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NGĀ KIRITEA MĀORI: WALKING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
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Abstract

Current statistics illustrate the diversity of the Māori population in Aotearoa. Many Māori individuals do not necessarily ‘fit’ the narratives used in contemporary society of what it means to be Māori, and this may affect their identity as Māori. In particular, those who do not physically look Māori but who identify as Māori and who have Māori whakapapa. I have termed these people ngā kiritea Māori.

The research was grounded in a Māori centred qualitative research approach. Semi structured interviews were carried out with eight participants in order to obtain information around their experiences of growing up in Aotearoa and how these experiences helped or hindered them in their development of their Māori identity. In addition, the interviews drew out stories about what their Māori identity meant to them in today’s society.

These stories were analyzed using narrative analysis to explore some of the factors that affect Māori identity development. Five public narratives were identified: ‘Māori/Pākehā division’, ‘Māori as second class citizens’, ‘The ideal Māori figure’, ‘Māori as the sports hero’ and ‘Valorisation of Māori’. Within the personal stories there were four identified themes: ‘The desire to connect to things Māori’, ‘The importance of whakapapa’ ‘Painful and conflicting journey’s’, and ‘Positive Māori identities’.

The analysis reveals how participants drew on the public narratives as a way of explaining their own personal stories and how the public narratives contributed to the four personal themes identified. This research will not only contribute to the limited literature existing on ngā kiritea Māori identities but it will also provide a means for ngā kiritea Māori voices to be heard in Aotearoa.

Acknowledgements

This has been an inspiring and exciting journey as I have investigated ngā kiritea Māori identities. As a kiritea Māori myself this was, and is, a personally invested topic. My main hope is that this thesis will enable the voices of ngā kiritea Māori to be heard throughout Aotearoa. Throughout this thesis, the realities and experiences of ngā kiritea Māori will be brought to light in what is hoped to be a positive and meaningful way. However, I cannot continue without first acknowledging those who were instrumental to me in this journey.

To begin with, I would like to whole heartedly thank the kiritea Māori who shared with me their stories, their experiences and their understandings about what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa. Thank you for your participation, for your stories and for so willingly sharing with me a part of yourself and your identity.

Secondly, to my supervisor Dr. Christine Stephens, who has listened, read and contributed to every aspect of this project. Your guidance, knowledge and support has provided me with the ability to complete this work and I appreciate it very much.

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Prologue

Ko Moehau te maunga
Ko Owhero te awa
Ko Ngāti Kahu me Ngāpuhi ngā iwi
Ko Ngāti Rua te hapū
Ko Te Tiriti te marae
Ko Sarah Herbert tōku ingoa

This research has been a long time coming for me, as a kiritea Māori myself I have often struggled with my identity and am constantly challenging myself to become more secure in who I am as an individual in Aotearoa; a process that, I assume, is not an easy one for anybody.

My journey began a long time ago, but it never really came ‘alive’ until I began studying at Massey University in Palmerston North. In my first year there, I would have assignments which required me to write about health and well being in New Zealand. This field fascinated me and I found it easier to write about this topic by writing from a Māori worldview and holistic idea about health and well being. From there a passion was sparked within me, I wanted to learn more about Māori culture, Māori values, Māori ways of living and ways of being. At this point however, I was still unsure why. I knew I had whakapapa but it meant very little to me at that time.

As my journey at Massey continued it was like I found my niche; I had finally discovered what made me tick, what fascinated me and where I wanted to go with my future. When I completed my undergraduate degree in 2007 I gained employment at Te Runanga O Raukawa [TROR]. Based in Fielding, I had the privilege of working alongside several fine Māori health professionals in the Manawatu, Horowhenua and Taranaki regions. It was through my employment at TROR that my identity was strengthened because I was nurtured by the staff and by the people I was working amongst, and it was here that I really

began to embrace my Māori identity. As I learnt more about the Māori culture I realized my own world views, ideas and values were more closely aligned to Māori cultural values and worldviews.

It hasn't been an easy journey though, I feel the constant gaze of 'others'; those who do not believe I am Māori and those who do not accept that I am Māori. I have been challenged and questioned, insulted and ignored by 'Others' simply because they did not, they do not, believe I am 'truly' Māori. This may have something to do with my brown hair, my blue eyes, and my fair and freckly skin. It may also go deeper than that, it may be my limited knowledge within Te Ao Māori or my limited ability to speak Te Reo or it may simply be that I am merely a child in this journey which has only just begun. However, what the 'Others' don't realize is that I am Māori, I am grounded in the knowledge of my whakapapa and my tūrangawaewae and I will continue to grow and to develop as a kiritea Māori in today's society.

At this point it is important to talk about my other identity; my Pākehā identity. A lot of the time I feel I sit more comfortably in my Pākehā identity, I do not face the same challenges as I do when considering my Māori identity. My Pākehā identity is always assumed, never challenged and forever accepted because, for the most part, I have grown up 'Pākehā' yet I have always been surrounded and immersed within and around Māori communities and Māori people. This Pākehā identity is also what grounds me as an individual, it is what helps me to feel a sense of belonging in Aotearoa and it is as equally important to me as my Māori identity.

For me, this research is all part of a process in which I am not only learning about who I am and where I belong, but also, it is about learning of ngā kiritea Māori identities in Aotearoa and it is about sharing the stories of eight kiritea Māori in order to illustrate our challenges, our highlights, our uniqueness as people who have Māori whakapapa and who have formed a Māori identity but who do not fit the 'typical' physical mould of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa.

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Glossary of Māori Words

This glossary provides simple definitions to assist in the comprehension of Māori terms used in the thesis. Many of these terms have multiple meanings that are complex and not necessarily explained sufficiently or accurately in the English language. No translations are given for the proper names of tribes, places, individuals and organisations.

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	God or supernatural being
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hongi	Greeting, press noses
Hui	Meeting(s), gathering(s)
Iwi	Tribe
Kai	Food or drink
Kapa Haka	Māori cultural or performing group
Kaumātua	Māori elder
Kawa	Marae protocol and customs or the governing lore within specific iwi
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, talk, have a conversation
Koro	grandfather, elderly man
Koru	Folded, looped or coil, Māori design
Kuia	Elderly women, grandmother
Mana	Authority, influence, prestige, power, spiritual power,
Māori	Normal, usual, ordinary, and indigenous or native people of New Zealand
Mātauranga Māori	The body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors
Mauri	Life force, source of emotions
Pākehā	A person of predominantly European descent or a New Zealander of European descent
Pūkāea	A long trumpet made of wood and bound with vine

Pūrākau	Ancient legend, myth or story
Tangata Whenua	Indigenous people of the land
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Reo	The Māori language
Te Tai Tokerau	The sea on the north side of the North Island (Far north)
Tikanga	Rules or customs, correct way of doing things
Tino rangatiratanga	Self determination
Tīpūna or tūpuna	Ancestor(s)
Tūrangawaewae	Place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
Tūturu Māori	Real, genuine Māori
Urūpā	Cemetery or burial ground
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whaea	Mother, aunt, aunty
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships
Whanau	Extended family
Whenua Tipu	Ancestral land

Chapter 1

Introduction

He tangata te koutou	You are one people
He tangata te matou	We are one people
Ma roto I ngā tau e heke mai nei	In the years that lie ahead
Tatou, tatou e.	We are together.

What does it mean to be Māori in Aotearoa? More specifically, what does it mean to be an individual of mixed Māori and Pākehā descent in Aotearoa? How did these mixed ethnic individuals form their Māori identity? And what helped or hindered them from forming their Māori identity? These questions have an array of possible answers. At one time Māori was a term used to unify tangata whenua as one people. Now, it is more difficult to attribute a single meaning or understanding around what it means to ‘be Māori’ in Aotearoa. This research project will examine one specific group of people within the Māori population of Aotearoa. This group has been termed ngā kiritea Māori which literally means fair skinned Māori.

In order to investigate the perspectives of ngā kiritea Māori and their identities it is important to first understand what a ‘Māori cultural identity’ actually means. An overview of the current statistics regarding the Māori population will be covered. The next section will identify and define some of the key terms within identity research. Furthermore, it will provide a brief background to the term ‘ngā kiritea Māori’. The third section will discuss Māori cultural identity from a Māori historical perspective through to the present. The fourth section provides discussion on how the New Zealand government has attempted to measure Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa from a historical perspective through to the present. Pākehā cultural identity will then be discussed beginning with the origin of the term Pākehā and some of the issues associated with this term. To conclude there will be a discussion of how Māori and Pākehā cultural identities and the government’s measurement of ethnicity may have impacted on ngā kiritea Māori identity development and the subsequent research questions to be addressed by this project.

1.1 Statistics

Statistics help to describe the Māori population in Aotearoa. The 2006 census statistics show that the total population in Aotearoa at that time was 4,027,947 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Within the New Zealand Census, Māori population statistics are counted in two ways. The first is through ethnicity which refers to a person's cultural affiliation and the second is through descent or one's ancestry. Interestingly, in 2006 whilst 643,977 people indicated they were of Māori descent only 565,329 (14.6%) people identified with the Māori ethnic group. This is a difference of 78, 648 people which raise questions as to why some people may acknowledge their Māori descent but not identify as Māori? What factors may have influenced their decision to choose a particular identity?

Further statistics show that the Māori population is increasing. Between the 2001 and 2006 New Zealand census there was an increase of 39,048 (7.4%) people who identified as Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Also, the projected Māori population is expected to reach 810,000 by 2026 which is an increase of 190,000 people (1.3%) each year. In addition, of the 565,329 people who identified as belonging to the Māori ethnic group, 52.8% identified as being predominantly Māori, 42.2% also identified with the European ethnic group, 7.0% also identified with the Pacific Peoples ethnic group, 1.5% identified with the Asian group and 2.3% identified themselves as 'New Zealander' as well as Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Furthermore, ethnic intermarriage data amongst Māori show that around one quarter of Māori births have a Māori father and non-Māori mother (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

Interestingly, research conducted around the number of births in New Zealand between 2000-2004 found that of the 284,529 births in Aotearoa, a total of 33,404 infants were identified as being both Māori and European ethnicity and 5,714 infants were identified as being both Māori and Pacific ethnicity (Howard & Didham, 2005). In addition, 497 infants were identified as being both Māori and Asian ethnicity and a further 6,768 infants were identified as a combination of ethnicities including a Māori ethnicity (Howard & Didham, 2005). This research also found that when a child comes from a mixed ethnic background for example European and Māori, there is a tendency to allocate a Māori ethnicity (Howard

& Didham, 2005). Furthermore, Howard and Didham (2005) concluded that “not only are more people identifying their children as Māori, even when their parents have multiple ethnicities, but there also seems to be a resurgence of people rediscovering or adopting Māori ethnicity as they pass through various stages of their lives” (p. 20).

The Māori population is also becoming more and more urbanized, Māori people have had changes in their family formation, and, there are multiple realities surrounding Māori people. Kukutai (2003) sums up this existing Māori diversity by saying:

The Māori population is far from homogenous.....Amongst those people termed ‘mixed Māori’, about two fifths claim Māori as their primary affiliation while an equal proportion identify more strongly with a non-Māori ethnicity. The remainder would appear to have no leaning either way. (p. 8)

Based on the statistics above it can be seen that a) the Māori population is increasing in Aotearoa b) that the Māori population is diverse and multi ethnic which may affect individual’s identities and c) that more and more people are rediscovering or choosing a Māori identity in today’s society.

1.2 Key terms in identity research

a) Identity:

Identity has a myriad of explanations. Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh & Teaiwa (2005, p. 14) describe identities as being “socially patterned and enacted through signs and meanings that characterize group life and permeate ritual, bring symbols to life and follow institutional rules”. Identity can be viewed from an individual perspective but also a collective perspective. Identity may be seen as an individual’s sense of belonging or understanding of their uniqueness, as well as their difference from others (Collins, 2004; O’Regan, 2001). This may extend to a collective perspective on identity where an individual knows which groups they belong to and also, which groups they do not belong to (Collins, 2004; O’Regan, 2001). More simply, identity can be explained through a persons’ sense of

belonging, it is based upon the knowledge and understanding of the individual and their place in society and the world (O'Regan, 2001).

The process of identity development is ongoing and influenced by our society, history and circumstances (Liu et al, 2005). Epstein (1978) sums this up, stating: "Identity development involves the construction of a self image that draws from one's past experiences, one's roles and relationships, beliefs and world view" (p. 101). The need for an individual to form an identity arises when difference exists and comparisons are then made between oneself and others (O'Regan, 2001).

b) Culture:

Like the term identity, culture has numerous meanings and definitions. Briefly, culture exists both internally and externally and refers to a common set of characteristics amongst a group of people. Internally, culture may be reflected through a groups shared attitudes, ideas, beliefs, values, knowledge, ways of thinking and acting (Collins, 2004; Heta, 2006; Wyse, 2002). External to an individual, culture exists "in the form of human-made institutions, such as religion, politics and education" (Tassell, 2004, pg. 3). Furthermore, culture may be considered to attribute the 'meaning of life' for the individual (Collins, 2004; Heta, 2006; Tassell, 2004). A person's culture prescribes how that person may express their emotions, react to certain situations, exhibit behaviour and make lifestyle choices (Collins, 2004).

c) Race:

Race most simply refers to a group of people who have common descent (Wyse, 2002). Traditionally, the term race was used to highlight the differences between certain groups of people which were often formed from the basis of one's physical appearance and other biological traits. For example, the colour of a person's skin, hair and eyes, as well as the shape of their body (Collins, 2004; Kukutai, 2003; Phillips, Odunlami & Bonham, 2007; Wyse, 2002). Thus, the term race has its origins in the biological or genetic understandings of identity (Phillips et al, 2007). This lead to the common assumption that race was

embedded in nature and that a person's physical qualities or attributes could provide clues as to their inner qualities (Phillips et al, 2007).

d) Ethnicity or ethnic identity:

These are terms used to describe a group of people who share certain characteristics such as: a common name, a common geographic origin or common ancestry, also, a common culture and way of doing things (Kukutai, 2003; Webber, 2008). It may be argued that ethnicity is yet another form of social categorization that organizes people into particular groups based on their cultural differences and similarities (O'Regan, 2001). For example, an ethnicity or ethnic group could be defined as a group who shares common characteristics such as language, whakapapa, culture which is distinct from the characteristics of other groups (Kukutai, 2003; O'Regan, 2001; Wyse, 2002). Kukutai (2003) describes ethnicity as "all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity" (p. 17). To make matters slightly more difficult, ethnicity or ethnic identity could also be considered variable, in that there are varying 'degrees of ethnicity'. Thus, individuals may vary in their level of identification to their ethnic group or identity (Wyse, 2002).

e) Cultural Identity:

Cultural identity is considered to be a subjective classification or a choice of similarity to a particular group of people with whom the individual shares social and symbolic ties, and prescribed cultural beliefs, values, norms, understandings and interactions (Tassell, 2004). From a Māori perspective then, it is the degree to which an individual identifies as Māori (Collins, 2004; O'Regan, 2001; Pere, 2006; Tassell, 2004). Like the term identity, a person's cultural identity is considered to be affected by historical and social processes (Collins, 2004). Furthermore, a person's cultural identity may change; identity is understood to be fluid, to change, to adapt and to respond to differing social and cultural circumstances (Collins, 2004; O'Regan, 2001; Tassell, 2004). Thus it is understood that an individual may be constantly be re-negotiating and re-interpreting their cultural identity and therefore their identity development.

f) Ngā Kiritea Māori:

Ngā kiritea Māori is the specific term given to the group of people whose identity is being investigated within this research project. The term kiritea may be translated as ‘fair skinned’ however, my understanding of the origin of ngā kiritea Māori stems from a myth from Te Tai Tokerau rohe. During the colonial period it is said that some Māori individuals would walk into the Waipoua forest nestled on Tai Tokerau’s west coast between Dargaville and Omapere. They would be gone for long periods of time. When they returned from the forest they had changed. No longer did they resemble the Māori individuals who went into the forest, now they were fair skinned; ngā kiritea Māori people.

To clarify, ngā Kiritea Māori is a group of Māori in Aotearoa who do not physically look Māori. For example kiritea Māori may have a range of biological factors such as skin, hair and eye colour as well as a range of physical characteristics that may deem them to be considered ‘non-Māori’. However, ngā kiritea Māori have Māori whakapapa and have developed some form of Māori identity, thus they do indeed form a part of the Māori population in Aotearoa. It is important to note here that whilst ngā kiritea Māori have formed some sort of Māori identity, this does not exclude the fact that they may also have formed other identities such as a Pākehā identity. It is for this reason that the subsequent sections of my introduction will not only look at Māori identity but also Pākehā identity and how these identities have developed in Aotearoa. Also, it is important to note that I have chosen not to refer to identity as being a secure or strong or positive identity as these terms are laden with other assumptions and meanings that are not necessarily a reality for ngā kiritea Māori.

1.3 Māori Identity: What it is and what makes it up

Definitions of ‘Māori’ have changed over time (Wyse, 2002). Māori identity and its meaning prior to colonization was different to a Māori identity or meaning in the twenty first century. If we are to understand Māori cultural identities and the development of such identities then we must begin by looking at the history of Aotearoa.

1.3.1 History

Prior to colonization, Māori cultural identity was based largely upon iwi or tribal affiliation and the natural environment; the word ‘Māori’ simply meant ‘normal’ or ‘usual’ (Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998; Hepi, 2008; Heta, 2006; Kukutai, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pere, 2006; Webber, 2008; Wyse, 2002). Thus, an individual’s iwi or tribal affiliation and the natural environment surrounding that tribe was how they were identified (Boyes, 2006; Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998; O’Regan, 2001, Webber, 2008; Wyse, 2002). For example as a member of Ngāpuhi, a tribe in the upper north island, an individual formed their identity from Ngāpuhi ancestors and the relevant rivers, mountains, and seas surrounding that tribe (Durie, 1998). Māori identity was based upon historical, social and geographic characteristics (Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998; Hepi, 2008; Kukutai, 2003; O’Regan, 2001; Pere, 2006).

More specifically, an individual’s Māori identity was derived from membership to, and knowledge of, whanau, hapu, iwi and waka (Boyes, 2006; Collins, 2004; Kukutai, 2003; O’Regan, 2001; Walker, 1989). Māori were able to maintain their sense of belonging through knowledge of their whakapapa. Also, traditional cultural practices such as language, customs and kinship obligations were primary to the socialisation of Māori identities (O’Regan, 2001; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). It was through these tribal structures and cultural practices of being Māori that enabled Māori identities to be created and developed (Collins, 2004; Kukutai, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; O’Regan, 2001).

Māori identity and its meaning began to change in 1835 when the Declaration of Independence was signed. It was during this time that the idea of a national Māori identity emerged and Māori began to be seen as a unified nation of ‘one’ people (Boyes, 2006; Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998; Hepi, 2008; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). After 1840 and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, this ‘national’ Māori identity became more widely accepted by many Māori in Aotearoa as it was rapidly colonized (Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998). As the colonization process continued, which involved urbanization, many Māori became either completely alienated or removed from their land, their tribal affiliations and

other resources that had once been integral to their Māori cultural identity (Durie, 1998; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

However, this national Māori identity which had been created during colonization provided a solid grounding for many Māori; it allowed them to retain their identity as Māori despite the changes occurring around them (Collins, 2004; Durie, 1998; Hepi, 2008; Kukutai, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). During the late 1900s however this national Māori identity, which by now the majority of the Māori population affiliated to, became questioned by several key Māori leaders. For example John Rangihau, a prominent Tuhoe leader, felt that a cultural identity based on tribal origin was of more importance than a national Māori identity: “although these feelings are Māori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Māoritanga...I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history” (Rangihau, 1977, p. 190).

By 1984 John Rangihau’s message was resonating across the country. Māori reaffirmed their tribal identities and a decade of iwi development followed (Durie, 1998; Rangihau, 1977). In the 1991 census, Statistics New Zealand included a tribal question; this was revised and refined for the 1996 census in recognition that some iwi have different identities in more than one region (Durie, 1998). What the census statistics revealed however, was that as many as 29% of all Māori did not identify with any particular tribe. Furthermore, 61% of all Māori who did identify with a particular tribe or tribes had very little contact with tribe and tribal life. In addition, the identity of ‘urban Māori’ had begun to surface which created yet another dimension to the diversity amongst Māori and their identity.

1.3.2 Present

Now, in the 21st century it is acknowledged that contemporary Māori values and identities are diverse and varied. It is made up of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge and participation in Māori society (Durie, 1998; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pere, 2006; Tassell, 2004). Several prominent Māori leaders have expressed their ideas about what constitutes a Māori cultural identity and the formation of this identity. For example John Rangihau

(1977) believes that being Māori is about growing up Māori in a Māori community and learning by participating in: the kawa, tikanga and traditions that are part a particular tribal group. Similarly Timoti Karetu (1990, as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996) spoke about Māori identity as being not dictated by blood quantum but, rather, by one's upbringing and the society they have grown up in. Ranginui Walker (1989) viewed Māori identity as being based on descent from a tīpūna as well as knowledge of cultural traits such as language, tribalism, whenua tipu and tūrangawaewae . Finally, Manuhia Bennett (1979, as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996) defines Māori identity as originating from one's tūrangawaewae ; the place where self awareness, mana and importance are created. From these Māori leaders' ideas about Māori identity it is possible to see that the concept is diverse and varying however two major strands of identity factors are used to conceptualize Māori cultural identity. These are tribal structures and descent; including whakapapa and tribal location, and secondly, cultural practices; such as language and upbringing.

Recent literature also supports the ideas expressed by these Māori leaders. Some of the key factors identified in the literature include self-identification and knowledge of whakapapa (Webber, 2008). Also, identified in the literature is participation in marae activities, involvement with whanau, access to whenua tipu, contact with other Māori people and use of Te Reo Māori (Durie, 1998; Pere, 2006). Underlying this are also ideas such as: access to key cultural institutions and resources such as land, whanau, language and marae. These factors are expanded below to illustrate how they contribute to an individual's ability to form their identity.

Whakapapa is considered to be a primary attribute or component of cultural identity (Boyes, 2006; Mead, 2003; O'Regan, 2001). In Te Ao Māori, when a child is born they are born into a kinship system which already exists and has existed for many generations (Mead, 2003). This is called whakapapa; a child can either claim both their parents' whakapapa lines or, sometimes, only one parents line is recognised (Mead, 2003). It is whakapapa that connects an individual to their hapu and iwi and provides that individual with a tribal identity (Boyes, 2006; Mead, 2003). Furthermore, whakapapa is what links an individual to the wider world and what guides their behaviours within that world (O'Regan,

2001). Whakapapa has been described as ‘belonging’; it tells a person who they are and where they come from. Without knowledge of whakapapa an individual can only look in from the outside (Boyes, 2006; Mead, 2003; O’Regan, 2001).

From whakapapa stems the principle of tūrangawaewae; a place to stand (Mead, 2003). Tūrangawaewae acknowledges where an individual 'belongs' in a geographical sense and is decided by their whakapapa (Mead, 2003). Tūrangawaewae is closely aligned to whenua tipu and an individual’s marae. Nowadays, partly due to urbanisation, the marae is the primary, or centre, of many Māori peoples geographical identity. From here, an individual’s identity moves to the urūpā of the hapu and then to the rivers and lakes, mountains, coastlines and forests that all form part of the individuals whenua tipu (Mead, 2003).

