TE PŪTAHITANGA O NGĀ TAI E RUA

The Meeting of Two Tides: Journeys of Mixed Heritage Māori/Pākehā towards Identity Strength

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements of a Master in Philosophy (Māori Studies) at Massey University, Wellington Campus, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Hēni Meretini Collins

Ngāti Raukawa/Te Arawa/Ngāti Haumia/Pākehā

2004

"Two rivers within me flow, they have one source, and that is my heart... though I am of mixed blood, it is the darkest that runs deep in me."

(Apirana Taylor 1981)

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Abstract

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This thesis aims to provide new insights and understandings about the challenges,
vulnerabilities and strengths associated with being of mixed Māori-and-Pākehā heritage in
Aotearoa New Zealand. It is based on the life narratives of 11 men and women of dual
Māori/Pākehā heritage. It looks at change over time, particularly the process of seeking and
developing cultural and ethnic identity strength as Māori. It acknowledges on-going stresses
and tensions; coping strategies; and describes two cases in which coping strategies were over-
whelmed and breakdown occurred. It considers whether a dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity can be
maintained and stabilised over time in the light of inequities and racism in society. Most
participants in this thesis are high achievers in terms of education, career success and
acculturation and socialisation as Māori. These factors perhaps facilitate the level of self-
validation required to tolerate the stress of maintaining a dual identity position for some.
Identity strength as Māori has been achieved for some by periods of occasional or intensive
immersion in Māori social and cultural contexts. For some, their Māori identity became so
predominant that their Pākehā/European identity was no longer of much significance in their
lives, though they continued to accept and acknowledge it. Some were definite in their
expression of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity and the need for more awareness and visibility.
Ethnicity is changeable and affected by social and political factors. Most participants lived
and worked in urban contexts, and had a range of cultural and social affiliations, including
Māori. The Māori cultural and political renaissance has involved defining Māori in terms of
difference from Pākehā/Europeans, but this thesis explores the overlap – genetic, cultural, and
social - between the two ethnic groups and provides new insights into diversity within the
Māori ethnic group.

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Chapter One

He Kupu Whakataki

Introduction

1.1   Introduction to Topic

1.1.1   Secure Identity and Health

Components of health for Māori and others extend beyond the physical to
include mental, emotional and spiritual aspects, and all are affected by social,
political and environmental factors (Murchie 1984: 81). Security of cultural
and ethnic identity is seen as an important aspect of health for Māori (Durie
1998: 58). "A secure identity may ...afford some protection against ill-health,
...be associated with higher educational participation and positive employment
profiles." It has been suggested that for Māori, security of identity is closely
linked to cultural knowledge and involvement (Durie et al 2002: 46). Markers
for a Māori cultural identity include knowledge of language, tribal history,
whakapapa and *tikanga*[1]. They also include involvement with *marae, hapū* and
iwi, and bonds with tribal territory. It is suggested that without such
knowledge and involvement there will be a lesser degree of identification as
Māori (Stevenson 2001: 39).

However, the link between a secure cultural/ethnic identity and
mental/emotional/spiritual [2] health has been more strongly indicated (Murchie
1984: 43-45; Ministry of Social Development 2001), than the link between
secure cultural/ethnic identity and improved *physical* health or well-being for
Māori. An attempt by Stevenson (2001) to prove such an association from
data in a long-term study of Māori families, *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* (THNR)[3], did
not find it, except for a very weak beneficial relationship for young smokers.
A case for the impact of racism and generational disadvantage on Māori

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[1] See *Glossary/Ngā Kupu* for explanation of words in the Māori language. Words in the Māori language
will be italicized on first mention and not thereafter.

[2] This terms is used in preference to simply "mental health" to convey the holistic Māori understanding
of the concept (Durie 1994: 2; Reedy 1994; Tangaere 1997: 56; Gibson 1999: 132-3).

[3] This study was undertaken by the Department of Māori Studies, Massey University in 1993.

health has been argued by researchers both from within Aotearoa New Zealand (Cram 1999; Ajwani et al 2003) and overseas (eg Jones, in Collins 1999b). A stronger identification as Māori may be associated with a health profile closer to the average health profile in the Māori ethnic group, a group which experiences lower health status than the general population (Collins 1999b). The stresses of identification with a disadvantaged, oppressed minority ethnic group may need to be considered alongside the apparent mental/emotional/spiritual health benefits of a more secure identity as Māori.

Māori health researchers (Durie et al 1995: 464) acknowledge diversity within the Māori ethnic group – for example, not all Māori will wish to define their ethnicity according to classical constructs. Māori individuals can belong to numerous social and cultural groupings, and also experience and express considerable change in their situations, attitudes, values and aspirations over time. A Christchurch study of young Māori found that increasing self-identification as Māori was associated with increasing participation as Māori, and that dual or multiple ethnicity Māori tended to report lower levels of participation than exclusive or sole Māori, but higher levels of participation than people with Māori descent but not ethnicity (Broughton et al 2000).

As stated by Durie et al (1995a: 465) it is not appropriate to make value judgements about the "level of Maoriness", ie cultural knowledge and level of involvement in traditional/conservative Māori contexts, of particular Māori or mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individuals. Preliminary results of Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie 1998: 57-8) indicated that of the 200 responses analysed at that time, only 35 percent fit the criteria for a secure identity as Māori, with extensive involvement with *whānau*, marae, ancestral land and knowledge of the language. Another 53 percent had a positive identity as Māori, with lower levels of involvement in Māori society. Others identified as Māori without access to cultural resources, or did not identify as Māori, whether or not they had access. Hence contemporary Māori draw not just on ancient traditions, but also on the recent past, and the need to adapt to survive in a complex world (Durie 2001: 4).

