



Pathways conference, Arahia he ara, 20 November 2019

Citizenship, cultural identity and Māori political participation

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Background: Māori political participation

STATISTICAL STUDIES

- Strong focus on general elections - the reasons for lower Maori participation – actions to remedy it
- Whether Maori on Maori roll (cf. general roll) have different voting patterns

ASSUMPTION

- For a range of reasons, Maori are disengaged from mainstream political processes that “deliver democratic equality”

CRITICISMS

- Reductive – misses other significant forms of Maori PP – e.g., iwi/hapū politics; collective action – activism and protest (Bargh; Kaapu)
- Maintains implicit u/standing of the State as the sole source of rights (Blackburn)
- Electoral systems are part of settler colonial power structures founded on violent dispossession (Bargh, Jackson)



Background: Theories of citizenship

CITIZENSHIP

- Western = legal identity of individuals in nation state and attendant rights, identities and obligations (Jopkke)
- Differentiated citizenship = (Habermas; Kymlicka; Young) = legal entitlement of particular groups to different rights in addition to universal citizenship rights

INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP

- Differentiated – pursuit of Maori autonomy and self-government (distinct space) as well as substantive influence within the state (shared space) (O’Sullivan)
- Indigenous collective self-determination is the fundamental and pre-existing (pre-colonial) right from which all others flow; constitutional transformation essential (Jackson; Durie)

Agreement that:

- Formal citizenship has not delivered equality of rights and status; citizenship is contingent (e.g., Tuhoe raids; Northern Territory interventions)

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This study

- Broaden the scope of Māori political participation
- Explore ties between different expressions of Māori PP in a more holistic way
- Explore role of cultural identity as it relates to different expressions of Māori PP



Data

Te Kupenga 2013:

- Post-censal survey, nationally representative
- n=5,549 Māori, by descent and/or ethnicity
- Excellent sampling frame
- Very good response rate 78%
- First survey of Māori wellbeing - in-depth data on social, economic, cultural and whānau wellbeing including cultural identity
- Self-reported – no external validation

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to meet the security and confidentiality requirements in the Statistics Act 1975.



Level of self-reported PP

Form of political participation	Per cent	
Iwi registration	55	
Iwi voting (among registered)	54	
Local govt. election voting	63	→ 55% 2013 MEO
Māori roll	50	→ 68% 2014 GE 79% 2016 GSS
General govt. election voting (2011)	80	→ 49% 2011 GE (high of 84% 1984)
General (Māori roll)	82	
General (General roll)	82	



whi enrollment

Variable	Association
Age	Moderate; positive
Education	Moderate; positive
Explored whakapapa, history last 12 months	Moderate; positive
Knows tupuna marae	Very strong; positive



Self-reported iwi voting

Variable	Association
Age	Strong; positive
Speaks te reo	Strong; positive
Explored whakapapa, history last 12 months	Moderate; positive
Places high importance on Māori culture	Moderate; positive
Knows tupuna marae	Moderate/Strong; positive
Identifies as European	Moderate; negative
* Education insignificant	



Self-reported local government voting

Variable	Association
Age (esp 65+)	Very strong; positive
Female	Weak; positive
Education	Mod/strong; positive
Level of trust	Weak; positive
Unpaid marae work	Weak; positive



Self-reported general election voting

Variable	Association
Age (esp 65+)	<u>Very</u> strong; positive
Female	Weak; positive
Education	Very strong; positive
Level of trust	Weak; positive
Unpaid marae work	Moderate; positive
Knows tupuna marae	Weak; positive



Māori roll enrollment

Variable	Association
Age	Moderate; positive
Education	Moderate; negative
Identifies as European	Moderate; negative
Places high importance on Māori culture	Strong; positive
Speaks te reo	Strong; positive
Knows tupuna marae	Moderate; positive



Self-reported general election voting (Māori roll)

Variable	Association
Age (esp 65+)	<u>Very</u> strong; positive
Education	Strong; positive
Unpaid marae work	Moderate; positive
Speaks te reo	Moderate; positive
Knows tupuna marae	Weak/mod; positive
Places high importance on Māori culture	Weak; positive
Level of trust	Moderate; positive



Ties between expressions of Māori PP

Form of PP	Association
General and local	Very strong; positive
General and iwi	Insignificant; positive
General (Māori roll) and local	Very strong; positive
General (Māori roll) and iwi	Sig at <.10; positive
Iwi and local	Very strong; positive



Key points:

- Forms of Māori political participation tend to be mutually reinforcing rather than mutually exclusive
- Cultural identity matters most in contexts where collective identity is more salient (iwi enrollment – iwi voting – Māori Roll – Māori Roll voting)
- Opportunities for constitutional reform (Waitangi Tribunal inquiry into the Constitution, Self-Government and the Electoral System)
- Limitations: still a narrow-ish focus on expression of political participation; scope for expansion in NZ GSS