Whanau involvement is also closely tied in here. Within whanau, Māori are able to learn about ‘being’ Māori and the socialisation of things Māori (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Whanau is considered to facilitate an individual’s ability to develop a Māori cultural identity. Hekia Porata, a speaker at the 1994 Te Ara Ahu Whakamua Hui, spoke about whanau as “the way in which we (as Māori) distinguish ourselves socially” (1994, as cited in Ratima et al, 1996, p. 4). Whanau means more than just ‘extended family’, rather, it is based on people’s whakapapa and it provides an environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained by each individual within traditional Māori culture (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

Language is also considered to be a distinguishing feature of Māori identity (Durie, 2005; Ministry of Social Development, 2003). In the Social Report by the Ministry of Social Development (2003) language is identified as being a central component of Māori culture and a necessary skill for Māori people to experience full participation in Māori society.

These factors all contribute towards Māori people’s ability to form a Māori cultural identity. Research has been carried out that supports this idea. For example Te Hoe Nuku Roa, a longitudinal study carried out at Massey University, attempts to capture meaningful

information about culture and identity for Māori. It investigates social, economic and cultural positions of Māori over a 20 year period in order to provide an understanding of what it means to 'be Māori' in the 21st century (Pere, 2006). Factors such as self identification of being Māori, belonging to, and knowledge of whanau, hapu and iwi and access and knowledge of, whakapapa, marae, whenua and Te Reo Māori are used within Te Hoe Nuku Roa as cultural indicators measuring cultural identity (Durie, 2005; Pere, 2006).

Other cultural indicators that are considered to be important to Māori cultural identity have been discussed by various people. For example, Ritchie (1963 as cited in Durie, n.d), listed twelve indicators of what it meant to be an 'authentic' Māori. These include: an individual's attachment to the land and community of their ancestors, attendance at gatherings on the marae, interest in whakapapa and Māori history, and use of Te Reo. Similarly, Metge (1964 as cited in Durie, n.d), developed a scale to determine the 'degree of Māori-ness' an individual may have. This scale includes: blood quantum, visits to marae, use of Te Reo and an individual's ability to name their tribal and hapu affiliation. In addition, Walker (1989), also states that a basic component of Māori cultural identity is 'Māoritanga'; a concept incorporating racial traits such as physical characteristics, cultural traits such as language and spiritual beliefs and identification with a specific iwi/s and geographic location (Walker, 1989; Webber, 2008). It has been argued however, that Māoritanga is an oversimplification of what it means to be Māori and instead the focus should be on individual iwi for example Tuhoetanga or Waikatotanga because it is within iwi that individual histories, tribal identity and traditions have been formed (Walker, 1989; Webber, 2008).

To conclude, there are differing thoughts and opinions on what it means to 'be' Māori in Aotearoa. However, there are two main threads of identity markers that have emerged. First, whakapapa and tribal structure which is integral for a Māori identity to be formed and maintained. Secondly, one must have knowledge of and participate in Māori customs and practices; they must be socially integrated and connected to the Māori culture in order to reaffirm their Māori identity.

1.4 Defining Māori in Aotearoa from a government perspective

Having come to an understanding of what a Māori identity means it is important to discuss how Māori identities were measured and understood from a government perspective in Aotearoa. This section will cover the historical processes that have occurred around defining the people of Aotearoa and also the emphasis that has been put on Māori and Pākehā as being separate entities; focusing on the difference between Māori and Pākehā.

As shown by the statistics earlier, Aotearoa has a long history of ethnic inter-marriage occurring between Māori and Pākehā (Collins, 2004; O'Regan, 2001; Wanhalla, 2009; Webber, 2008; Wyse, 2002). In fact, many people saw intermarriage as a way of amalgamating and assimilating Māori people with the 'superior' Pākehā people (Collins, 2004; Wanhalla, 2009; Will, 1973). Initially, people were identified based on their race. The offspring of mixed ethnic partnerships were referred to as 'half castes' (Wanhalla, 2009; Webber, 2008; Wyse, 2002). Originally, half castes were defined as all those who had 50 percent Māori blood and 50 percent Pākehā blood (Robson, Reid & Te Poru Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, 2001; Wanhalla, 2009; Wyse, 2002). However, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish those who were 'half caste' as more and more people descended from mixed ethnic backgrounds. As a result, there developed an understanding that anyone with any quantity of Māori blood whether it be 50 percent or 25 percent were considered to be half caste Māori (Robson et al, 2001; Wanhalla, 2009; Wyse, 2002).

All this changed in 1926 when the decision was made that everyone who had mixed ethnic heritage but had 'half or more Māori blood' were classified as Māori (Boyes, 2006; Kukutai, 2003; Robson et al, 2001). In contrast, those with 'less than half Māori blood' were classified as European (Boyes, 2006; Kukutai, 2003; Robson et al, 2001; Wanhalla, 2009). This presented complexities in itself; individuals who identified as Māori and lived as Māori may not have been recognised as Māori if they had less than 50 percent Māori blood. Interestingly, it also appears sympathy was given to those who looked 'more Pākehā' than Māori because they were considered to be less similar to their 'barbaric' and 'uncivilized' Māori side (Collins, 2004; Meredith, 2004; Wanhalla, 2009; Will, 1973).

As ethnic inter-marriage and racial mixing became more common in Aotearoa it became increasingly difficult to identify those who were Māori and those who were not based on race alone. To further complicate matters, Māori people tended to overstate their degree of Māori blood. This meant that people who self-identified as Māori also had significant non-Māori ancestry which, according to government definitions, should have made them non-Māori in their identity. By the 1960s there had been yet another change to the general definition of Māori (Robson et al, 2001). Whilst some definitions still centred on the idea of ‘half or more Māori blood’ other definitions encompassed the idea that Māori people were anyone who had a Māori descendant (Robson et al, 2001). From a focus on race there was a move towards ethnic grouping because the idea of ethnicity was thought to better capture the social realities of people’s identities in Aotearoa (Robson et al, 2001). This posed yet another concern. The Māori population needed to be based on ancestry in order to correctly define electoral boundaries. However, for the purpose of social statistics, policy development and planning there was also a need to determine the characteristics of a Māori ethnic group (Robson et al, 2001). This is how the emergence of two ways of counting Māori population statistics began; an ethnic question and an ancestry or descent based question.

Government census definitions have changed many times in the past and there has been a distinct emphasis on distinguishing between Māori and non-Māori or European or Pākehā individuals. Arguably, this has contributed towards the separation or interdependent nature of Māori and Pākehā racial categories (Wyse, 2002). This is illustrated by Melissa Nobles (2002 as cited in Wanhalla, 2009) who argues “the national census has played a major role in ‘the formation and perpetuation of racial politics’” (p. 168). Wanhalla (2009) goes on to say “in the nineteenth and twentieth century’s, the national census was a racially informed document and census enumerators were active participants in the formation of racial ideas and the construction of racial categories” (p. 169).

1.5 Pākehā identity: What it is and what makes it up

There is much discussion on the origin of the term Pākehā and how and when it began. According to some accounts the term Pākehā originated during the colonial period when

the first European settlers began arriving in Aotearoa. As a way to differentiate between their own population Māori people began to refer to these ‘fair-skinned’ settlers as Pākehā (Boyes, 2006; O’Regan, 2001; Webber, 2008; Wyse, 2002). Thus the term Pākehā was developed to identify the ‘non-Māori’ population living in Aotearoa at that time (Boyes, 2006; Collins, 2004; Wyse, 2002).

Another account is that the term Pākehā developed in the early 1800s and was used as a way of distinguishing the whalers and sealers from Māori. Thus, the term Pākehā was not used for all non-Māori people (Campbell, 2005). However by the end of the 19th century, Pākehā referred to “a New Zealand born, white” person (Campbell, 2005, p. 122). According to other accounts, the term Pākehā was thought to have derived from ‘Pākepākehā’ or ‘Pākehākeha’ which simply translates as ‘imaginary pale-skinned beings’ (Campbell, 2005, p. 122).

Regardless of how we choose to define ‘Pākehā’ it is a term that has been problematic. If the term Pākehā was developed as a way to define between Māori and ‘other’ or European or fair-skinned settlers, then it may be seen as a term developed in opposition to the term ‘Māori’ (Meredith, 1999; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Wyse, 2002). Thus, if a person is to be Pākehā then they must be completely different to Māori (Meredith, 1999; Wyse, 2002). For example, where Māori were dark skinned and the tangata whenua or indigenous people of Aotearoa, Pākehā were fair-skinned and foreigners to Aotearoa soil (Wyse, 2002). Furthermore, some people simply object to this term claiming it is derogatory or not representative of their identity as a ‘New Zealander’ (Boyes, 2006; Campbell, 2005; Webber, 2008). However, there is no evidence to support the idea that Pākehā is a derogatory term (Collins, 2004).

1.6 Ngā Kiritea Māori: Where do we come into it?

It is no wonder that ngā kiritea Māori face a dilemma in Aotearoa. As a result of the various definitions of Māori and Pākehā identities and how the government has sought to distinguish between the two, ngā kiritea Māori are seen as neither one nor the other. From a Māori perspective tribal links and whakapapa is integral as well as engaging in ‘things’

Māori in order to justify one's position as Māori. So if ngā kiritea are not familiar with their whakapapa or tribal links, as is the case for many Māori in Aotearoa, and if they do not engage in 'things' Māori this may diminish their ability and confidence in identifying as Māori. Furthermore, from a Pākehā perspective if you are Pākehā then you are not, you cannot, be Māori. Finally, the measurement of ethnicity and identity in Aotearoa has meant that people must identify with one ethnic group, not several. This makes it difficult for ngā kiritea Māori who do in fact identify as both Māori and Pākehā.

Boyes (2006, p. 4) illustrates the difficulties of being ngā kiritea Māori in Aotearoa saying:

New Zealand is a country whose political system forces Māori and Pākehā to face off against each other, therefore, forcing the half-caste to choose, not just between cultures and ideals, but between parents, between whakapapa... For a half-caste in today's society and, recently, with Dr Brash's remarks about questioning Māori indigeneity, confusion is setting in. Who belongs to this land? And, therefore, where does the half-caste belong? Not only does this question relate to geography, but in a country where racialised ideas about physical characteristics are rife, a half-caste is often given an identity that is incorrect due to their physical ambiguity. In a country with two cultures often portrayed as very separate and distinct a half-caste must find a harmonious place where they re-conciliate these two conflicting worlds within one body.

1.7 The experience of mixed identity

When investigating the available literature on mixed Māori and Pākehā individuals several issues have been identified. For example previous research has found that many people who have mixed ethnic backgrounds, and therefore do not necessarily 'look' Māori or Pākehā have difficulties when it comes to identifying themselves (Archie, 2005; Collins, 2004; Webber, 2008). Ngā kiritea Māori in Aotearoa face the dilemma of not necessarily 'fitting' into one distinct race because they must attempt to identify themselves in both Māori and Pākehā societies occupying dual status, responsibilities and positions of both racial groups (Collins, 2004; Webber, 2008). This in turn leads to the marginalisation of the individual

because they are forced to occupy an ‘in-between’ position and they have difficulty articulating their ethnic identity (Webber, 2008).

For example Bevan (2000) aimed to explore the personal and political issues of identity for ‘white’ Māori women in Aotearoa. Using a Māori centred epistemology and methodology, Bevan (2000) interviewed eight ‘white’ women who identified as Māori. Bevan (2000) found a range of factors that influenced their choice of identification. For example their upbringing, tribal and marae involvement and whether their Māori parent/s identified as Māori. Also, cultural factors such as whānau and whether their whakapapa had been passed down to them. Most importantly, Bevan (2000) found that the central feature for these women to identify as Māori was knowledge of their whakapapa. Interestingly, because these women were perceived as being Pākehā they experienced negative reactions from many Māori until they were able to speak about their whakapapa (Bevan, 2000). Overall, this study concluded that identifying as Māori for ‘white’ Māori women is a difficult journey however it is important for them because it promoted a sense of belonging.

Webber (2008) also investigated the ways in which mixed Māori and Pākehā individuals construct and articulate their ethnic identity that reflect their dual heritage. Webber (2008) concluded that ethnic identification is not just an individual achievement but is formed in relation to collective identities within racialised societies. These identities are products of social and political struggles which are heightened for people of dual ethnicity because they must negotiate between three contexts; the Māori context, the Pākehā context and the context with other mixed ethnic Māori and Pākehā individuals. As a result, these mixed Māori and Pākehā individuals did not feel they belonged to one specific context making it difficult for them to formulate their ethnic identity (Webber, 2008).

Gibson (1999) also looked at dual ethnicity amongst Māori women and how the experience of having dual ethnicity can at times be uncomfortable for the individual. Gibson (1999) found that whilst all the participants identified as having dual ethnicity, many of them took little pride in their Pākehā identity and identified more strongly with their Māori heritage.

Much like Bevan's research these women were identified by others as being Pākehā, based on their appearance, which was often incongruent to how they identified themselves.

On a similar note, Moeke-Maxwell (2003) investigated mixed ethnicity amongst what she termed bi/racial Māori women in order to understand the discursive influences which inform what it means to be Māori and to be woman in today's society. Moeke-Maxwell (2003) found that bi/racial Māori women acknowledged their dual or multiple identities and they were not positioned in either one or the other but in both. Furthermore, Moeke-Maxwell (2003) concludes that bi/racial Māori women negotiate subjective explanations that are laden with gendered and racial specificities that serve the needs of New Zealand nationalism (Moeke-Maxwell, 2003).

In comparison, Ward (2006) looked at multi ethnic identity, acculturation and adaptation amongst mixed Māori and Pākehā adolescents. Like Webber (2008), Ward (2006) found that dual heritage adolescents occupied an intermediate position between adolescents whose heritage was either predominantly Māori or predominantly Pākehā in regards to their values, self perceptions, identity and adaptation to society (Ward, 2006). In addition, Ward (2006) confirmed her hypotheses that "dual heritage youth would be most likely to see both Māori and European cultures as defining New Zealand, that their self-perceptions of similarity to both Māori and Pākehā would not differ and that their Māori and Pākehā identities would be positively correlated" (p. 254). However, unlike the previous literature Ward's (2006) research supports the idea that these dual heritage adolescents can "lay claim to an integrated, balanced and truly bicultural identity... (And) this identity is associated with positive psychological outcomes" (p. 255).

Like Ward (2006), Borell (2005) also investigated the experiences and understandings of Māori rangatahi living in South Auckland. Borell (2005) was interested in how these rangatahi conceptualized their Māori identity. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, Borell (2005, p. 191) found that "establishing a 'secure' Māori identity based solely on particular criteria of Māori culture. For example Te Reo Māori, tikanga, knowledge of marae and

whakapapa continues to be problematic for some Māori”. Furthermore, individuals who did not ‘meet this criteria’ were often defined by what they are seen as lacking.

These research examples illustrate some of the challenges that people of mixed ethnicity and descent may face during their identity development in Aotearoa. However, there are a number of limitations arising from past research. For example, there has been very little research conducted with mixed ethnicity men in Aotearoa. The majority of these studies solely focused on women’s experiences. The current research sought to explore both men and women’s life narratives in order to see if there were any gendered narratives and if there were any differences in the experiences of men when compared with women.

Furthermore, it is important for research to be carried out in this field because the current literature is extremely limited in regards to ethnic identity amongst individuals of Māori and Pākehā descent. With statistics showing that the Māori population is increasing in New Zealand it is important that research is conducted within this ethnic group. More specifically, as our population becomes more diverse and we experience higher numbers of mixed ethnic individuals it is crucial that we gain an understanding of how these mixed Māori and Pākehā individuals develop their identity and what factors influence their identity development.

1.8 Research Questions

The current research sought to investigate ngā kiritea Māori stories about their identity development in Aotearoa. My first research question is: “How did the experiences of growing up in Aotearoa/New Zealand affect the development of Māori identity for ngā kiritea Māori?” My second research question is: “What does Māori identity mean to you as a kiritea Māori in today’s society?”

Chapter 2

Methodology

This study will be a qualitative study grounded in a Māori centred research approach and it will utilise narrative analysis as the methodology. The first section will introduce Māori centred research as a framework. The second section will then discuss how narrative analysis fits within a Māori centred framework. The final section will provide an overview of narrative analysis as a methodological approach.

2.1 *Māori Centered Research*

Using a Māori centred approach means that the foundation of this research is based on Māori principles, values and ideals where Māori people and Māori experiences are at the centre of the research. The fundamental idea is that Māori centred research is about being Māori and being connected to Māori philosophy and principles (Bishop, 1999; Jones, Crengle & McCreanor, 2006; Milne, 2005). Within a Māori centred foundation the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge is acknowledged and research within this framework seeks to understand Māori realities from within a Māori worldview (Bishop, 1999; Jones et al, 2006). There are several key principles that guide Māori centred research. These are whakapiki tangata: empowerment, whakarunga: integration and mana Māori: Māori control (Durie, 1996). These principles are discussed in further detail below.

a) Whakapiki tangata:

The principle of whakapiki tangata encompasses both the researcher and the participants. It is about promoting the well being and improvement of either an individual's health status or a community's health status (Durie, 1996). More importantly, these improvements should come from within the individuals or the community. In this particular research project it is the researcher's role to help empower each participant so they can share stories of their experiences of growing up as kiritea Māori in Aotearoa in a safe and mana enhancing environment. In sharing their stories, it is hoped that this will empower not only the participants but other kiritea Māori who read about this research to see that they are not

alone in their experiences of identity journeys. The main aim of this research therefore, is to empower ngā kiritea Māori to be open about their identity journey in order to contribute to the existing literature in this field and more importantly to allow their voices to be heard in society.

b) Whakarunga:

Whakaurunga is about the integration of the research approach with a Māori world view. A Māori centred approach assumes a Māori worldview thus a holistic understanding and appreciation of identity stories will be utilised in the present research. This may be achieved by the researcher who will make a concerted effort to keep an open mind to whatever participants chose to talk about. In addition, it is understood and accepted that participants may refer to aspects of wairuatanga or make reference to their mauri, the atua or aspects of mātauranga Māori when discussing their identity journeys.

c) Mana Māori:

Mana Māori is about tino rangatiratanga; it refers to the importance of Māori having control over the research process (Durie, 1996). This includes how the data is collected, stored, analysed and used as well as protecting what knowledge is generated from the research. The principle of Mana Māori ensures that the research is not only run ethically but also that it is culturally appropriate (Durie, 1996). The interviews carried out with each participant will be semi structured and open ended; this will enable participants to choose what they talk about and how much they divulge of their personal lives. In addition, every participant will be made aware from the beginning of the interview that they are able to stop at any given time and ask for the recorder to be turned off. Finally, by involving participants in the interview and allowing them to take control of what is being discussed participants will be empowered to speak openly and freely about their identity stories in a safe and mana enhancing environment.

2.2 *How Narrative analysis fits within a Māori centred framework*

Embedded in Māori language is the importance of 'stories' in Māori culture, it signals the way in which pūrākau (stories) are viewed as central in the

connecting, nurturing, sustaining and flourishing of our people. The metaphoric interpretation of pūrākau as trees demonstrates a Māori understanding of stories, that while there is a base there may be many branches, versions or interpretations... A pūrākau (storied) approach encourages Māori researchers to research in ways that not only takes into account cultural notions but also enables us to express our stories to convey our messages, embody our experiences and keeps our cultural notions intact. (Lee, 2005, p. 8)

As Lee (2005) illustrates above, storytelling is an important feature within Māori culture, it allows for individual experiences to be shared within a cultural context. Narrative analysis uses stories to guide interpretations of reality because, through stories, people are able to make sense of events and specific experiences (Crossley, 2007). One of the assumptions within narrative analysis then is that telling stories is one of the significant ways individuals construct and express meaning (Mischler, 1995). In this way, narrative psychology plays a central role in the process of our own identity development and construction because it is people's stories that help to define themselves as well as others (Mischler, 1995; Murray, 1997; Crossley, 2007). Reissman (2002, p. 218) supports this idea by stating:

Narratives are representations in that human agency and imagination determine what is included and excluded in the process of storytelling and how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean. Thus, individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives.

It is for this reason that narrative analysis makes an ideal analytical approach when researching ngā kiritea Māori and their identity stories because like Māori centred research, a central task within narrative inquiry is to empower the participant so that they have more control over the process through which their words are given meaning (Mischler, 1995). Thus, narrative inquiry seeks to encourage participants to find and speak in their own 'voices' (Mischler, 1995). By encouraging this empowerment, through the principle of

whakapiki tangata, there will be a balance of power between the researcher and participant, enabling participants to speak more ‘freely’ about their stories and, as discussed above, in a mana enhancing environment (Mischler, 1995).

Another reason for selecting a narrative analytical methodology is because it provides a theoretical and methodological approach which values the linguistic and discursive structuring of the ‘self’ and ‘experience’ and it also upholds a sense of the essentially personal, coherent and ‘real’ nature of individual subjectivity (Harbison, 2007). This sits well within a Māori centred framework because the principle of whakarunga may be adhered to because it is possible to integrate a Māori worldview or perspective within the narrative analytical framework.

The principle of Mana Māori may be respected and adhered to as well because narrative inquiry is concerned with subjectivity and experience, by attempting to come to grips with how a person thinks or feels about what is happening to him or her (Harbison, 2007). Narrative inquiry achieves this objective by assuming a connection between what a person says and how they think, feel and reflect about themselves, their bodies, other people and the world in general. Thus narrative inquiry assumes there is a knowable domain of facts about human experience and consciousness that can be discovered through methodologies such as narrative analysis (Crossley, 2007).

How individuals recount their histories – what they emphasize and omit, their stance as protagonists or victims, the relationship the story establishes between teller and audience – all shape what individuals can claim of their own lives. Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one’s life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned. (Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992 as cited in Reissmann, 2002, p. 1)

Finally, narratives also provide insight into the specific cultural rules for how we should interact and react and who we can be (Stephens & Breheny, 2010). Narrative analysis then, is about using a systematic approach to analysing the stories that participants tell, from

these stories, it can be seen how identity and experience are constructed at the intersection of personal, public and cultural narratives (Murray, 1997; Pinnergar & Daynes, 2007; Stephens & Breheny, 2010).

People shape their lives by stories of who they, and others, are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. (Clandinin & Connelly, 2006, p. 375)

2.3 Narrative Analysis in the current research

Narrative analysis will be employed in the current research in order to contextualize ngā kiritea Māori experiences of growing up in Aotearoa and how these experiences may have affected their identity development along with exploring what their Māori identity means to them in today's society. Narrative analysis is particularly well suited for this research because it will allow for the production of rich and detailed stories about Ngā kiritea Māori' meanings and experiences. Furthermore, the rich detail provided by narrative analysis will enable the exploration of the possible relationships between the personal, the public and the cultural narratives within which individuals experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed and enacted in order to provide a more complete view of ngā kiritea Māori social life (Pinnergar & Daynes, 2007).