1.1.2   Dual Māori/Pākehā Ethnicity

Since the 1920's it has been noted that Māori generally place less emphasis than Pākehā/Europeans on "blood quantum" measures of ethnicity, and define ethnicity more by a combination of factors - whakapapa, culture and social association (Buck 1924; McDonald 1976). Despite the continuing scepticism of many Pākehā/Europeans (McCreanor 1989: 92), identification as Māori is significant not just for most people who are "half or more" in terms of descent, but also for many people of "less than half" descent, some of whom might not match commonly held stereotypes of a Maori appearance (phenotype). This fact has been reflected in legal definitions of Māori since the early 1960's. Māori are also less likely than Pākehā/Europeans to perceive the two categories (Māori and Pākehā) as discrete or mutually exclusive and most acknowledge their own bi-culturalism[4] (McDonald 1976). Individual's claims to membership in both Māori and Pākehā ethnic groups were officially recognized in the mid-1970's (McDonald 1976; Metge 1976; Pool 1991: 14) and reflected in the 1986 census, when people were finally allowed to claim dual or multiple "ethnic origins" (Mako 1998: 49).

1.1.3   Statistical significance

With census questions at last supporting dual or multiple ethnicity, the numbers of people identifying themselves in the census as dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā increased dramatically during the 1990's. In 2001 approximately 36.7 percent of the total Māori ethnic group (including the sole Māori and dual/multiple ethnicity Māori groups) identified themselves as dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā, particularly amongst the younger age groups (Robson 1997). This was a total of 193,503 people. This percentage is expected to continue to rise (Durie 1998: 86). Hence the dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā group is one of statistical significance in Aotearoa New Zealand society and research into the subjective ethnicity experience of its members is therefore of considerable value.

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[4] See section 1.4.7 for further discussion of bi-culturalism

1.1.4 Social and political context

Belonging to two cultural/ethnic groups simultaneously becomes more difficult, or even impossible, according to the level of conflict and division between them. In the United States the term "tragic mulatto", has been commonly used for mixed (black/white) race people who are seen to be in an "untenable position" - at the meeting point of racial conflict and struggle (Giles 1995: 63-78). Brown (1990: 319) describes the United States as a society with rigid divisions between economic, racial and ethnic groups, heavily stratified with distinct boundaries, making belonging to two or more groups particularly difficult. While many New Zealanders want to believe that this country is a model of positive race relations, major inequities continue to exist and levels of division and conflict have varied over time. During the Māori cultural and political renaissance of the 1970's and 80's, for example, Māori sought to reverse the tide of assimilation which had previously occurred and defined themselves in contrast to Pākehā (Greenland 1984). Cultural politics were expressed in terms of binary opposition between coloniser/colonised, and hybridity and overlapping membership of cultural and ethnic groups were rarely acknowledged (Meredith 1999; Thomas 1986).

In the mid-1990's however, as the Government sought to accommodate Māori demands for distinctiveness and recognition of Treaty rights, prominent Māori health researcher Professor Mason Durie acknowledged Māori diversity, the process of identity change over time, the right to self-identification and the fact that Māori have a range of social and cultural affiliations (Durie 1995a, 1995b). Hence both socio-political factors and policy changes in statistical collection may have contributed to the dramatic increase in the recording of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity in the 1990's. The recently announced policies of National party leader Don Brash are now causing increased tension, adding to the stress and difficulty experienced by those attempting to mediate the two socio-cultural groups or integrate their own dual Māori/Pākehā identities.

1.1.5 Dual Māori/Pākehā Ethnicity and Identity Stress

Various factors, including personal, social, cultural and political, can contribute to identity confusion and stress for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā.

These stresses have been frequently noted in brief (Hunn 1961: 16; Bennett 1979: 74; Walker 1989: 44; Durie, 2001: 57) but are poorly understood. As stated, the level of conflict and division between the two major ethnic groups is one factor. The "identity crisis" is seen to be a common experience of mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā (Reid 1998/9; Awatere, 1984: 86). Until recently (Gibson 1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2003), there has been a scarcity of qualitative or quantitative research on the cultural and personal identity development of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā including on-going stresses, periods of transition, vulnerability and crisis.

A growing number of Māori are experiencing problems with mental/emotional/spiritual health, evidenced by increasing admission to psychiatric hospitals (Dyall, Bridgman 1996). Durie describes poor mental health as the most serious health problem facing Māori, particularly the rates of suicide and acute mental disorders (Durie 1998). While there are many factors behind this problem, including economic and employment stress, the effect of identity issues on the mental/emotional/spiritual health of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā has been inadequately explored (Moeke-Maxwell 2001; Durie 1998).

1.1.6 Strengths and Advantages
Dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā are relatively advantaged - socially, educationally and economically - compared to sole Māori (Douglas 1995: 97), and are likely to experience less racism and discrimination from Pākehā based on phenotype or appearance. However, their identification of themselves as Māori and their sense of responsibility towards other Māori result in a higher level of disadvantage than Pākehā/European or non-Māori experience. Dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā are also said to embody particular potential strengths and abilities, such as mediation, and translation (Meredith 1999). Whether being mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā is viewed positively, negatively or both, the experiential reality of such people is poorly understood and acknowledged.

1.2   Introducing the Researcher

Acknowledging that a qualitative research project undertaken by an individual depends very much on that individual's values and experience (Denzin 1994:4), a brief description of my background, as the researcher, follows. I grew up in a household in which individual opinion and informed debate were a dominant feature. Though my upbringing was mono-culturally Pākehā/European in terms of language and values, my father (C. Collins) was both well-informed about whakapapa and supportive of an interest in Māori culture, politics and history. Maternal influences included emphasis on academic achievement and social duty. A range of political perspectives, including socialism, were freely discussed and analysed.

