

When kindness is not enough: Pākehā parenting socialisation practices for cultural connectedness and pride

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Pākehā children's cultural identities are influenced by their parent's cultural socialisation practices. This article focuses on the ways family members (N = 4019) socialised their Pākehā children for cultural connectedness and pride, or not, in Aotearoa, New Zealand. We mapped our analytical codes alongside Hughes et al.'s (2006) Ethnic-Racial Socialisation framework (cultural socialisation, egalitarianism and silence about race, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias) to better understand the underlying motivations for family cultural socialisation. While approximately 47.6% of Pākehā family respondents articulated positive cultural socialisation practices, 33% of Pākehā family respondents *refused* to answer the questions and 18.6% *struggled* to articulate the ways they encouraged their children developing positive cultural identities. This particular article highlights the four ways 18.6% of Pākehā family members avoided talking about their child's cultural identity and cultural backgrounds: by wrestling with, resisting, revolting against or re-storying their cultural identities.

Keywords: *Pākehā, Aotearoa New Zealand, Whiteness, Family socialisation, Cultural connectedness, Cultural Pride*

INTRODUCTION

The importance of family influence on the development of children's cultural and socio-political beliefs has been well documented (see Neblett et al., 2009; Webber, 2015). Lansford et al. (2018) have argued that "[p]arents in all cultural groups share goals of promoting their children's survival, health, education, happiness, and of socializing their children to be well-functioning members of their respective cultural groups" (p. 1938). Significant to this paper is how parents' beliefs about the importance of cultural identification and attachment to their cultural group influences children's cultural identity formation, and further, how this enables children's cultural-connectedness and belonging. Cultural-connectedness and ethnic group belonging are social-psychological aspects of self that manifest in situ. Recent research has explored how ethnic group belonging and pride, and connectedness to one's cultural self, is significant to the socio-emotional wellbeing of students at school and can result in students being more accepting of the value members of other groups put on their ethnic and cultural identities (Webber & Waru-Benson, 2022). Hughes et al. (2006) have described Ethnic-Racial Socialisation (ERS) as the collection of practices by which individuals learn about norms, values, and customs regarding ethnicity and race. Hughes et al., (2006) investigated the ways ethnic minority families talk about their heritage (i.e., cultural knowledge, values and practices) and encourage their children to respect their cultural background - a process called cultural socialisation. Hughes et al., (2006) argue that families do this to help their children better process racially-loaded messages, navigate intergroup contact and maintain positive self-views. Through these messages, children learn about themselves as members of cultural group(s) as well as about people from other cultural groups.

There are also a growing number of studies that explore ERS within White families (Abaid & Perry,

2021; Abied et al., 2022; Forman, 2004; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Lewis et al., 2019; Nieri et al., 2023; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). These studies contend that while White families employ common ERS approaches such as cultural socialization (teaching children about their cultural customs, histories, and traditions), preparation for bias (teaching children to recognize and cope with cultural prejudice and discrimination), promotion of mistrust (teaching children about the risk of discrimination by other cultural groups), and egalitarianism (teaching children that all cultural groups are equal), they also employ strategies such as minimizing racism and anti-racism socialization (Galán et al., 2022; Freeman et al., 2022; Ferguson et al., 2022). Yasui (2015) proposes that White parents also engage in implicit socialisation practices - messages parents convey through their silence on ethnicity and race and through their actions, such as school and neighbourhood choices and efforts to expose their child to diversity, such as through extracurricular activities, volunteering, or travel. Other studies including Hagan et al., (2023) and Spanierman (2022) speak to strategies including colourblind racial socialisation (teaching children that race does not matter and should not receive attention) and colour-conscious socialisation (teaching children that different ethnic-racial groups have different experiences and challenges and diversity are valuable). Nieri et al. (2023) contend that given existing research largely focuses on middle-class or affluent, well-educated White parents, there is a need to study low-income and less educated White parents.

This paper focuses specifically on Pākehā (White New Zealander) family beliefs regarding the importance of cultural-connectedness and ethnic group belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. Keen to develop a deeper understanding of how Pākehā families articulate their beliefs about cultural and ethnic identity, 4019 Pākehā family members were asked two open-ended survey questions: What is the best thing about your child's

ethnic/cultural background? What aspect of their cultural identity are you most proud of? These questions, focused on both cultural background and identity, align with research that speaks to the interrelatedness between beliefs, values, goals and parenting practices (Cheah & Rubin, 2009; Suizzo, et al., 2008). Moreover, this study is interested in the ways Pākehā children's cultural identity development is influenced by their parents beliefs, goals and values, and consequent parental cultural socialisation practices. Nieri et al. (2023) contend that while many White parents are engaged in ERS, they tend to teach strategies of advantage, preparing their children to maintain their privilege and allow the persistence of structural inequities. In light of Abaied and Perry's (2021) findings that many White parents do not discuss race-related current events with their children because they believed these discussions were either too negative or unnecessary, this study is interested in whether Pākehā parents take up the potential to be agents of change in Aotearoa New Zealand, or reinforce "the current system of color blind indifference to racial inequality" (p. 431).

This study focuses on the values and beliefs Pākehā parents hold for their children's cultural identity, which we then map onto Hughes et al.'s (2006) four ERS themes (cultural socialisation, egalitarianism and silence about race, promoting mistrust, and preparation for bias). We are interested in whether Aotearoa New Zealand's increasing multi-ethnic society influences the ways Pākehā parents think about Pākehā identity and socialise their children to be culturally connected and culturally proud. This paper also responds to Gillen-O'Neel et al.'s (2021) challenge to "examine ERS goals among more ideologically diverse White families drawn from a wider range of contexts" (p. 25). Aotearoa New Zealand's multi-ethnic schools are a key site where Pākehā students are increasingly confronted with having to articulate a cultural identity, which can either enable cultural connectedness and pride, or provoke discomfort and difficult conversations.

A note about the use of the term 'cultural identity'

More generally, Pākehā family members in this study perceived their child's cultural identity to be a composite of their ethnic membership, as well as the views held by others about their child's perceived cultural attributes. There is always great variability in how the social constructs 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture' are operationalised, with much complexity and definitional overlap (Cokley, 2007). To reflect the understandings of the Pākehā family member respondents, and the highly intertwined meanings of the terms race, ethnicity and culture in the Aotearoa New Zealand vernacular, the term 'cultural identity' has been used throughout this article when referring to racial-ethnic and cultural identity in the present study. Where this article references the extant literature, the authors use the preferred terms of those authors.

Cultural connectedness

The study of 'cultural connectedness' has generally focused on strengths based approaches that examine the socialisation and development of youth. The term 'cultural connectedness' usually refers to the extent to which someone is integrated within his or her culture, and has most often been applied in studies involving Indigenous youth (Snowshoe et al., 2015). The shift to

examining cultural connectedness through a strengths based perspective with other cultural groups can be first attributed to the work of Zimmerman et al. (1996), who used the term *enculturation* to describe the process by which "individuals learn about and identify with their ethnic minority culture" (p. 296). Fleming and Ledogar (2008) have suggested that any conceptual framework of cultural connectedness needs to counter the heterogeneity within and between different cultures, and further, take into account cultural connectedness as developmental. Snowshoe et al. (2015) developed a specific Development of Cultural Connection Scale for First Nation Youth in Canada, focusing on three components of cultural connectedness: identity, traditions, and spirituality. Their findings demonstrate the importance of cultural connectedness for Indigenous children's positive development and mental wellbeing (Snowshoe et al., 2017). Significant to this study was analysis of Pākehā parents' beliefs and values on the importance of cultural identity for their children, and how they may, or may not, provide opportunity for their children to develop cultural connectedness.