According to Stephens & Breheny (2010) there are four levels that characterize a story. These are: the personal level, the interpersonal or situational level, the positional or organizational level, and the ideological or public level (Murray, 1997; Stephens & Breheny, 2010). For the current research, the personal level and the ideological or public level will be explored in more depth in order to gain a better understanding of ngā kiritea Māori experiences.

a) Personal level:

At the personal level the emphasis is on explaining experiences, and linking the self with society. For the current research the personal level narratives are simply about ‘telling their (participants) stories’. Personal narratives are defined in relation to the broader public narratives in which they are embedded. Thus, ngā kiritea Māori’ personal stories may draw upon the public narratives to help illustrate their journeys and experiences.

b) Ideological or public level:

Public narratives transcend the individual; they are the cultural stereotypes that exist in the wider communities of interpretation through which stories circulate. (Phibbs, 2008, p. 49)

Phibbs (2008, p. 49) argues that “public narratives are not neutral but shape and are in turn shaped by particular understandings of the world which tend to prioritize one meaning over another. Phibbs goes on to say “social relationships and cultural practices are embedded in the stories through which people constitute their identities” (Phibbs, 2008, p. 51). At an ideological level, or ‘the public narrative’, particular attention is paid to the broader social systems of shared beliefs and representations that narratives are embedded within (Stephens & Breheny, 2010). It is at this level that we can begin to see how culture and societal beliefs and ideas may influence personal narratives.

Ganz (2008, p. 1) describes public narrative as being composed of three elements “a *story of self*, a *story of us*, and a *story of now*.” Ganz (2008) describes the story of self as a communication of “who I am – my values, my experience, why I do what I do” (Ganz, 2008, p. 1). Ganz (2008) goes on to describe a story of us as being about “who we are – our shared values, our shared experience, and why we do what we do’ (p. 1). He finishes by explaining the story of now as transforming “the present into a moment of challenge, hope, and choice.” (Ganz, 2008, p. 1)

By looking at public narratives we are able to see how participants may utilise such public narratives within their personal stories as a way of expressing their values and experiences.

Also, from a public level we are able to see the shared values, experiences and meanings from a societal perspective. By interviewing ngā kiritea Māori about their identity experiences we will not only be able to capture their personal stories but also we may begin to explore some of the public narratives which influence and shape ngā kiritea Māori identities in Aotearoa.

Chapter 3

Method

3.1 Study Design

As discussed in the previous chapter, in order to investigate ngā kiritea Māori identities this research was grounded in a Māori centred qualitative research approach and it utilised narrative analysis as the methodology. Semi structured interviews were carried out with each participant in order to obtain information around their experiences of growing up in Aotearoa and how these experiences helped or hindered them in their development of their Māori identity. In addition, the interviews drew out stories about what their Māori identity meant to them in today's society.

3.2 Participants

A non-probability convenience sample was collected via social networks of the researcher to comprise the pool of participants. The participants consisted of eight kiritea Māori; four men and four women who looked European or Pākehā but who had formed a Māori identity and who had Māori whakapapa. Of these, three identified as belonging to Kai Tahu, two to Ngāti Porou, one to Taranaki, one to Ngāti Kahungunu and one to Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Whanaunga and Tainui. All participants were given a pseudonym, some of which were chosen by the participants and some suggested by the researcher, in order to ensure their anonymity. Furthermore, some details have been removed; as per participant's requests, in order to ensure the confidentiality of the participants.

3.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited using a snowball sampling technique which began by the researcher advertising the project via word of mouth within Māori communities in the Manawatu region. Ethical approval was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee prior to the recruitment phase. People who heard about the research and were interested in learning more made contact with the researcher who then provided them with an information sheet (see Appendix 1). Participants who received and read the information sheet

and were interested in participating were requested to make contact with the researcher via email or phone.

When the researcher was contacted by potential participants they confirmed their willingness to participate. They were then provided with a brief overview of the research procedure. Then, a time and place was arranged for the whakawhanaungatanga hui to be carried out. Every participant was given the option of combining the whakawhanaungatanga hui with the second, interview hui. Participants were also reminded that they were able to have a support person or whanau member present with them at all hui.

The whakawhanaungatanga hui was offered as a way of allowing each participant to get to know the researcher, as well as allowing the researcher to get to know them a little. It was hoped that this whakawhanaungatanga hui would enable participants to feel more comfortable talking about their identity stories including life experiences which is acknowledged as a personal, and sometimes private, topic. All participants opted to combine the first and second hui. Furthermore, none of the participants chose to have a support person or whanau member present. As a result of combining the first and second hui, time was given before any interviewing took place to enable whakawhanaungatanga to occur. This allowed the participants and researcher to get to know each other and become more comfortable in each other's presence. Also, kai was provided at the hui and each participant received a verbal overview of the research project and was given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research. After having received both verbal and written descriptions of the study, the participants then decided if they wanted to continue to the interview phase. If they chose to continue with the research they were given a written consent form (see Appendix 2) and asked to read through it and sign it if they agreed to participate. Once this was completed the interview began.

Interview Protocol:

Interviews were conducted between June and August 2010 in Palmerston North, New Zealand. Interviews were carried out either in an office at Massey University, at the participant's home, or at the researcher's home. The interview procedure was briefly

explained to participants. The interview times ranged from 25 minutes to 90 minutes. Interviews were carried out using a semi structured interview method (See Appendix 3). Each participant was provided with a copy of the research questions. Participants were advised that the research questions were intended as a starting point and that they were free to talk about anything they considered relevant to those questions. To begin the interview, the participant was asked what they knew about the government's definition of Māori. Here, they were advised that there was no right or wrong answer and that this was more of an opening question, to get them to consider their understanding of definitions of being Māori. They were then asked to talk about their experiences and memories of what it was like for them growing up in Aotearoa as someone who didn't look Māori but knew they had Māori whakapapa. They were also asked to talk about how they felt these experiences impacted on their Māori identity development and why they chose to claim or embrace or develop their Māori identity. Participants were able to break this question into sections and answer it as they saw fit. They read the question themselves on the question sheet provided. Finally, participants were asked to speak about what their Māori identity meant to them in today's society. Again, they were able to refer to the question sheet and answer as they saw appropriate. The interview protocol was identical for all participants.

3.4 *Ethical Concerns*

Due to the nature of this research there were several ethical concerns which needed to be considered in order for the project to be successful. In choosing a Māori centred research approach it was important that this research contributed towards overall Māori development whilst also being carried out with integrity and in a manner that ensured the safety of the participants and the knowledge that was generated. The following section will discuss potential ethical issues in regards to a) the role of the researcher b) having a commitment to do no harm c) ensuring appropriate tikanga was adhered to during the entire research process. Also, d) ensuring privacy and confidentiality for the participants and e) ensuring informed consent.

a) The Role of the researcher:

As a Māori researcher undertaking research with ngā kiritea Māori, the role and responsibilities of the researcher were governed by tikanga, mātauranga Māori and good research practice from a western point of view. This meant that the researcher's expectations of the participants were made clear at the initial hui. Furthermore, there was an opportunity for participants to discuss their expectations of the researcher because it was important to ensure the researchers accountability back to the participants as well as the wider Māori community involved in the research. Whakawhanaungatanga occurred early on in the research project to enable trust to be developed between participants and the researcher. During whakawhanaungatanga the researcher's whakapapa was shared as well as their background, intentions, and motivations for doing this research and their affiliations to Massey were discussed in addition to whakapapa and iwi, hapu and whanau links in order to assist participants to make a fully informed choice about being involved in the research.

b) Commitment to do no harm:

With a commitment to do no harm it was understood that in conducting research in the field of identity development the participants may have encountered some internal conflict; furthermore that this research may raise upsetting memories for the participant. Therefore when the initial hui was being carried out the researcher clearly explained the research aims and also made clear to the participant that they did not intend to offend, upset or cause any negative effect on the participants. The researcher also emphasized the idea that participants only had to speak about what they felt comfortable with.

Furthermore, the participants were asked if they would like to have a support person or whanau member accompany them during the interview process or if they would like to consider that option. Finally, every attempt was made to ensure the participants were not upset at any point during the interview or after the interview had been carried out and a debrief session was made available for each participant during the final interview stage of the research process. If necessary, the participant was also offered further support after the

debrief session; for example if they required counselling or whanau support. These measures helped minimize or prevent any form of harm coming to each participant.

c) Ensuring appropriate tikanga was adhered to:

Due to the fact that this research was based on a Māori centred research framework it was important that the research was carried out by Māori, with Māori and for Māori. Thus a Māori advisor provided ongoing assistance and support throughout the research process in order to help guide and advise the researcher on how to carry out the research in the most culturally appropriate way possible. The Māori Advisor was the kaumātua for the School of Psychology at Massey University.

d) Privacy and confidentiality:

All interview material was altered, where necessary, to ensure the anonymity for participants was maintained. This meant that all identifying information, including names, were removed from the raw data and pseudonyms were used instead. Participants were therefore only able to be identified through reference to a master index which was stored separately from the raw data. Once the interviews had been conducted the voice recordings and any notes made during the interview were kept in a locked cabinet and were only accessible to the researcher.

e) Informed consent:

As stated in the procedures section, people were recruited through word of mouth within Māori communities in the Manawatu. People who heard about the research and were interested in learning more then made contact with the researcher. The researcher provided each potential participant with an information sheet to read which provided them with an overview of the research itself and what they would be required to do. It also stated that all information provided will be kept confidential and only used for this study. Furthermore, it listed the participant's rights, for example, they were able to withdraw from the research at any given time, and they were able to decline answering any questions and that they were able to ask any questions regarding the research as well. They were also given the contact details of the researcher and supervisor in case they wished to ask any further questions

after completion of the interview. It was then up to the participant to either agree or disagree to participate in the research. If they agreed, they were asked to sign a consent sheet. In this way, the researcher ensured that fully informed consent was obtained by each participant.

3.5 Analysis

The researcher transcribed each of the eight audio-recorded interviews and analyzed the transcribed data using narrative analysis. As each interview was transcribed the researcher began to familiarize them self with ngā kiritea Māori stories and identify some of the common themes or ideas that were emerging from each story. At the completion of each transcription the researcher checked with the audio recording for accuracy. The researcher also read through each interview several times to familiarize them self more fully with each story. Then the process of narrative analysis began.

Within the chosen approach, narrative analysis considers the content of the story rather than how it is structured (Riessman, 2002). The narrative themes are kept, 'as they are' in order to show true and detailed stories from the participants (Riessman, 2002). Through adopting a narrative analysis approach to this research the researcher was able to interpret and convey ngā kiritea Māori stories without altering or changing what they said. From ngā kiritea stories there was a focus on the public narratives and the personal themes which were identified in each story.

Two copies of each participant's transcript were made. The researcher then began colour coding some of the re-occurring personal themes within each story on one copy. With the second copy the researcher colour coded some re-occurring public narratives that participants drew upon when telling their personal stories. This process was reviewed several times, themes were identified then dismissed as a more apparent or applicable theme was identified. Each theme was identified from within the data, so the researcher was not trying to make the data fit preconceived themes or ideas. Each of the eight interviews provided rich data that highlighted the similarities and differences of ngā kiritea Māori experiences in Aotearoa.

Where required, the researcher has included “()” to provide clarification within an excerpt. The majority of the experts used in this analysis are uninterrupted speech episodes that have not been altered except to remove the longer pause and break in speech. The researcher also replaced any identifying information with *** to show that there had been certain information removed in order to ensure the anonymity of the participants. The researcher’s goal was to encourage ngā kiritea Māori to tell their stories however they felt they wanted to. The researcher tried to provide minimal guidance around what participants should speak about so that they felt more comfortable talking about whatever they chose to say in their stories. The researcher’s goal was therefore to foster an environment where ngā kiritea were able to speak openly and honestly about their stories of being ngā kiritea Māori. The analysis of ngā kiritea Māori stories seeks to be reflexive of both their personal stories and also the wider societal context within which public narratives are embedded.

Chapter 4

Ngā Kiritea Stories

In participating in this research, ngā kiritea Māori were provided with an opportunity to share their stories and experiences. I hoped their involvement in this research would be a positive experience for each of them. In this chapter I will introduce the participants with an overview of their general experience as they described it in the interview. Each participant had a different story to tell about their background and their experiences of being both Māori and Pākehā. Some participants explicitly stated how they were raised; either in a Pākehā or Māori or mixed setting. Of the eight participants, it appears that four participants were raised in a Pākehā environment with little or no access to their Māori culture. Three were raised in a mixed Māori and Pākehā environment where they were mostly encouraged to learn about their Māori culture. One participant was raised in a strongly Māori environment where pressure was put on the participant to learn things Māori and live according to the Māori culture.

Kura

Kura has recently completed a Doctorate at University and begun working in her relevant field. Kura only learnt that she had Māori ancestry when she enrolled at University. Once, enrolled, Kura was still whakama about her Māori identity and it wasn't until another, older, Māori woman encouraged Kura to attend things 'Māori' that Kura began to explore her Māori identity more.

During Kura's time at University she also began taking Te Ara Reo night classes at the Wānanga. Kura talks about some of her experiences whilst at the Wānanga "*People there just assume I'm Pākehā and think that... I think... that Māori is cool*". Kura has since completed a Diploma in Te Reo. Kura's journey has been, difficult at times; she found it hard to fit in and be taken seriously. However, Kura says her journey has been "*both extremely horrible and amazing at the same time*".

Marama

Marama's story is difficult for her to speak about; she is a young Māori/Pākehā woman who chose to explore her Māori identity because *"it was knowing about my whanau.... it was about it not being lost I guess in my...generation... I guess you could call it"*. Marama has struggled to piece together her whakapapa. Her grandfather's mother is Māori; she died during the birth of Marama's grandfather who was subsequently brought up by a series of housekeepers. Her grandfather's father *"was a very tough man who....went down the English, the 'white' person way of doing things"* Marama thinks. As a result, Marama's own father was not raised in the Māori culture. Marama on the other hand, was brought up in a small rural Māori community where the Māori culture was *"just normal, it was just part of everyday life"*. For Marama, her identity journey is ongoing and she is a long way from becoming strong in her identity in Aotearoa. She says *"I feel like a child in my understanding of me and my Māori identity."*

Puawai

Puawai has had a very painful identity journey, her own whanau have denied her Māori whakapapa and it is only through dreams and the voice of her koro that Puawai knows she is Māori. Puawai was raised in a Pākehā environment at home and didn't know she was Māori until the death of her grandmother. She says *"her birth certificate came out and her father was 'not named' and there was some rumour that her father was Māori, but because... my father was very prejudice they...blocked, they didn't look and if they did find anything they never ever passed it on...."* Whilst Puawai grew up in a Pākehā family she was constantly exposed to the Māori culture and way of life because she grew up in a predominantly Māori community.

For most of Puawai's life she has struggled to come to terms with her Māori identity and has had many negative experiences, however, despite the ongoing confusion and conflict Puawai experiences with her identity, she knows she is Māori; her koro reinforces this to her all the time *"I am Kai Tahu, I am Ngāi Tahu, I'm not Māori...but I am Māori in the Pākehā sense, so Pākehā's have even stolen their (my) identity"*.

Kisia

Kisia is the youngest of her five siblings and is the only one who has chosen to identify as Māori. When asked why, she says *“because I knew something was missing”*. Kisia grew up in the Hawkes Bay, the region of her iwi. Her dad was very connected to the Māori community which gave Kisia *“a taste of being Māori”* and Kisia always felt she connected with her Māori identity. However, it has at times been difficult for Kisia because her father, who is of Māori descent, doesn't *“choose to identify as Māori... he doesn't accept it”*.

Furthermore, Kisia and her family moved at a young age and her mother removed Kisia from contact with *“most of the things that were Māori”*. In addition, Kisia's mother did not support Kisia to develop her Māori identity. Instead she challenged Kisia for wanting to identify herself as Māori *“I wasn't allowed to, I was actively discouraged by my mum...my mum's pretty racist and... while I was living in her house, to identify as Māori would have caused a lot of conflict”*. Kisia acknowledges that she *“missed out on a lot of relationships and on a lot of understanding”*. She says *“there are big holes (in my identity) and I can feel the absence but I don't know what's supposed to be there”*. For Kisia her identity journey seems to have only just begun. *“I am still at the start, I have a long way to go, very very much so, yea...I'm just a baby, just learning, that's where I'm at”*.

Rangi

Rangi is a humorous and confident man who has negotiated his position in society and is happy to be ngā kiritea Māori. He feels he gets the best of both worlds. Rangi always knew he was Māori, but it wasn't until he began primary school that he began to explore his identity more. Rangi attended a small country school of about thirty people which were predominantly Pākehā and his father, who was a teacher there, was *“the darkest one there”*. Then, when Rangi's nana passed away Rangi and his whanau went up to the marae and Rangi began to look more into his Māori heritage and form his Māori identity. Once in high school, Rangi was able to take Māori as a subject and Rangi states *“that's when I decided that I was going to look further into my whakapapa, history and identify more with the Māori side of the 'house'”*.

Rangi feels no shame when identifying himself as Māori “*there’s no hesitance to say ‘yes, no I’m Māori’*”. Furthermore, whilst Rangi’s Māori identity is important to him he doesn’t feel it dominates who he is or how he views life “*my identifying as Māori in New Zealand is my personal belief, it’s my personal opinion and I’ll do the best I can to represent that and at the same time Māori, Islanders, Pākehā’s, Scottish, Brits you’re all the same; you’re all an equal playing field in my book*”.

Hone

Hone also discusses his identity journey as a positive one. Hone is a confident and successful young sportsman. He says he has always known he was Māori and the reason he decided to claim his Māori identity was because “*I’ve always looked at the Māori race as a proud race...so, I’ve always been proud to call myself Māori*”. Furthermore, Hone has always had an interest in Māori history, the culture and the language. He says, in regards to his Māori identity development “*I just... I spose I’ve tried to put myself there as being of Māori descent just cos of the proud-ness of the actual race itself and where it’s come from... you know I think overall its quite a proud race and ahh you know like, I want to put out there that I am Māori and I’d like to go more into looking at learning the language and stuff like that*”. As a kiritēa Māori Hone says “*I’m proud to be Māori today whether I, if I had dark skin or light skin I’ve got... I’m still Māori and I’m proud to say I am one and I’d never say that I wasn’t one.*”

Apera

Apera chooses to identify as Apera rather than as Māori or Pākehā. This decision has been influenced by his experiences but also by the people he loves and who have loved him in his life. Apera was not raised within the Māori culture as a child. He states “*I was brought up as a white kid pretty much for the first sort of twelve years of my life...*” This is largely due to the fact that Apera's mother was adopted into a Pākehā family and did not know much of her Māori heritage “*I think she knew who grandma was but didn’t really have much contact with her*” Apera says. Then, when Apera was about 12 or 13, his mother

began to learn more about her Māoridom and whanau. This was influential for Apera who also decided to follow his mum and learn more about his Māori side.

The journey was not easy *“My nana, she always sort of shunned it, she never really liked to be thought of as Māori...so we’ve had a hard time trying to find information and trying to find our whakapapa...”*. Apera found going to his marae was helpful *“We went to a couple of hui-a-tau and we found, we tended to find a lot of information about where we were from...just by speaking to people”*. Apera’s search for his Māori identity has been sporadic over the years he states *“I’d go away and do something with mum....go to a tangi and meet heaps of people... but then once that’s finished we’d sort of come back to reality, or ‘normal’ life and back to just normal everyday sort of white boy stuff”*. Despite this, Apera has always had an interest in his Māori culture. He took Māori at high school from years 9 to 11 to help with his knowledge of the culture.

Apera’s stance on his identity is interesting *“I am Māori, I am Pākehā and I am Scottish and all those other things, so what makes me a human is...what makes me as a soul and a spirit are the love from the people in those cultures...whether they are Māori or Pākehā is irrelevant for me, they are just human, they are just love from somebody in those groups so I don’t culturally or spiritually identify myself with Māori, but then again I don’t really do it with Pākehā either...it’s just the love from the people in those groups that I identify myself with...”*

Matiu

Matiu describes his upbringing as *“being in a very kind of heavily Māori orientated family”*. His Māori whakapapa stems from both his mother and his father’s lines however Matiu says *“most of my Māori blood comes from my father’s side and he was very adamant that we know who we are...and know all about the Māori side of ourselves...”* Despite this Matiu says *“When I was younger I didn’t really embrace it that much....I spose cos from what I experienced of it, I didn’t really relate to it as much as my European side, which is... I don’t know it seems a little bit bizarre... because my Māori side is definitely the biggest*

part of me...but I don't know... when I was growing up, particularly in my teenage years I just didn't really feel like I belonged in that culture".

Matiu now embraces his mixed heritage *"because I'm mixed race I suppose I've been able to see things from all sides of the spectrum, I've been able to see the European side, I've been able to see the Māori side...so I think I have a good understanding of where both races are coming from you know.....I spose I'm able to look at both sides to make up my own mind about any kind of issues that arise...so it is a positive thing; being of mixed race because I spose cos I have those borders broken down, you know I'm not on one side of the fence or the other".*

Chapter 5

Public Narratives

In this chapter I describe the public narratives about Māori identity that were used by the participants in the interviews to describe their experiences and show how these publicly available narratives have been recognised and described in previous research and literature. Public narratives are collective stories that are publicly available and shared at the societal level. As Plummer, (1995 as cited in Phibbs, 2008, p. 48) states “these public narratives transcend the individual; they are the cultural stereotypes that exist in the wider communities of interpretation through which stories circulate...Shared social narratives encompass both the individual and the collective”. Furthermore, Phibbs (2008, p. 48) argues “Narratives are simultaneously general and specific because they are both individually produced and embedded in shared understandings of the social world”. Thus public narratives help shape participants’ personal stories. I identified five public narratives that were used by the participants to shape their personal stories. These are named: ‘Māori/Pākehā division’, ‘Māori as second class citizens’, ‘The ideal Māori figure’, ‘Māori as the sports hero’ and ‘Valorisation of Māori’. These will be discussed in further detail below.

5.1 Māori/Pākehā division:

Difference Lies within us

Difference lies within us

If only the insides shone brighter than colour

What would the difference be then

Without so much to prove...

Tears well up in eyes

And stream down faces

We’re all alike

No matter what the race is.

Kathy, Canada (Save the children, 2000).

This narrative encompasses the idea that there is a distinct division between ‘being Māori’ and ‘being Pākehā’; ngā kiritea Māori have two separate identities. As illustrated in the poem above, perceptions of difference lie within us. For ngā kiritea Māori they attempt to acknowledge, learn about, and be competent in, both their Māori and Pākehā worlds. The issue with trying to form two identities however is that societal and institutional understandings of identity are still confined by the idea that we must choose one ethnic group rather than be of ‘mixed heritage’ (Webber, 2008). For example, in the collection of demographic information it is not unusual for a person of mixed ethnicity to be forced to choose either one ethnic or racial category or be made to select ‘other’ in order to try and account for their mixed heritage status (Webber, 2008).

As Meredith (1999) states cultural politics in Aotearoa have focused on a binary of Māori or Pākehā. Within Aotearoa there is a history of categorising Māori and Pākehā; them and us; either, or. Spoonley (1995, as cited in Bell, 2004) also argues that the concept of hybridity cannot fit easily within a bicultural framework because biculturalism is understood as “the idea of Māori and Pākehā being two parallel and equal cultures” (Bell, 2004, p. 72). Biculturalism developed as a result of Māori political activism which essentially challenged Pākehā racism and assimilatory practices. This resulted in the separation of Māori and Pākehā (Bell, 2004). This idea can be further illustrated with the historical overview provided in the introduction of the government’s definitions of Māori people and how the New Zealand census captured data on the population of New Zealand. There was a large emphasis on distinguishing between Māori and Pākehā rather than investigating individuals of mixed descent or ethnicity within our New Zealand population.