Studying at Canterbury University, my papers included reading Marx, the sociology of religion and social science research methods. I also studied the Māori language and was involved in kapahaka and youth hui at which contemporary issues were debated. These influences helped shape an underlying philosophy which included a belief in social change, an emphasis on independence of thought, and a growing commitment to te ao Māori. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, I attended a journalism course at Canterbury University and began working as a journalist. I worked as a reporter for the Daily News in New Plymouth, the New Zealand Herald in Auckland and the Evening Post in Wellington. Each of these positions involved coverage of Māori news. While it is recognised that journalism has been historically distrusted by Māori (Smith 1999: 3), a critical but constructive perspective on this form of data-gathering is presented as follows.

By my second year in journalism, through attending a hui for Māori journalists[5], I had become aware there were grounds for concern about media coverage of Māori issues in this country (Spoonley and Hirsh, 1990; Cochrane 1990). Newspapers are socially manufactured products, involving a "partial presentation of the existing social reality, which ...allows for the intrusion of

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[5] Organised by the NZ Journalists Training Organisation and held at Otara Marae, South

personal judgements." (Cochrane, 1990). In order to achieve maximum audience and revenue, the media draws upon the most broadly held common social values and assumptions. The media are biased towards negative and easily understood news. Persistent use of unfavourable symbols in reference to ethnic groups can severely affect how they are viewed by the public, and Cochrane's literature review in the late 1980's found media coverage of ethnic issues in New Zealand to be disproportionately unfavourable.

But I also believed in the potential good that journalists could achieve. Journalists have a "sacred duty to keep the public informed" (Conley, 2002: vii). An investigative journalist aims to discover the truth, uses a moral sense to choose their topics, and attempts to be dispassionately evidential. At best they are "idealists", "noted for their courage in adversity and unbending principle", though realistically, journalists "range from courageous to cowardly, from idealistic to pragmatic, and from justice-seeking to lie-mongering"(Conley, 2002: 9). I strove to be a journalist of the former categories - bold, unafraid, idealistic and justice-seeking. I aimed to write positively and with depth on Māori issues when possible.

A study of Māori news coverage on the Evening Post and Auckland Star undertaken by Judy Cochrane (1990), when I was working on the Evening Post, found that the two newspapers studied gave wider coverage to Māori issues than was suggested by her earlier literature review (1990: 25). While not solely responsible for writing all Māori news stories published in the *Evening Post* during that period, I maintain a belief that it is possible for individual, committed journalists to contribute towards providing improved coverage of Māori events, given sufficient support from editorial staff. A journalistic background has also affected the interviewing, analysis and research aspects of this thesis, in that it has been aimed at providing information which is both useful and accessible.

It should also be acknowledged that I had personal experience of difficulties

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Auckland in 1984.

such as depression, anxiety and insecurity which were related to ethnic and other identity issues. Undertaking this research was partially a means of supporting my own personal and cultural identity development as Māori, as well as a means of gathering data which I hoped would one day be accessible to the general public, on a neglected topic of inquiry.

1.3   Research Aims

1.3.1   General Aim

To explore the subjective ethnicity experience of healthy and apparently well-adjusted adults of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage, in order to gain understanding of the process of identity development over time, particularly in relation to Māori ethnicity, but also in relation to their sense of ethnicity as Pākehā/Europeans in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was expected that both challenges and means of overcoming them would be discussed. By understanding the experience of individuals, it was hoped that themes would emerge which may be representative of others. It was considered that this knowledge might be relevant to the fields of mental/emotional/spiritual health, education, parenting, ethnicity data collection, and race relations. Details relating to method, sample selection, and data collection of a series of life narrative and other recordings (undertaken from 1994-1998) can be read in Chapter 2. Research for this thesis has resulted in the development of the following aspects of the overall aim.

1.3.2   Acknowledging Personal and Cultural Security of Identity

Whereas Te Hoe Nuku Roa has focussed on whether or not its respondents have a secure identity <u>as Māori,</u> this thesis aims to explore issues of security of identity for mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā more generally, including both *personal* and *cultural* security of identity. A distinction between personal and cultural security was made by Lapsley, Nikora & Black (2002: 11): "At the base of all Māori mental health models is the firming and grounding of mauri across all dimensions of a person's life... a secure identity, both personal and cultural, is integral to this."

1.3.3 Tracking Identity Development Over Time

This thesis aims to analyse the recorded life narratives of eleven people, both men and women, who have a Māori and a Pākehā parent[6], assess their involvement over time with the cultural markers as above (section 1.1.1), which have both cultural knowledge and social aspects, and seek to learn about their identity development over time in relation to security of personal and cultural identity. It aims to examine the process of maturity and development towards a stronger cultural and ethnic Māori identity for a number of individuals - the barriers or challenges faced during that process as well as positive aspects and sources of resilience. It also acknowledges that identification as Pākehā/European can remain significant for a number of mixed heritage Māori people, and aims to provide insights on the process of integrating two differing ethnicities (Māori and Pākehā/European) within individuals. It discusses the relationship between security of personal identity and security of ethnic and cultural identity for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individuals.

1.3.4 Studying Diversity Within the Māori Ethnic Group

Durie (1993; in THNR 1999: appendix 4:1) identified three broad groupings of Māori based on cultural and lifestyle patterns – a conservative group who were more likely to speak the reo, attend marae functions, enrol their children in Kōhanga Reo and register on the Māori electoral roll; "mainstream" Māori who lead lives indistinguishable from their Pākehā neighbours though they describe themselves as Māori; and alienated Māori who do not participate effectively in either Māori society or mainstream Pākehā society. This thesis seeks to consider to what extent the first two groups overlap. Do some people participate effectively and belong in both Māori and Pākehā society? Does integration into mainstream society mean that Māori become indistinguishable from their neighbours, or can they be distinctive and also integrated? Is there a poorly-understood "third space" between a "traditional or authentic" Māori identity and an "assimilated", or "colonized" identity for Māori (Moeke-

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[6] In one case both parents were culturally/ethnically Māori but her father had no Māori ancestry; and in another case the adoptive parents were part-Māori (father) and Pākehā/European (mother) but both birth parents were Māori.

