of identification as Māori for many Māori peoples (Houkamau, 2010; Rata, Liu, & Hanke, 2008).

7. *Interdependent aspects of Māori identity.* Cross-cultural research has emphasised a critical distinction between Western notions of self-concept, which tend to be individualistic and emphasise the individual, and Eastern or Asian notions of self-concept which tend to be more collectivist and interdependent (Kashima & Hardie, 2000). This has also been emphasised in previous research relating specifically to Māori peoples, and suggests that the concept of self for many Māori may be inherently linked or embedded in a collectivist identity network in a way in which the self-concept of many Westerners is not (Love, 2004; Harrington & Liu, 2004). This dimension sought to directly assess beliefs relating to this issue.

8. *Essentialist or authenticity-based beliefs about what it meant to be Māori.* The final predicted dimension related to beliefs about the authenticity of Māori as a social category. Our reading of the literature, and of wider discourses in New Zealand society, suggests that the nature of what it means to be "Māori" is often contested. Borell (2005), for instance, offers a discussion of this issue in relation to the concept of "blood quantum" or the idea that one's "Māoriness" can be socially constructed as being based on essentialised biological features, rather than lived experiences of culture (see

also Chadwick, 1998). This dimension is particularly interesting because we suspect that when widely represented in society this notion may function as a legitimising myth (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) that justifies and maintains structural inequality by de-positioning Māori as a "real" group. As such, we considered this a critical aspect of subjective identity and belief to include in our model.

We used Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to examine how the items we developed to assess each of these eight hypothesised dimensions clustered together to form (or act as indicators of) underlying latent dimensions summarising different subjective elements of Māori identity and cultural engagement. This approach therefore allowed us to be empirically guided by the data in identifying patterns of associations assumed to represent different factors or components of Māori identity, and also to identify the items that most reliably assessed these different dimensions. Following this initial process, we employed a novel method for exploring the hierarchical structure of a set of rotated factors derived from the top-down factor analytic method proposed by Goldberg (2006).

Goldberg's (2006) method allowed us to generate a structural representation of how different dimensions of Māori identity and cultural engagement were related to one another within a hierarchical structure (procedural details for this analysis are described in the method section). This method is extremely useful because it models both the ways in which different specific factors or elements of identity are subsumed under more global or abstract superordinate representational structures, and the levels at which specific factors emerge in something close to their final form. Goldberg's (2006) method has been previously applied to model the structure of personality, but we argue it should also be useful for research examining the content of social identity, because it provides important information on the ways in which different content dimensions relate to one another at different levels of abstraction.

Given that our study was

largely exploratory and concerned with developing a valid and reliable instrument to assess different aspects of Māori identity, we did not have precise predictions regarding the hierarchical structure that might emerge. We suspected, however, that at a three-tier level of assessment we might observe broad factors relating to (1) *Self-Identification and Cultural Engagement in Socio-Political Context*, (2) *Enculturated Experiences of Māori Identity Traditions*, and (3) *Constitutive Representations of "Being" Māori*, as these seemed to be three conceptually distinct aspects of Māori identity and cultural engagement that repeatedly arise in different forms in previous conceptions at a fairly broad level.

Method

Participants

Participants were 270 people (197 female, 71 male, 2 unreported) who self-identified as Māori and/or who reported having ancestors that were Māori. These sample criteria aimed to include all people for whom our measure of Māori identity would be relevant, regardless of participants' level of self-identification. Participants ranged from 18 to 74 years of age ($M = 34.70$, $SD = 13.21$). Ninety-nine percent of participants ($n = 266/270$) knew their iwi, 80% knew their hapu ($n = 216/270$), and 81% knew the name of their marae ($n = 219/270$).

Sampling procedure

Participants responded to an email advertisement inviting them to participate in a study of Māori identity and culture. The email contained a link to an electronic version of the MMM-ICE. This email advertisement was sent to a variety of different groups and organisations, including Māori students associations at all the major New Zealand universities, as well as other Māori community groups, and iwi-based email lists. In all cases the email advertisement was sent or forwarded by community moderators with whom we liaised. Participants were entered into a prize draw for NZ\$ 250 of grocery vouchers as a token of thanks for their participation. Thus, although our email advertisement reached a large number of people from a diverse range of regions, it is important to recognise that our sample

was comprised only of people who (a) had access to the internet, and (b) who had also registered on some form of Māori group-based email list.

The first item in the questionnaire asked participants "Do you identify as Māori and/or have ancestors who are Māori?" If participants answered 'yes' to this question then they were presented with the remainder of the survey. Participants who answered 'no' to this question were redirected to a page thanking them for their time but informing them that the questionnaire was only relevant for people who identified as Māori and/or had ancestors who were Māori. Before completing the MMM-ICE scale, participants completed a measure of various demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, frequency of visits to marae in the last month), and responded to the question: "Please rate how well you can speak Māori" by rating their spoken fluency on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very well/fluent). All procedures were approved by a university human ethics committee, including the Māori pro-vice chancellor, and underwent extensive consultation with members of the Māori community.

Item development and content

We developed an initial pool that containing 92 items. These items were developed through intensive reading of the literature on Māori identity, culture, and political discourse. In particular, we sought to generate items by rewording discourse reported in previous qualitative research on Māori identity. Items were also extensively reviewed by a number of researchers in the area, including Māori researchers from various disciplines (including sociology, psychology, religious studies and management and international business). We piloted the study extensively with a number of self-identified Māori and revised items based on feedback. Finally, we also extensively reviewed the existing international literature on the self-report measurement of ethnic group identification and were informed by the dimensions and item content developed for use in other cultural groups. All items were administered in a unique random order for each participant. Items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) through 4 (neutral)

to 7 (strongly agree).