Family cultural socialisation

Socialisation is a developmental process by which individuals change and/or conform to particular values, skills, motives, attitudes, and behaviours that relate to a social context they consider desirable or appropriate for their present and future roles in society. Family members have been recognised as an highly influential context for socialisation (Hughes et al., 2006; Loyd & Gaither, 2018; Vittrup, 2018; Webber, 2015). Parents' cultural communications to children are viewed as important determinants of children's own culture-related attitudes and beliefs, and of their sense of efficacy in negotiating culture-related barriers and experiences (Bowman & Howard, 1985). Children who identify as White increasingly navigate diverse social landscapes which ultimately challenge their understandings and attitudes toward culture and ethnicity (Loyd & Gaither, 2018). However, little is known about Pākehā (White) families' parenting practices in relation to cultural socialisation.

There has been an upsurge in literature pertaining to cultural socialisation, although terminology referring to race, ethnicity and culture are used differently and often overlap (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021). Hughes et al. (2006) coined the term Ethnic-Racial Socialisation as a broad term to examine the messages parents communicate regarding ethnicity and race, including cultural socialisation, egalitarianism and silence about race, promoting mistrust, and preparation for bias.

Cultural socialisation. Cultural socialisation is the practice of socialising children to function well in their various cultural groups, and is said to be a shared goal of parents in all social groups (Lansford et al., 2018). Although socialisation practices do not always focus solely on cultural, racial or ethnic issues, important "information, values, and perspectives about ethnicity and race" are transmitted via parents implicit and explicit mechanisms (Hughes et al., 2006). Previous research on cultural socialisation practices has mostly focussed on marginalised groups whose goal is primarily for their children to develop pride in their group's history and traditions, and to counter discrimination and negative stereotypes (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Conversely,

White families' cultural socialisation goals have predominantly focussed on "teaching their children about other groups", to encourage them to engage with, celebrate and appreciate diversity (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021, p. 4). According to Umaña-Taylor and Hill (2020) many White parents are usually at a loss on how to prepare their children to respond to explicit and implicit ethnic-racial bias.

Few White parents grapple with the privilege that accompanies White identity, and consequently struggle to socialise their children about ethnic-racial diversity, and to recognise their own privilege (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021). Cultural socialisation practices amongst White families often involve either colour-blind versus colour-conscious socialisation, and they often fear that talking about race might perpetuate racism (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Vittrup (2018) has contended that colour-blind parents are more reactive to cultural differences and colour-conscious parents more proactive. White children will, regardless of implicit and explicit messages, create their own narrative about cultural difference, further perpetuating bias if not given socialisation skills to counter discrimination (Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Egalitarianism and silence about race.

Egalitarianism and silence about race encourages children to treat everyone equally and emphasises individuality over cultural group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). Egalitarianism for White families often involves three features: 1) children are encouraged to develop skills to navigate diverse settings; 2) cultural differences and issues are considered a thing of the past; and 3) families minimise cultural differences, subsequently ignoring the "existence of institutional racism and White privilege" (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021, p. 3). Gillen-O'Neel et al. (2021) found egalitarianism and silence about race to be common among White parents', and believed it to be founded on the ideology of 'colour-blindness' where parents wished for their children to establish interracial relationships with proficiency, have racial empathy, and treat others fairly and with empathy regardless of race.

Preparation for bias.

Preparing children for bias ensures they develop appropriate strategies to cope with cultural discrimination. Zucker and Patterson (2018) described parents preparing their children for bias through adopting a 'colour-conscious' approach which involves promoting awareness of institutional racism, encouraging interracial friendships, and discussing race openly. Parents of White children specifically prepare their children for bias by teaching them about the history of racism and how racial issues persist today (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021). Underhill (2019) also describes middle-class White parents 'exposing their children to diversity' which "evidence[s] a kind of "moral whiteness"" (p. 497). Importantly, many of these authors argue that developing a positive White identity can enable identification and action toward combating the continued impact of racial bias.

Promotion of mistrust.

Promotion of mistrust is most often a "wariness and mistrust in interracial interactions" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 757) and is most prominent with non-White families as they prepare their children for encounters with racism. However, for many White families, 'mistrust' is aligned

more with the increase in anti-White bias. Anti-White bias has been described as "zero-sum belief whereby gains by minorities [is seen to] come at a direct cost to advantaged members" (Earle & Hodson, 2020, p. 160). Earle and Hodson (2020) also contend that anti-White bias concerns can reflect a reaction against changing social hierarchies (specifically, gains by other groups), whereby vocalising concerns about anti-White bias is a strategy to manage anxiety over non-white group progress. Parents who are conscious of this encourage their children to be cautious in inter-racial interactions, to avoid seeming racist (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021).

Pākehā: a White identity

Pākehā are "New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experiences of being a member of the dominant [settler] group of New Zealand" (Spoonley, 1993, p. 57). Contemporary articulations of Pākehā identity and culture are complex due to the historical lumping together of all 'White' settlers into an imagined homogenous group. It is important to note that Pākehā are a multi-ethnic collective and their ancestry represents a diverse range of ethnic and cultural groups (Didham, Callister & Chambers, 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2018). Spoonley (2005) has discussed attitudes towards the label Pākehā, arguing that they include opposition, indifference and acceptance. Bell (2009) has contended that Pākehā generally construct their identities "in relation to two primary others, the peoples of the metropolitan homelands of their ancestors and the indigenous peoples of their national homeland" (p. 147). But this articulation does not take into consideration the impact of Aotearoa New Zealand's increasing ethno-cultural diversity on Pākehā constructions of identity. There is also recognition that many dominant groups struggle to see their own privilege and that to acknowledge it could come at the expense of losing it (Matthewman, 2005). Research in Aotearoa New Zealand has shown that Pākehā are less likely to see their cultural group membership as an important part of who they are, nor feel the need to find out more information about their cultural groups (Webber et al., 2013). The present study is interested in how Pākehā family members articulate their children's cultural identities as they attend multi-ethnic Aotearoa primary and secondary schools.

The current study

This study was undertaken in 102 primary, secondary and area schools from both the North and South islands of Aotearoa New Zealand. The study used mixed-methods surveys to gather quantitative and qualitative data over a two-year period. The current study is a small component of a wider research project (Alansari et al., 2022) and is focused on examining Pākehā family cultural socialisation practices.

The Principal Researcher, Melinda Webber (an Indigenous Māori scholar), has demonstrated the importance of connectedness for the development of a secure cultural identity for Indigenous children in past studies (Webber et al., 2021, Webber & Macfarlane, 2020). The first author of this study has led a number of research projects examining the construction of Pākehā identity (Fitzpatrick, 2018). The third author is a graduate of the Master of Education programme at the university of Auckland. Together, in the present study, we combine our

Māori and Pākehā identity research expertise to examine the data through mapping the findings onto the ERS framework, exploring how Pākehā family members enable their children to develop cultural connectedness and cultural pride.

METHOD

The data used for this study were taken from a larger research project led by Melinda Webber titled: *Kia tū rangatira ai: Living, thriving and succeeding in education*. This strengths-based research project investigated how students, learn, succeed, and thrive at school. This nationally representative project has large numbers of students ($n = 18,996$), family members ($n = 6949$) and teachers ($n = 1866$) who completed the project surveys. This project was funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand, Te Apārangi.