Maxwell 2003: 1) and also between Māori and Pākehā (Meredith 1999)?

1.3.5   Providing Contextual Data

This thesis also aims to situate the experiences of individual participants within the context of relevant cultural and social-psychological identity research and theory in Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere. Background research also included examining trends in population statistics and how they have been collected; and a brief look at how attitudes towards Māori/Pākehā intermarriage and the offspring have changed throughout our history in Aotearoa New Zealand. Comparisons are also noted with the classification and position of dual heritage indigenous and ethnic minority groups overseas.

1.4   Theoretical Background

1.4.1   Qualitative Research Overseas/Aotearoa New Zealand

Research about indigenous peoples has historically been heavily and negatively associated with both European imperialism and colonialism. Observations and interpretations have been made of Māori and other indigenous people by European travellers and scholars, often supported by institutions, in ways which have been described as random, ad hoc and damaging (Smith 1999: 2,3). Imperialism involved the economic expansion of Europe into new countries which could be exploited for their resources and labour, and the spread of "Enlightenment" ideas and knowledge which the Europeans believed were superior to those held by indigenous peoples (Smith 1999: 23). Subjugation was justified by the racial supremacy theories of Charles Darwin (1871,1901: 282-3) and Auguste Comte's theory of the evolution of cultures (Vidich & Lyman 1994: 28).

Qualitative research in the Western world has undergone a series of transformations, and these have been reflected in Aotearoa New Zealand. The first phase began at the beginning of the 20th century, and involved lone European field workers (mostly male) "nobly" living amongst so-called "primitive" people and describing them in objective detail in ethnographic accounts, like static museum pieces (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 7). In New Zealand Sir George Grey, Percy Smith, Elsdon Best (1925,1929) and

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Raymond Firth (1929) are amongst those ethnographers who systematically and (in their view) objectively collected volumes of material about Māori, much of which was influential. While sympathetic towards Māori, they also maintained an "attitude to indigenous peoples which was a complex mixture of colonial exploitation and fostered dependence" (Smith 1999: 83).

As decolonisation movements in Africa and Asia achieved some success in ending direct colonial rule post World War II, an assault on Western ethnocentrism and the idea of the "primitive" also gained ascendency. The period of "classic ethnography" came to an end internationally in the 1940's as these researchers came to be seen as complicit with colonisation (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 8). Anthropologists began to recognise how they had contributed to colonisation and exploitation (Vidich & Lyman 1994: 28). By then the indigenous systems of order which had existed prior to European occupation had been hugely disrupted by colonisation. Indigenous people had been disconnected "from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world" (Smith 1999: 28). Anthropologists and sociologists internationally turned next to the study of urban groups, in a so-called "modernist" phase, which involved a greater emphasis on making validity checks from within the group studied, as well as externally, and allowed for ways of knowing beyond the strictly scientific ie post-positivism (Vidich & Lyman 1994). Robert Park of Chicago was a leading sociologist in this phase, and also the first to observe the characteristics of "hybrid" or dual ethnicity individuals, whom he labelled "marginal men" (1928).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the qualitative research of social psychologists in the 1940's and 50's had a serious ill-effect on Māori social life. The complex and comprehensive Māori understandings of mind, body and soul were largely ignored by Western academics, who imposed their own research paradigms on Māori, with a series of studies of Māori communities (Stewart 1997: 80). Undertaken by the Beagleholes and others, the studies formed a damaging critique of Māori behaviour patterns, linking them to deficits in character/personality. Particularly contentious was their notion of an

indulgence-rejection process in the early years of children's development. Further studies by Malcolm (1951) and by Beaglehole et al in the 1950's (Ritchie 1956; Ritchie 1957; Mulligan 1957; Earle 1958) built on the "Kōwhai" study and upheld its assimilationist agenda. A "whole raft of measures was designed to change Māori people's psyches, social institutions and practices" as a result (Stewart 1997: 84). Misleading claims that hostility and aggression are basic factors of Māori personality and that Māori have "intellectual limitations" also had negative effects on policy decisions and on public perceptions. Māori have since, however, pointed to structural inequalities and impediments as preventing Māori participation in educational, political and economic arenas and have argued that assimilationist policies have resulted in serious cultural loss (Stewart 1997: 88).

Hence, while many individual researchers have been liked and respected, and some can claim positive outcomes as a result of their work[7], Māori opinion of the results of qualitative research, particularly by non-Māori, has often been that they are either worthless or damaging to the Māori community, though possibly useful to the researcher and his/her organization (Smith 1997: 3). Since the 1970's, however, a number of non-fiction writers, both Māori and Pākehā (Ranginui Walker, Tipene O'Regan, Anne Salmond, Michael King and Jamie Belich) may have helped improve the image of research amongst Māori, as they have been admired for their detail, fairness and accuracy. Over the last ten years a methodology called "*kaupapa Māori* research" has also been described and increasingly practiced by Māori, within which this thesis substantially fits (see section 2.6). Indigenous researchers internationally are working to reformulate thinking about knowledge and its social constructions, about methodologies and the politics of research (Smith 1999: 5-6). Many have called for recognition of the fundamental influences of ethnicity in shaping interpretations of reality and also for recognition of the methods and

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[7] Ritchie (1992) says he drew on earlier work in Murupara and Rākau under the Beagleholes, in his proposal for the establishment of the Centre for Māori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato, which made provision for the Tainui people to determine their own research needs and

research results of people of colour (Stanfield 1994: 175-7, 184). Stanfield notes that an indigenous paradigm can be based on recognition that phenomena such as time, space, spirituality and human relationships with land are "culture-bound".