Results

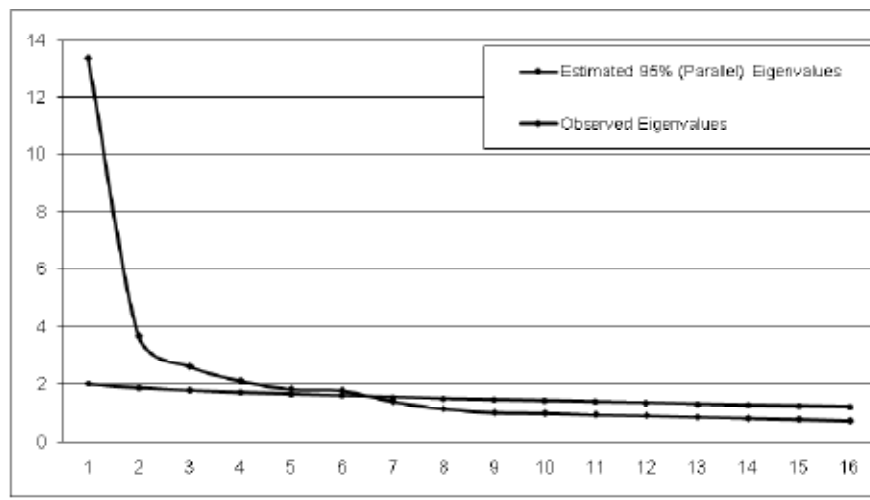
Exploratory Factor Analysis of the MMM-ICE

We employed Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) using Maximum Likelihood with oblique (direct oblimin) rotation to examine the factor structure of the MMM-ICE. This analysis was performed in systematic stages. We first examined the number of factors that emerged from analysis of the initial pool of 92 items. Analyses of the scree plot of the eigenvalues for this initial solution suggested a six-factor solution. Indeed, when we sought to extract an additional seventh factor, only two items had their highest loading on this additional factor, and both of these loadings were still fairly weak (.45 and .40). We proceeded to systematically remove items (in sequential steps) that did not load on any of these factors (loadings < .30) or that cross-loaded on more than one factor (loadings > .30 on two more factors), re-calculating the factor loadings for the remaining items at each step. Following this process, the results converged upon a clear and consistent six-factor solution, which included 47 items.

Analysis of the eigenvalues for the final solution strongly supported a six-factor model of Māori identity and cultural engagement, with each additional factor predicting unique variance until the sixth factor was reached. This six-factor solution explained 54.06% of the variance. The scree plot for this final six-factor solution is presented in Figure 1. As shown, the solution leveled out after the sixth factor was extracted, and the seventh and subsequent factors contributed only minimally to the variance explained (eigenvalues: 13.37, 3.68, 2.62, 2.12, 1.83, 1.78, 1.41, 1.14, 1.00, .98). Item content and oblique-rotated factor loadings for the final six-factor solution for the MMM-ICE are presented in Table 2.

Parallel analysis conducted using the procedure developed by O'Connor (2000) validated this interpretation. Parallel analysis provides a useful method for validating the number of factors extracted in EFA, as it estimates the eigenvalues that would occur purely by chance in (parallel) random data. We

Figure 1. Scree plot of observed eigenvalues for the MMM-ICE and generated (parallel) values for the 95th percentile of the distribution of random eigenvalues based on data with the same number of items and participants.



compared our observed eigenvalues for each factor to those of the 95th percentile of the distribution of randomly generated eigenvalues. These values are presented in Figure 1. As can also be seen in Figure 1, only the first six eigenvalues observed in our data were greater than those corresponding to the 95th percentile of the distribution of random eigenvalues (generated 95% random eigenvalues: 2.01, 1.89, 1.79, 1.67, 1.62, 1.56, 1.50, 1.47, 1.43, 1.39). As comparison of the observed and randomly generated eigenvalues presented in Figure 1 indicates, after the sixth factor was extracted the line representing the observed eigenvalues drops below the line representing the upper 95% of randomly generated values. This suggests that once the sixth factor was reached, the incremental variance explained by extracting additional factors was well within the realms of chance and that any additional factors would be spurious.

The observed six-factor solution was largely consistent with that initially predicted. We identified the core six factors that we expected to observe, although two more subtle distinctions that we expected to emerge were not apparent in the data. These were the distinction between group centrality and collective self-esteem, which emerged as one factor (termed *Group Membership Evaluation*) and the distinction between cultural efficacy and active identity engagement, which also emerged as one factor (termed *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement*). The other

four factors to emerge were consistent with those predicted, and we labeled these factors: *Socio-Political Consciousness*, *Spirituality*, *Interdependent Self-Concept* and *Authenticity Beliefs*. We provide detailed construct definitions of these six dimensions in the discussion section.

Hierarchical structure of the MMM-ICE

Having identified and described the six lower-order dimensions or factors that comprise the MMM-ICE, we next employed Goldberg's (2006) method to explore the hierarchical structure of rotated orthogonal factors. As described in the introduction, this analysis allowed us to model the ways in which different global and abstracted dimensions of Māori identification and cultural engagement emerged depending upon the number of factors extracted, and continued to split until a six-factor solution describing the six specific dimensions outlined above was reached. As such, this analysis provides important information on the ways in which different aspects of Māori identification and cultural engagement are organised within a hierarchical structure containing both global and specific components.

Following Goldberg (2006), we extracted the first unrotated factor and saved the factor scores for this unidimensional solution. We then calculated and saved the factors scores for a (Varimax-rotated) two-factor solution using Maximum Likelihood, and calculated the correlations between

factor scores for the first unrotated factor with each of the two rotated factors extracted at the second level. At the third level we then extracted three (Varimax-rotated) factors and correlated the factor scores for the two-factor solution with scores for the three-factor solution, and so on until we had extracted six-factors (at which point parallel analysis indicated that the extraction of additional factors did not explain additional variance beyond that predicted solely by chance). As Goldberg (2006, p. 356) commented, one can think of this analysis as providing a representation 'akin to a flow chart of factor emergence' in which the part-whole correlations between factor scores extracted at different 'levels' are akin to path coefficients from factors at one level predicting those at the next more specific level of emergence. The hierarchical structure of the MMM-ICE is presented in Figure 2. We discuss this structure in detail in the discussion section.