The current study is a small component of that wider research project and is focused on examining Pākehā family cultural socialisation practices. A concurrent nested qualitative/quantitative design was selected in the form of a survey, meaning that, although all data were collected simultaneously, there was an initial emphasis on quantitative data, while the qualitative data were embedded in the study (Punch & Oancea, 2014). The rationale behind this approach was to fulfil the research objective of triangulation: “seeking convergence of findings” (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007, p. 284). The survey comprised a combination of 49 open ended and closed questions. Initially family members were asked to provide demographic data and then complete multiple-choice questions, Likert scale items, and open-ended questions.

The current study focuses on one data set from the wider research project - Pākehā family members ($n = 4019$) who self-identified their child's main ethnicity as Pākehā and responded to the qualitative questions ‘What is the best thing about your child's ethnic/cultural background?’ and ‘What aspect of their cultural identity are you most proud of?’ The two survey questions were phrased differently to elicit whānau perspectives regarding their child's ethnic/cultural background (ie origin, ethnicity, whakapapa etc) and their *lived* cultural identity (which may have been different from their cultural/ethnic background). These two questions, posed together, provided context for understanding the relevance and importance of cultural/ethnic background factors to the parents' cultural identity responses.

Participants

School context. A total of 102 elementary (Years 0–6; Grades K–5), middle (Years 7–8; Grades 6–7), and high (Years 9–13; Grades 8–12) schools in Aotearoa New Zealand voluntarily participated in the study. Most Aotearoa New Zealand schools are multicultural, although more affluent schools have mostly Pākehā (New Zealand European) and Asian students, and lower socioeconomic schools mostly Pākehā, Māori (the Indigenous group) and Pasifika (originating from the Pacific Islands) students. The 102 schools in the study included low, mid and high decile schools from the North and South Islands of Aotearoa New Zealand. “A school's decile rating indicates the extent to which it draws its students from low socioeconomic communities” (Ministry of Education, 2013, “School decile ratings,”

para. 2). In this study, 20% of schools were high decile (8–10), 43% were mid decile (4–7), and 37% were low decile (1–3).

Pākehā family members. Of the 4019 Pākehā family respondents, 44.6% identified as family members of male children, 54% female, and 1.5% another gender. Approximately 17% of the respondents' children attended low-decile schools, 58% mid-decile schools, and 25% high-decile schools. Approximately 59% of respondents were guardians of children in Years 0–6 (Grades K–5), 20% were in Years 7–8 (Grades 6–7) and 21% were in Years 11–13 (Grades 8–12). Finally, 93.4% of Pākehā family members stated that their children could speak only English, while 6.6% of children spoke other languages as well as English.

Materials and Procedure

All measures were administered via online or hard copy surveys, and during school hours. Ethical approval was gained for this study from the University of Auckland, in 2018. The surveys, which took between 15 and 20 minutes to complete, were anonymous. The lead researcher attended school staff and parent meetings to explain the project and answered any questions about the project. After permission was granted from the principal for the study to take place in the school, family members were invited to be involved in the project. All family members had opportunities to decline participating in the study. The researcher distributed hard copy surveys, or an electronic link to the online survey, to all family members at the school, inviting them to participate. Electronic surveys, upon completion, were returned instantly to the Qualtrics online survey system, and hard copy surveys were completed and returned to the school, where the school office administrator sent them through to the researcher. The confidentiality of the participants was maintained throughout the process.

Data Analysis

To analyse the 4019 parent participants to the survey question, three approaches to analysis were employed iteratively: *descriptive quantitative analysis*, *thematic analysis* and *found poetry*. First, percentages were calculated for the Pākehā responses to the single-item multiple-choice demographic questions and responses to both open-ended questions were coded, counted, and analysed, to examine differences. This descriptive analysis involved aggregating, and presenting the constructs of interests in tables (see Tables 1, 2 and 3). Secondly, participant answers to two open-ended questions were coded and analysed with a focus on the ways Pākehā family members articulated their beliefs about the importance of cultural identity in the lives of their children. Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase Thematic Analysis process included: 1. Familiarising ourselves with the data; 2. Generating initial codes; 3. Searching for themes; 4. Reviewing themes; 5. Defining and naming themes; and 6. Reporting the themes. In relation to phases 4 and 5, Saldaña (2013) also emphasises that recoding and re-categorising is generally inevitable as “qualitative inquiry demands meticulous attention to language and deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings of human experience” (p. 10). Finally, attention to language through using poetic devices

Table 1. Pākehā Positive Cultural Identity Themes by Demographic

Positive Cultural ID	Year Level					Gender			Achievement			Language/s		Decile		
	Y 0-3	Y 4-6	Y 7-8	Y 9-10	Y 11-13	Male	Female	Other	Below average	Average	Above average	English only	English plus	Low	Medium	High
	n=981 24.4%	n=1377 34.3%	n=825 20.5%	n=418 10.4%	n=418 10.4%	n=1791 44.6%	n=2169 54%	n=59 1.5%	n=291 7.2%	n=1953 48.6%	n=1775 44.2%	n=3752 93.4%	n=267 6.6%	n=672 16.7%	n=2341 58.2%	n=1006 25%
Pride (n=415, %=10.3%*)	11.0%	11.0%	10.6%	7.9%	8.6%	11.1%	9.7%	10.2%	7.6%	10.6%	10.5%	10.0%	15.4%	12.5%	10.2%	9.2%
Place (n=38, %=0.9%*)	0.8%	1.2%	0.7%	1.0%	0.7%	0.8%	1.1%	0.0%	0.3%	1.1%	0.9%	1.0%	0.8%	1.2%	1.0%	0.6%
Belonging (n=453, %=11.3%*)	10.8%	10.9%	11.9%	13.2%	10.5%	11.9%	10.7%	13.6%	10.7%	12.2%	10.4%	11.3%	10.5%	8.9%	11.5%	12.2%
Cultural Participation (n=297, %=7.4%*)	7.1%	8.5%	7.4%	6.7%	5.0%	7.0%	7.6%	11.9%	8.6%	4.8%	10.1%	7.3%	9.4%	9.2%	7.4%	6.3%
Language (n=108, %=2.7%*)	3.3%	3.0%	2.4%	1.9%	1.7%	2.6%	2.7%	6.8%	1.7%	3.0%	2.5%	1.8%	15.7%	2.7%	2.6%	3.0%
Religion (n=52, %=1.3%*)	0.7%	1.5%	1.7%	0.5%	1.9%	1.4%	1.2%	3.4%	1.7%	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%	1.1%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%
Values/Traits (n=451, %=11.2%*)	9.6%	10.2%	10.2%	13.6%	17.9%	10.9%	11.5%	10.2%	14.8%	9.9%	12.1%	11.1%	13.5%	11.5%	12.0%	9.3%
Everything (n=62, %=1.5%*)	1.6%	2.0%	1.3%	0.5%	1.4%	1.4%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	1.4%	1.4%	3.4%	3.0%	1.5%	0.8%
Total Positive (n=1876, %=46.7%*)	45%	48.3%	46.2%	45.2%	47.8%	47.1%	46.1%	55.9%	45.4%	44.6%	49.2%	45.0%	69.7%	50.3%	47.4%	42.6%
Total N= (% = 100%*)	981	1377	825	418	418	1791	2169	59	291	1953	1775	3752	267	672	2341	1006

Notes: * % of total responses: 4019; ** Response percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

was then employed as a way to deeply reflect on the themes we were noticing.