1.4.2 Critical theory

In studying sociology at Canterbury University, the researcher became familiar with Marx and the critical theorists who followed him. Critical theorists of the Frankfurt School in the late 1930's built on the works of Marx and attempted to examine their relevance in contemporary life. Theory with practical intent sought not only to understand the world but also to transform it (Bernstein 1978: 206). Factors required to achieve this are both a vision for a better world, and a belief that human agents can bring about change towards achieving this vision by certain actions (Alway 1995: 2). In the writings of Karl Marx, the working class or proletariat was identified as the group expected to bring about social change. Later critical theorists such as Herbert Marcuse (Alway 1995: 71) however, argued that a diverse range of agents and actions could be influential.

A core belief of early critical theorists was the "psychological development" of individuals within the economic and cultural life of society, and the need to develop a "critical oppositional consciousness on the part of the oppressed masses" (Alway 1995: 24-5). Studies of authority, the authoritarian state, mass society, the culture industry and the family all reflected a concern with a decline in this consciousness. Hence critical theory is "interested" science, motivated by a desire to help create new social forms - "forms that will result from and be based in the creativity, spontaneity, and consciousness of free individuals" and a concern for "reasonable conditions of life" (Alway 1995: 26-7). But, as their name suggests, critical theorists (including the researcher) believe that in order to achieve social transformation, they must remain "at some remove even from those who profess the same interests and goals". Critical thinkers must be prepared to be critical not only of predominant

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undertake it themselves.

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perspectives and the status quo, but also of those in whose interests the work is being carried out (Alway 1995: 29; Horkheimer 1972: 214-6).[8]

Critical theory has, however, been challenged about its failure to deliver emancipation for oppressed groups (Ellsworth 1989) and for its patriarchal practices which have continued to marginalize and silence women academics (Smith 1999: 166). Another Māori academic has questioned the ability of critical theory to embrace "the multiple positions of Māori" (Waitere-Ang 1999: 82). Also, in light of the disempowered position of Māori which has been transmitted through history and continues to traumatise us as indigenous people (Lawson-Te Aho1999: 5) it is argued that critical objectivity must be balanced with recognition of strengths and constructive suggestions for future development.

1.4.3   Ethnicity theory

An ethnic group can be described as a self-perceived inclusion of those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact (De Vos 1995: 18). Such traditions typically include ...religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin. Whereas a lineage group or caste perceives itself as an interdependent unit in society, an ethnic group is, or has been, independent. Ethnic identity often involves some sense of genetically inherited differences (De Vos 1995: 19). It is closely related to culture, in that "as members of an ethnic group interact with each other, ethnicity becomes the means by which culture is transmitted" (Baxter 1998: 66; Betancourt & Lopez 1995). Another, even simpler, definition suggested by Levine (1999) is: "ethnicity is that method of classifying people (both self and other) that uses origin (socially constructed) as its primary reference". But ethnicity is complex, and while *whakapapa* (and often *hapū* and *iwi* identity) can be described as central to *tangata whenua* identity (Robson & Reid 2001: 2), it is also true that large numbers of those with Māori ancestry do not identify as ethnically Māori, and not all those who identify as ethnically Māori have

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[8] Presumably one must also foresee criticism from those groups in a reverse process.

Māori ancestry (Statistics New Zealand 1994: 30). Māori health researchers (Durie et al 1995: 464) acknowledge that traditional values are of less relevance to some Māori than others, and that not all Māori will wish to define their ethnicity according to classical constructs. Personal experiences (positive or negative) affect ethnicity; and political commitment, social relatedness and symbolic ties are significant for some individuals (Durie 2001:54; Bevan 2000: 87, 92, 111).

McRoy & Hall (1996: 70; McRoy 1990) described racial and ethnic identity as one's self-perception and sense of belonging to a particular group, including not only how one describes and defines oneself but also how one distinguishes oneself from members of other ethnic groups, and the extent to which an individual has acquired behaviours specific to the particular racial group. Thomas (1986) emphasizes "ethnic self-identity" over "ascribed ethnic identity" ie labels preferred by the individual are more meaningful than those ascribed by others. Pool (1963) reached a similar conclusion in seeking to categorize Māori. Though people are often asked their ethnicity as if it is a factual, objective matter, social scientists have found the process of ethnic identity to be both subjective and unstable (Stephan 1992: 51). Individuals with the same biological heritage often have different ethnic identities, some individuals identify with groups from which they are not derived biologically, and some individuals' ethnic identities are situational, varying as the person moves from group to group, and varying through time in response to life changes. Ethnicity contains elements of both primordiality (located in the heart) and situationalism (a rational response to social and historical context) (Barth 1969; Levine 1999: 167).

Ethnicity is produced in the conceptual space that Valera et al (1991: 179) describe as "the interface between the mind, society and culture". People, in interaction, communicating with one another, actively construct the experience of social and cultural groupings and identities. This involves magnifying the differences between groups and emphasizing homogeneity within a group (Levine 1999: 169). Boundaries between ethnic groups can be seen as more important than their cultural contents, but individuals can move

across boundaries in response to changing conditions, and choose their ethnic identities accordingly (Barth 1969). It is also important to note that ethnicity can be a source of considerable conflict in society, as maintaining a separate ethnic group tends to involve the maintenance of boundaries, which are basically psychological in nature rather than territorial (De Vos 1995: 16). They are maintained by ascription from within as well as externally. When the reification and maximization of separateness (between ethnic groups) is mapped onto differences in access to resources, then conflict and further ideological elaboration inevitably follow (Levine 1999: 169).