Descriptive statistics and demographic correlates of the MMM-ICE subscales

Finally, we examined the descriptive statistics for the MMM-ICE subscales, and their correlations with available demographics. These results are presented in Table 3. As shown, all six of the MMM-ICE subscales displayed acceptable internal reliability, with Cronbach's alphas greater than the accepted standard of $\alpha = .70$. The scales all evidenced acceptable levels of variation, with standard deviations around 1. Thus, it was not the case that all people responded similarly (e.g., all strongly agreeing or disagreeing) with the MMM-ICE items.

As can also be seen in Table 3, there were minimal gender differences in MMM-ICE scores. The only significant difference was for spirituality, where the point-biserial correlation indicated that men tended to be slightly lower than women in their level of engagement with, and belief in, certain Māori concepts of spirituality ($r = -.12$). There were moderate associations between age and most of the MMM-ICE subscales. Older participants were higher in Group Membership Evaluation ($r = .29$), Socio-Political Consciousness ($r = .35$), Cultural Efficacy and Active

Table 2. Item content and oblique rotated factor loadings for the MMM-ICE ($N = 270$)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Group Membership Evaluation						
1. I reckon being Māori is awesome	.84	-.00	-.05	.06	-.06	-.07
2. I love the fact that I am Māori.	.80	.02	.04	.01	.05	.02
3. Being Māori is cool.	.69	.08	-.01	.09	-.04	-.00
4. I don't really care about following Māori culture. (r)	.59	-.06	.14	.05	.13	-.00
5. I wish I could hide the fact that I am Māori from other people. (r)	.58	-.05	-.08	.04	.20	.00
6. My Māori ancestry is important to me.	.55	.01	.22	.06	.04	-.09
7. Being Māori is NOT important to who I am as a person. (r)	.48	.05	.20	.03	.15	.00
8.. Being Māori is NOT important to my sense of what kind of person I am. (r)	.48	.04	.22	.10	.22	.01
Interdependent Self-Concept						
9. My relationships with other Māori people (friends and family) are what make me Māori.	-.10	.78	.00	.10	.08	-.01
10. I consider myself Māori because I am interconnected with other Māori people, including friends and family.	.07	.69	-.01	.05	-.03	.03
11. My Māori identity is fundamentally about my relationships with other Māori.	.03	.65	.01	-.02	-.01	.10
12. For me, a big part of being Māori is my relationships with other Māori people.	.14	.58	.09	-.03	.03	.15
13. How I see myself is totally tied up with my relationships with my Māori friends and family.	.04	.58	.06	.11	.13	.06
14. My Māori identity belongs to me personally. It has nothing to do with my relationships with other Māori. (r)	-.02	.39	-.02	.15	.18	-.09
15. Reciprocity (give-and-take) is at the heart of what it means to be Māori for me.	.21	.31	.05	-.01	.04	.15
Spirituality						
16. I believe that Tupuna (ancient ancestors) can communicate with you if they want to.	.09	.00	.79	.03	-.03	.00
17. I don't believe that Māori spiritual stuff. (r)	-.08	.01	.76	.05	.01	-.05
18. I believe that my Taha Wairua (my spiritual side) is an important part of my Māori identity.	.11	.01	.74	.08	.07	.04
19. I can sense it when I am ina Tapu place.	-.11	.08	.72	.02	-.02	.10
20. I can sometimes feel my Māori ancestors watching over me.	.14	.01	.71	.04	.07	-.03
21. I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors. (r)	-.03	.05	.66	.14	.00	-.14
22. I think Tapu is just a made up thing. It can't really affect you. (r)	.08	-.21	.56	.00	.04	-.01
23. I feel a strong spiritual association with the land.	.14	.18	.48	.07	.14	-.03

Table 2. (continued) Item content and oblique rotated factor loadings for the MMM-ICE ($N = 270$)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement						
24. I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a marae. (r)	-.10	.01	.05	.79	.01	-.02
25. I can't do Māori cultural stuff properly. (r)	-.04	.04	.04	.74	.04	-.10
26. I can't do Māori culture or speak Māori. (r)	.16	.03	-.04	.72	-.11	-.09
27. I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae.	-.02	-.01	.04	.64	.02	.12
28. I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to.	.10	.06	.05	.50	.01	.04
29. I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means for me.	.18	.05	.11	.48	.11	.09
30. I try to korero (speak) Māori whenever I can.	.30	.03	.06	.39	-.01	.07
31. I sometimes feel that I don't fit in with other Māori. (r)	.08	.02	.09	.34	.01	.09
Socio-Political Consciousness						
32. Māori would be heaps better off if they just forgot about the past and moved on. (r)	.05	.09	-.06	.05	.74	-.08
33. All of us, both Māori and Pākehā, did bad things in the past - we should all just forget about it. (r)	.04	.01	-.08	-.02	.70	-.10
34. I'm sick of hearing about the Treaty of Waitangi and how Māori had their land stolen.	-.05	-.10	.07	-.12	.65	-.02
35. I think we should all just be New Zealanders and forget about differences between Māori and Pākehā. (r)	.13	.07	.01	.03	.62	.01
36. I think that Māori have been wronged in the past, and that we should stand up for what is ours.	.02	.11	.05	.09	.55	.20
37. What the European settlers did to Māori in the past has nothing to do with me personally. I wasn't there and I don't think it affects me at all. (r)	.06	.02	.18	.14	.55	.04
38. I stand up for Māori rights.	.15	.14	.10	.09	.44	.03
39. It's important for Māori to stand together and be stong if we want to claim back the lands that were taken from us.	.03	.13	.07	.10	.40	.16
Authenticity Beliefs						
40. You can always tell true Māori from other Māori. They're real different.	-.08	.15	-.07	.01	.01	.55
41. I reckon that true Māori hang out at their marae all the time.	-.03	.19	.01	-.03	-.01	.54
42. True Māori always do a karakia (prayer) before important events.	.17	.12	.08	.03	-.05	.51
43. You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.	-.05	.19	-.06	-.10	-.05	.45
44. Real Māori put their whanau first.	.10	.19	.13	-.12	-.02	.41
45. To be truly Māori you need to understand your whakapapa and the history of your people.	.09	.07	.11	.01	.04	.38
46. You can be a real Māori even if you don't know your Iwi. (r)	-.07	-.09	.00	.06	-.03	.34
47. You can be a true Māori without ever speaking Māori. (r)	.00	-.17	-.09	.05	.06	.33

Note. Loadings > .30 are printed in bold. (r) indicates reverse score items.