Found poetry as a method of analysis draws on Richardson's (1994) seminal work on writing as a method of inquiry. The found poetry approach was employed to interrogate and distil the data in order to illuminate the essence of the Pākehā family responses. As a method of analysis, found poems are loyal to the original data and work to achieve data reduction. Data are then re-presented in an accessible, evocative and trustworthy style (Furman et al., 2006; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020). After thematic analysis was completed, words and phrases from the five main themes were extracted from the survey data, re-analysed, and then shaped into poetic form. The intention was to portray salience and poignancy, involving a careful and close analysis and reading of the written responses. The authors have also employed creative techniques to manipulate font, italics, bolding, and tabbing to create space and create a visually evocative poem. These evocative poems illustrate the strong emotionality of participant responses. So although they represent the minority (18.64%) of participant responses, they demonstrate the strength of feeling attached to these responses.

This study required the researchers to read, and reread the data, identifying key terms and words, coding, and then working with the findings to interrogate the deeper meanings. Often the participants' responses did not fall neatly into defined categories, but instead demonstrated cultural connectedness and pride, or a struggle to put into words how they might be proud of a Pākehā identity. These findings are significant and are the focus of another paper. The family members responses highlighted beliefs and values they held towards the importance of cultural identity for their children. Further, analysis using the ERS themes was deemed useful to elaborate on the extant research already available on White ERS parenting practices (Nierie et al., 2023).

Table 2. Cultural Identity Themes by Ethnicity

Cultural ID	Main ethnicity of child				
	Pākehā n=4019 (57.8%)	Māori n=1664 (23.9%)	Pasifika n=362 (5.21%)	Asian n=667 (9.60%)	Other n=236 (3.4%)
Refusing (n=1866, 26.9%)	33.3%	18.8%	16.3%	16.5%	19.1%
Wrestling (n=107, 1.5%)	2.5%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%
Resisting (n=337, 4.9%)	7.6%	1.1%	0.6%	0.5%	3.4%
Revolting (n=268, 3.9%)	6.4%	0.2%	0.3%	0.5%	0.9%
Re-storying (n=86, 1.2%)	2.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Total Negative (n=2664, 38.4%)	52.0%	20.4%	17.4%	17.4%	24.2%
Pride (n=848, 12.2%)	10.3%	18.0%	14.6%	7.4%	13.1%
Place (n=104, 1.5%)	1.0%	3.9%	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%
Belonging (n=959, 13.8%)	11.3%	20.8%	16.6%	11.7%	9.3%
Cultural Participation (n=673, 9.7%)	7.4%	12.7%	17.1%	12.7%	7.2%
Language (n=360, 5.2%)	2.7%	8.8%	9.7%	7.1%	10.2%
Religion (n=126, 1.8%)	1.3%	0.7%	3.6%	6.3%	3.4%
Values/Traits (n=950, 13.7%)	11.2%	7.5%	18%	36%	29.2%
Everything (n=186, 2.7%)	1.5%	6.3%	2.2%	1%	1.7%
Total Positive (n=4206, 60.5%)	46.7%	78.7%	82.0%	82.2%	74.6%
Other (n=78, 1.1%)	1.3%	1.0%	0.6%	0.5%	1.3%
TOTAL N= (100%**)	4019	1664	362	667	236

Notes: * % of total responses: 6948; ** Response percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

Our critical analyses highlight firstly, the ways the majority of Pākehā family members socialise their children to develop cultural pride and belonging, and secondly, four ways they struggle in their responses; which we have termed wrestling, resisting, revolting, and re-storying. While this article has focused on 33.3% of Pākehā family respondents who *refused* to answer the questions, and the 18.6% who *struggled* to engage their children in developing positive cultural identities; it is evident from our findings that many Pākehā (46.7% or $n = 1876$) family members articulate positive socialisation practices as demonstrated in Table 1.

Positive cultural identity. Positive cultural identity was communicated in several ways including 11.2% ($n = 451$) of Pākehā respondents who discussed the *values and traits* associated with their child's cultural identity, 11.3% ($n = 453$) emphasised a sense of *belonging*, 10.3% ($n = 415$) shared a sense of *pride* in their child's identity, and 7.4% ($n = 297$) valued *cultural participation* and engagement in cultural traditions and history. To a lesser degree, 2.7% ($n = 108$) of Pākehā family members socialised cultural pride through *language*, 1.3% ($n = 52$) *religion*, and (0.9% or $n = 38$) connection to *place*, while 1.5% ($n = 62$) of Pākehā family members expressed holistic pride in their child's cultural identity. These positive socialisation themes relate to Hughes et al.'s (2006) notion of *cultural socialisation* as parents expressed cultural pride and connectedness through their child's involvement and knowledge of their cultural traditions, language, and values. Other themes such as pride, belonging and place socialised children to understand their uniqueness and place in the world, and in particular Aotearoa New Zealand. Our positive cultural identity analyses show that family members of Pākehā children who they perceive have above average achievement, attend low or medium decile schools, and

those with the ability to speak an additional language to English were more likely to communicate positive socialisation practices.

The marked differences in diversity between low and high decile schools may influence Pākehā family member socialisation practices. Trends from 1996 to 2013 show that while the number of Māori, Pasifika, Asian and students from other ethnic groups in mid-high decile schools are increasing (Jones & Singh, 2015), lower decile schools are typically "smaller and 'brownier'" (Gordon, 2015, p. 15). This is consistent with recent 2022 Aotearoa New Zealand school roll data that shows Pākehā comprise fewer total enrolments in lower decile schools with diverse ethnicities (other than Pākehā) representing approximately 85% of low decile schools, 50% of medium decile schools and 41% of high decile schools (Education Counts, 2023). It is significant that Pākehā family members from low (50.3% or $n = 293$) and medium (47.4% or $n = 1065$) decile schools expressed more positive socialisation practices given their children are more likely to live in communities wherein Pākehā comprise less of the school roll and are more likely to be educated alongside non-Pākehā classmates (Gordon, 2015). A future article is in preparation for this journal which will further elucidate the positive ways Pākehā parents socialised their children to their cultural identities and backgrounds.

Refusing, wrestling, resisting, revolting (against) and restorying Pākehā identities. This paper pays particular attention to the second group of Pākehā family members who appeared to struggle with questions about their child's cultural identity or did not deem it as an important part of their identity. As demonstrated in Table 2, our findings show that Pākehā family members were more likely to struggle to describe cultural connectedness and pride compared to other ethnic groups. Just over half of Pākehā (52% or $n = 2089$) respondents discussed negative socialisation themes or refused to answer the