Ethnic identities, where the individual identifies with one or more ethnic groups, are basic to the establishment of self-meaning (Stephan 1992). For people of mixed ancestry, the question of ethnic identity is particularly acute and potentially problematic. While an individual whose ancestry is derived from two different groups can identify with one, both or neither group, three American studies of mixed heritage people in Hawaii and New Mexico (Stephan, 1991; Stephan & Stephan 1989) found that the majority chose multiple-heritage identification, though some chose a single-heritage identity in some situations, for example when completing an official form. Some factors affecting the ethnic identity of mixed heritage individuals are: acceptance or non-acceptance by others; exposure to customs; physical appearance; name, particularly surname; the relative status or power of a group; psychological identification with a parent; and percentage of biological inheritance (Stephan 1992: 54-5). The minority of mixed heritage respondents who had stable single-identities typically had parents who were both derived at least in part with the group and identified strongly with it, and had high cultural exposure to that group and less to others.

McDonald (1976) found that a significant number of her sample (13 out of 90) were categorized by themselves or close relatives as Māori-and-Pākehā. She found that " Māori" was a highly structured category involving widely understood variations of "Maoriness" within it, as well as "ideal types"[9].

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[9] McDonald does not elaborate on this ideal type but says it is commonly understood. The researcher

The category Pākehā, however, was relatively structureless and included no concept of an "ideal type". As a result, the category boundaries as defined by Māori were more fluid and context-variable than those defined by Pākehā. Whereas the Pākehā group defines itself primarily by "blood", the Māori group defines itself by "blood", culture and social association. Greenland (1984) described an association between ethnicity and ideology, that is, Māori ethnicity in the 1970's and onwards often combined ideas of Māori self-determination with a critique of Pākehā society.

Lyon (in Modood 1997:12) provides a definition of an ethnic group as "a sub-set of a set...an excluded or differentiated part of a larger group". Lyon's definition suggests that while the smaller group may be differentiated at one level, it can share inclusion with the wider group at another level. Distinctiveness and integration are not incompatible. Winiata (1967: 136), too, referred to traditionalist Māori society as a sub-system of the wider New Zealand society. Commentators analysing census results have suggested that New Zealanders have tended to associate ethnicity at times with minority, rather than majority, group membership (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 172). The notion of an ethnic group as necessarily a "sub-set" contrasts with Statistics New Zealand definitions which describe "European/Pākehā" as an ethnic group, albeit the largest in the country (New Zealand Ministry of Health 1999). It should also be noted that as *tangata whenua*, people of the land, Māori as an ethnic or descent group have particular rights as recognized by both the Treaty of Waitangi and international conventions and covenants (Robson, Reid 2001).

1.4.4   Culture, Cultural Identity and "Race"
As noted above, ethnicity and culture are closely related, in that "as members of an ethnic group interact with each other, ethnicity becomes the means by which culture is transmitted" (Baxter 1998: 66; Betancourt & Lopez 1995). The concept of "culture" is characterised by notions of collective knowledge, attitudes, values and ways of thinking and acting (Baxter 1998: 64). "Culture

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suggests it may relate to practices such as humility and service.

is to society what memory is to a person" (Triandis 1995). Stevenson (2002: 34) and Baxter (1998: 65) elaborate further: "A person's culture attributes meaning to life, it provides social roles for its members", and "how they show their feelings, express emotions and distress, and experience conflict in behaviour, thought or action". Culture is made by people and in turn makes people. Thomas (1986) suggests that the term culture refers to the meaning systems and lifestyles that particular peoples have. Culture suggests a characteristic pattern of social interaction, and shared characteristics such as language, beliefs, values and dress. These cannot be clearly defined, there is always overlap of characteristics between cultural groups, there may be overlapping membership among cultural groups, and change within groups. Jahoda (1995) also refers to complexity within a culture. "Any single culture contains many sets of overlapping and interlocking systems at different levels eg linguistic, kinship and political."

According to Thomas (1995), cultural identity refers to a person's sense of belonging to a particular past or present. Hall (1997) describes two ways of thinking about "cultural identity". One is in terms of one shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self", hiding inside other more superficial or artificially imposed "selves", which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provides us, as "one people" with stable unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting vicissitudes of our actual history. This conception of cultural identity plays a critical role in post-colonial struggles, and continues to be a powerful and creative force.

The second, related but different, view of cultural identity recognizes that as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute "what we really are"; or "what we have become". Hall writes of the "ruptures and discontinuities" which disturb the idea of "one experience, one identity". And writes that "cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being". Cultural identities, far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, undergo

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constant transformation and are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Baxter (1998: 65; Triandis 1995) also makes the point that only some aspects of the self are culture-specific, relying on the particular mythology, religion, world view, and language of a culture. Other aspects of the self are universal.

Colonisation has involved the imposition of a dominant discourse, and an "inner expropriation of cultural identity" which has "crippled and deformed" our identity as Māori. Reconstruction relies on memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. Cultural identities are made within the discourses of history and culture, are unstable, and are not an essence but a "positioning" and hence political (Hall 1997: 113).

"Race", however, involves categorizing people on physical appearance and other biological characteristics, and has been found to have no scientific validity or use (Thomas 1986). However, because racial categorizations are commonly used by many people they remain a social fact in the study of social stereotyping and negative prejudice. People are often conscious of the physical traits and marks of racial descent, which increase their visibility as a member of a particular ethnic or genetic group. Consciousness of these differences can create social distance (Park 1939: 3).