Figure 2. Hierarchical structure of the MMM-ICE using Varimax-rotated Maximum Likelihood Exploratory Factor Analysis. (Note. Only path coefficients [part-whole correlations] between factors > .30 are shown. Factors are labelled by their size at each level, for example, 1/2 and 2/2. Box widths are expressed in Eigenvalue units and therefore represent relative factor sizes in terms of proportions of explained variance. Item content and loadings for the sixth level of this hierarchical structure are presented in Table 3).

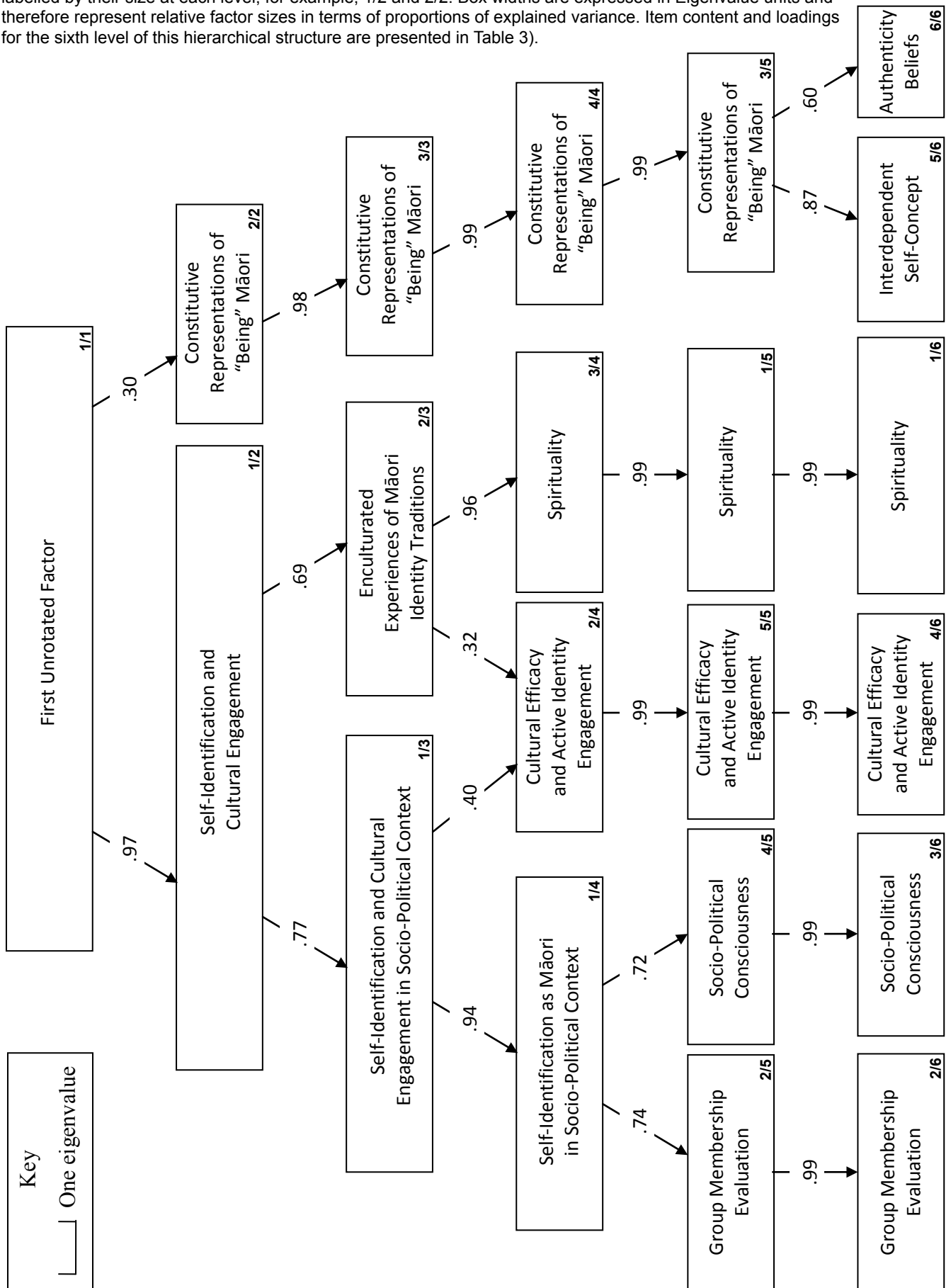


Table 3. Descriptive statistics and demographic correlates of the MMM-ICE subscales (N = 270).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Gender (0 female, 1 male)										
2. Age	.01									
3. Self-rated fluency in spoken <i>Te Reo Māori</i>	.06	.08								
4. Frequency of Marae visits in the last month	.11	.18*	.26*							
5. Group membership evaluation	-.18	.29*	.42*	.24*						
6. Socio-Political Consciousness	.01	.35*	.36*	.22*	.59*					
7. Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement	.03	.34*	.62*	.29*	.59*	.44*				
8. Spirituality	-.12*	.40*	.32*	.18*	.62*	.46*	.56*			
9. Interdependent Self-Concept	.02	.27*	.34*	.12	.42*	.43*	.37*	.37*		
10. Authenticity Beliefs	.11	.11	.20*	-.01	.12	.13*	.13*	.09	.36*	
Mean					6.28	5.68	5.22	5.53	4.51	3.56
Standard Deviation					.92	1.09	1.17	1.32	1.27	.97
Skewness					-1.52	-1.23	-.56	-1.23	-.12	.17
Kurtosis					1.81	1.91	-.18	1.19	-.52	.29
Cronbach's alpha					.90	.86	.85	.91	.83	.71