Finally, this idea is also supported by Te Hiwi (2007) who looked at racism and identity in Aotearoa amongst Māori who were relatively new to their Māori identity. Te Hiwi identified three core themes in her research, the first ‘on being other’ encompasses the idea that her participants feel ‘caught between’. Te Hiwi (2007, p. 35) states:

To find one’s self ‘homeless’ – having no one place in which one belongs, has its roots in colonial practices of exclusion. The battle over indigenous ‘purity’

– one that seeks to determine who is and isn't really Māori, by in large serves the needs of the post colonial state.

These examples emphasize the understanding that there has been little room left for multiple identities, positions and narratives with which ngā kiritea Māori can speak about and be a part of.

5.2 Māori as second class citizens:

Stereotype: a generalised picture of group members rather than a true image of individuals. It's central characteristic is the over-exaggeration of facts to form a belief or picture that is essentially unjustified; a stereotype construction is more likely to be false than true because of the inevitable distortion of reality....the stereotype so constructed is sustained by selective perception and selective forgetting. Evidence which conflicts with the stereotyped image are either rejected outright, or regarded as representing an exception to the general rule. (Will, 1973, p. 3-4)

As can be seen by Wills' (1973) description above a stereotype is a generalised, unjustified, and most likely false belief about a group of people. Stereotyping is a practice that seeks to separate 'us' from 'them'; it is the representation of racial difference (Hippolite, 2010). Prejudice is based on societal stereotypes and works to provide justification or legitimation for, and of, racism in society. Prejudice is often negative or unfavourable attitudes towards groups of people or individual members of that group (Hippolite, 2010). These stereotypes and prejudices serve to create narratives about Māori identity. The narrative of Māori as second class citizens is based upon the shared language in society that supports and emphasizes the widely held stereotypes about Māori people and their identity.

Stereotyping Māori has arguably been common practice throughout our history in Aotearoa; in particular the negative stereotyping of Māori. An example of this is shown by Donald Will who presented his Master's thesis at Massey University on "Stereotypes of Māori's held by Europeans" in 1973. Some interesting, but not necessarily 'new',

stereotypes emerged from this research. For example Will (1973) refers to a seemingly prevalent stereotype of “Māori as a comic character. He is often portrayed as a simple, loveable child, although a good fighter when there is a war on” (p. 2).

Negative stereotypes of Māori have produced prejudicial beliefs. For example there was the historical and persistent belief that the Māori race was inferior to the European race (Collins, 2004; Will, 1973). This prejudicial belief arose from the perception that Pākehā believed their own culture to be superior not only in regards to technology, language, knowledge and ideologies but also from a moral perspective (Collins, 2004; Will, 1973). The Pākehā culture fostered ‘better’ qualities such as self-reliance, sobriety and self discipline as opposed to Māori who had many ‘undesirable’ traits and were still considered to be in a primitive state. Hippolite (2010) also discusses stereotypes of Māori in her thesis. Hippolite (2010, p. 16) states “In New Zealand, stereotyping has become a way of fixing beliefs about Māori”. Again, based on the examples provided these stereotypes seek to position Māori as lower or inferior to Pākehā. Hippolite (2010, p. 15) states “Māori are seen as troublemakers, lazy, unintelligent, dirty, aggressive, easy going and friendly; Pākehā are regarded as successful, hardworking, intelligent and self-centred”. These examples help illustrate how our Pākehā society positioned Māori people as second class citizens when compared to Pākehā people.

These prejudices towards Māori have changed somewhat over time. For example Awatere (as cited in Collins, 2004) stated that during the 1960s and early 1970s:

Discrimination and racism by Pākehā towards Māori existed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, since then there has been a move towards a more positive view of Māori due to the increase of ethnic awareness and the positive assertion of Māori cultural and political rights and improved Māori access to power and resources. (p. 113)

Wall (1997) also discusses how stereotypes of Māori have changed over time. From being seen as a ‘primitive, savage warrior/cannibal’ in the 1850s to the romanticizing of the

Māori “as a vanishing race” in the 1870s (Wall, 1997, p. 41). In addition Wall (1997) provides examples of some of the Māori stereotypes or ‘signifiers of blackness’, as Wall has termed it, which were constructed in society at that time. These include: the primitive savage warrior, the immoral sexual predator, the naïve comical simpleton, and the spiritual or irrational, environmentally aware tribesperson.

Wall (1997) also discusses four common stereotypes held in modern New Zealand society. These are: Māori as the comic other, Māori as primitive natural athlete, Māori as the radical, political activist and the quintessential Māori. Whilst this research did not specifically look at racial stereotyping it is important to discuss because these stereotypes shape the narrative of Māori as second class citizens because they re-confirm and support the idea of Māori as ‘the black other’. Māori are positioned as being inferior to, or not measuring up to, their Pākehā peers.

The language used in society which perpetuates and confirms this narrative has its foundations in stereotypical beliefs and subsequent prejudicial attitudes. This narrative focuses on the idea that, according to many Pākehā, Māori are viewed as second class citizens. This was illustrated either directly or indirectly in most of ngā kiritea’s stories that were told to me and serves to challenge Māori as people and also their identity as Māori. As can be shown by Will (1973), Collins (2004) and Hippolite (2010) many of the negative stereotypes and prejudices held by Pākehā in the past still infiltrate and impact on society today. This holds bearing to the current research because ngā kiritea Māori must negotiate where they belong in relation to this public narrative of identity.

5.3 The ideal Māori figure:

..Caught between the gaze that represents her and an image that is supposed to be her...She cannot feel nostalgia for an image that was never her and is wary of an official discourse that continues to falsify and reinvent her reality as Māori woman. (Matahaere-Atariki, 1998 as cited in Bell, 2004, p. 111).

The idea behind this narrative is there are certain requirements one must meet in order to justify their position as Māori resulting in an idealised view of what it means to be Māori in

Aotearoa. As supported in the quote above by Donna Matahaere-Atariki (1998 as cited in Bell, 2004, p. 111) there is often a representation of what and who a person should be regardless of whether they adhere to that representation or not. People use this narrative to challenge other people's identity claims and to discredit Māori people's claims to a Māori identity or to specific rights as Māori (Bell, 2004). For example, ngā kiritea Māori identity claims. This idea is supported by literature and research that shows, just because one may identify as Māori it doesn't necessarily mean others will accept them as Māori (Gibson, 1999; Kukutai, 2003; Webber, 2008). The quote from Matahaere-Atariki highlights this idea, that sometimes the representation of the self is not actually the reality for the individual. This narrative has been broken down into two core elements that formulate 'the ideal Māori figure' narrative. Firstly, one must look a certain way and secondly one must have knowledge of Te Ao Māori and the Māori culture.

5.3.1 Physical appearance

It seems there is a fine line between who can and who cannot be classified as Māori. At the heart of this matter for ngā kiritea Māori is: they do not look Māori, therefore it is assumed they are not Māori. In fact to even identify yourself as Māori can be a challenge because according to the public narrative there is an expectation that all Māori will 'fit' this ideal Māori figure so there is a pre-requisite that ngā kiritea must prove in some other way that they are Māori before they will be accepted or believed as Māori.

This can work both ways, for example, Māori people who are seen as successful and flourishing in a Pākehā world often get termed 'plastic Māori' or a 'mellow puff', they may be brown on the outside but they are considered 'white' or Pākehā on the inside. These labels are given to individuals who do not meet this proposed criterion of what a person must have, do and say in order to justify their position as Māori. Boyes, (2006) draws on the assumptions of what a Māori person looks like in a physical manner or context. Boyes (2006, p. 48) states:

“There are radicalised attitudes and stereotypes of what a Māori person should look like. There is a general view that Māori people have brown skin, dark hair, big lips and a flattish nose. If a person does not fit this description,

others will question that person's identity. For many half-castes, this is an attitude that they have had to face, often on a daily basis, because of their physical ambiguity”.

Collins (2004) also draws on this issue stating, in reference to fair skinned Māori, that there is “more suspicion, distrust and negativity from Māori for their apparent association with the problems Māori have experiences as a result of Pākehā colonisation” (p. 133). Furthermore, Collins (2004, p. 151) says:

Colour as a measure of ethnicity or phenotypical belief systems is commonly held across society and being fair or non-phenotypically Māori in appearance is noted by many people as an inhibiting factor in developing an identity as Māori and in gaining social acceptance by Māori.

O'Regan (2001, p. 88) also discusses this idea by saying “who you are in a cultural sense may have little relation to what you are in a biological sense”. Similarly, in her research with Māori women who had dual ethnicity, Gibson (1999) found that often the identity that other people attributed to dual ethnic women was incongruent with how they (the participants) identified themselves. For some of the participants they were identified by others as being Pākehā because they did not have the ‘usual’ or ‘stereotypical’ physical characteristics of Māori people. What this meant was that these women had experiences of being excluded from ‘things Māori’ (Gibson, 1999).

These examples illustrate the difficulties ngā kiritea Māori face when identifying themselves as Māori as a result of the widespread disbelief of others who do not accept them as Māori based on their physical appearance.

5.3.2 You must have knowledge of Te ao Māori and the Māori culture

The underlying premise of this part of the ideal Māori narrative is that (kiritea) Māori must have knowledge of Te Ao Māori in order to justify their position as Māori in Aotearoa. For the purpose of this discussion Te Ao Māori encompasses knowledge of Te Reo,

whakapapa, tikanga and kawa. It is about ngā kiritea Māori confirming their 'Māori-ness'. These ideas are supported by Webber (2008) who states:

To be Māori, it seems that you have to accept, without question, the 'rules' surrounding appropriate Māori behaviour....such as: Māori must stick together (and in some instances not have Pākehā friends); you are not a real Māori if you do not play sports or participate in music (and be exceptional at these things); real Māori kōrero Māori; real Māori do kapa haka; real Māori have a 'Māori-centred' way of doing things, and other unspoken ways of 'being Māori. (p. 11)

Furthermore, Archer and Archer (1971) point out that there may be 'levels of being Māori' based on an individual's knowledge of Te Ao Māori:

There are different ways of 'being Māori', and to most Māori's, racial membership is not the most important measure of the individuals standing. Māori's who know little tribal or genealogical background, or who cannot speak Māori....are often spoken of as having 'lost the Māoritangā '....(so) although all Māori's are in some sense Māori, some are perhaps more Māori than others. (p. 180)

The idea that Māori people must have certain 'markers of identity' such as whakapapa, mātauranga Māori, knowledge of Te Reo and tikanga, is not a new idea. Gibson (1999) discussed this narrative in her research over a decade ago. As discussed in the introduction, Gibson's research looked at identity amongst women who had dual ethnicities. Gibson identified that when participants identified as Māori there were certain expectations put upon them around how they were expected to behave. For example, it was assumed they would instinctively know things like Marae kawa; how to behave on the marae. Furthermore, it was assumed that because these women identified as Māori they would automatically have a Māori view on local and national issues and debates (Gibson, 1999).

Similarly, in her study on urban Māori cultural identity amongst rangatahi in South Auckland, Borell (2005) also found that:

The conventional indicators or criteria of a Māori identity including knowledge of Te Reo Māori, access to tikanga and marae, and having knowledge of one's whakapapa are problematic for some Māori and those who do not possess this knowledge are often seen as lacking which leads to feelings of disconnected, distanced, detached and dissociated (p. 191).

McIntosh (2005, p. 43) illustrates this further saying:

There is a contemporary identity that is articulated by Māori and can be characterised as presenting particular identity hooks as markers of identity. Whakapapa, mātauranga Māori, proficiency in Te Reo and tikanga are all seen as important.

These identity markers, including knowledge of whakapapa, Te Reo, tikanga and kawa will be discussed further in the following sections. Whakapapa is perhaps the most widely accepted and familiar concept an individual must have in order to identify as Māori. Whakapapa is considered to be the primary aspect of how Māori people think about and come to know the world (Kukutai, 2003; O'Regan, 2001; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Whakapapa provides a way of thinking, learning, storing and debating knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). It is embedded in Maori people's lives because from whakapapa, they can trace themselves and their access to their whenua, marae and tūrangawaewae. It relates them to everything else in the world, to other people, to the land, within the universe and to all other life forms and non-life forms (O'Regan, 2001; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Māori conceptions of the past and future are also linked through whakapapa (Bevan, 1999). Kukutai (2003) sums whakapapa up by saying that it is not just about having 'Māori blood' or Māori descent, it is about knowing who and where an individual has descended from and having a meaningful relationship to their whakapapa.

With this in mind, it is important to investigate the available statistics around Māori people's knowledge of their whakapapa. In 2001 a review of the measurement of ethnicity was released from Statistics New Zealand (Robson et al, 2001). An interesting point came out of this review. Whilst whakapapa is identified as being integral to Māori identity the 1996 census showed that one in five people (19%) of Māori descent were not able to name their iwi. Furthermore, the 2001 New Zealand census revealed that 102,366 people of Māori descent did not know their iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). This raises questions around why do 102,366 people not know their whakapapa and are ngā kiritea Māori captured in these statistics?

In addition to knowing one's whakapapa, it is also considered vital to know Te Reo which is a widespread and familiar defining feature of Māori identity (Boyes, 2006; Kukutai, 2003). O'Regan (2001) stresses the importance of language as a 'powerful symbol of cultural identity' (p. 59). This can be further exemplified by Sir Tipene O'Regan (as cited in O'Regan, 2001, p. 62) who states:

It is our tikanga, our reo, our identity, our place names and our relationships which uniquely define Te Rohe Pōtae o Ngā I Tahu. We define it. And an essential component of that – an essential component of our mana within that context – is Te Reo.

Again it is interesting that the 2006 census statistic results reveal that in 2006, only 131,617 (23.7%) of Māori could hold a conversation about everyday things in Te Reo Māori. This is just over one fifth of all Māori. Despite this number having increased by 1,128 people from the 2001 census it is still very much a small group of the Māori population who can converse in Te Reo Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Furthermore, one quarter of Māori aged between 15-64 years could hold a conversation in Te Reo Māori. However, this increased significantly (48.7%) amongst Māori aged 65 years and over (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). What these statistics allude to is that many Māori in today's society are not able to hold a conversation in Te Reo Māori. Additionally, our younger generation are a lot less likely to be able to hold a conversation in Te Reo Māori. So, with the apparent

importance being placed on knowing the Māori language it is surprising that the number of Te Reo speakers is not higher in New Zealand. More specifically, for ngā kiritea Māori it must be difficult then, to be strong in their Māori identity when, and if, they do not know the Māori language which, as shown by statistics and from the participants in this research, is a very stark reality for ngā kiritea Māori. One possible explanation for these statistics is given by Boyes (2006) who also found her participants did not know Te Reo and as a result felt ‘less’ Māori. She states:

There is still much prejudice towards those people that identify as Māori but who do not have the language. Many people with Māori heritage, due to the historical process known as the urban drift, grew up in the city and in Pākehā dominated environment.... Therefore, it is not uncommon among half-castes to lack fluency in Māori language....This can bring about intensely negative attitudes from others regarding their authenticity. The negativity draws on the fact the half-caste lacks an aspect of their Māori identity and, for some people, this marks them as being ‘less’ Māori than someone who does have the language. (p. 4).

Wanhalla (2009) also seeks to explain the possible reasons why many of her Kai Tahu iwi members, do not know the language and possess the ‘identity markers’ of what it means to be Māori. She states in relation to colonization:

Encouraging children to succeed in the Pākehā world lead to the erosion of culture and language. Parents refused to teach their children Māori, in order to help them ‘fit in’ to mainstream society; yet the loss of language positioned those of mixed descent, and by extension Ngāi Tahu, as ‘plastic Māoris’. Because they lacked the requisite language skills or cultural knowledge they were not considered authentically Māori, and because of their dual heritage they were not completely accepted as Pākehā. (Wanhalla, 2009, p. 138).

In relation to having knowledge of tikanga and kawa, again this can be illustrated by O'Regan (2001, p. 72) who states "They (traditions) provide an understanding of the world views that lies at the core of a people's identity and their purpose, while providing a guide for the application of that world view to the present environment". One such iwi which perhaps highlights this issue is that of South Island's Kai Tahu. Outlined by Bell (2004), attitudes from some North Island Māori towards the South Island iwi Kai Tahu emphasize the assumptions of what makes an ideal Māori, stating "the 'whiteness' of Ngāi Tahu, their lack of Māori language, and their lack of carved meeting houses, which O'Regan (1999, as cited in Bell, 2004, p. 83) argues "is traditional to them given their historically migratory lifestyle, have all been pointed to as evidence of their lack of authenticity. Ngāi Tahu have been considered to be not *tūturu Māori*, or 'genuine Māori', not authentically Māori in the essentialist sense."

Based on these expectations, it is no wonder that ngā kiritea Māori not only struggle to claim their identity as Māori but they also struggle to remain strong in their Māori identity because they tend to 'lack' in these conventional identity requirements of what Māori must look like and have knowledge of in order to identify themselves as Māori. McIntosh (2005, p. 44) sums this up perfectly, stating: "It (contemporary Māori identity) comes with a set of expectations that someone will not only 'be' Māori, as indicated by knowledge of one's whakapapa lines, but will also 'know' what being Māori is and will 'act' Māori".

5.4 Māori as the sports hero:

This narrative encompasses the idea that Māori are superior in their athletic abilities or are perceived to be natural athletes. This narrative extends beyond a New Zealand context to include the international spectrum. For example Stone, Perry & Darley (1997) state in relation to American basketball players that "White males do not possess the physical capabilities that Black males possess, and therefore, are not as skilled in sports" (p. 302). This idea is common when considering racial differences in athletes of differing colour. Whilst there are certainly some negative aspects to this narrative, which will briefly be mentioned later, in the context of this research this narrative draws on the positive image of Māori as being good at sports and having natural sporting or physical abilities.

Sport and physical activity in New Zealand is an area that has been embraced by Māori society. In fact, Hokowhitu (2004, p. 269) states “The myth of the natural athleticism of Māori men has been actuated through *tāne* achieving in sport more than in any other area of society. So much so that sport has come to be viewed as a “traditional” characteristic of Māori masculinity.” Hokowhitu (2004, p. 260) goes on to say “Sport was the only mainstream activity where Māori could achieve success and compete with Pākehā on an ‘even playing field’. More specifically, when considering rugby and Māori in New Zealand, sport offers ‘a sort of salvation’ whereby “given the national hysteria for rugby throughout the twentieth century and the consequent status of the game, it is not surprising that, for Māori men, the rugby and rugby league field was a site where they could gain their community’s respect and thus mana” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 270).

Previous research carried out overseas supports the idea that black people are perceived by others to be superior in their sporting ability. For example, research by Stone et al. (1997) which investigated racial stereotypes amongst basketball players found that when comparing black versus white athletes there is a perception that black people are superior in their athletic ability than white people (Stone et al, 1997).

Interestingly, this narrative may be considered to be negative in that it serves to minimize Māori people’s abilities to a physical realm. Hokowhitu (2003, p. 21) discusses this further saying: “One of the most significant sites where this neo-racism exists in the images of the racialised athletic body. The image of the coloured body soaring above adversity into the echelons of sporting success is a powerful symbol of freedom and hope, but ironically, it shackles people of colour to the physical realm and prevents them from being self-determining”. Whilst this is indeed one valid perspective of ‘Māori as the sports hero’ narrative, for the purpose of this research the idea of Māori as the sports hero was an empowering and enabling factor for the Māori men who participated in this research. It helped to strengthen their identity as Māori and helped them feel proud to identify themselves as Māori.

5.5 Valorisation of Māori:

*...The country seemed irrevocably committed to a monocultural, melting-pot ideology in ethnic relations. It seemed to have left itself only the alternative of one language, one education system, one law, a common set of institutions running on a common set of programmes. Many still regard this as inevitable, or desirable, **but the tide is now against them.** (Ritchie, 1992, p. 10).*

Ritchie (1992) identifies the changing times in Aotearoa. Where there was once a focus on the assimilation of Māori, in recent times there has been a resurgence and revival of the Māori culture and Te Ao Māori in Aotearoa. This is the idea that in today's society it is a good thing to be Māori. It is now considered a positive to not only identify as Māori, but also be recognised by other people as Māori and to acknowledge Māori individuals as being valued within society. There is a celebration and renaissance of the Māori culture in Aotearoa.

When discussing race relations in Aotearoa it is not uncommon to hear the phrase 'we are all New Zealanders'. Behind this statement lies the assumption that there is "no ethnic difference. As 'New Zealanders' we share a sense of nationhood: a national cultural identity" (Boyes, 2006, p. 5). By saying that we are all New Zealanders also implies that the dominant group; Pākehā, perceive their culture to be 'the national culture', so by saying we are all 'New Zealanders' essentially we are saying that it is our "Māori people who must change and become more like Europeans (Boyes, 2006, p. 6). Yet, paradoxically when we investigate this 'global New Zealand, national, identity' and what 'informs and creates this identity, we see that "what symbolizes uniqueness as a nation comes from Māori culture" (Boyes, 2006, p. 6). For example, Air New Zealand is symbolised by the Koru and our rugby team performs a Māori haka prior to a game. Thus, it is the Māori culture that is drawn upon when looking to be distinct as a nation. Boyes (2006, p. 6) supports this statement saying "It appears that Pākehā culture is the national culture in terms of maintaining control over institutions and power but it is the Māori culture that is the national culture when distinctiveness and 'ethnic exoticism' is required".

Bell (2004) also discusses the relationship between Māori culture and a national identity drawing on a survey conducted in 1997 which investigated New Zealand people's attitudes towards, and participation in, cultural activities. What the survey found was that 83% of those surveyed felt that Māori culture was an important aspect of a New Zealand national identity. This can be illustrated through “the practice of a Māori welcome to greet overseas dignitaries and to open major public events, the use of Māori-influenced symbolism by almost all New Zealand organisations aimed at the international and national spheres, the incorporation of Māori carvings, or other art works, in almost all government buildings, and so on” (Bell, 2004, p. 56). This survey reiterates and supports the idea that there has been a huge cultural revival in Aotearoa. During the 1990s Walker (1989 as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996) argued that Māori identity changed to one of confidence. Iwi and hapu development meant that Māori people became more involved in business ventures and setting up their own economic base. Thus Māori were able to reassert their mana through strengthening their cultural ties and relationships within iwi and hapu (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

Now, several decades on there is an acknowledged pride to identifying oneself as Māori. An example of this pride within Māoridom is the very recent opening ceremony for the 2011 Rugby World Cup. An excerpt from ‘The Listener’ (Milne, 2011) goes as follows: “After the Cup opening ceremony, before the All Blacks-Tonga game, Ngāti Whatua’s Taiaha Lance Hawke stood alone on Eden Park with the long wooden trumpet, the traditional pūkāea . “For Māori to be seen in such a positive light is a great thing”... Hawke says he has never felt his culture so welcomed, so respected. “by the time I got to my seat for the All Blacks-Tonga game, I’d had my hand shaken, had hongis, had kisses on my cheek from dozens and dozens of New Zealanders who were so happy to be associated with Māoridom. And when I went to the supermarket the other day I got a standing ovation.” As illustrated by this example, to be Māori and to identify with the Māori culture is celebrated and rejoiced in today’s society.

This public narrative recognises and acknowledges the positivity associated with ‘being Māori’ in Aotearoa. That is, as identifying one’s self as Māori and having knowledge and understanding of ‘things’ Māori, is empowering and liberating for many Māori individuals.