Table 3 . Pākehā Negative Cultural Identity Themes by Demographic

Negative Cultural ID*	Year Level					Gender		Achievement			Language/s		Decile			
	Y 0-3 n=981 24.4%	Y 4-6 n=1377 34.3%	Y 7-8 n=825 20.5%	Y 9-10 n=418 10.4%	Y 11-13 n=418 10.4%	Male n=1791 44.6%	Female n=2169 54%	Other n=59 1.5%	Below average n=291 7.2%	Average n=1953 48.6%	Above average n=1775 44.2%	English only n=3752 93.4%	English plus n=267 6.6%	Low n=672 16.7%	Medium n=2341 58.2%	High n=1006 25%
Refusing (n= 1340, 33.3% *)	37.5%	33.8%	33.2%	29.7%	25.8%	32.4%	34.1%	32.2%	39.2%	36.9%	28.5%	34.5%	16.9%	34.2%	32.2%	35.5%
Wrestling (n=102, 2.5%*)	2.5%	1.9%	2.3%	2.6%	5.0%	2.6%	2.5%	1.7%	1.0%	2.5%	2.9%	2.7%	0.7%	2.8%	2.3%	3.0%
Resisting (n=305, 7.6%*)	5.4%	6.6%	9.1%	10.3%	10.3%	8.1%	7.3%	3.4%	6.9%	6.7%	8.7%	7.7%	6.0%	5.5%	7.9%	8.2%
Revolting (n=258, 6.4%*)	5.7%	5.8%	6.3%	7.9%	8.9%	6.1%	6.8%	1.7%	6.2%	4.9%	8.2%	6.6%	3.7%	4.9%	6.7%	6.9%
Re-storying (n=84, 2.1%*)	2.5%	2.4%	2.1%	1.4%	1.0%	2.1%	2.0%	3.4%	0.3%	2.7%	1.7%	2.2%	1.1%	1.3%	2.3%	2.1%
Total Negative (n=2089, 52%*)	53.6%	50.5%	53.0%	51.9%	51.0%	51.4%	52.7%	42.4%	53.6%	53.6%	50.0%	57.1%	28.5%	48.8%	51.3%	55.6%
Total (N=, % = 100%**)	981	1377	825	418	418	1791	2169	59	291	1953	1775	3752	267	672	2341	1006

Notes: * % of total responses: 401; ** Response percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

question. This is notably higher than the negative socialisation themes evident in the responses of family members of children who identified their children as Māori (20.4% or $n = 339$), Pasifika (17.4% or $n = 63$), Asian (17.4% or $n = 116$) or 'other' (24.2% or $n = 57$).

When analysing negative Pākehā responses further, we observed that Pākehā family members with children from higher decile schools (55.6% or $n = 559$), who perceived their children achievement to be below average (53.6% or $n = 156$) or average (53.6% or $n = 1046$), and with English as the only language they speak (57.1% or $n = 2143$) were more likely than their counterparts to struggle with this question around cultural connectedness and pride. Responses according to the year level, gender, achievement, language(s) spoken and school decile of the child of participant family members are outlined in Table 3.

These findings highlight that at least half of the Pākehā family members across all demographic groups struggled to express cultural connectedness and pride, apart from those with children who did not identify as either male or female (42.4% or $n = 25$), had above average achievement (49.9% $n = 887$), or who spoke more than one language (28.46% or $n = 76$). Parents of bilingual children were significantly less likely to respond with negative comments about cultural identity. Hughes et al., (2006) contend that language is a key way that parents transmit cultural values and beliefs to their children. These findings are therefore consistent with existing research and indicate children's second language learning is correlated with positive socialisation practices for Pākehā families. Language as cultural capital was first introduced by Bourdieu (1977) and Norton (2016; Norton & Toohey, 2011) has since outlined how identity is developed through language learning and provides avenues for community membership and participation (Fielding, 2015; Harbon & Fielding, 2022). Our finding that second language learning fosters positive socialisation practices in Pākehā families is consistent with prior research demonstrating language is linked to cultural connectedness and parents utilise language as a cultural socialisation practice (Marcias, 2022; Mesinas & Perez, 2016; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Tram et al., 2023).

Our findings also indicate that as school deciles increase, Pākehā family members have more difficulty expressing cultural connectedness and pride. In particular, Pākehā family members from high decile schools (55.6% or $n = 559$) are more likely to struggle to socialise their children to develop positive cultural identity compared to family members from low decile schools (48.8% or $n = 328$). As highlighted above, this is likely impacted by the dominance of Pākehā students in high decile schools and the reduced exposure to diversity or encounters with difference. Research has shown that White families have more conversations about race when they are exposed to diversity at school or in the community and less often in White dominated spaces (Brown et al., 2007; Eveland & Nathan, 2020; Nieri et al., 2024). This supports Broman et al. 's (2022) discussion that majority group members develop 'ethnic consciousness' through interactions with other groups. Parent's choice about where to send their children to school can also highlight their implicit

socialisation practices (Yasui, 2015). Parents may intentionally expose their children to diverse school settings as a colour-conscious socialisation attempt or avoid these contexts, demonstrating implicit colour-blind socialisation messages (Hagerman, 2013; Loyd & Gaither, 2018). The evident correlation between decile and the degree in which family members struggle to articulate positive socialisation practices highlights that different contextual factors such as the diversity in schools and community has some impact on Pākehā socialisation practices. Research suggests that the choice and/or impact of Pākehā parents sending children to higher decile schools may correlate to reduced conversations about race and ethnicity and a higher adoption of colour-blind socialisation practices.

This study found some family members from all ethnic groups refused to discuss their child's cultural pride and connectedness, however more Pākehā family members avoided the question than any other group. Approximately, 9.4% ($n = 380$) of Pākehā family members 'skipped the question altogether, and 24% ($n = 960$) of participants either stated NA, put a question mark, wrote 'none', or 'unsure'. This means that a third (33.3%, $n = 1340$) of all Pākehā family members could not, or would not, identify a positive aspect of their child's ethnic/cultural background or articulate the ways they socialised their children to experience cultural connectedness and pride. Comparatively, approximately 16.6% of Pasifika ($n = 59$) and Asian ($n = 110$) family members and approximately 19% of Māori ($n = 312$) and 'Other' ($n = 45$) family members did not respond when asked to describe their cultural pride and connectedness. This lack of response could be interpreted as *silence about race* but Hughes et al.'s (2006) assert that "estimating silence about race is somewhat tricky" (p. 757). The lack of response goes some way to estimate how many parents *do not* engage with cultural connectedness and pride at all but it is worth noting that other factors may have influenced a lack of response. The prevalence of Pākehā silence supports Abaied and Perry's (2021) findings that many White parents avoid race-related conversations with their children.

Those Pākehā family members who struggled but answered the question with a qualitative comment ($n = 665$, 16.5%), demonstrated three categories of response: *wrestling* ($n = 102$, 2.5%), *resisting* ($n = 305$, 7.59%), and *revolting* ($n = 258$, 6.4%). In addition, eighty four (2.1%) Pākehā family members engaged in *re-storying* Pākehā cultural identity focusing on particular cultural values associated with tolerance, acceptance and 'a kind of kindness'. Pākehā family members accounted for 94% ($n = 749$) of all responses within these four themes indicating that it is predominantly Pākehā family members who wrestle with, resist, revolt against and re-story their child's cultural identity/ies.

This paper draws attention to the ways Pākehā family members employ one of four strategies to reject cultural socialisation: wrestling, resistance, revolt and re-storying. Using the method of found poetry the four poems presented below demonstrate, through drawing on the words of the Pākehā family members, the emotive joy and struggle they feel when asked questions regarding Pākehā cultural pride and connectedness.

Wrestling

It's pretty boring. **Sadly** the benefit of white privilege :(
Better starting point compared to others

due to legacy of privilege and racism.

I guess the privilege

I'm not really proud of anything.

Pakeha culture **needs** to share and restore balance.

Not particularly proud of our European whiteness,

not something we discuss as a family.

Pakeha do not really have their own culture

Don't relate to any specific cultural identity, just kiwi.

It is **difficult** for a middle class white kiwi male to feel especially proud of their culture.

Privileged oppressors.

She won the 'skin colour' **sadly** in spite of lots of progress.

Struggling to answer this nothing that is culture based makes me proud.

My/child's generation

first to feel this most keenly

We are so removed from our ancestor's origins.