*p < .05

Identity Engagement ($r = .34$), and Spirituality ($r = .40$). Given the cross-sectional nature of these data, we can only speculate on whether these age effects represent an increase in Māori identification and cultural engagement that occurs as people naturally get older, or instead represents a cohort effect in which older people were more strongly socialised as Māori than were younger generations. We suspect however, that these effects at least partially represent a developmental process in which people become more engaged in culture over

the lifespan (Houkamau, 2010).

Self-rated fluency in spoken Māori was also significantly correlated with the MMM-ICE subscales. Importantly, fluency in spoken Māori was most strongly correlated with the Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement subscale ($r = .62$), which was to be expected given that this subscale should assess the extent to which individual perceives they have the personal resources required (i.e. the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with

other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts. Language is an important part of this. Our results support this observation. As shown in Table 4, this pattern of findings held when examined using multiple regression, which indicated that Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement was the only dimension of the MMM-ICE to predict unique variance in self-rated fluency in spoken Māori. As shown in Table 4, multiple regression analysis indicated that Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement also

Table 4. Multiple regression analyses predicting self-rated fluency in spoken *Te Reo Māori* and frequency of Marae visits in last month (N = 270)

	Self-rated fluency in spoken <i>Te Reo Māori</i>				Frequency of Marae visits in last month			
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Constant	-1.34	.53			-3.48	1.24		
Gender	.07	.16	.02	.44	.71	.38	.11	1.90
Age	-.02	.01	-.20	-3.69*	.02	.01	.08	1.26
Group membership evaluation	.06	.12	.04	.50	.24	.26	.08	.29
Socio-Political Consciousness	.13	.09	.10	1.55	.22	.20	.09	1.11
Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement	.76	.08	.60	9.65*	.47	.18	.20	2.60*
Spirituality	-.04	.08	-.03	-.52	-.07	.17	-.03	-.41
Interdependent Self-Concept	.11	.07	.09	1.63	-.03	.16	-.02	-.21
Authenticity Beliefs	.14	.08	.09	1.78	-.21	.18	-.07	1.57

Note. *b* = unstandardised regression coefficient, *se* = standard error of *b*, β = standardised regression co-efficient, *t* = *t*-value, * $p < .05$. Model predicting Self-rated fluency in spoken *Te Reo Māori*: $R^2 = .45$, Adj. $R^2 = .43$, $F(8,246) = 24.98$, $p < .01$. Model predicting frequency of Marae visits in last month: $R^2 = .12$, Adj $R^2 = .09$, $F(8,258) = 4.22$, $p < .01$.

significantly predicted self-reported frequency of visits to marae within the last month. This is particularly important because it indicates that this dimension of the MMM-ICE predicts (self-reported) behavior in exactly the way that one would expect. Taken together, these cross-sectional analyses provide promising information supporting the construct validity of our scales, and indicate that, generally speaking, the measures correlate with demographic factors and behaviour in a manner that would be reasonably expected.

Discussion

Research and tools capable of validly and reliably assessing different subjective or psychological aspects of Māori identity within an appropriate cultural framework remain sorely lacking (cf. Durie, 1995). We developed the MMM-ICE to address this lacuna. Item content for the scale was developed based on extensive reading and engagement with both qualitative and quantitative literature on Māori identity both within psychology, and broader disciplines relating to conceptions of “being” Māori. We also extensively assessed all items using focus groups and discussion with various Māori academics and non-academics.

We initially expected to observe an eight-dimensional structure with subscales assessing (in no particular order of importance): (1) *Identity centrality*, (2) *Collective self-esteem*, (3) *Cultural efficacy*, (4) *Active identity engagement*, (5) *Spirituality*, (6) *Socio-political consciousness*, (7) *Interdependent aspects of Māori identity*, and (8) *Essentialist or authenticity-based beliefs about what it meant to be Māori*. The dimensions that emerged from our factor analysis were relatively consistent with these expectations, although a six-dimensional structure seemed more parsimonious than the hypothesised eight. This conclusion was supported both through analysis of the scree plot, and parallel analysis which indicated that only the first six factors explained more variance in our data than that expected based on chance or random error (see Figure 1).

We labeled these six factors as follows: (1) *Group Membership*

Evaluation, (2) *Socio-Political Consciousness*, (3) *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression*, (4) *Spirituality*, (5) *Interdependent Self-Concept*, and (6) *Authenticity Beliefs*. This analysis suggested that the subscale assessing Group Membership Evaluation contained items originally intended to assess identity centrality and collective self-esteem, which it seems are represented by a single dimension in the Māori context (we discuss this in more detail below). Likewise, items intended to assess cultural efficacy and active identity engagement all loaded on the same factor, suggesting that an empirical distinction between these two constructs is not supported. We therefore labeled this dimension *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression* to reflect the combination of these dual concepts. We provide formal construct definitions for each of the six factors of the MMM-ICE in the following paragraphs:

Construct Definitions for the MMM-ICE subscales.

Group Membership Evaluation. This subscale assesses the subjective evaluation of one’s membership in the social group Māori (the state of “being” Māori). The subscale contains two interwoven elements: One element is evaluative (that is, the extent to which Māori as a group are evaluated positively versus negatively) the second element relates to the centrality of Māori identification as a defining aspect of the self (that is the extent to which being Māori is a central aspect of the individual’s identity). Reflecting these two elements, the group membership evaluation subscale primarily measures the extent to which the individual positively versus negatively evaluates their membership in the social category Māori. It also reflects the extent to which the individual’s membership in the social category Māori is seen as personally important or central to their self-concept.