Chapter 6

Themes within Ngā Kiritea Māori Stories

This chapter provides discussion on the personal themes I identified in the participant's stories. Ngā kiritea Māori drew on the public narratives as a way of forming their personal stories; this chapter will demonstrate the ways in which public narratives are combined with personal experiences to shape identities. Within the participants' stories I identified four themes. The first two are the desire to connect to things Māori and the importance of whakapapa. The second two are gendered themes. The women spoke of painful and conflicting personal stories about their identity development. In contrast, the men tended to be proud of their Māori identity and saw their identity journey as a mainly positive experience. Each theme will be described in turn and illustrated with excerpts from the participants' stories to show how they drew on the public narratives within their personal stories to shape their identities.

6.1 Desire to connect to things Māori:

Ngā kiritea Māori in this research all expressed a desire to connect with Te Ao Māori and their Māori culture. They wished to learn the language, their whakapapa, connect with their whanau, hapu and iwi and learn about tikanga and kawa as a way of strengthening their Māori identity. The participants drew on the public narratives of Māori /Pākehā division, the ideal Māori figure and the valorisation of Māori as a way of expressing this desire.

6.1.1 Māori/Pākehā Division:

When asked why Kiszia decided to develop her Māori identity she drew on the idea of her Māori and Pākehā identities as being separate from each other, and used this to justify why she wanted to explore the Māori 'side' of her identity.

*I knew something was missing...I grew up in *** and my dad... umm was very connected to the Māori community there and I got a taste of... 'Being Māori'... I knew Māori people; I used to run away to the marae... I'd have hangi with*

them...umm... yea, it was just there... but then I, we moved and my mother removed me from contact with most of the things that were Māori except for my dad, so I felt the absence. And most of my friends growing up, I connected with, I had an understanding and the same sense of humour... umm... as my Māori mates like I understood and they understood me, better than my Pākehā friends did.

Kiszia acknowledges that for part of her childhood she grew up in, and was surrounded by, the Māori culture and she connected to this. However, when she was removed from this environment she felt the ‘absence’. So, Kiszia speaks about this division by talking about the two communities and wider social environments she grew up in. One was the Māori environment where she felt connected to the people and the culture. The other environment was the one which she moved to, and where she had very little involvement with Māori people and the Māori culture. Kiszia also talks about feeling more aligned to Māori friends, she understands them better and they understand her better, as opposed to her Pākehā friends. Kiszia feels she has always felt that connection to her Māori identity. It seems to make more sense to her than her Pākehā culture did.

Similar to Kiszia, Marama also makes reference to the desire to connect with her ‘Māori side’. When asked what made her decide to explore her Māori identity, Marama replies:

On my mum’s side they’re very Irish and they’re very strong in their culture in their... in their sense of family umm and very close family. And she’s probably encouraged us to know a lot about her side about umm at primary school like taking us places umm and telling us things about you know about..... umm... on the other side obviously how they did you know the clearing of the ninety mile bush you know and how they setting up the farm and what you know and the history on that side does make me think ‘ok so what was on the other side?’ ‘who am I?’ not who am I but ...

Marama draws on the Māori/Pākehā division narrative by explaining the ‘two sides of herself’. She has a clear understanding of her Irish side, and she emphasizes that her mother spent time teaching her about her Irish origin and the history of that side of her family in New Zealand. Thus, Marama separates her Māori and non-Māori ‘sides’. She refers to knowing ‘one side’ of her ancestry and her identity. However, her Māori ‘side’ is largely unknown to Marama, as she doesn’t know the history or the people from her Māori ancestry, but, she has a desire to connect with this ‘side’ of her.

Another example is provided by Puawai who is still ‘on’ her identity journey, struggling to bring both her Māori and her Pākehā worlds together. She says: *“I grew up Pākehā in a small town which was 80% Māori...so I grew up with Māori and I didn’t have that concept of Māori/Pākehā as a division”*. Interestingly, although Puawai identifies a societal division between Māori and Pākehā, she wasn’t aware of it when she was growing up but she alludes to its existence at that time. Furthermore, Puawai speaks of the division now as if it is common knowledge, thus indicating there is a real and distinct division in our society in Aotearoa.

In contrast, to Marama, Puawai and Kiszia, Matiu provides a contrasting example of this narrative by talking about his resistance to connect. He explains how, as a younger man, his parents sought to actively teach him about his Māori ‘side’ but at the time Matiu felt he didn’t really embrace it or relate to it as much as his European side. Thus, he was apathetic towards his parents desire to connect him to his Māori culture. Matiu’s excerpt below provides an example of his rejection of this theme and he also draws on the public narrative of the Māori/Pākehā division as a way of explaining his resistance. He says:

I was brought up in a very kind of umm I spose ‘heavily Māori orientated family’ ... most of my Māori blood comes from my father’s side and he umm, well understandably so, was very adamant that we know who we are and know all about umm the Māori side of ourselves there was always a lot of emphasis on you know making sure that we had big kind of umm exposure and all that kind of thing to that side..... and umm I spose when I was younger

I didn't really embrace it that much... just cos I didn't really...from what I had experienced of it, I didn't really relate to it as much as my European side, which is umm I don't know it seems a little bit bizarre thinking about it now because that, like my Māori side, is definitely the biggest part of me, but I dunno I just..when I was growing up, particularly in my teenage years I just didn't really feel like I belonged in that culture...

Matiu acknowledges that he was raised in a very Māori oriented family and being Māori and the Māori culture was prominent within his family. However Matiu didn't feel he related to 'this side of himself' rather he felt more aligned to his Pākehā or European side. Matiu separates his Māori and Pākehā 'sides' or identities as a way of explaining where he was at in terms of his identity as a teenager.

These excerpts provide examples of how Kiszia, Marama, Puawai and Matiu all drew on the public narrative of the Māori/Pākehā division as a way of expressing their desire to connect to Te Ao Māori.

6.1.2 The ideal Māori figure:

This section will look at how Kura, Kiszia, Apera and Rangi draw on the public narrative of the ideal Māori figure when explaining their desire to connect to Te Ao Māori and the Māori culture. To begin with, Kura expresses her desire to connect to the Māori culture by drawing on aspects that contribute towards the ideal Māori figure narrative. She says:

I remember trying to, or wanting to, be involved in things that were Māori and wanting to do kapa haka and stuff at primary school and being told I couldn't, umm because back then they didn't let you if you weren't Māori or if you couldn't prove it and at that stage I didn't know, I just knew that I wanted to do it, umm but, yea they didn't let me, I ended up doing some Māori classes just language stuff but ..yea so, so growing as a child I didn't know...

Here, Kura is drawing on some of the Māori ideals within the narrative of the ideal Māori figure as a way of illustrating her desire to be involved in ‘things Māori’. Her desire to connect seems to be beyond her control. All she knows is that she wants to connect to her Māori culture. Similarly, Kiszia says in her story:

I grew up in ... and, I...my dad... umm was very connected to the Māori community there and stuff at the time and I got a taste of... ‘Being Māori’... I knew Māori people; I used to run away to the marae... I’d have hangi with them...umm... yea, it was, it was just there... but then I, we moved and my mother removed me from contact with ummm, most of the things that were Māori except for my dad, so I felt the absence. And most of my friends growing up, I connected with, I had an understanding and the same sense of humour... umm... as my Māori mates like I understood and they understood me, better than my Pākehā friends did...we had the same attitudes (Māori friends) of let’s just chill out and have fun, have a laugh, umm.. so I knew that there was... I could connect with Māori / pacific island type friends.

In this excerpt Kiszia is drawing on notions of ‘the ideal Māori figure’ in order to illustrate her desire to connect. For example, she speaks of being involved in the Māori community, knowing Māori people, going to the marae and eating hangi. These aspects all contribute to the idealised Māori figure and Kiszia is positioning herself to align with that ideal Māori figure. She also draws on her friends and her ability to connect to other Māori people as a way of illustrating her desire to connect but also to show that she fits in with the ideal Māori narrative.

Apera also draws on the narrative of the ideal Māori figure as a way of explaining his desire to connect to his Māori culture. He says:

My involvement with Māoridom and marae has been fairly sporadic over those years so I, I’d go away and do something with mum and go away for a weekend ummmm go to a tangi and meet heaps of people and have a feed and

sorta hang out with that side of the family...I took Māori at high school in form 3,4 and 5 so, to sort of help my knowledge umm about it all, um which helped a bit cos I could understand what people were talking about specially when they speak for hours... I think the hardest, harder thing is that because our first sort of link to that family is mum's mum... she... she didn't... like she didn't have much connection with her Māoridom, so... so it's hard to get information off her so like I said, we've been to marae's before and, and ahh mum's worked for, I don't remember what the name of it is but it's the big umm big company that looks after Kai Tahu down south or Ngāi Tahu down south, and umm she's met people through there, relatives like third or eighth cousins and all that kind of stuff who we've found umm found a bit of information about so...

Apera draws on aspects of the ideal Māori figure throughout his story as a way of illustrating his desire to connect. For example, he refers to his involvement with Māoridom and his marae as a way of showing how he is able to align to the ideal Māori figure. He also chose to take Māori as a subject in school in order to further his knowledge of Te Reo and the Māori culture. Again this is an example of how Apera draws on 'the ideal Māori figure' as a means of illustrating his desire to connect and further position himself as the ideal Māori figure. Finally, Apera also makes reference to his mother working for her iwi in Kai Tahu. Again, this serves to justify Apera's attempt to align to the 'the ideal Māori figure' narrative.

Rangi also speaks about his desire to connect to his Māori culture and he draws on the ideal Māori figure as a way of illustrating this. He says "After you know spending a bit of time with the aunties around the marae umm learning a bit of the lingo, a bit of Te Reo and more of the family history umm that kind of sparked the interest". Here, Rangi refers to his association and involvement in and with 'things' Māori. By doing so he is aligning himself to the ideal Māori narrative through his connection to aspects of this figure. For example, being on the marae, having marae connections and learning Te Reo and his family history. Rangi then goes on to say:

Ahh it wasn't until I got to high school umm 13 that I could actually take Māori as a subject and that's what I decided that I was going to look further into my Whakapapa, history umm and identify more with the Māori side of the house really, umm yea so obviously through high school and that, that was umm our Māori teacher was really good...

Again, Rangi emphasizes his interest in learning about the Māori culture and connecting with that aspect of his identity. He highlights whakapapa as being key to his connection with his Māori identity and this illustrates how Rangi is trying to align himself with the ideal Māori figure narrative. In the following excerpt Rangi refers to his physical appearance as being a factor that may disprove his ability to align to the narrative of the ideal Māori figure. However, Rangi actively rejects this idea and instead provides an argument to help sustain his position as the ideal Māori figure. He says:

*I have also been told that I'm the whitest Māori that people have seen in ages, but at the same time you know especially through high school and that, I knew more about my history and my Whakapapa than other Māoris at the high school did that were of the darker persuasion and looked more Māori than, or would be considered more Māori than anyone else, umm *pause* so yea it was um...*

Rangi dismisses people's judgments of him as being non-Māori or a 'white' Māori based on the fact that he can subscribe to aspects of the ideal Māori figure narrative which consequently allows him justification to identify as Māori. He has the prerequisites for being an ideal Māori figure; he knows his whakapapa, he knows some Te Reo and he knows his history.

These excerpts show how ngā kiritea Māori draw on the ideal Māori figure narrative as a way of showing their desire to connect to Te Ao Māori and the Māori culture. They do this in order to position themselves as an ideal Māori character and this therefore serves to

align them to the ideas within the public narrative around what it means to be an ideal Māori.

6.1.3 Valorisation of Māori:

As discussed in chapter five, this narrative recognises the positivity and pride associated with identifying as Māori and as being an individual of Māori descent in Aotearoa. Hone and Apera both provide examples of how this narrative was drawn upon as a way of talking about their desire to connect to Te Ao Māori and the Māori culture. For example Hone says:

I've always looked at, the Māori race as a proud race; you know I've always had an interest, probably in these old, not always but these later years definitely in, sorta Māori history and those Māori wars and that sorta stuff. Umm and so, I've always been proud to call myself Māori.

In line with the public narrative; valorisation of Māori, Hone speaks of the positive aspects of the Māori race and his pride, not only in his Māori identity, but more specifically Māori, as a group of people. By positioning Māori as a 'proud race' Hone is drawing of the narrative of valorisation of Māori because he is showing us why it is a good thing to be Māori and he is also justifying his desire to connect to things Māori as a result of the positivity associated with being Māori. Later in Hone's story he again draws on the valorisation of Māori as a means of explaining his desire to connect to his Māori identity. He says:

I spose I've tried to put myself out there as being of Māori descent just cos of the proud-ness of the actual race itself... I think overall it's quite a proud race and I'd like to go more into looking at learning the language and stuff like that probably time constraints at the moment but I would like to do that in the future.

Here, Hone expresses his desire to learn more about the Māori culture and language as well as reiterating the idea of learning about the New Zealand land wars. He draws on this

theme by positioning Māori as a proud race and also, by positively associating himself with the Māori race.

Apera also draws on the public narrative of valorisation of Māori as a way of illustrating his desire to connect to his Māori heritage and culture. He says:

I got a tā moko done, oh, it was about five years ago, just before I left to join the military actually and mum was really worried about it cos she didn't know what I was getting done. So I went and found out about all the whakapapa and I went and got it done and came back and she was really happy with it, she was really stoked and that was my way, that's my own way of how I identify as being Māori, other than having white skin, the white boy with a tattoo...

Apera wanted something visible to distinguish him as Māori. He wanted to have a physical marker that helped people recognise him as Māori. In getting his tā moko of his whakapapa done Apera was able to connect with his Māori culture and his whakapapa but more importantly he was also able to portray his Māori identity through his tā moko. This provides an example of how Apera wishes to be identified as Māori; he wants to be seen as Māori because he is proud to be Māori, thus, illustrating the valorisation of Māori within contemporary society in Aotearoa.

6.2 The importance of whakapapa:

The importance of whakapapa was a theme that was illustrated and highlighted in the stories expressed by ngā kiritea Māori in this research. There are two threads of discussion within this theme. First is the emphasis ngā kiritea placed on knowing their own whakapapa, or at least being able to explain what they do know in relation to their own whakapapa because whilst all the participants identified the importance of acknowledging their whakapapa this did not mean that they all knew their whakapapa completely. Secondly, ngā kiritea also explained the importance of knowing one's whakapapa in a more general sense. For ngā kiritea who did not know a lot of their

whakapapa, this sometimes posed difficulties as they found it hard to speak about their whakapapa or their lack of knowledge of it. This section will show how participants drew on the public narratives of Māori /Pākehā division, Māori as second class citizens and the ideal Māori figure as a way of illustrating the importance of whakapapa within their personal stories.

6.2.1 Māori/Pākehā Division:

Participants often began their stories by talking about what they knew of their whakapapa. Matiu, Kiszia, Apera and Kura all did this by separating their Māori and Pākehā or European ‘sides’ to emphasize specifically what they knew about their Māori whakapapa. For example Matiu states early on:

Well I was brought up in a very kind of umm I spose ‘heavily Māori orientated family’ there’s a bit of Māori on my mother’s side but most of my Māori blood comes from my father’s side... so there was always umm a lot of emphasis on umm I spose the Māori side of ourselves and you know umm making sure that we had big kind of umm exposure and all that kind of thing to that side..

In accordance with historical methods of measuring Māori ethnicity Matiu has emphasized his ‘amount’ of Māori blood as a means of justifying or explaining his Māori identity. It is important to Matiu that he ‘shows’ us his Māori ancestry in order for us to ‘see’ that he is Māori.

Kiszia also talks about the division between her Pākehā and her Māori identities and the importance of developing her whakapapa as a way of connecting to her Māori identity.

I wanna like end up in my identity journey like, get to that point where I have an understanding umm I have a good solid understanding I know who I am, I know where I’m from, I know my relations, I know my Whakapapa, I know all my connections. Kind of like who is and who isn’t and I can actually

communicate in Te Reo with confidence... and just relax I think, my thing like get to a point where I know, feel confident and relax in my own skin. I would say. But on the other side it's like not only do I have to understand or get rooted in Māoridom I also have to do the same for my Pākehā side which is the Welsh, the Irish umm the Scottish thing, umm I have to.. It needs to be whole so I've gotta fill the holes in the understanding and the knowledge for both sides of things otherwise umm I will be unbalanced.... I think that's where you come to a place where you start to value umm Māori philosophies and ways of doing things ummm and you take them on and then I think it makes us richer and more whole you know that blending of two..

Kiszia draws on her two 'sides' which represent her two identities. She talks about knowing who she is and where she is from, and knowing her whanau and her whakapapa in order to be comfortable identifying as Māori in Aotearoa. Kiszia also places equal importance on her other 'side', her Pākehā identity which consists of a mix of Welsh, Scottish and Irish. Thus, Kiszia emphasises the importance of knowing her whakapapa from both her identities in order to 'relax in her own skin'. Kura also speaks about her whakapapa at an early stage in the interview, however unlike traditional Māori discussion on whakapapa and her connectedness to her iwi and hapu Kura chooses to isolate 'how she got her Māori-ness'. She says:

My dad who my Māori Whakapapa comes from is also very pale skinned but my granddad was much more olive and he had that sort of reddish tinge to his hair and you could see it a lot more in him and the, the more flatter nose and face.

Kura speaks about her father's physical features as a way of explaining her own fair skinned complexion. She highlights the fact that it is her father who has Māori whakapapa but he also has a fair skinned complexion, whereas her grandfather 'looked more Māori'.

Another example is provided in Apera's story. For a large part of Apera's story he separates his Māori side from his Pākehā side. This includes his discussion on learning about his Māori whakapapa. Below are several excerpts from Apera that help illustrate how he draws on the idea of the Māori/Pākehā division when expressing the importance of knowing his Māori whakapapa. Apera begins his story by telling me about his memories of growing up in New Zealand. He says:

I was brought up as a white kid, pretty much for the first sort of twelve years of my life, my... mother was adopted (into a non-Māori family) and so...her Māori mother was the lady who adopted her out and then she was brought up in a, white family, umm so we didn't really have much to do, I think she knew who grandma was, umm but didn't really have much contact with her.

In this excerpt Apera refers to himself as 'a white kid'. In doing so, he is showing us how he identified with his Pākehā side for the first 12 years of his life. Further, he explains his knowledge of his whakapapa was largely unknown during these years and this was as a result of his mother being adopted into a non-Māori family and not having much to do with 'her Māori side'. Apera separates his Māori from his Pākehā side when discussing his knowledge of his whakapapa. In another part of Apera's story he talks about what he knows of his whakapapa and he draws on this idea that his Māori side or whakapapa is separate to his 'other or Pākehā side'. When referring to his knowledge of where he came from and his whanau links he says:

*We have got enough information for what we need, me and mum and my sisters don't really have much to do with it, other than that, umm I've had some pretty neat experiences out...umm with **that** family - the ***.*

Apera goes on to discuss in detail his whakapapa which has been omitted in order to ensure his anonymity, however, what is important within this excerpt is that Apera again refers to 'that side of the family' therefore indicating a division between his Māori side and his Pākehā side. Interestingly, Apera chooses to only consider his Māori whakapapa

and ancestry. He does not go into detail about his Pākehā heritage. So, whilst he acknowledges his other whakapapa he places importance only on his Māori whakapapa.

Examples from Matiu, Kiszia, Apera and Kura show how the Māori /Pākehā division narrative was drawn upon as they discussed the importance of their Māori whakapapa.

6.2.2 Resistance to the narrative of Māori as second class citizens:

The following excerpt by Puawai provides an interesting example of how ‘Māori as second class citizens’ is rejected by Puawai as she speaks about the importance of her whakapapa and how she came to learn of her ancestry. When asked how she confirmed her Māori whakapapa she states:

*I haven't in a Pākehā sense, I haven't....we've never proved it cos it was 'father not named' (on my grandmothers birth certificate)... but in a Māori sense, my sister and I both started having dreams and this man was coming to us called Koro, he was just Koro, and we got the names ****, we didn't know if that was his name or his tribe or.. so my sister and I, at different times have received information in our dreams but when you're awake sort of, had visions and things and being given that same thing at the same time in totally different places; so we've been told that our mountain is *** and we didn't even know at that stage what that mountain was, we only knew it as ***, so as adults we've both been given information that we've come together and talked about....so in that way I have nothing Pākehā to prove I am Māori.*

Puawai illustrates the idea that, from a Pākehā perspective she cannot validate her Māori identity. She cannot claim to be Māori according to Pākehā protocol because she has no ‘evidence’ that she has Māori whakapapa. The process through which she found out her Māori whakapapa is not validated from a Pākehā perspective. However, Puawai rejects this Pākehā standpoint and instead, chooses to explain within Te Ao Māori, why she is Māori and how she knows she is Māori. Interestingly, whilst Puawai can't lay claim to ‘validated or specific’ whakapapa she has shown us the importance of knowing one's

whakapapa by drawing on what has been gifted to her, through other means, that helps her identify as Māori and reassures her that she does have Māori whakapapa.

6.2.3 The ideal Māori figure:

The ideal Māori figure narrative was drawn upon by Hone, Rangi and Marama as they speak about their knowledge of their whakapapa and their desire to learn about their whakapapa. They did this because they were not only trying to show that they were ‘the ideal’ Māori, but also because they were trying to measure up to the ideal Māori figure. For example Hone speaks about connecting to his Māori identity through learning about the Māori culture and his whakapapa he says “*naturally, you know- the more you learn about that (whakapapa) you learn a lot about yourself and where you came from umm and I think naturally you’d... your identity becomes quite a bit stronger*”. Hone speaks of his whakapapa as a means of strengthening his identity and considers that in learning about his whakapapa he is able to learn about himself at the same time. In an indirect way, Hone is drawing on an idealized version of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa. The ideal Māori would know his whakapapa, hence Hone wishes to learn about his whakapapa and in turn adhere to the narrative of the ideal Māori figure.

Rangi also expresses the need to learn his whakapapa and his Māori culture in order to strengthen his Māori identity. He states:

Ahh it wasn’t until I got to high school umm 13 that I could actually take Māori as a subject and that’s when I decided that I was going to look further into my Whakapapa, history and identify more with the Māori side of the house really, yea so obviously through high school and that, that was umm our Māori teacher was really good and when we had to go and research all our Whakapapa umm.. and I must admit I’m a bit of a mongrel I’ve got, there’s three or four main tribes in there, but so yea, we had to go and umm... dig around and dig up all the Whakapapa on all three umm three tribes so that was quite good, you know it was educational and umm helped you identify with the Māori side of umm I don’t know.. Your being I spouse, umm

**pause* yea... it was... *pause* yea, that was definitely the beginning umm as far as being considered Māori.*

Rangi explains how he chose to take Māori as a subject at school in order to strengthen his Māori identity. He draws on notions or knowledge of his whakapapa as a way of expressing the importance of whakapapa to his Māori identity and he clearly stresses that it was learning his whakapapa that helped him to form his Māori identity more securely. Again, we can see that indirectly Rangi is drawing on notions of the ideal Māori figure; he speaks about learning of his whakapapa and Māori history as a way of aligning himself to the ideal Māori figure.

Finally, Marama begins her story by speaking about what she knows of her whakapapa. She does this as a way of illustrating her adherence to the narrative of the ideal Māori figure. She says:

It's my granddad's mother who's Māori and you know that's the side it comes from and she died during childbirth with the youngest, I think it was the youngest one... And so it got a bit lost... umm and cos he was brought up by a series of housekeepers and his dad was a very tough man so that carried on with him and I guess was... I guess his dad would have gone down the English, you know the 'white' person way of doing things, I don't know.