We are trying to make connections important for them to know.

What is OUR cultural background?

We are so busy being diverse **shameful**

to be white working class.

We are not allowed to be proud **in my opinion.**

Pakeha in New Zealand don't have much

ethnic or cultural background

due to focus on *other* cultures.

Well, we are white.. **am I a racist?**

If you are white in NZ, it is

frowned upon to celebrate your culture...

Pretty devoid of cultural identity.

Being white is a bit of a chore and somewhat boring.

Pakeha culture is a bit whack.

Not sure about the question.

It requires some thought and

I am still thinking about it.

As white middle class family

difficult

to see our cultural background

as being anything

important.

It is just the norm. anyone else's cultural values

are more noticeable

(because *they* are not the norm).

to my shame

We are **disconnected**.

This poem, *Wrestling*, highlights Pākehā who struggle with connectedness to a cultural identity. Approximately 2.5% ($n = 102$) Pākehā family members described the lack of cultural identity, the silence around the topic in their daily lives, and the shame they experience with the knowledge of their own White Privilege. They use words like 'difficult', 'privilege' and 'shame', with a recognition that although these conversations are important for their children, they themselves feel disconnected from their culture. Resonance with Hughes et al.'s (2006) theme, a *promotion of mistrust* and Earle and Hodson's (2020) *anti-White bias* is implicit in these responses where family members questioned if being white equals being racist and

also how it is ‘frowned upon’ to celebrate your culture. Britzman (2013) described this fragility as “difficult knowledge”, where uncertainty and “larger historical and cultural forces” have not been worked through (p. 115). Britzman (2013) describes the emotional responses that arise from an encounter with difficult knowledge, and importantly for this study, how these “unconscious emotional situations” are transmitted to children (p. 115).

Resonating with Tolich (2002) and Leonardo’s (2009) concerns of paralysis, and a fear of doing the wrong thing, these participants recognised their privilege but found ‘nothing to be proud about’; instead exemplifying both defensiveness and fragility. A small number of responses in this category (n = 22 or 0.5%) recognised their privilege through highlighting positive stereotypes associated with being Pākehā for instance, having ‘reduced stigma’, ‘lack of unconscious bias’ and ‘increased opportunity’. These family members indicate awareness of the privilege their children have as a result of their cultural background but it is unclear from their comments how knowledge of White privilege is integrated into socialisation practices that foster positive Pākehā identities. Similarly, these comments seem to accept the privileged position their children are in, made visible through pervasive media coverage that frames Pākehā as ‘us’ and other groups, such as Māori, as ‘other’ or ‘them’ accompanied by stereotypes, assumptions and fears (Pedersen et al., 2022). In this way, our findings support other research that a small minority of White parents utilise socialisation strategies of advantage to maintain continued privilege (Nieri et al., 2023). This links to DiAngelo’s (2011) argument that White people need strategies to build stamina as an anecdote to fragility when confronted with the difficult knowledge of their colonial histories and inherited privilege.

One theme highlighted consistently in research on White identities, and echoed here, is a lack of knowledge of their own histories. Several scholars suggest that identification with the culture of one’s own ancestors is an important starting point (A Bell, 2014; Howard, 2006; Sleeter, 2011). However, exploration of family histories should be understood within the context of race and class and historic events should be situated within a context of power relationships (Sleeter, 2011). Exploration of one’s own history is understood as beneficial for both Whites and non-Whites to understand the experiences and processes that influence how they view themselves and others (LA Bell, 2002, p. 242). Aligned with Britzman’s (2013) seminal work on ‘difficult knowledge’, Russell (2022) argues that Pākehā will likely experience anxiety, guilt and shame when they encounter new and difficult knowledge about their past but insists that these emotions are an important starting point if Pākehā can work *through* them. Parents have a unique role and responsibility to reflect on their implicit and explicit socialisation attitudes and practices and engage in their own identities and histories (Abaied & Perry, 202; Nieri et al., 2023).

The second poem, *Resistance*, identifies the many ways 7.6% (n = 305) of Pākehā family members resisted or redirected the question of culture away from themselves. There was a tendency to erase culture and instead imagine that all New Zealanders were the same, not divided by race or ethnicity, that they are all ‘one’, expressing pride in a ‘kiwi’ national identity.

Resistance

Culture is irrelevant

We are 1 NZ, not divided by race.
New Zealand a nation.
[Culture] does not define a human being.
Personality [not defined] by cultural background.
Don’t have a culture.

We don’t identify with culture.

Sees all people as one. Doesn’t think about colour.
They are just his mates hangs out with whoever.
Sees all cultures as the same.

Everyone is treated the same.

Kiwis don’t really have cultural or ethnic origins.
Nothing significant about European culture that is different to any other culture.

We’re all the same.

They are who they are. A kiwi.

No cultural or ethnic identity.

It is an illusion. One we are creating.

Race does not define her.

They don’t really engage with their culture

Don’t know Don’t see any relevance.

All ethnicities should be equal,

We are all as one,

We are human beings,

We have a Global humanity outlook.

We are all one race, the human race.

A Kiwi.

We are a melting pot

Respecting all cultures.

A ‘can-do’, number 8 wire attitude,

A heritage of settlers,

A grounded, hardy, down-to-earth kind of quality.

A heart for egalitarianism,

The desire to live in a fair, harmonious and inclusive society.

Multicultural, appreciating all cultures

Celebrate diversity, the beauty of different traditions and values.

Post enlightenment liberal thinker.

Embrace all ethnic and cultural groups

Cultural diversity of friends.

Learning about *others*

Accepting *others* with open arms.

Strong inclusive attitude to *others*,

Welcoming and tolerant of *others*,

Non-judgmental.

also rejection of the idea that cultural identities might define them or their children, and they instead focused on their child’s individuality, stating ‘he is an individual and should be addressed and treated as such’ or ‘we are all human’ and should have a ‘global’ humanity outlook. These perspectives both link to the concept of ‘colour-blindness’ with a belief that racism is no longer an issue, or that ignoring race will somehow prevent it from being impactful in the lives of them and their children (Gillen-O’Neel et al., 2021). These Pākehā family members tended to focus on others, adopting a multicultural perspective about their children respecting all *other* cultures, being open minded, accepting, welcoming, tolerant, and non-judgmental. These responses link clearly to the ERS component of *egalitarianism*, with the belief that everyone should be treated the same with individual qualities being more valued than group membership

(Hughes et al., 2006). There is also an erasure of culture through a focus on ‘sameness’ and treating all individuals as ‘humans’. Similar to Gillen-O’Neel et al.’s (2021) work with White parents, Pākehā family members encouraged their children to develop friendships with children from other cultures, but not to explore their own culture.

Promotion of mistrust is also highlighted through the family members’ focus on developing comforting relationships and what DiAngelo (2011) describes as superficial “racial tolerance”, promoting the notion that White people are good moral people (p. 57). Gillen-O’Neel et al. (2021) argue that this racialisation strategy further obscures the ongoing systemic racial hierarchy “where White people are in power” (p. 23). The strategies of repeating a dominant narrative and erasure link to the concept of difficult knowledge and Britzman’s (1998) theory of ‘unconscious knowing’, which describes cultural/racial ignorance as a strategy of avoidance. Likewise, de Heyer and Conrad (2011) describe Whites occupying a “privilege-ignorance nexus” in a position of luxury, where they employ ignorance as a resistance strategy to conscious acknowledgement (p. 8). Ignorance, redefined as a dynamic of knowledge, is a matter of choice. It is an active forgetting, a dis-membling, a refusal of information and a desire not to know (de Heyer & Conrad, 2011; Garrett & Segall, 2013).