"Race" remains an important predictor of variation in health, employment and socio-economic status, as overseas studies have shown, for example African Americans have mortality rates more than 50 percent higher than whites in America (Willliams 1997: 322). There are many examples which indicate that Māori disadvantage in Aotearoa New Zealand is intensified by factors in addition to socio-economic, which could well be described as racism (Arroll, Goodyear-Smith and Lloyd 2002; Tukuitonga 2002; Henderson 2002). Racism on three levels (institutionalised, personally mediated, and internalised[10]) continues to affect the physical and mental health of Māori and

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[10] Institutionalised racism is historically embedded in contemporary structures resulting in Māori having poorer housing, employment and education; personally mediated racism involves figures with some authority such as teachers and police; and internalised racism is

Māori/Pākehā in this country (Jones 1999; Cram 1999). Racism has been shown to have direct physical consequences, and such oppression can become internalised, damaging self-esteem and potentially compromising available social support, which will also have consequences for health (Karlsen & Nazroo 2002:2). "Ethnicity" and "ethnic group" are now the preferred terms over "race" in statistical data collection. "Race suggests disassociation and exclusion, where ethnicity reflects identification and inclusion" (Brown 1984: 162).

1.4.5 Hybridity Theory

Theorists such as Park (1928, 1939) and Stonequist (1937) have written about "hybrid" or mixed heritage people since early last century. Stonequist (1937; Park 1939: 39), for example, described the "half-caste" or "marginal man" as being "predestined to live in two cultures and two worlds"; "able to look with a certain degree of detachment upon the diverse worlds of their parents"; and "likely to feel themselves not quite at home in either". They also acknowledged, however, that mixed heritage African Americans were amongst the strongest protagonists for that community, partly because their rights to belong to the white community were denied by the "one drop rule", ie anyone with any African descent was considered black (Park 1939: 40). Both Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck[11]) and Sir Apirana Ngata were aware of the work of these theorists, discussed them, and identified as "hybrids" to some degree (Sorrenson 1987: 230). While Ngata (who had a Pākehā/European grandmother) was publicly opposed to miscegenation, Te Rangihiroa acknowledged the strengths and benefits of his own mixed heritage (Beaglehole & Beaglehole 1946).

Recent discourse in post-colonial and cultural studies includes the work of Homi Bhabha (1994, 1996) who acknowledges the "impossibility of culture's containedness" and the existence of "partial", "in-between" cultures which are both bafflingly like those they spring from and yet different (Bhabha 1996:

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when negative messages about an ethnic group are absorbed and believed by its members.
[11] Hereafter referred to solely as Te Rangihiroa.

54; in Hall & Du Gay). He describes a concept of hybridity emerging from such partial cultures, whose agencies refuse the binary representation of social antagonism and construct new visions for community, versions of historic memory, and narrative forms. Bakhtin (1981) describes hybrids as having two voices, two languages, two consciousnesses, two epochs; being situated at "the collision between differing points of view on the world"; but also having been "profoundly productive historically" and "pregnant with potential for new world views".

Bi-cultural law researcher Paul Meredith of Waikato University has applied these concepts to issues of Māori/Pākehā identity in Aotearoa New Zealand (1999). He argues that cultural politics in this country have become oversimplified and essentialized into binary opposites - Māori as colonised and Pākehā as colonisers. These are adversarial and artificial polarities (Greenland 1984: 89) based on exclusion and purity. Meredith advocates a shift towards recognising multiple subject-positions, affinities and differences in on-going interaction and exchange in Māori/ Pākehā relations; and the opening up of a "third space" in which new forms of cultural meaning can be created, and the limitations of existing boundaries can be blurred.

While the Māori renaissance since the 1980's has involved the development of many models which aim to express an "essence" of being Māori (Durie 1995a), there is a strong argument against the assumption that each culture has a unique, fixed, primordial "essence" that can be grasped independently of context or intercultural relations (Modood 1997: 10). "A culture is made through change; it is not defined by an essence that exists apart from change...In individuating cultures and peoples, our most ..helpful guide is ...the possibility of making historical connections, of being able to see change and resemblance." Caglar (1997: 10) argues that even the hybridity theorists, while showing the crassness of "one nation, one culture" nevertheless make underlying assumptions that "one space, one culture" is the norm to which hybridity is the exception. "A growing number of people define themselves in terms of multiple national attachments and feel at ease with subjectivities that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities. Attempts to theorise the

lifestyles pursued by such people...highlight the inadequacy of commonsense assumptions about culture as a self-contained, bounded and unified construct" (Caglar 1997: 169).

Caglar comments that it is not clear how the notion of hybridity can be helpful to the politics of multi-culturalism, "for what prevents true multi-culturalism are culture and other forms of domination, and hybridity is unable to destabilise existing heirarchies." Suggested examples of such heirarchies are: the social status heirarchy of Pākehā/European society (often associated with education, power and material wealth); the "authenticity heirarchy" in Māoridom which is associated with knowledge of language and tradition (Myhill 2003; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986; Fishman 1991); and the "ideal type" of Māori as perceived by other Māori (McDonald 1976).

1.4.6   Post-colonial theory

While the strict semantic interpretation of the word "post-colonial" may suggest the period after colonialism has ended, this is *not* what the term is intended to mean today (Hoogvelt 1997: 155). It does, however, imply a movement which goes beyond anti-colonial nationalist theory, and beyond the history of colonialism. Acknowledging transformations in the world economy such as "flexible production" and "global capitalism", it moves beyond binaries such as colonised/coloniser, First World/Third World, and "the West and the Rest" in which the nation state is taken for granted as the global unit of political organisation. For the researcher, it relates to Māori, while often rooted in cultural strength and tradition, also being world citizens beyond the confines of national boundaries and colonial oppression.