From the perspective of more universal theories of group identification this dimension therefore reflects the merger of collective esteem or affective evaluative elements of the group, and identity centrality or personal identification with the group, such as those also assessed by measures of collective self-esteem (Luhtanen &

Crocker, 1992) and identity centrality (Sellers et al., 1998). It is interesting to note at this point that Sellers also hypothesised that evaluative aspects of identification and collective esteem should emerge as distinct factors, but as in our data, this was not apparent in their research on ethnic identification in African American peoples.

Socio-Political Consciousness. The socio-political consciousness subscale assesses the perceived relevance and continued salience of the historical (social-political) context of “being” Māori to conceptions of the self. Perceived relevance or lack of relevance in this respect is reflected in the extent to which individuals see the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā as important or not important to their own identities as Māori. It reflects a perception of the continued importance of historical factors for understanding contemporary intergroup relations; and how actively engaged the individual is in promoting and defending Māori rights given the context of the Treaty of Waitangi. A high score on this scale thus reflects the belief that Māori need to remain loyal to their group and politically unified versus the view that Māori should operate independently and that Māori and Pākehā historical relations are irrelevant for understanding contemporary ways of ‘being’ Māori. In the context of more universal perspectives, this scale thus relates to an ideology of active historical recognition as discussed by Sibley (2010) and Sibley et al. (2008).

Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression. The cultural efficacy and active identity expressions subscale measures the extent to which the individual perceives they have the personal resources required (i.e., the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts. These personal resources include the ability to speak and understand *Te Reo Māori*, knowledge of *Tikanga Māori* and Marae etiquette, and the ability to articulate heritage confidently (e.g., recite *whakapapa*). A high score on this scale would reflect how comfortable and accepted the individual feels when they are among other Māori or in situations which require the active expression of

Māori customary knowledge and ways of doing things (such as participating in *powhiri* and *tangihanga*). This should also reflect the extent to which the individual is able to articulate and express their Māori identity by engaging in traditional Māori cultural protocols, values and practices.

Spirituality. The spirituality subscale measures engagement with, and belief in, certain Māori concepts of spirituality. This is reflected in lived experience; and includes emotive aspects such as feeling a strong connection with ancestors, Māori traditions, the sensation and experience of *waahi tapu* (sacred places), and a strong spiritual attachment and feeling of connectedness with the land.

Interdependent Self-Concept. The interdependent self-concept subscale measures the extent to which the concept of the self-as-Māori is defined by virtue of relationships with other Māori people, rather than being defined solely as a unique and independent individual. The subscale therefore assesses a constitutive representation or belief-based component about what it means to 'be' Māori which relates to the concepts of ensembled individualism, as defined by Sampson (1988; 1993). Following Sampson's position, Love (2004) noted that Māori are more likely to experience self-conceptualisation in terms of important relationships. This 'ensembled individualism' is made manifest by a lack of self and other-self boundaries, and a tendency for individuals to see their identity as inherently linked to relationships with others in a way that many Westerners do not. This definition of interdependent self-concept also relates to the concept of the independent versus interdependent self that has emerged in cross-cultural psychology more generally (e.g., Kashima & Hardie, 2000).

Authenticity Beliefs. The authenticity beliefs subscale measures the extent to which individuals believe that to be a 'real' or 'authentic' member of the social category Māori one must display specific (stereotypical) features, knowledge and behaviour. A high score on this scale therefore represents a rigid and inflexible construction of the essentialised characteristics that determine an 'authentic' Māori identity.

This relates to various (often Pākehā constructed) definitions of Māori 'race', such as blood quantum or appearance (as discussed by Webster, 1998, and Wall, 1997). A low score on this scale, in contrast, reflects the belief that Māori identity is fluid rather than fixed, and produced through lived experience.

Hierarchical structure of the MMM-ICE

In addition to simply identifying the dimensions that comprise the MMM-ICE, we also conducted detailed analyses examining its hierarchical structure using the analytic strategy proposed by Goldberg (2006). We believe that this offers important insights for theory building as it provides critical information on the ways in which different dimensions of Māori identity and cultural engagement interrelate with one another at a broader level of analysis. Inspection of Figure 2 indicated that, as expected, at two levels of extraction, dual superordinate dimensions emerged which seemed to summarise factors relating, on the one hand, to group membership evaluation, socio-political consciousness, cultural efficacy and active identity engagement and spirituality; and on the other hand to interdependent self-concept and authenticity beliefs. We labeled these two superordinate dimensions as reflecting (a) generalised levels identification and cultural engagement, and (b) broad-ranging constitutive representations of 'being' Māori.

At the third level, we see in Figure 2 that identification and cultural engagement separates into two more specific dimensions, one reflecting identification and cultural engagement in specific socio-political context, and the other reflecting enculturated experiences of Māori identity traditions (spirituality and cultural efficacy). At the fourth level of the hierarchical network we see that cultural efficacy emerges jointly from identification and cultural engagement in socio-political context and enculturated experiences of Māori identity traditions. Spirituality also emerges as a distinct dimension at this level of analysis, and also remains consistent at lower (more specific) levels of the model. At the fifth level, we see that group membership evaluation and socio-political consciousness emerge as

distinct factors from the more general factor representing identification as Māori in socio-political context. Finally, at the sixth level of abstraction, constitutive representations of 'being' Māori split into two factors, one reflecting interdependent self-concept and one reflecting authenticity beliefs about the nature of being Māori.