Preparing for bias is also demonstrated in this poem through family members’ encouragement of interracial/multicultural friendships. This aligns with Zucker and Patterson’s (2018) description of White parents who adopt a colour-conscious approach. However, the poem highlights the ‘lack’ of preparation through the deliberate silence about their own culture, coupled with a focus on developing ‘caring’ attitudes for *others’* culture, which Underhill (2019) describes as progressive parents encouraging a type of ‘moral whiteness’ (p. 497). ‘Happy race-talk’ (Underhill, 2018, p. 1940) is typical of White socialisation practices, where appreciation and celebration of difference is encouraged while difficult conversations are avoided or reframed. The focus on being a ‘good’ Pākehā compared to being ‘bad’ or ‘racist’ continues to centre Pākehā morality and avoids the role Pākehā have in maintaining inequity (Pedersen et al., 2022). Finally, Gillen-O’Neel et al. (2021) contends that progressive parents who teach the shallow goals of generic empathy, want their ‘children to know that different people have different experiences and different ways of being’ (p. 20), without interrogating their own.

Revolt

We are proud,
White New Zealanders.
We don’t put people into
boxes – *like that*.
No answer for this,
We don’t follow culture.
Haven’t thought about it.
I feel this question sets the scene for racial prejudice.
White people are less represented in crime and
have better opportunities in life.
It is what it is.
I am white.
This question misses
The point.
Being multi-cultural you

experience
A person with a
wider world view.
We are just humans.
I personally would rather see
past ethnicity.
Focusing on just one culture or ethnicity
Create[s] a singular (and sometimes racist) focus
Not sure about this question,
Don’t know.
I resent being
Pigeonholed into a certain race.
We are native to this country!
We are from this land.
The language is still alive.
Cultural history!
There is so much more to learn.
There is no “best thing”,
It is what it is. Nothing –
How can I be proud of a cultural identity?
She needs no label to belong.
Nothing.
I disagree with these questions.
Silly question
Weird question
Dumb question.
We are all New Zealanders.
Get fucked.
I refuse to answer this question

This poem, called *Revolt*, highlights a type of White thinking that is increasingly becoming prevalent, perhaps given permission through the ‘Trump’ era and with the subsequent backlash to #Blacklivesmatter with ‘All lives matter’ (Hart, 2021).

Approximately 6.4% of Pākehā family members ($n = 258$) demonstrated a type of cultural socialisation that either rejected cultural identity connections and/or focused on broader ‘national’ or homogenous ‘white’ identity discourses. Within this, 41 responses (1%) explicitly rejected the importance of culture and ethnicity in their child’s identities while the remaining 217 responses (5.4%) demonstrated a simplistic identification with national identity. These responses represent the ways Pākehā family members’ cultural socialisation messages can work to maintain Pākehā normative dominance. The Pākehā family members responses here fit clearly with what Goren and Plaut (2012) describe as “prideful” (p. 239); those who have strong White identities and take pride in their Whiteness. The notion of pride here, however, is different to pride in a distinct cultural group, and could be linked instead to a continued belonging, or connectedness to, a White settler coloniser identity.

Settler colonialism seeks to erase or eliminate Indigenous populations through either becoming the people of the place and/or establishing their way as the dominant way of life, eventually seeing themselves as Indigenous (Veracini, 2019). The description ‘we are native’ aligns with a desire in Aotearoa New Zealand, of a few, to replace Indigenous Māori. The responses here demonstrate a racial perspective on Pākehā identity, ironically, through the emphasis on describing the question as inflaming ‘racial prejudice’, an argument that White people are ‘less represented in crime’, and the

emotive language displayed when asked to think about a Pākehā culture: ‘silly, weird, dumb, ... I refuse to answer’. The claim to indigeneity in Aotearoa New Zealand is not new. King (1999) claimed to be a ‘White Native’ and claimed that Pākehā were a second Indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Bell (2005) contends that King’s assertions are concerning for two reasons: firstly, that refusing a colonial past inhibits the ability of Pākehā to deal with the impact of colonisation on a productive Pākehā/Māori relationship; and, secondly, appropriating an Indigenous status restricts any political authority the term grants Māori through international law (Bell, 2005). This is evident in recent political movements that seek to remove Aotearoa New Zealand’s unique relationship and obligations to Māori as tangata whenua (Indigenous people) under Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi and reflect instead the equal rights of ‘all New Zealanders’ (Act, n.d.). Pedersen et al. (2022) argues that “positive sounding values such as ‘unity’” or in this case, a homogenous Aotearoa New Zealand “are used to undermine ethnic diversity and justify Pākehā control” (p. 2). As such, an uninterrogated national identity reflects colour-blind socialisation and Hughes et al.’s (2006) theme of *egalitarianism* by subverting the differences and ignoring the inequities between groups and denying necessary conversations about race and privilege.

These findings are consistent with previous research on white settlers preferring to claim a national identity (Fitzpatrick, 2018) assuming a dominant position and a ‘governmental belonging’ (Hage, 2023) to place. Some Pākehā (5.4% or $n = 217$) in this study claimed a national identity as a source of cultural pride. ‘Being a New Zealander’ or ‘Kiwi’ and connecting to national discourses such as ‘Kiwi ingenuity’, ‘Kiwi know how’ or the idea that ‘NZers are hard workers & creative thinkers’ was a feature of Pākehā responses. Clearly, Pākehā family members related to being a New Zealander and to the traits associated with the nation. These sentiments align with what Bell (2017) refers to as the standard story of Aotearoa New Zealand, one that since colonisation, has always centred Pākehā ideals, incorporated bicultural notions (albeit often symbolically) and inevitably marginalised and excluded certain groups and events through a selective “remembering and forgetting” (p. 49) of national histories. Tracing the adoption of the identity “New Zealander” through the Aotearoa New Zealand Census, Broman et al. (2022) found that the rise in ‘national naming’ of New Zealand European’s in the 2006 Census “represented an assertion of national dominance and centrality amongst a segment of the dominant population feeling in some sense under threat” (p. 2101). This segment was most likely to be middle-aged, male, living in a European only household or European dominated areas with low socioeconomic deprivation. In this way, national identity is synonymous, to some degree, with Whiteness and homogeneity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Our findings show that Pākehā, more than any other group, associate themselves with Aotearoa New Zealand’s national identity. National identity does not invoke the same degree of pride for Māori ($n = 3$), Asian ($n = 2$), Other ($n = 1$) and Pasifika ($n = 0$) family members included in this study with less than 1% of responses for these groups prioritising national identity in their

responses. This is compared to the 5.4% ($n = 217$) of Pākehā responses. Broman et al. (2022) argues that Pākehā are reflected in national conceptions and therefore are not required as other groups are, to construct an identity separate to it. The reliance on national identity for cultural connectedness and pride for Pākehā leaves little room for other groups to be represented in the construction of the nation without threatening settler belonging. It also highlights the distancing from Britain as the “metropolitan homeland” (Bell, 2009, p. 147) and the “settler desire for redemption and innocence, an absolution for the violence of settler colonialism” (Higgins & Terruhn, 2020, p.17). However, this is challenged when Pākehā must face their histories for instance, in the recently revised Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum where Pākehā must engage with Māori informed perspectives on the story of colonisation and its lasting effects (Russell, 2021; Pederson et al., 2022). To do so effectively, Pākehā must make room for complex and incomplete histories (Russell, 2021) and continually work through the difficult emotions that arise (Pederson et al., 2022).