Marama attempts to explain how she knows she is Māori by drawing on what knowledge she has of her Māori whakapapa. She is able to assert her position as the ideal Māori figure by explaining how and why her knowledge of whakapapa is incomplete. For example her granddad being brought up by a series of housekeepers etc. In this way Marama is not responsible for her lack of knowledge of her whakapapa so she is still able to position herself as an ideal Māori figure and she is still able to express the importance of knowing one's whakapapa as a means of strengthening her identity as Māori at the same time.

These excerpts by Hone, Rangi and Marama illustrate how they are attempting to position themselves as an ideal Māori character, drawn from the public narrative, as they speak about the importance of whakapapa and knowledge of their own whakapapa.

6.3 Painful and conflicting journeys:

This theme acknowledges some of the difficulties of being ngā kiritea Māori in Aotearoa. Previous research investigating Māori identity has also pointed to this idea. For example Collins (2004) found that some of the participants in her research found it ‘difficult’ and ‘complex’ during the early stages of their identity development. Also, Boyes (2006, pg 44) speaks about her participants and how their “themes tell of personal struggles with identity and portray feelings of being caught between two worlds that are culturally different including the anxiety elicited when one does not fit into either ethnic categories, Māori or Pākehā.” This theme of pain and conflict is a gendered theme; it was illustrated by the women in this research. In contrast, the men acknowledged that sometimes it was difficult but did not specifically say their journey had been painful and conflicting for them. The women used the public narratives of the Māori/Pākehā division, Māori as second class citizens, the ideal Māori figure and valorisation of Māori to inform their own stories of their pain and conflicting journeys. The following section will provide examples of this.

6.3.1 Māori/Pākehā division:

The Māori/Pākehā division is drawn on by the women in this research as they try and explain their painful and conflicting journeys and how this has impacted on their Māori identities. Excerpts from Kiszia, Puawai and Kura are used to illustrate this. For example Kiszia provides an example of her painful and conflicting journey whilst drawing on the idea that she has two sides of herself; there is a division in her identity between her Māori and her Pākehā sides. When speaking about her parents and her childhood she says:

I tend to lean more towards that side of my whanau and... I think I'm... I want to be more like him (father) I think... The Pākehā side of my family are very...

oh I dunno... self serving and they're a bit cold and that the other side, the, the Māori side are more kind of... embracing and... There's more connection and.... so... I see, I see that by not having a chance to grow up and... fully in Māori society... umm my... Māori family I've missed out on a lot of relationships, I've missed out on a lot of understanding ummm...and there are big holes and I can feel the absence but I don't know what's supposed to be there...

Kisia makes the distinction between her Māori side of the family and her Pākehā side. She compares both sides within herself and her family and feels she connects better to her Māori side. However, she doesn't feel she has been given the chance or opportunity to fully learn and integrate with her Māori side. Later Kisia goes on to say:

*I feel the umm... by developing that part of me (her 'Māori' part)... some of the holes in my identity will be filled... that... I will actually be whole, instead of disjointed... see my whanau's disjointed, my identity is disjointed... umm I have said before in the past that being Pākehā and of Māori descent and not knowing your roots it's... you are neither one nor the other, you are in no man's land... you are pretty much, you're like a tumble weed, you have no proper roots, you're not grounded and.. ummm... its kinda like feeling a bit flimsy, a bit unstable, because you're not sure of what is and what isn't and where your boundaries are and what you believe in completely because your still testing the water, your still testing yourself.. and...there's quite a bit of uncertainty, and it's not a cool place to be, because you're not accepted because you're too Māori to be Pākehā... *laugh* and your too Pākehā to be Māori, it's just... umm your never completely accepted, or you don't feel completely accepted, I don't feel completely accepted.*

Kisia explains her identity as being disjointed, she is caught between her Māori and her Pākehā 'sides' and doesn't feel complete for either 'side' of her identity. As a result she experiences the feeling of being disjointed; with her family and with her own identity and

this is painful for Kiszia. In a broader sense, Kiszia also draws on the division of Māori and Pākehā from a societal perspective, thus illustrating the idea that there is a distinct division between Māori and Pākehā in today's society. She says:

*What does it mean to be a white skinned Māori in today's society... it means you get misunderstood allot, it means that you have to negotiate... allot umm it's almost like walking on eggshells, umm in both societies *pause* and it is a bit of a no man's land because you don't really belong... in either.*

Puawai also draws on the idea that you are neither one nor the other (in terms of Māori or Pākehā). She says:

*I don't know... *sigh* *crying* something's like, I dream in Māori...and I don't understand it...I work in a Pākehā agency and I don't do enough to promote the rights of Māori... so, that's the two extremes of who I am... I look Pākehā...but a lot of my feeling and emotions don't fit with Pākehā ways...*

Puawai speaks of the 'two sides of herself' and the difficulty of being both Māori and Pākehā. She tries to negotiate where she 'sits' within that division and this is the source of allot of pain and conflict for Puawai.

Similar to Puawai, Kura also draws on the idea that you are one or the other and she draws on the Māori/Pākehā division as way of explaining this. She says:

People just don't, you know you miss that assumption part whereas if you've got brown skin you get that when people just assume and it makes sense when you're doing things Māori. But when your white and doing things Māori it's like you're automatically umm scape-goated or set apart for being different.

Kura refers to a division based on colour here. She maintains the idea that if you are white you are automatically assumed to be Pākehā, whereas if you're brown you are 'Māori'.

This provides a challenge for Kura because she is both ‘white’ and Māori. So this narrative of the Māori /Pākehā division extends to encompass physical attributes; being white or brown and how that dictates what people identify an individual as. For Kura then, this narrative challenges her Māori identity because she does not ‘fit’ within the division’s society has created and perpetuated around what it means to be Māori and Pākehā from a physical perspective.

Kisia, Puawai and Kura provide examples of how the Māori/Pākehā division narrative produces identities for ngā kiritea Māori women that are disconnected, disjointed and divided.

6.3.2 Māori as second class citizens:

Like the Māori /Pākehā division, the women in this research also drew on the narrative of Māori as second class citizens as a way of expressing their painful and conflicting journeys. Excerpts from Puawai, Marama and Kisia will be used to illustrate this. In the following excerpt from Puawai, we are provided with an example of how the gifted or treasured moments with Māori ancestors that Puawai has experienced from within a Māori worldview, is deemed ‘crazy’ from a Pākehā perspective or worldview.

*My sister and I both always connected with our ancestors, like we hear, I go to places and I hear a whole group of people singing in Māori behind me, and it’s like, all this sort of weird stuff that made me crazy in a Pākehā world, ok in the Pākehā world you know I can remember an aunty saying to me umm was just a friend aunty saying to me ‘you stop saying all that stuff or they’ll, ill lock you up in the nuthouse’ you know ‘they’ll say you’re crazy and they’ll lock you up’ but umm I had Māori friends who like, we’d talk about that when I was a little.. a kid you know we’d talk about umm dancing with the people, and we’d get up and we’d dance *laugh* you know, so I had this real affinity with that... but it was like I couldn’t understand why, and I couldn’t understand who the people were behind me...*

Puawai talks about how she connects to her ancestors and how she can hear them behind her. Due to the nature of Māori centred research I considered what Puawai said to be valid and legitimate knowledge of her experiences. However, as Puawai says, from a Pākehā perspective this experience may be deemed ‘crazy’ and could be seen as warranting the need for psychiatric help to be sought for Puawai. Thus, the cultural representations and understandings of this experience are not only predominantly ignored by Pākehā but they are often not accepted as being a legitimate experience from a Pākehā perspective.

In a final excerpt from Puawai she again draws on the narrative of Māori as second class citizens when she discusses Pākehā people’s reactions when she has disclosed to them that she is Māori. Puawai states:

Why would you want to? That’s the sort of comments you know like ‘What?!?!’, why would you even want to say that?!...some of them think that because my first husband was Māori that ‘oh it’s just because you were married to a Māori, that’s all....but mostly I don’t tell...cos it’s just... they shit on it.... Sometimes it just too hard.

As can be seen, the shared language in society that contributes to the narrative of Māori as second class citizens serves to challenge Puawai when identifying as Māori. The lack of many Pākehā people’s ability to believe or support Puawai in her Māori identity means that Puawai finds it very difficult to disclose her Māori identity. According to the Pākehā people that Puawai is referring to in this excerpt, it is not desirable to identify as Māori, ‘why would you want to?’ thus illustrating the negative views, some Pākehā people may feel towards Māori individuals.

Similarly, Marama also draws on this narrative exhibited by Pākehā people in society. Marama specifically refers to her Pākehā partner and his family. When asked how Pākehā people respond to her when she discloses that she is Māori, Marama replies:

I think for me, with my partner and his family are very ummm anti-Māori that that makes me feel umm uncomfortable like when they're making you know Māori jokes and stuff like that cos that's part of who I am, yea you know there are those jokes and stuff like that, sometimes things are, I guess funny but there's a bit where it's always kind of..You don't wanna hear it... when you're sick of hearing it... I don't know how to put it... but... it doesn't feel right.

Marama shows how her partner and his family subscribe to the narrative of Māori as second class citizens and how this affects her Māori identity. She is made to feel uncomfortable as a Māori individual as a result of their prejudices yet she accepts that Pākehā people will make jokes about Māori and will hold these prejudice attitudes towards Māori. So, Marama is forced to try and negotiate her own position and where she stands not only as a partner of someone who is Pākehā but also as an individual of Māori descent who is exposed to the societal idea that Māori are second class citizens in Aotearoa.

Kisia also draws on this narrative when talking about her painful and conflicting journey. When asked what kind of reactions she got when she disclosed to people that she was Māori, Kisia responds by speaking about two general experiences she has had during her identity development. In the first excerpt Kisia speaks about how she was actively discouraged from identifying as Māori, as a result of her mother's prejudice towards Māori people. She says:

I wasn't allowed too, I was actively discouraged by my mum... too be Māori... my mum's pretty racist and...while I was living in her house, to identify as Māori would have caused allot of conflict umm...so I kinda, I knew... I knew that there were aspects of me that were very Māori and umm, my attitudes to things that we used to argue a bit about it and I just couldn't be bothered with the fight as a teenager ummm and then when I left I went to work for..... and then I could actually like be myself, like figure out who I really was even though my work environment was a pretty repressive kind of situation...I

mean it's just like high school, there wasn't an option to actually explore, wasn't really allowed to.. yea... even though we lived in.....

In Kiszia's second example, she speaks of feeling the need to stand up for Māori as a result of being exposed to the idea that Māori are second class citizens from her Pākehā peers. She says:

I don't actually feel quite comfortable like when I'm sitting with a group of say six fellow Pākehā students I'm aware in myself that I'm different, especially when they start dissing Māori and then I have to step... I feel I have to step up and go 'Oi! Oi! What are you doing? Don't be talking like that, that's bullshit' or you know someone starts dissing Māori, and I have to stand there and read the rights, well I don't have to but I feel like I should be like reading the Rights Act about their own ignorance umm you know, I feel like saying 'get some understanding, get some learning before you have an opinion, you don't know shit' and they diss Māori or they diss the Treaty of Waitangi and its relevance in society and that is such a big thing .. It's such a hard... it's such a... it catches people off guard when someone who looks Pākehā has Māori ancestry and they're dissing the Treaty of Waitangi, they think they're safe, they don't think there's a Māori in the room and then you step up and go 'oi what the fuck do you think you're doing? You can't get away with that, not today, that's bullshit'.

Kiszia illustrates the difficulties she experiences as kiritea Māori because of this narrative that exists in society that creates a challenge to people who identify as Māori. She provides two examples; one within her own whanau and another in a broader sense. She draws on some of the shared language used mainly by Pākehā people that she has been exposed to, but also she speaks specifically about the language used to talk about the Treaty of Waitangi. Kiszia feels 'caught' between being assumed she is Pākehā and identifying as Māori. What's more she feels responsible for advocating for Māori and

resisting the negative Māori character that is created by the narrative of Māori as second class citizens.

6.3.3 The ideal Māori figure:

The idea that ngā kiritea Māori must ‘prove’ their Māori identities, regardless of their personal identity has also contributed to some of the women’s painful and conflicting journeys as they attempt to conform or align themselves with the narrative of the ideal Māori figure to show that they do in fact meet the requirements to be an ‘ideal Māori character’. Interestingly, all the women, at some instances in their stories, also choose to reject and resist this narrative. They do this to try and overcome the feelings of pain and conflict that they experience as a result of not meeting the ‘ideal Māori figure’ narrative. For example Kiszia speaks about her reality, that, even though she identifies as Māori, it does not mean other Māori people will accept her as Māori because she does not meet the ‘requirements to be Māori’ and as a result Kiszia feels pain, grief, discomfort and the feeling of not belonging. Examples from Kiszia, Marama, Puawai and Kura will be provided to show how they attempt to align to and resist the narrative of the ideal Māori figure. For example Kiszia says:

One of the negative... actually one of the really defining negative experiences I had was going to kapa haka inwith my ‘whanau’ mates and wanting to get connected and get some learning and understanding in about what it is to be Māori and the ummm...the woman who was leading kapa haka (who was Māori) umm actively kind of rejected me umm as in ‘what does the Pākehā want?’ kind of thing and it was such a, a real harsh kind of attitude, umm and quite shocking cos I thought that you know, I thought for Māori, you know, they accept you... like they accept Pākehā as Pākehā but they didn’t even, she didn’t even understand that I had Māori blood in me or anything,, she didn’t want to know me because I looked a certain way and to me that was just like outright rejection and it was quite..that made me quite kind of standoff-ish and feeling like I needed to protect myself around Māori people for a long time

*because I felt like because *pause* because of that I thought 'oh yea Māori people won't accept me because I'm... white'.. basically.*

This excerpt supports the ideal Māori figure narrative by illustrating the idea that colour is a prerequisite for justifying one's position as Māori. Kiszia draws on the idea that because she is 'white' she is therefore not accepted as being 'Māori. Kiszia illustrates her feelings of rejection and pain as a result of being perceived as 'not a real Māori' or not even being identified as Māori simply because of her colour. At another point in Kiszia's story she again draws on this idea that she must meet certain requirements in order to justify her position as Māori. She says:

When I'm with Māori its kinda like I feel like I'm being judged as umm not...not Māori... and... what I am not instead of what I am...like... you lack this, you lack the colour, you lack umm the understanding but they don't see me for the parts of me that are Māori. like the want to be connected, the whole whanau orientation... like I mean I want family I want to be connected, I want the relationships... and... there's energy in that whole being connected to your whanau that supports this umm ummm showing genuine caring and acknowledgment that there is a spiritual part to life and umm the whole like the holistic thing I mean that's just being a whole person that's all aspects of who you are.

Interestingly there is a binary of ideas here. In the first part of the excerpt Kiszia discusses feeling that her identity does not fit the subject of the 'ideal Māori figure' narrative. She feels she's being judged for her lack of alignment to aspects of 'the ideal Māori figure'. However in the second part of this excerpt, Kiszia resists this narrative as she attempts to prove that whilst it may not seem apparent on the outside, she does in fact align her identity to 'the ideal Māori figure' identity in some ways. She explains this through her desire to connect to whanau, her acknowledgement of a spiritual aspect in life and her holistic view of an individual. So Kiszia is attempting to convince the listener that whilst Māori people may not see her as the ideal Māori she is in fact able to align to some of the

ideal Māori aspects and therefore she is not only resisting the narrative here but she is also seeking justification that she can identify as Māori; that she is Māori. Another example from Kiszia follows to further illustrate this resistance. She says:

*I dunno I kinda don't have a formed 'what is' and 'what isn't' (in regards to her identity), it's like, the rejection and... you know that kind of 'you're not Māori so... fuck off' kind of attitude, pretty much, you don't look Māori, you don't understand, you don't know kinda thing but they (other Māori people) don't wanna actually get to know me to see what I do and don't know, they're just assuming that, because I look a certain way. And then I get kind of, I dunno, quite a critical attitude towards Māori I guess the whole 'ugh' *laugh* like 'tffi' kind of attitude where it's like you , you might not know what you're doing instead of like being gracious about something they kind of like, it cuts you down, it's quite oppressive, the rejection like, they might not think your Māori, you know, there's ways of doing things I guess like you might not think someone is Māori and it's like oh you know they're..., they don't really know, but just let them, just be gentle with them,, but then there are others who are kinda like 'what the fuck do you know huh!?' kinda attitude you know kind of real harsh and...they kind of like are aggressively defensive of it and are quite quick to judge and reject others who are, don't 'fit' the mould or don't fit the stereotypes that's, it's a thought.. yea I dunno...*

Kiszia speaks of the difficulties and challenges she has had to experience as a result of other people's expectations of what 'makes an ideal Māori'. Kiszia does not meet the 'ideal Māori figure' requirements and as a result she is rejected by other Māori. She tries to explain though the parts of her that are Māori as a way of explaining why people should accept her as Māori. Kiszia finds it difficult to negotiate where she 'fits' within this narrative of the ideal Māori figure and this contributes to her feelings of rejection and or pain. Kiszia finishes her story by again drawing on the ideal Māori figure narrative and

trying to explain or justify why she may not fit in with this narrative, but how she does align with the identity of the ideal Māori figure. She says:

I feel like I'm on guard all the time, being judged for not being good enough, being judged by Pākehā for being too 'Māori' and being judged by Māori for being too 'Pākehā' I haven't found, I haven't found home yet, I haven't negotiated with myself to a point where I've learnt enough of this and I've learnt enough of that and I haven't done my work yet, I haven't had the experience yet to blend it where its smooth where it's like you know, it's even and its staple umm yea..I think it may take a long time to actually weave it all together you know, takes experience to negotiate relationships with people umm gotta have the right words, gotta have the knowledge and I don't have any.. so I'm at the start and yea... I'm just a baby, just learning, that's where I'm at...

Kiszia highlights that she is being judged, not just from Māori people but also from Pākehā people. It is a double edged sword; she feels she has not yet been accepted into either world and as a result she has not formed a strong identity. Kiszia says she is still a baby in her journey, she still needs to learn about what it means to be Māori, and she must learn the things that will help her fit her identity with the ideal Māori figure narrative so that she may be accepted as Māori by other Māori people.

Marama also talks about not being accepted by others as being Māori through her inability to adhere to or identify with the ideal figure narrative. During Marama's time spent studying at a tertiary institution she took a Hauora Māori paper and upon completion of her degree she then went to work in an iwi organisation. In the following excerpt Marama talks about how these experiences helped her develop her Māori identity. She says:

It gave you (me) some kind of validation of it... because you're not... I've not grown like I haven't grown up in a Māori, I guess family, I guess, in a sense

and I haven't ummm regularly gone to a marae, I haven't regularly grown up in a family that speaks Te Reo...

Marama seeks to position herself in a way that shows during her childhood, and whilst she was growing up, she was not part of a Māori community or Māori household; she wasn't exposed to the Māori language or customs, so she never felt she had any validation for her Māori identity. However, Marama feels in learning about Māori health and working in an iwi organization she can provide more validation for her Māori identity. She believes that training as a Māori health professional helps to align her more towards the ideal Māori figure. Marama goes on to say:

Umm...working within Māori health and the iwi organization you had to, I felt like I had to prove that I was Māori... umm and that some things helped if you done certain things...I think for them if a white person has learnt about... how things are, they've proved that they've got a greater understanding... so yea I think at times I was accepted and at other times that I wasn't...I guess looking.. looking white... people I guess assuming that you don't know things, maybe that sometimes that you do... umm or that you won't understand... not that you... more that you won't understand things, that you're not capable of understanding things (things Māori).

Even though she felt she was more able to align herself to her Māori identity or better validate her position as Māori, Marama still faces challenges within the workplace. For example she still felt the need to prove she was Māori. Marama positions herself as a white person as a way of explaining why she felt she had to prove her Māori-ness. She didn't look Māori therefore it wasn't always believed by people that she was Māori. Furthermore, Marama explains how, as a result of not 'looking Māori', other people think she can't understand things Māori or that she won't understand things Māori. She says:

I think the hardest thing is that you can't verbalize it, but you... you might not know anything, any Māori words or what not, but you know what the feeling's

like in the room, and you know ummm you might know the basic things umm ...it's kind of like it's a, a secret part of you... that it's kind of, it's not something that's out there, but it's in you but that you're not qualified to umm to do it, because you're afraid you might do it wrong or you might say it wrong or umm.. yea.... I feel challenged I feel it's 'bitsy' umm...like... I guess some pieces of it feel like a story...that you're not quite part of... um... you know the words but you don't know how to put them into sentences... umm sometimes it's, it just flows... sometimes you have where it all comes together and it all makes sense and you feel good and you feel like you understand things and that... you're accepted. I think, and other times you feel...that you're always going to be looked at as white, and, from on the surface, yea.

Marama draws on the pain and conflict she experiences as a result of other people judging her as 'not Māori' as a result of her not being able to align herself with the ideal Māori figure. As a result Marama finds it difficult to put into words her feelings of being Māori and validating her position as Māori. She feels like she has to keep her Māori identity hidden. However, Marama argues that whilst she may not know things Māori, as required by the public narrative, this does not mean that she isn't Māori.

Kura also discusses the 'ideal Māori figure' and the challenges she has faced as a result of not 'fitting' this ideal. She says:

I still encounter many Māori who don't see me in the same way and I don't think I dunno it's hard to explain that part of the process because I can understand how their experiences are different to mine and obviously every single person's experiences' unique but I think that it's unfair that people will be.. choose to see me in a different way to themselves, just because I look different or have taken a longer time to figure out what's going on for me with my identity whereas I know of a lot of Māori look brown but didn't find out till later or didn't embrace until later that they were Māori or still don't and there's not those problems for them not in the same way.

Like the other women, Kura explains how other Māori people may not accept her as truly being Māori because they don't see her as fulfilling the requirements of the 'ideal Māori figure'. Kura doesn't understand why she must meet these requirements in order to be accepted though she feels it is unfair for people to challenge her Māori identity based on this narrative. She also alludes to the idea that to be brown or dark skinned means you are more like the 'ideal' Māori figure, and in her view this appears to be enough for dark skinned Māori to be accepted as Māori. This is problematic however because as Kura suggests, they face their own set of identity problems. Later in her story Kura again draws on this narrative. She says:

I could stand up anywhere and tell people that I am Māori and I am proud of that, the amount of people who will look at me like I'm the stupidest person and like I've had some sort of amnesia or something and I'm making it up still is apparent and people who even know that I'm Māori will still talk to me like I have no umm understanding of anything Māori it's like I can't have acquired that knowledge or I can't have learnt it because I look wrong.

Kura speaks about how people do not believe her when she says she is Māori. She believes this is because she does not look Māori. Going further, Kura says that even people who know she is Māori still treat her like she has no understanding. So, not only do people not believe her when she says she is Māori but they also assume, once they realize she is Māori, that she can't know anything about what it means to be Māori or the Māori culture and this is a result of her not meeting the narrative requirements of the ideal Māori figure. At the end of Kura's story she sums up what it is like for her to be ngā kiritea Māori in today's society, she states:

You get all the customs in terms of what people expect from Māori you know liking puha and pork or boil up or whatever and I don't even have those things and I don't know specifically a lot about my ancestry we don't have that information I know enough to, to do my mihi and to talk about my

Whakapapa and all of that sorta stuff and I know about the way I feel and that I know that I'm Māori but I guess sometimes people give me the impression that I should know more, I should have more to say like I need some sort of proof or evidence that makes sense in a scientific way that would mean that they would know that I was Māori, but I don't think that it should matter and for the most part it doesn't matter to me what they think it's just every so often you get somebody who niggles at you or somebody who assumes that I'm Pākehā and is racist towards Māori and that's always interesting in terms of identity because I'm both and it's hard to figure out how to manage those situations.