This analysis provides a model of how different aspects of Māori identity and cultural engagement are organised within a hierarchical network that differs in abstraction or specificity. The model presented in Figure 2 indicates that, at the broadest (two-dimensional) level, the MMM-ICE assesses two global dimensions, one relating to level of identification, and one relating to beliefs about what it means to be Māori. Moving down the hierarchy, we see that the broader or more abstract factor representing generalised levels of identification separates into a factor that loosely represents evaluative identification as Māori, and a factor representing active engagement in specific aspects of Māori culture and traditions (such as speaking Māori, acting appropriately on marae, and engagement with Māori concepts of spirituality). Interestingly, the model also indicates that identification as Māori exists fundamentally in socio-political context. This is shown by the fact that group membership evaluation and socio-political engagement are two of the last facets of the MMM-ICE to separate into their respective factors, and emerge jointly and evenly from broader indices of identification. To identify as Māori, our model indicates, is to identify with a specific socio-political landscape that locates one's ethnic group in the context of intergroup relations between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand society.

One useful insight offered by analysis of hierarchical factor structure is that it provides a quantitative model that can help to guide decisions about the different dimensions of the MMM-ICE that might be most important for a given research question or policy or program evaluation. In this regard we view the third level of the hierarchal model as particularly informative. At this level, our model suggests that there are three overarching aspects of Māori identity

that emerge: (1) *Self-Identification and Cultural Engagement in Socio-Political Context*, (2) *Enculturated Experiences of Māori Identity Traditions*, and (3) *Constitutive Representations of 'Being' Māori*. We consider it likely based on our model that many interventions, social policies, and programs might differentially target these three aspects of Māori identity, perhaps without realising it because this distinction has not been previously articulated. Research questions and policy evaluation could be theoretically guided by this trichotomy. For instance, a given intervention might focus on improving or increasing *Self-Identification and Cultural Engagement in Socio-Political Context*, in which case our hierarchical model would suggest that it is necessary to assess the *Group Membership Evaluation*, *Socio-Political Consciousness*, and *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression* subscales of the MMM-ICE, but less important to assess the other three subscales. In contrast, research and evaluation focused on understanding and assessing change in *Enculturated Experiences of Māori Identity Traditions* should assess the *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression* and *Spirituality* subscales of the MMM-ICE.

Predictive utility and demographic differences in the MMM-ICE subscales

We provide good evidence for the scale's factor structure and the internal reliability of its subscales. All six subscales, for instance, had Cronbach's alphas above the commonly observed threshold of .70. All six dimensions were also relatively normally distributed with acceptable levels of skewness and kurtosis (as reported in Table 3). Our data also provide promising evidence for the discriminant and convergent validity of the different subscales. Of interest here, we also measured participants' self-rated fluency in *Te Reo* and self-reported frequency of Marae visits within the last month. We expected that these two behavioral indicators would be most strongly predicted by the *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement* subscale of the MMM-ICE, and the correlations reported in Table 3 support this.

Importantly, when we conducted additional regression analyses in which

all six subscales of the MMM-ICE were entered as simultaneous predictors, results indicated that the *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement* subscale was the sole significant predictor of both self-reported fluency in *Te Reo* and also the frequency of visits to Marae. This is important because it indicates that this dimension of the MMM-ICE predicts behaviours relating to identity and cultural engagement and practices, which it should, and also that the other dimensions of the MMM-ICE do not predict this domain of behaviours, which we would not expect them to when controlling for the cultural efficacy subscale. It is early days yet, however, and future studies are certainly needed to extend our analysis of the construct validity and predictive utility of the different MMM-ICE subscales in different domains. The available data are promising, however.

As indicated by the bivariate correlations reported in Table 2, it is also interesting to note that women scored significantly higher on the spirituality subscale of the MMM-ICE relative to men (these correlations are equivalent to a *t*-test of the group difference). Men and women did not differ significantly on any of the other five MMM-ICE dimensions. We did not predict this difference, and so are cautious about speculating as to its origin, but it does raise interesting directions for future research on the ways in which men and women might differentially experience spiritual aspects of their identity as Māori. Another finding of this research was that Māori identification and cultural engagement was higher for older participants. One extremely interesting step for future research would be to examine possible differences and similarities in identification as Māori on the different MMM-ICE subscales for different age groups depending upon whether people had been raised within, and were familiar with Māori culture from a young age, or had "rediscovered" their Māori heritage at a latter age. It is also critical to emphasise that the scale should provide a valid and reliable measure of relative strength of identification for anyone who can answer 'yes' to the question "Do you identify as Māori and/or have ancestors who are Māori?" That is, while people may differ

in the strength of their identification and cultural engagement as Māori, the items in our scale should tap into the same fundamental dimensions of identification (an index *the relative level* of that identification).

Implications and future research directions: Our thoughts on the identity process

Our perspective offers insight into the psychological components of Māori identity that may differentiate Māori from non-Māori in domains relevant to Māori well-being. This is important because, while we know that Māori culture is important for Māori well-being, we do not yet understand the specific nature of the cognitions that drive adaptive lifestyle choices or the organising principles of Māori thought and value systems and how they influence the processing of information and motivate responses to the social world.

It could be that enculturation trumps feelings of connectedness with other Māori people in terms of driving positive health outcomes. Alternatively, perhaps Māori who have closer relationships with their whanau and marae will also tend to have greater access to social support and economic resources, which should underpin higher levels of educational achievement. This is an empirical question that needs to be addressed. In addition, we do not understand how Māori who are deculturated, yet of a higher socio-economic status, express and experience their identity as Māori. We believe that psychological insights can inform us by revealing the content of the schemata which comprise the elements of Māori identity within the self-concept (e.g., what being Māori means to me and the specific patterns of cognition, attitudes, beliefs, values, descriptions and self-evaluations that occur as part of this). Understanding these factors is important for understanding the links between Māori identity and Māori behavior and lifestyle choices.

The finding that fluency in *Te Reo Māori* (the Māori language) was correlated with level of engagement in Māori organisations (e.g. marae) and general cultural efficacy has several implications. Māori who feel comfortable speaking *Te Reo* are more likely to feel

comfortable with interventions that incorporate Māori cultural concepts. This is a priority issue for Māori in terms of service delivery 'by Māori for Māori'. This supports the findings of evaluations of several recent health interventions which have utilised Māori community health workers, *marae*-based hui, *Te Reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* to ensure community engagement. These interventions have reported high participation rates and acceptability within Māori communities (see for e.g., Beasley et al., 1993; Broughton, 1995; Edwards, McManus & McCreanor, 2005; Pipi et al., 2003; McCreanor, Tipene Leach & Abel, 2004).