Restoring: A kind of kindness

94 times they told me of care
77 ways they are kind
Compassion was true for 17
And empathy valued for 29
Show a little kindness

Before Jacinda made a decree

Kind and caring
Caring and kindness
Caring and humble
Honest and kind

Valuing a kind heart and caring nature
Fun loving, generous, gentle
Tolerant, helpful, responsible
Puts others interests before your own.

Emphasise empathy and compassion,
Good morals, being respectful, understanding.
Being inclusive, accepting, adaptive
Seeing things from other’s point of view
A citizen of care

A caring citizen
Caring *individuals*,
Caring *whānau/family*
Caring *communities*

Caring *nation*,
Care for the whole person
Care for whānau

A great place to visit.

Care for others, not like themselves
Care for the less fortunate
Care for all animals
Care for our environment.

Caretakers for future generations.
Support each other
Think about others’ feelings
Treat people kindly no matter...

Their background
Where they come from
Their differences
Their point of view

Nonjudgmental
We stick up for the underdog!

The poem *Re-storying: A kind of kindness* is drawn on and utilised in 1.2% (n = 86) Pākehā family responses. Although recognising the notion of kindness is important, some understandings of kindness appear problematic for family cultural socialisation, particularly when the story of caring about other cultural groups can position the ‘carer’ as superior to those being ‘cared for’. The responses in this poem resonate with Hage’s (1993) seminal work on White Nationalism. Hage (2023) argues the struggle is ongoing, and describes the white settler’s fantasy of belonging using the concept of ‘governmental belonging’ where positionality is imagined through the white central subject and a national identity. Hage (2023) argues that through an accumulation of cultural ways of being, aligned with Bourdieu’s cultural capital, middle-class white settlers have developed an entitlement to ‘worry’. And through these “acts of worrying they reaffirm and re-empower themselves, asserting their moral guardianship over the ethnic fabric and cultural trajectory of [Hage’s focus] Australia”. In the Kindness poem above, the perceived capacity for tolerance, ability to be open to other cultures, gestures of benevolence, the oft repeated commitment to ‘caring’, and acceptance of difference, might demonstrate the imagined moral high ground Hage describes.

Another concerning aspects of these kindness responses are where Pākehā families unconsciously position themselves as the ‘saviour’ of others, associating being Pākehā with sticking up for the ‘underdog’, being ‘nonjudgmental’, and caring for those less fortunate, without recourse to the ongoing impacts of Whiteness vis-à-vis colonialism. We believe this articulation of kindness needs to be troubled as it aligns with Stewart’s (2023) articulation of White Saviourism, because the underlying message is that non-Pākehā others need help, which reveals “underlying deficit thinking [that they are] inherently lacking in some way” (p. 12). In line with Dutta and Elers (2020) we argue that narratives of kindness “appeal to the human capacity to do good”, however, there is a “dark side to these narratives, one that does not serve those who are precarious, underprivileged or marginalized”, that instead work at “obfuscating and erasing necessary conversations on the transformative policies and infrastructure changes needed to address fundamental structural issues underlying the deep inequalities we inhabit” (p. 109). There are also clear links to the theme Egalitarianism where children are encouraged to treat everyone equally and show empathy, minimise differences, and ignore the impact of the past (Gillen-O’Neel et al., 2021).

We argue that teaching Pākehā children to be kind, non-judgmental, tolerant, caring and inclusive is *not enough*. Pākehā family members must socialise their children to read, listen, and think in order “to work through the truth of history and ideas about the Māori-Pākehā relationship that make Aotearoa New Zealand the country it is today” (Stewart, 2020, p.10). Acknowledgement of the ways Whiteness and White privilege have shaped Pākehā relationships with Māori, and their place in Aotearoa New Zealand more broadly is essential to self-identifying as Pākehā. Unlike Spoonley (1995) and Pearson (1989) who both contended that Pākehā identity formation does not have to be considered alongside Whiteness, we assert that values and actions

associated with Whiteness, White saviourism and White Privilege are inextricably linked to colonisation and the continued domination of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. The enduring consequences of White ideology and hegemony are very real and continue to have a negative impact on the lives of many who are not Pākehā. In line with Gray, Jaber and Anglem (2013) we argue that it is essential for Pākehā parents to socialise their children to the role that Whiteness plays in determining a sense of their own identity and the identities of others because “not doing so risks obscuring the legacy of Aotearoa New Zealand’s colonial past: the cultural power that members of the dominant white majority enjoy within contemporary society” (p. 86). Stewart (2023) also contends that Pākehā need to learn to identify and undermine the “truth-myths” that operate within Aotearoa New Zealand which she describes as “commonsensical truths within a society which can, upon closer inspection, turn out to be false” (p. 2). Stewart (2023) argues that these the truth-myths “serve to reinforce racist and colonial attitudes and practices” that continue to “negatively impact on relationships between Māori and Pākehā people, at individual and societal levels” (p. 2).

Conclusion

Cultural connectedness and ethnic group belonging influence the thoughts and behaviours of many Pākehā family members, enabling them to act purposefully to culturally socialise their children in an increasingly diverse world. As Aotearoa New Zealand continues to diversify, all groups who call Aotearoa New Zealand home will need to identify and articulate who they are culturally – but this will require Pākehā to be comfortable in their own skin. Pākehā families need to support their children to develop the skills, knowledge and confidence to learn about multiple cultural worlds with cultural connectedness, pride, and an inclusive mindset. They will also need to critically re-story and ‘trouble’ the ‘truth-myths’ about colonisation and its ongoing impacts on Māori-Pākehā relationships. Just as Pākehā are not a homogenous group, the diversity of responses in this study reflect the complexity of defining a Pākehā identity.

Our findings show that more than half of Pākehā participants struggle to articulate cultural connectedness and pride. Apparent in the data are the multitude of ways Pākehā families *do not* engage their children in developing connectedness to their culture and the ways they avoid conversations about Whiteness, White privilege and the ongoing impacts of colonisation. A third of the Pākehā participants refused to discuss cultural connectedness and pride, illustrating one of the key ways Pākehā avoided engaging in cultural socialisation practices. This study has highlighted four further strategies used by Pākehā family members to avoid talking about their child’s cultural identity: 1) they wrestle with the tension of engendering cultural pride while simultaneously grappling with internalised notions of White superiority; 2) they resist self-categorising or being categorised by others; 3) they revolt against the idea of being culturally proud or recognising any form of White privilege, and 4) they articulate a White saviour mentality, restoring Pākehā culture with values such as kindness, sticking up for the ‘underdog’, being ‘nonjudgmental’, and caring for those less fortunate.

There are very encouraging signs that some Pākehā family members are working toward socialising their children into a positive bicultural identity, emphasising mixed cultural identities and strong ancestral links. These features of cultural identity are important for self-esteem and social-emotional wellbeing, and it is vital that all Pākehā students have opportunities to name themselves culturally, and to identify positive aspects of their culture. The positive Pākehā cultural socialisation practices will be discussed in more detail in a future article. Pākehā family members must promote positive cultural attitudes, consider the rights, roles and response-abilities of Pākehā group membership, critically engagement in discussions about Aotearoa New Zealand's colonised history, and encourage greater inter-ethnic sociability and understanding. These important ERS processes must begin in childhood—and in children's homes—because it is within the context of the family, and through familial socialisation practices, that children develop their own cultural beliefs, values and behaviours.

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