Here, Kura shows us how and why her identity is not aligned with idealized Māori figure. She doesn't necessarily like traditional Māori foods and she doesn't know a lot about her Māori whakapapa. However, this does not deter Kura from acknowledging and developing her Māori identity. She argues she knows enough of her Māori whakapapa and knows how she feels inside. She knows she is Māori and that is enough for her, despite this public narrative that argues she must meet specific requirements in order to justify her position as Māori. Kura explains that for the most part it doesn't matter to her that people don't accept her as being Māori, but she acknowledges that every now and then it does get to her, and she finds it difficult to manage those particular situations as they have a direct effect on her identity.

As a result of Kura's ongoing negotiation of presenting herself as the ideal Māori and proving to others that she is Māori despite not meeting these 'idealized standards' means that Kura's journey is often painful and conflicting for her. She says in relation to her identity journey:

*It's painful, it's exciting... it's such a contrast really because I love it; I enjoy it completely and I know who I am... but at the same time being who I am can suck sometimes *laugh* because of all the prejudice that is out there and all the misunderstandings and all the ideas that people have about who you*

should be and what that looks like means that it can be extremely painful and extremely isolating because you're not just Māori... you're kinda like a.. 'fake' kinda Māori or something I don't know what happens in people's heads when they see a white Māori or whether I just assume that because I'm anxious about what they think or I'm not completely as confident as I think I am, I don't know what happens there.. but yea no it's certainly both extremely horrible and amazing ...

Kura identifies with the theme of pain and conflict as she talks about the prejudices that other people hold towards Māori and towards what constitutes the ideal Māori. Whilst Kura acknowledges that she may not be the 'ideal' Māori figure she argues that this doesn't and shouldn't change her ability to identify as Māori.

Another example is provided by Puawai. She talks about her difficulties; although she identifies as Māori, she is not necessarily accepted by others (who are Māori) as having the rights to claim this identity because she is seen as Pākehā and therefore not Māori, or not meeting the idealised requirements of what it means to be Māori. When asked what her Māori identity meant to her now, in today's society, Puawai responded:

*Still heaps of confusion, I guess umm I got an invite through ..., to come and hear a talk by... and I just ripped it up, because I thought if I go there I've got to explain why I'm there, you know I really wanted to hear...speak...but having to go there and try and explain why I was there, was too hard.. I haven't utilised any of the support systems around Māori because how I do explain how I'm Māori? How do I because, every time I connect with it, there's just so much grief so much... it's like I'm disconnected... and I don't know how to connect it... sounds silly but it comes up as emotion so I feel, I feel the disconnection from the earth of Māori in New Zealand you know and I feel all that really strongly but I can't speak up because, 'what's this Pākehā doing talking about.., how can she understand how it feels to lose our land?' *laugh bitterly* so there's this huge amount of conflict.*

As Puawai states above, because she is recognised and viewed as being Pākehā it is immediately assumed she cannot be Māori and this has resulted in a lot of grief for Puawai as she continues to try and strengthen her Māori identity. She feels reluctant to involve herself in ‘things Māori’ for fear of rejection, lack of understanding by others, and the conflict she experiences when she tries to connect with her Māori culture. Puawai also struggles to claim her Māori identity because she feels she lacks in her knowledge of Te Ao Māori and Te Reo, so again, not meeting the idealized version of what it means to be Māori. She says:

I can't speak Māori so I feel like if I really was Māori I should be able to... I should be able to pronounce everything correctly, and I can't... so it's very much conflict and then I don't even say the words right but then I know I'm Kai Tahu which is a whole different dialect, so what he (her koro) speaks to me is different to what I hear from other people...so its heaps and heaps of conflict within me..

Puawai feels conflict because she does not feel she can align to what is required by the ideal Māori figure. She draws on her inability to speak the Māori language as a way of showing that she recognises she is not an ‘ideal Māori’ and this knowledge contributes to her pain and conflict.

All the women in this research struggle to negotiate where they ‘fit’ in terms of their Māori identity as a result of feeling unable to fulfill the requirements of the character portrayed in the public narrative of the ideal Māori figure. Examples show how the women both attempt to align to the ideal Māori figure narrative and also how they resist it and argue that whilst they do not meet ‘those’ requirements they are still Māori and they are trying to justify why they are still able to identify as Māori. Unfortunately this narrative still serves to challenge the women in their Māori identity and this results in confusion, disconnectedness and pain for them.

6.3.4 Valorisation of Māori:

It is interesting to note that whilst the identity journeys for ngā kiritea Māori women were largely painful and conflicting for them, they still have an inherent desire to identify as Māori in Aotearoa. The following example from Kura illustrates this. When asked what it means to be Māori in today's society, Kura responds by saying:

*I don't know how to answer that, it means that it's who I am, it means that my identity is challenged I guess regularly by people who see me as something other than I am and its challenged by the fact that I then have to speak up to it and I have to confront people and stand up for who I am and for what I think and that can be quite hard because it.. at times I guess I feel like I'm quite I don't know... like .. out casted maybe? In terms of just not really fitting because I'm the wrong sort of Māori and I'm not completely Pākehā so it means that my identity I guess is still developing... it means at times I don't really know who I am that even within my own family I don't always feel comfortable being Māori being who I am some of the people in my extended family or cousins or whatever, don't understand why I have embraced my Māori ancestry or why I even care and that, that can be interesting to manage because it has become, and is, really important to me and I can become quite aggressive in terms of standing up for what I think is important to me as a 'white' Māori and I don't necessarily think that there are many people who understand that and I don't know many people who are in the same situation or have embraced being Māori and looking so..not... *chuckle* so it means that in terms of identity I know who I am but very regularly that is challenged and it is umm questioned and put out there as being something that people don't understand.*

Here, Kura alludes to the difficulties and challenges she has faced as a result of embracing her Māori identity. Yet underlying this is Kura's absolute desire to identify as Māori. Despite these hardships and challenges that Kura faces she still wants to be viewed

and accepted as Māori. Thus, there is something Kura connects to, in a positive manner that helps her to embrace her Māori identity.

6.4 Positive Māori Identities:

['Half castes' have] the advantage of intentionally straddling both cultures with the ability to lubricate, that is, to translate, negotiate and mediate affinities and differences in a dynamic of exchange and inclusion. (Meredith, 1999, p. 24)

Just as painful and conflicting journeys was a gendered theme, so too is the theme of positive Māori identities for the men in this research. As by Meredith (1999) people of mixed descent have an advantage in that they are provided with the opportunity to advance in both a Māori and a Pākehā world. They have the option of negotiating their way in both cultures. In this theme it was primarily the men who chose to draw on their more positive experiences and associations to being Māori during their personal stories.

6.4.1 Māori/Pākehā division:

The men in this research communicate their positive Māori identity journeys by drawing on the Māori/Pākehā division. In line with the quote above by Meredith (1999) they did this by expressing how they get the best of 'both' worlds. Examples from Rangi, Matiu and Apera will be used to illustrate this.

(Rangi): I do find being ngā kiritea I do get umm I spose you get the best of both worlds really umm yea I don't... personally I don't know if that's because of that (looking white) umm but I have seen it might just be in the way I present myself, the way I dress, the way I talk to people, respect where respects due sorta thing, I have seen friends of myn, Māori friends, that get treated differently umm and we all hung out in the same group umm why did they get segregated within the interview and I got sat on the couch you know was that part of the good cop, bad cop game or was that 'oh he's a white boy he can't have been involved' umm so yea...things I've pondered on but umm yea but best I can come up with is I get the best of both worlds umm New

Zealand's a great place for Māori there's so much to offer but yea maybe I do get treated differently because people think I'm just another white guy on the street so who knows..

Rangi believes he gets the best of both worlds, he provides an example of where he has been separated from his Māori friends (who look Māori) when they were getting in trouble at school. Based on his looks, Rangi was considered to not be a part of the trouble the group of boys had participated in. Thus Rangi identifies times or situations when it is positive to be Māori but not to look Māori. He stresses that it's the colour of his skin that allows him to be both Māori and Pākehā which gives him the best of both cultures. Matiu also draws on the Māori/Pākehā division and how he gets the best of both worlds during his story. When asked if he thinks this is one of the positives of being kiritea Māori Matiu replies:

Yea... yea... for the most part... yea I've always kind of believed in... like... equality and non discrimination you know and like because I'm mixed race I suppose I've been able to see things from all sides of the spectrum you know like I've been able to see the European side, I've been able to see the Māori side you know so, it's kind of, I have more of an.. well you know I'm not going to jump on my high horse or anything but I think that I have quite a good understanding of where kind of both races are coming from you know..... so I'm able to kind of, I spose, look at both sides to make up my own mind about any kind of issues that arise... so I do kind of think that it's a positive thing, being of mixed race because umm I spose cos I have those borders broken down, you know I'm not on one side of the fence or the other.

Here Matiu draws on his two identities and explains how he feels he has grasped each identity and their culture well. He feels he is in a better position because he is able to view things from 'both sides of the fence'. Furthermore, he feels certain barriers or borders that exist for single race people do not exist for him as he is able to draw on both sides in order to consider current issues.

Apera also draws on the idea of the Māori/Pākehā division when explaining his positive identity journey. He says:

I just judge it (how he presents his identity) based on the people I'm with, like I'm Apera to everyone, and then depending on who I talk to, I'm... it's not like I pick and choose, but it's not a defining factor for me, I don't identify myself as Pākehā or Māori I just, I'm just Apera, and if people say 'oh oh' if the topic of conversation comes up I'm like 'yea I've got a bit of Māori in me' and they're like 'oh where ya from?' like all this, and it helps, though I don't actively look out, to try and identify with Māoridom any longer, and I don't really try and identify with being Pākehā, I mean, I fit in more, because of my white skin, but my time on the marae's and the influences I've had, they're, you know, if you're a minority you get segregated, but I never cared..like people would be like 'ahhh Pākehā' you know 'you're whitebait' kinda thing, but I never cared, I just laughed, just joined in the fun, I've never really had that many problems with it, trying to identify myself.

Apera acknowledges that, at times during his visits to marae, he has been segregated for being a 'white' Māori but he hasn't let this bother him. As far as he is concerned, he knows who he is and he doesn't need to identify as Māori or Pākehā in order to feel positive about who he is. Apera goes on to say:

I guess if I were to define (my identity)... I'd define, I'd identify myself with the people that I love; the Pākehā because of my white skin and the way I act around people and I do that anyway, but I put this on my arm (his tā moko) because I wanted to identify with those people that I loved that I didn't know through Māoridom, through being Māori.....

Apera discusses his 'two' sides, his Pākehā side, where he is readily accepted and where he feels confident, and his Māori side. He stresses the decision he made to get his tā moko

done, as a way of showing that whilst he identifies with the Pākehā culture, he also identifies and wishes to be identified by others with his Māori culture.

6.4.2 Resistance to the Narrative of Māori as second class citizens:

Interestingly, the men in this research actively resisted the narrative of Māori as second class citizens. This may be because their identity journeys were largely positive and they were therefore strong in who they are. Excerpts are provided from all the men's stories to illustrate their positive identity journeys and also show how they resist this public narrative within their stories. For example Rangi draws on what he's seen in the media as a way of introducing his awareness of the shared language in society that contributes to the narrative of Māori as second class citizens but he then challenges this by arguing that not all Māori are like this. He says:

There are events in the news...different things that happen round the country...where you feel like other people are dragging the boat down or holding it back...but... not all Māori are thieves, not all Māori are on the doll, not all Māori smoke... so yea you do get that underlying prejudice (from the media).

Furthermore, when asked what Rangi's reactions to this are, he responds:

A mixed bag, more positive than anything really... umm I've...only really encountered probably two or three prejudice, not towards me directly, I think it's a lot of things too that are, maybe the people I've worked with haven't genuinely considered me Māori and then they start slagging off the race kinda um stereotypes and what not and then to turn around and tell them 'hey, is that how I behave?' and they're like 'oh oh nah, nah I didn't mean you in particular' um yea its... umm the other reaction to being.. yea pretty umm... 'They're accepting' kinda seems a bit tree hugging umm pretty positive really yea... I just... they're not really surprised or if they are surprised you know its kinda umm 'oh you seem well organized' or um 'dedicated' umm and

'focused' is the other word I've heard used before um that came from a teacher umm...

Rangi is able to draw on the positives of these experiences by assuring himself he is 'not like them'. He alludes to the idea that some people may not consider him to be genuinely Māori and how this may then lead those people to 'slagging' the Māori race in front of him. However, Rangi is strong in his identity and is able to confront these people by challenging them about whether they feel his character is aligned to the idea of Māori as second class citizens. Rangi finds that people are largely supportive and positive about his Māori identity and he doesn't feel the negative prejudices held in society that suggest Māori are second class citizens have affected him in a negative way.

Apera also resists this narrative saying:

*If I hear a conversation and someone would be like 'ohh F***** Māoris'' you know 'taking all the land or taking the sea... foreshore and sea bed' I just won't even comment, I don't care, you know let them fight it out but umm I just think that it's always going to be an issue, in New Zealand because there's if you have an ethnic minority or if you have umm someone that's always learned to point the finger, like Pākehā or whatever, then there's always going to be an issue, where I sit in it all.. I don't... I embrace the good stuff and I step away from the bad... yea I don't get paid enough to worry about it...*

Like Rangi, Apera acknowledges the shared language that exists in society that forms the idea that Māori are second class citizens, however he does not allow this to affect him directly, he chooses to ignore the prejudice and 'embrace' the positive aspects of being Māori in Aotearoa.

In the same way, Matiu also expresses his awareness of this narrative in contemporary society. More specifically, he identifies that when he was growing up he felt many young Māori embraced a certain urban or gangster culture and he finds this sad as he feels there

are positive things they could align themselves to within their own Māori culture. Matiu also mentions the stereotypical belief that ‘Māori’s are criminals’ but he rejects this idea, blaming allot of this on the media for perpetuating those stereotypical ideas. Matiu believes that there are positives to identifying as Māori and that young people and youth need to be proud of their Māori heritage and culture rather than assuming they are a ‘second class citizen’. He says:

When I was growing up you know I always used to see umm other Māori kids as you know like embracing that urban culture and being gangster or whatever you know and umm there is that stereotype definitely, of you know umm Māoris’ as the.. as trying to cling on to the... ummm and a lot of them really embrace that stereotype umm so there is that definitely a big stereotype of them being ummm you know that whole kind of gangster image. Yea like... Māoris as criminals, I mean that’s definitely not the case... I think a lot of it is media perpetuated umm and I think that’s something we need to get over as well and the way, I think the most important thing the most important way we’re going to do that, is to tell Māori specifically Māori youth that they don’t have to cling on to that, that they do have their own identity, you know and its... it’s an identity to be proud of you know you don’t have to try and grasp at straws looking for something you know particularly if that something is going to lead to a lot of negative stereotypes you know that you know they can be proud to be Māori instead of thinking that they’re kind of a second class citizen when they’re really not, you know.. yea...

Finally, Hone also provides an example of how he resists this public narrative by not letting other people’s negativity about Māori worry him. He says:

I spose the challenge would be... being around people that umm I don’t know how Māori scholarships work, where they come from and that but quite often you’ll hear people say ‘oh you know, Māori’ get it easy; they get this and they get that’ I find it quite annoying I spose in the fact that a lot of these people

don't know where the money comes from and I don't know where the money comes from myself, so I choose not to comment but umm you know whether it comes from iwi or family or ...I think a lot of people, mainly Pākehā make you know comments that they aren't qualified to make about ahh things like scholarships or you know maybe benefits yea so I spose that's a challenge in itself, but I've never let that worry me too much...

Hone acknowledges that there is discontent, mainly amongst Pākehā people, around Māori scholarships and Māori benefits. He finds it annoying when these topics are discussed around him as he doesn't feel the people making them are qualified to say that. Hone however acknowledges this is a general challenge but does not feel it is a personal challenge for him, he doesn't let their prejudices affect his identity as Māori.

These excerpts show how the men in this research were able to resist and challenge the public narrative of Māori as second class citizens and in doing so that are ensuring their positive Māori identities remain intact.

6.4.3 The ideal Māori figure:

The men in this research also drew on the public narrative of the ideal Māori figure as a way of expressing the positive aspects of being ngā kiritea Māori. They speak of their love for their Māori identity and they draw on aspects of 'what constitutes an ideal Māori' as a way of expressing their positive experiences. For example, Apera says:

I loved it, I love Māoridom and I love the spirituality that came from it, I really did, and I used to sit down and talk with the old folks about it, and I'd ask them questions about what happens when you die and, why do you do this? You know... I loved hearing stories about it, cos they're all, they're so humble you know, all the old whaea's and the kaumātua and all that they're all, you know they're humble and they're happy and they're cheerful and they've got heaps of wisdom, and it reflects on to nowadays as well for me, you know, I don't practice that often but I, I really loved it, I liked that aspect

*of it...so... I was lucky enough to have, have the people embrace me and sorta just teach me new aspects of life and things that I didn't know beforehand and then they've always been really good to mum and me and I say they like it's them, it's not what I meant, its more.. the family that we didn't know welcomed us in...you know, and even though there was that missing link, that was, my grandma, we've managed to slide back on in there, you know and they're like 'ahhh a ***, ahh and they have a laugh and they have a cry and you know it's been wonderful...*

Apera draws on aspects of the ideal Māori figure. For example, he speaks of the cherished Māori stories, he refers to the kuia and kaumātua as being humble, happy and wise; all things that typify your 'ideal Māori elder'. Apera is showing us he knows what the ideal Māori is, he loves the aspects of the ideal Māori and he is trying to align himself as being part of the ideal Māori through his love of the people and the culture.

6.4.4 Māori as the sports hero:

The public narrative "Māori as the sports hero" is of particular interest within the theme of positive identity journeys for the men in this research. Interestingly, none of the women discussed anything relating to Māori and sport; however this was a prominent narrative which was drawn upon by the men. They related to admired Māori sports figures and Māori sport as a way of expressing their positive identity journeys.

For example Hone relates to the narrative 'Māori as the sports hero' as a way of showing his positivity associated with identifying as Māori. He states: "*To be honest I prob, I haven't found any challenges.... being Māori had its, its advantages ...there's Māori rugby sides and stuff like that umm so, that had advantages and I was always you know, aiming for those and even in you know as recent as in the last few weeks with the New Zealand Māori side.*" Hone refers to opportunities within sport, specifically rugby, to illustrate the advantages and/or positive opportunities he has access to as a result of his Māori identity. Later in the interview, when asked about some of Hone's positive experiences he says: "*well just a lot of... cos they have Māori rugby teams, that is quite*

positive... umm and yea just... yea probably they're the most positive for me because that's the environment I'm in" Hone draws on Māori rugby teams as a way of expressing the positive experiences or his positive attitude towards Māori culture and his Māori identity. I asked Hone whether he felt his positive experiences within Māori sport had influenced his own Māori identity development to which Hone responds by speaking of a particular event that he was involved in within Māori sports. He says:

*Yea they do, especially at the start of the year when I played for the *** you know it's like a celebration... you know... Māori people and they're not all dark, a lot like myself umm even paler than myself, I just think you know it's such an awesome occasion that this can be celebrated... you know just in the history of Māori rugby if you look back, you know everyone remembers the Māori all blacks, they were kind of New Zealand Māori everyone referred to them as Māori All Blacks so I just think you know that, it's such a positive thing and such a good thing to be a part of umm it's a good carnival, few days of rugby umm and sort of a good party at the end...I just think they're sort of positive things (Māori sports events) and if they cease to exist then I think that would be a sad thing for New Zealand rugby...*

Hone uses a specific Māori sporting event to illustrate the positive experiences he has as a Māori male within the sporting arena. Rangi also provides an example of this. He says:

*I could tell you about an incident, it was a course I was doing with work and ah one of the instructors there; big Māori boy, he turned around and he asked me how I spelt my last name so I told him and he goes 'awww ol *** aye, you're a hori' 'yes' 'choice, I love thrashing my own kind' *laugh* so then I got chucked in the boat with all the other Māori boys and yea I got thrashed just like everyone else, but you know that was his thing, you know he..he expected more out of the Māori boys then the... in the course... so he thrashed us harder to make sure we performed so you know *laugh*.*

Like Hone, Rangi draws on a specific sporting or physical activity experience that helps him show his positivity associated with being Māori. At another point in Rangi's story, he speaks about the Māori people associated in New Zealand rugby with a sense of pride and he shows how he is able to positively identify as Māori as a result of the successful Māori All Blacks. He says:

*I spose umm definitely proud to say I'm a Māori, hell New Zealand Māoris' beat England this year and Ireland and Whales *laugh* umm yes I may be a white Māori but you know as long as Robbie Robinson is playing for that team I'm defiantly not the whitest *laugh* so yea um definitely proud and I think that, also that comes from Māori themselves being quite a proud race, I think Pacific Islanders are the same you know if a Pacific Islander does well then every Islander claims them, they don't turn around and shun them.. yea... Jonah Lomu; one of the best rugby players, Tongans were proud as hell everywhere around the world... um and Māori are the same.*

Here Rangi, draws on Robbie Robinson, a prominent Māori rugby player, to show how there are other kiritea Māori that have been successful within the sporting arena and who are a source of pride for Rangi and also other kiritea Māori. Rangi also speaks about how Māori are proud to 'claim' or 'embrace' their fellow Māori sports heroes and how this brings a source of pride to the culture as a whole.

These excerpts provide examples of how the men in this research were able to reinforce their positive Māori identities as a result of drawing on the narrative of Māori as the sports hero.

6.4.5 Valorisation of Māori:

The men also drew on the valorisation of Māori narrative in order to reinforce their positive Māori identities. For example Rangi talks about the positive aspects of being Māori in today's society. He encourages Māori people to 'embrace the good' and 'leave behind the bad'. He says:

Yea I think personally I do believe there is too many Māori in New Zealand that are focusing on the wrong side of things, you know getting caught up in the hype so to speak you know 'ohh I come from a bad family background', 'oh I'm Māori', 'oh that's just adding to it', umm you know, there's so many advantages of being Māori in New Zealand it's not funny umm like I said there's so many school grants there's no excuse for Māori students in New Zealand to not be taking part in activities at school that they want too umm yea its school activities, sporting activities, um yea.

Rangi speaks about the opportunities that are available to Māori, especially young Māori, to enable them to participate fully in school and sporting activities, he feels that some young Māori are just focusing on the wrong things within their Māori identity, the negatives which bring them down as an individual but also as a culture, these young Māori focusing on all the things they can be proud of as opposed to encouraging them to be proud as Māori and to have a positive Māori identity. At a later stage in Rangi's story he also says:

There's no shame in ticking the (Māori ethnicity) box on the passport, there's no hesitance to say 'yes, I'm Māori' but at the same time... there's, you know the expectat... you know I kind of expect people to kinda do the 'oh...you are Māori?' at the same time because of the colour of my skin... so yea I definitely have no dramas, definitely in saying... ticking the box and owning up to being New Zealand Māori there's no shame in it there's never been umm anything like that.