As Metge (1990, 1995) observed, there has been considerable change in how Māori identity is represented and thought about in recent decades. While being Māori was seen as socially backward by previous generations, the current trend seems to be progressing toward promoting Māori to embrace their unique Māori identity by acknowledging Māori *whakapapa* and learning about Māori history, culture and language. Despite advancements in education and positive role models in the media for Māori, some Māori may face considerable challenges in terms of seeing membership as Māori as a positive identity. Because Māori remain an economic underclass, many Māori may remain subject to negative personal experiences (racism and discrimination) and negative media representations (Walker, 1990b, 1996, 2002). This may negate the positive images of Māori presented to them about Māori culture through the education system, and may be particularly likely for those young Māori who are exposed to few positive Māori role models (see Houkamau, 2006, 2010). Māori, for example, are stereotyped as being lower in both warmth (friendliness, sociability) and competence (capability, intelligence) than Pākehā by Pākehā (Sibley et al., 2010).

Concluding comments and personal observations

We wish to conclude on a personal note. We aimed to develop a culturally appropriate, valid, and reliable multidimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement

embedded within an Indigenous Māori context. This is no small goal to strive for, and one that we feel can only be genuinely achieved through continued and ongoing collaboration and theory building. We wanted to provide the MMM-ICE because we saw a need for more detailed empirical research and theory on Māori identity. The development of valid and reliable quantitative measures is a critical aspect of this process, and as psychologists and psychometricians of both Māori and Pakeha descent, we felt that this was something we were equipped to address. It is our belief that the way forward, both in terms of social progress and in science in general, is through the open and transparent sharing of discussion and opinions, theory and data. We hope the MMM-ICE may contribute to this.

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Appendix

The Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement

Do you identify as Māori and/or have ancestors who are Māori?

Yes

No

This survey contains a list of statements about what you think being Māori means to you personally and how you might feel about being Māori. It is only relevant to people who answered ‘yes’ to the above question.

All of these statements are opinions. The scale has been designed so that you will probably find that you agree with some statements but disagree with others to varying degrees. This is because we want to measure a wide range of different opinions about what people think it means to be Māori. There are no right or wrong answers. Please try to answer all the questions as honestly as you can. The best answer is your own opinion, whatever that is.

If you strongly agree with a statement then you would select a number close to 7. If you feel neutral about a statement then you would select a number close to 4. If you strongly disagree with a statement then you would select a number close to 1.

	Strongly Disagree		Neutral			Strongly Agree	
	↓			↓		↓	
1. I love the fact I am Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. My Māori ancestry is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I feel a strong spiritual association with the land.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Being Māori is NOT important to my sense of what kind of person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. My Māori identity belongs to me personally. It has nothing to do with my relationships with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. All of us, both Māori and Pākehā, did bad things in the past—we should all just forget about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree		Neutral			Strongly Agree	
	↓			↓		↓	
7. I reckon being Māori is awesome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. My relationships with other Māori people (friends and family) are what make me Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I don't believe in that Māori spiritual stuff.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. It's important for Māori to stand together and be strong if we want to claim back the lands that were taken from us.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Being Māori is NOT important to who I am as a person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. How I see myself is totally tied up with my relationships with my Māori friends and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Māori would be heaps better off if they just forgot about the past and moved on.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. You can always tell true Māori from other Māori. They're real different.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. I'm sick of hearing about the Treaty of Waitangi and how Māori had their land stolen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. My Māori identity is fundamentally about my relationships with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I don't really care about following Māori culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. I believe that Tupuna (ancient ancestors) can communicate with you if they want to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a marae.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. For me, a big part of being Māori is my relationships with other Māori people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. I can't do Māori cultural stuff properly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. You can be a real Māori even if you don't know your Iwi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. I stand up for Māori rights.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. I can sometimes feel my Māori ancestors watching over me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Real Māori put their whanau first.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. I try to korero (speak) Māori whenever I can.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Being Māori is cool.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree		Neutral			Strongly Agree	
	↓			↓		↓	
30. I consider myself Māori because I am interconnected with other Māori people, including friends and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. You can be a true Māori without ever speaking Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. I sometimes feel that I don't fit in with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. I wish I could hide the fact that I am Māori from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. I think Tapu is just a made up thing. It can't actually affect you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. To be truly Māori you need to understand your whakapapa and the history of your people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. I think that Māori have been wronged in the past, and that we should stand up for what is ours.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. I can't do Māori culture or speak Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. I reckon that true Māori hang out at their marae all the time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. I believe that my Taha Wairua (my spiritual side) is an important part of my Māori identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. Reciprocity (give-and-take) is at the heart of what it means to be Māori for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. True Māori always do karakia (prayer) before important events.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. What the European settlers did to Māori in the past has nothing to do with me personally. I wasn't there and I don't think it affects me at all.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. I can sense it when I am in a Tapu place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. I think we should all just be New Zealanders and forget about differences between Māori and Pākehā.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Scoring instructions. First, reverse score the following items: 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 44, and 46. Next, average the following sets of items to calculate scores for each subscale. Group Membership Evaluation: 1, 2, 4, 7, 13, 19, 29, 33. Socio-Political Consciousness: 6, 11, 15, 17, 25, 37, 44, 46. Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement: 10, 12, 21, 23, 28, 32, 38, 42. Spirituality: 3, 9, 20, 26, 34, 36, 40, 45. Interdependent self-concept: 5, 8, 14, 18, 22, 30, 41. Authenticity Beliefs: 16, 24, 27, 31, 35, 39, 43, 47. Syntax for calculating scales scores using SPSS is available from Chris Sibley upon request.