From a more personal perspective Rangi shows us how he is proud to identify as Māori, he has no issues with defining himself as Māori and despite some people not necessarily believing him or questioning it upon disclosure of his Māori identity Rangi still feels positive in identifying as Māori in Aotearoa.

Hone also alludes to the idea of the valorisation of Māori as he speaks about his identity journey. He says:

To be honest I prob, I haven't found any challenges, I was always in the kapa haka in the primary school and there were most kids joined it back then, Māori and non-Māori, umm from there I went to high school, ahh you know.. being Māori had its, its advantages umm you know for different things in high school and even moving on, there's ahh there's Māori rugby sides and stuff like that umm so that had advantages and I was always you know, aiming for those and even in you know as recent as in the last few weeks with the New Zealand Māori side, umm so I wouldn't say that.. not that I can bring to mind, any challenges I've faced.

Hone speaks about the relative ease at which he developed his Māori identity; he draws on the positive aspects of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa. Where once an activity like kapa haka may have been very controversial within the education system, Hone speaks about the popularity amongst both Māori and non-Māori of participating in kapa haka at school. He also speaks about the opportunities many Māori have in society these days and the advantages they may have in high school within the sporting arena and so forth. Later in his story Hone says:

I spose I've tried to put myself there as being of Māori descent just cos of the proud-ness of the actual race itself and where it's come from umm you know I think overall its quite a proud race and you know like, I want to put out there that I was Māori and I'd like to go more into umm looking at learning the language and stuff like that.

Similar to Rangi, Hone also draws on a more personal account of how he is proud to identify as Māori, again drawing on the public narrative of valorisation of Māori. Hone sees the Māori race as a proud race and is proud to align himself with the Māori race. He wants to immerse himself more in the Māori culture and learn more about Te Reo and

aspects of what it means to 'be Māori'. Thus, Hone is able to positively reflect on his Māori identity and relate it to pride that he feels is associated with the Māori race.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This section will begin with an overview of the main findings in this research along with recommendations for future research in this area. Then, a discussion of the limitations of the current research will be provided. This chapter will conclude with the implications of this research as well as a conclusion followed by some final words from ngā kiritea Māori who participated in this research.

7.1 Summary of main findings and recommendations for future research

7.1.1 Desire to connect to things Māori

Ngā kiritea Māori expressed a desire to connect to their Māori culture, heritage, and most importantly, their Māori identities. Each story had aspects of this theme and participants drew on various public narratives in order to express their desire to connect to things Māori. For example Kiszia, Puawai, Marama and Matiu all spoke of the Māori/Pākehā division when discussing their desire to connect to their Māori ‘side’. Whilst they felt they had a good understanding of their Pākehā or ‘non-Māori’ side they all expressed a lack of understanding of their Māori ‘side’ and this impacted on their ability to be strong in their Māori identity. Kura, Kiszia, Apera and Rangi attempted to align themselves with ‘the ideal Māori figure’ narrative as a way of illustrating their desire to connect to their Māori identity. Interestingly, whilst Rangi draws on this narrative he also actively seeks to resist it in relation to himself and attempts to show that even though he does not necessarily meet the requirements of the ideal Māori figure his identity is still aligned this narrative. Finally, Hone and Apera provide examples of the public narrative ‘valorisation of Māori’ as a way of expressing their desire to connect to things Māori and their Māori identity by speaking about the positivity and pride associated with being Māori in today’s society. This theme illustrates the idea that ngā kiritea Māori, are still on their journey of developing their Māori identity. They all seek to strengthen and develop their Māori identity by expanding their knowledge and connecting to ‘things’ Māori.

7.1.2 Importance of Whakapapa

The importance of knowing one's whakapapa and whakapapa in general is also a significant theme that was identified within ngā kiritea stories. This theme aligns to a broader, societal emphasis within the Māori culture, of the importance of knowing one's whakapapa as a means of justifying one's Māori identity. Participants drew on the public narrative of the Māori/Pākehā division as a way of expressing the importance their whakapapa was to them, of knowing it and in some cases, of learning about their whakapapa (if they did not yet know their whakapapa). They did this in relation to strengthening the Māori 'side' of their identities. Puawai provides an example of her resistance to the public narrative of Māori as second class citizens as she draws on the importance of her whakapapa. She explains how, even though she knows she is Māori, she doesn't necessarily have any evidence according to Pākehā systems of thought to prove this. But this does not deter her from exploring and learning about her Māori identity. Finally, participants also drew on the narrative of 'the ideal Māori figure' as a way of showing that they align to this narrative by illustrating the importance they place on knowing their whakapapa, which is part of what it means to be 'an ideal Māori'. The importance of this theme is that it illustrates the alignment between the wider Māori culture and ngā kiritea Māori identities. From a Māori perspective whakapapa is deemed to be an integral aspect of an individual's identity as Māori. This is parallel to ngā kiritea Māori, who also place huge importance on knowing their whakapapa.

7.1.3 Painful and conflicting journeys

Within the women's stories, the theme of painful and conflicting journey's emerged. The tension between the two worlds and the lack of acceptance of Māori by Pākehā and vice versa is a major source of the pain and conflict experienced by these women. This division made it difficult for them not only in acknowledging their Māori identity but also disclosing it to others because they are caught in the middle; they are neither one nor the other. This personal theme draws on examples from all four women who utilised the public narratives of Māori/Pākehā division, Māori as second class citizens, the ideal Māori figure and valorisation of Māori to explain their personal stories and experiences of their identity journeys. A painful and conflicting journey was a significant theme for our women in this

research. This raises questions around what support systems and resources may be put in place to assist our ngā kiritea Māori women in their identity development. And what might help them overcome these painful and conflicting experiences. In addition, future research needs to focus more specifically on what makes the identity journey's of ngā kiritea Māori so painful for women and how may this be overcome.

7.1.4 Positive identity journeys

Whilst the women in this research drew more on the pain and conflict they had experienced during their identity journeys the men, in contrast, drew on the positive aspects of being Māori in Aotearoa. The men drew on the public narratives of Māori/Pākehā division, resistance of the narrative 'Māori as second class citizens', the ideal Māori figure, Māori as the sports hero and valorisation of Māori. In drawing on these narratives the men were able to express their positive identity journeys. Some common ideas that arose from this theme was the pride associated with the Māori race, and the opportunities that are available for Māori in the education and sporting arenas. The men also described the relative ease with which they identify as Māori and how they are not ashamed of saying they are Māori. One way the men expressed their pride in their Māori identity was through the narrative of 'Māori as the sports hero'. The men were able to draw on positive Māori role models in sport within Aotearoa as a way of illustrating their positive identity journeys. This leads to the question who can our ngā kiritea Māori women look to as positive role models? Are there opportunities for positive journeys for ngā kiritea Māori women when considering sports and Māori sports figures in New Zealand? Future research needs to investigate factors that may help ngā kiritea Māori women to experience positive identity journeys, and based on the results from the men in this research, a possible avenue may be through the sporting arena.

7.2 Limitations of current research

The results of this study may not be representative of the population of ngā kiritea Māori. The sample was not randomly selected. Instead participants were recruited via social networks of the researcher. It is therefore likely that the participants in this research had an

interest in telling their personal stories and therefore may be more aware of, and familiar with, their experiences associated with their Māori identity journey's.

Furthermore, by conducting one to one interviews with participants there was a certain amount of trust being placed on the researcher, by each participant. In some instances, this was the first time the researcher had met the participant. Given that this topic is of a personal nature and, for some people, difficult to talk about it is acknowledged that participants may not have known the researcher well enough or felt comfortable disclosing personal experiences, feelings and emotions to the researcher in the interview. Future research would benefit from more in depth discussion and data gathering with participants, in order to gain a more sophisticated perspective of ngā kiritea Māori identity journeys.

7.3 Implications and Conclusion

From a broader socio-cultural level, implications for future research arises from the finding that ngā kiritea Māori feel they are divided into one or the other; Māori or Pākehā. In some cases this may be deemed a positive aspect of being ngā kiritea Māori for example getting the best of both worlds. However, in many cases this is a negative factor for ngā kiritea Māori, especially our women, as they attempt to negotiate their position as simultaneously being both Māori and Pākehā and, at the same time, being neither. As a result of our colonial history and the ways in which Māori and Pākehā have been set in binary opposition to each other it is no wonder that ngā kiritea Māori face difficulties as they attempt to make meaning of who they are. Future research may investigate this further by examining what factors contribute to this division in society. Also, consideration must be given on how our ethnicity data may be captured more accurately and appropriately on people's ethnicity and their identity.

Findings also illustrate that constructions and narratives around what it means to be Māori and how a Māori identity is understood need to be reviewed and change must be promoted in order to more accurately capture the realities of ngā kiritea Māori identities and their experiences. In doing so, this would mean that the narrative of the ideal Māori figure may be more inclusive of the diverse realities of individuals who have formed a Māori identity.

Subsequently, this public narrative may then be considered a positive narrative that enhances ngā kiritea Māori identities in Aotearoa.

Some of the more positive implications of this research are that the men in this research drew on prominent Māori sports figures and Māori sporting achievements as a way of illustrating their positive identity journeys. This suggests there may be space within the sporting arena for ngā kiritea Māori to engage in positive identity journeys and to draw on positive role models as a way of enhancing and developing positive Māori identities. Additionally, the narrative of valorisation of Māori illustrates that there is a revival of the Māori culture in Aotearoa. This provides room then for further promotion of the positive aspects of being Māori in Aotearoa to be infiltrated into our society so as to help create pride and positivity within our Māori population.

These stories provide examples about ngā kiritea Māori identity. We can see the ways in which ngā kiritea position themselves in society according to the publicly shared narratives. Although the speakers are telling their own stories, these stories also tell us about ngā kiritea Māori identity in general. What is said about their identity is dependent on the current constructions of ngā kiritea Māori and Māori and Pākehā identity in society and it is these constructions that speakers use to tell stories about their own experiences. In doing so, they construct their own identity.

Within this research there were four personal themes identified in ngā kiritea's stories. These were the desire to connect to things Māori, the importance of whakapapa and two gendered themes. The women spoke of painful and conflicting journeys. In contrast, the men spoke of a largely positive Māori identity. All participants drew on the public narratives of Māori/Pākehā division, Māori as second class citizens, the ideal Māori figure, Māori as the sports hero and valorisation of Māori as a way of explaining their identity journeys.

My chosen research method provides a voice for ngā kiritea Māori to tell their stories in their own words and from their own perspective. As Māori people we sit inside the

collective of our whanau, hapu and iwi. As ngā kiritea Māori, we are bound by common experiences that have emerged throughout our lives and our identity journey's. Lastly, as individual Māori we share cultural and colonising experiences that are unique to all Māori individuals, both men and women. This research empowered ngā kiritea to speak about their experiences and knowledge of their identity and their identity journey's through their life narratives. In empowering ngā kiritea to express their personal stories and narratives on identity this research has challenged the marginalisation of ngā kiritea Māori and the pre-conceived and mis-conceived notions around what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa.

7.4 Some final words from ngā kiritea Māori

Matiu

I spose the most important thing for me in terms of my cultural side is... not being afraid to just, be who I am and not having to wear a mask around people.... whatever race or... creed or... you know whatever demographic you might fall into I think that's just really important....you know it, it's all these people who are just.. have their own set beliefs but aren't able to see other peoples... and if we can just you know get out of our... narrow frame of mind for just a second and see that everyone else has their own ideologies and has their own identities then I think that this society ...I think that we will be able to get over a lot of problems that we've been facing..

Kiszia

It's all these threads you gotta pull together and you gotta try and weave it into something and that's, I spose that's like my identity pulling these threads together...and then make something your identity out of all these different threads and its quite hard to negotiate that cos sometimes the world won't let you, you're not allowed to be all these things your only allowed to be one... your either, your black or white it's this whole your either with us or your against us it's not that you can be Māori and of Irish descent and of Welsh descent and of .. You're not allowed to be you you've gotta be the category that they choose for you gotta tick the box...so yea home in the physical sense in the environment I know where that is... but home... with people in between

two cultures it's a hard place to find home when you're neither one nor the other...

Apera

To be labelled as something like that (Māori or Pākehā) as a culture, is black and white, I think it's all your own perspective on things, it only matters to the person who's on the inside... that's why I don't care what other people think of me, to be completely honest. Um I'm just, I am just one in a million of ... I can't really describe it, it's just, I stand and I'm just Apera, like I said.. I am a white Māori, I'm defined by the love of the people in those cultures.

Hone

I'm proud to be a Māori today, if I had dark skin or light I'm still, you know, Māori, I'm proud to be one, umm I'd never say that I wasn't one...and I'm not ashamed of that in any way... yea

Puawai

If I had... I don't know... *start to cry* I don't know... something's like, I dream in Māori...and I don't understand it...I work in a Pākehā agency and I don't do enough to promote the rights of Māori.. so, that's the two extremes of who I am... I look Pākehā...but a lot of my feeling and emotions don't fit with Pākehā ways...

Kura

It's painful, it's exciting, umm it's such a contrast really because I love it I enjoy it completely and I know who I am but at the same time being who I am can suck sometimes because of all the prejudice that is out there and all the misunderstandings and all the ideas that people have about who you should be and what that looks like means that it can be extremely painful and extremely isolating because you're not just Māori.... but you kinda like a.. 'fake' kinda

Māori or somethingbut yea no it's certainly both extremely horrible and amazing yea...

Rangi

The best I can come up with is I get the best of both worlds umm New Zealand's a great place for Māori there's so much to offer umm education, sports, anything you can think of Māori have done really well in New Zealand to be as lucky as we are and people don't take advantage of it.... umm at the same time yea maybe I do get treated differently because people think I'm just another white guy on the street...

Marama

Sometimes it's, it just flows... sometimes you have where it all comes together and it all makes sense and you feel good and you feel like you understand things and that... you're accepted, I think. And other times you feel...that you're always going to be looked at as white, and, from on the surface, yea.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Information letter to ngā kiritea Māori

MASSEY LETTERHEAD

Ko Moehau te maunga
 Ko Owhero te awa
 Ko Ngāti Kahu me Ngāpuhi ngā iwi
 Ko Ngāti Rua te hapū
 Ko Te Tiriti te marae
 Ko Sarah Herbert tōku ingoa

My name is Sarah Herbert and I am conducting a Māori centred research project investigating Māori identity development amongst ngā kiritea Māori, that is; people who have formed a Māori identity, and who have Māori Whakapapa, but who do not necessarily look Māori e.g. fair skinned, blue eyed, blonde hair. This research will draw on the experiences of a small group of men and women who meet the criteria of ngā kiritea Māori. This project aims to investigate the challenges that ngā kiritea Māori have faced in forming their Māori identity and how these challenges may have impacted on their Māori identity development as well as what this Māori identity means to them now, in today's society.

This research is being conducted as part of the requirements to complete the Master of Science with an endorsement in Health Psychology. If you are interested in learning more about this project and think you may fit the criteria of ngā kiritea Māori then please do not hesitate to contact me for further information: s.herbert@massey.ac.nz or phone 06 356 9099 ext 7945 or text/phone 027 425 7521

Participating in this research:

You have received this information because somebody who knows about the research thinks that you might like to participate. If you read this information and would like to discuss the research some more, please call or email me using the details above.

There are three phases in this research project that you will be asked to participate in. The first stage involves a hui between yourself and me. This hui will provide an opportunity for you to learn more about the research and ask any questions, as well as allowing whakawhanaungatanga to occur so you feel more comfortable with me as the researcher. It is expected that the initial hui may take between 15-30 minutes however there is no time limit being placed on this hui, it will be at your discretion. Please note, if it is more convenient for you, or you do not feel the need to have two separate hui, we can combine the initial whakawhanaungatanga hui with the second (interviewing) hui.

The second phase will be another hui which will involve me going over your rights as a participant and then obtaining written consent from you. The interview will then be conducted which will be recorded. During the interview I will ask you to speak about your experiences of growing up as a kiritēa Māori in Aotearoa and how these experiences have impacted on your Māori identity development. I will also ask what this Māori identity means to you in today's society. This interview is expected to take approximately 2 hours.

If you would like to have a support person or whanau member accompany you to the hui then you are most welcome to do so. Also, in order to ensure your confidentiality in this project all identifying information, including your name, will be removed from the raw data. Instead, you may use a code or pseudonym if you wish.

Finally, the third phase will be the debrief hui. During this time I will discuss my analysis with you and what I have interpreted from your interview. You may provide feedback to ensure my analysis is accurate and correct. It is thought that this hui may take 30-45 minutes to complete however; again this will be primarily determined by you. Once this is done, the final report will be written.

In acknowledgement of your participation in this research project a koha in the form of a petrol voucher will be given to you. Kai will also be provided at all hui that you attend.

All information from this research including, consent forms, notes from the hui and the recorded interviews will be stored safely and securely. The researcher and supervisor will be the only ones who have access to the information.

Once the report is written up, you will have the option of having your interview information returned to you, otherwise it will be destroyed appropriately. The consent forms will also be destroyed upon completion of the research.

The information collected from this project will be kept for a period of ten years as it may be used in a subsequent PhD project by the present researcher (with your consent being sought beforehand).

You will be asked at the debrief hui if you would like a summary of the projects findings, if you do, I will get your contact details and ensure this is mailed to you in due course.

Participant's Rights

Please note you are under no obligation to accept this invitation to participate in this research project. Also, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at any time until the results are published.
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- because all interviews will be recorded using a digital voice recorder you have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

Sarah Herbert is the key researcher in this project.

Sarah.herbert09@yahoo.co.nz

06 356 9099 or 0800 MASSEY ext 7495 or 027 425 7521

Christine Stephens is the primary supervisor

c.v.stephens@massey.ac.nz

06 356 9099 or 0800 MASSEY ext 2081

Please do not hesitate to contact either Sarah or Chris for any further questions/comments regarding this research.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 10/08. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 04 801 5799 x 6929, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

*Appendix 2 Participant consent form*MASSEY LETTERHEAD*Māori identity development amongst ngā kiritēa in
Aotearoa: How we came to identify as Māori.***PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand the information at the interview will be voice recorded by the researcher but that I have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any point during the interview phase.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

Appendix 3 Interview schedule

Interview schedule

1. Do you know what the government's definition of Māori is?

Tell me what you know about this

2. Why did you decide to claim/embrace/develop your Māori identity?

You may wish to talk about your experiences or memories of what it was like for you, and/or some of the challenges you faced, growing up in Aotearoa as someone who didn't look Māori but knew you had Māori whakapapa.

Also, you may wish to discuss how this impacted on your Māori identity development

3. What does your Māori identity mean to you now, as a kiritea Māori, in today's society?

Appendix 4 Letter to participants with summary of results

MASSEY LETTERHEAD

December 15th 2011

Dear

Ngā kiritea Māori: Walking between two worlds.

This letter is to sincerely thank you for your interest and efforts in participating in the above study which I undertook as part of my Masters Degree in Science with an endorsement in Health Psychology. Your participation was very much appreciated; without it the study could not have happened. As promised, here is a summary of the main findings and results of this research.

What the study was about:

The aim of this study was to investigate your identity (ngā kiritea Māori identities) in Aotearoa. The term ngā kiritea is defined as those who do not physically look Māori but who have formed a Māori identity. I chose this topic for several reasons a) because I am kiritea Māori myself so I was personally invested in this topic and, more importantly, I felt that there is a need for our voices to be heard in Aotearoa and b) because there is limited research conducted in the area of mixed ethnic individuals in a New Zealand context and c) because the majority of research that has been conducted in this area has focused on women and their experiences only.

What the study looked at:

In this study, I wanted to investigate your stories about your identity journeys. I wanted to see if you shared any common experiences or feelings about your Māori identity with other Kiritea Māori and what these commonalities or differences were. I was also interested to see if there were any gender differences between the men and women in this study. I gathered life narratives or stories from each of you by asking two open ended questions. These were: How did the experiences of growing up in Aotearoa/New Zealand affect the development of Māori identity for ngā kiritea Māori and what does Māori identity mean to ngā kiritea Māori in today's society? I interviewed 8 people in total; 4 men and 4 women in order to gather information for this study.

What did I find:

Within your stories I identified five shared narratives that help shape personal stories. The five shared narratives were stories about: 'Māori/Pākehā division', 'Māori as second class citizens', 'The ideal Māori figure', 'Māori as the sports hero' and 'Valorisation of Māori'. Below is a very brief overview of each of these narratives.

Māori/Pākehā division: This narrative encompassed the idea that there is a distinct division between 'being Māori' and 'being Pākehā'; Ngā kiritea Māori have two separate identities.

Māori as second class citizens: This narrative focused on the idea that, according to many Pākehā, Māori are viewed as second class citizens. There are negative stereotypes held by Pākehā that serve to create prejudices towards Māori and they (Pākehā) then use these prejudices and ideas to challenge Māori as people and also their identity as Māori.

The ideal Māori figure: The idea behind this narrative was that there are certain requirements one must meet in order to justify their position as Māori. Thus, there is an idealised view of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa. This narrative was broken down into two core ideas. A) You must look a certain way and B) you must have knowledge of Te Ao Māori and the Māori culture.

Māori as the sports hero: This narrative drew on the positive image of Māori as being good at sports or having natural sporting and physical abilities.

Valorisation of Māori: This narrative recognised and acknowledged the positivity associated with ‘being Māori’ in today’s society. That is, as identifying one’s self as Māori and having knowledge and understanding of ‘things’ Māori, which is empowering and liberating for many Māori individuals.

Participants drew on the shared narratives outlined above as a way of explaining their personal stories and experiences. They talked about the desire to connect to things Māori and the importance of whakapapa. The women in this research spoke of painful and conflicting personal stories about their identity development. In contrast, the men tended to be proud of their Māori identity and saw their identity journey as largely positive. Thus, the public narratives helped to shape and form ngā kiritea Māori stories and how they construct meaning around their identities.

What does this mean:

These stories provide examples about ngā kiritea Māori identity. Findings from this research show that ngā kiritea Māori feel they are divided into one or the other; Māori or Pākehā. In some cases this may be deemed a positive aspect of being ngā kiritea Māori for example getting the best of both worlds. However, in many cases this is a negative factor for ngā kiritea Māori, especially our women, as they attempt to negotiate their position as simultaneously being both Māori and Pākehā and, at the same time, being neither. Furthermore, based on these findings it is important that ngā kiritea Māori are provided with opportunities and access to connect to their Māori culture and ‘things’ Māori, in this way they may be able to strengthen and develop their Māori identity in a positive manner.

Findings also illustrate that constructions and narratives around what it means to be Māori and how a Māori identity is understood need to be reviewed and change must be promoted in order to more accurately capture the realities of ngā kiritea Māori identities and their experiences. In doing so, this would mean that the narrative of the ideal Māori figure may be more inclusive of the diverse realities of individuals who have formed a Māori identity. Some of the more positive implications of this research are that the men in this research drew on prominent Māori sports figures and Māori sporting achievements as a way of illustrating their positive identity journeys. This suggests there may be space within the sporting arena for ngā kiritea Māori to engage in positive identity journeys and to draw on positive role models as a way of enhancing and developing positive Māori identities. Additionally, the narrative of the valorisation of the Māori illustrates that there is a revival of the Māori culture in Aotearoa. This provides room then for further promotion of the

positive aspects of being Māori in Aotearoa to be infiltrated into our society so as to help create pride and positivity within our Māori population.

Once again I wish to thank you very much for speaking so openly and honestly to me about your experiences of growing up and being kiritea Māori in Aotearoa.

Yours Sincerely,

Sarah Herbert.