Post-colonialism is a movement which acknowledges the importance of the politics of cultural identity and how these issues can support redistribution (Fraser 1995), and also acknowledges the *complexity* of identity formation in the light of migrations, fragmentation and hybridity. Criticisms of the movement are that in repudiating the foundational role of capitalism in history, it could be seen as apolitical, ahistorical or even complicit with existing hegemonies. Post-colonial theory has been criticized by Smith

(1999:14) as being Western in origin, yet she recognizes a need to move beyond the colonisation of our minds as indigenous people into post-colonial discourse (Smith 1999:23).

1.4.7 Bi-culturalism

While this thesis is primarily concerned with bi-culturalism or dual ethnicity within the individual, it should be made clear that bi-culturalism is also a characteristic of both Māori society and Aotearoa New Zealand society as a whole. Nations, social groupings and individuals can all be bi-cultural in many complex ways. While the term bi-cultural is often used in referring to Treaty partnership principles at a national level between two distinct ethnic or cultural groups called Māori and Pākehā, and this is a valid use of the term, in reality most members of the Māori ethnic group are actually bi-cultural to varying degrees, as are some Pākehā/Europeans, and there is cultural, social and genetic overlap between the two groups. Māori have been forced to become bi-cultural in a process which began in the late eighteenth century (Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988: 33). Māori were not opposed to European culture or people as such, but fought to retain *mana, tino rangatiratanga* and land. Settler governments failed to honour their Treaty promises to protect Māori and the results were widespread confiscations, conflict and the loss of Māori economic self-sufficiency and political strength.

Māori integration of European concepts and culture is deep and widespread. While Christianity could be seen as an instrument of colonisation (Walker 1989), it also resulted in the widespread adoption by Māori of principles such as peace, humility, service and faith (Winiata 1967), and large numbers of Māori remain Christian. O'Regan (Melbourne 1995) notes that the "rule of law" and literacy were amongst the "gifts" of the Pākehā valued by his *tupuna*. The Māori King movement, though involved with resistance to land sales, incorporated a number of European concepts such as a multi-level justice system (Winiata 1967) and various resistance leaders such as Te Kooti and Te Whiti drew on the Bible in developing their philosophies. Patriarchal and individualistic values inherent in the new immigrant culture also impacted heavily on Māori society, as the power and autonomy of women and the

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extended whānau system were undermined (Mikaere 1999: 36). Brampton (1999) argues that Māori art has been increasingly influenced by European and other cultures since initial contact.

By the end of the nineteenth century Māori had been forced into a position of economic dependence on Pākehā/Europeans and this resulted in further integration. However, significant Māori structures remained relating to *waka,* iwi, hapū, whānau and marae; hence Māori retained distinctiveness as a sub-set of society (Winiata 1967). New leaders such as Ratana further integrated elements of both Māori and European tradition. Ngata advocated bi-culturalism in the 1920's, recognizing the importance of retaining both Māori cultural identity and social cohesion. Secretary of Māori Affairs Jack Hunn predicted that the two peoples would become integrated, incorporating elements of both cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and hence he became associated with assimilationist policies such as "pepper-potting" in housing (Hunn & Booth 1962). He failed to recognize traditional Māori social structures and leadership and the need for social cohesion amongst Māori for spiritual strength and well-being (Butterworth 1990).

A number of urban-based organisations developed in the 1960's and following decades which aimed at strengthening and developing distinctive cultural and socio-political identity as Māori eg *Ngā Tamatoa,* the young warriors. These were not inconsistent with bi-culturalism but aimed to build the strength of Māori as a Treaty partner. A polarized view of Māori and Pākehā/Europeans became prominent in the political sphere during this time (Greenland 1984) and pressure was applied to the Government through submissions from many organisations representing Māori and through high-profile protest action eg the 1974 Land March. Government attempted to accommodate some of these demands in a number of legal changes made in the 1980's and early 90's which gave greater recognition to the Treaty of Waitangi (eg the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985; the Māori Language Act 1987; and the Resource Management Act 1991).

In a climate of greater accommodation of Māori demands by Government in

the 1990's, it has been increasingly acknowledged that cultural boundaries are blurred. Though the two socio-cultural groups, Māori and Pākehā, are contrasting at their most traditional and conservative extremities, there is a large area of overlap between them. One example is the extent of intermarriage and mixing of the genetic pool, inherent in dual heritage individuals. Some other areas of cultural and social overlap include: sport, recreation, work, the English language, the natural environment of Aotearoa New Zealand, Christianity, and the spiritual values commonly held across cultures (Popov, Popov, & Plume 1997). Durie (1995a: 464) recognised Māori diversity, dynamic change, multiple affiliations and self-identification. A recent study of young Māori (Broughton et al 2000: 25-6) found that 90 percent of those with an exclusive or sole Māori identification were as comfortable in a Pākehā/European as in a Māori cultural and social setting, and only 3.9 percent were more comfortable in a Māori than a Pākehā setting. For those with 'Māori and other" ethnic identification, 79 percent were just as comfortable in both and 6.5 percent were more comfortable in a Māori then Pākehā setting. This data indicates the extent of bi-culturalism across both sole Māori and "Māori plus other" ethnic groups.

Sharp (1993; O'Neill 1985) noted that " although the autonomy and incommensurability of cultures is asserted often enough, in the real world of human history, cultures are actually leaky vessels, created, renewed and transformed in endless contact with others." As stated in section 1.1.1, contemporary Māori draw not just on ancient traditions, but also on the recent past, and the need to adapt to survive in a complex world (Durie 2001: 4). The fact that Māori actually have a more complex, fluid and context-variable understanding of identity issues was shown in the research of McDonald (1976). As noted in section 1.4.3, McDonald found that a significant proportion of members of the Māori ethnic group were categorized within that group as "both-Māori-and-Pākehā". Māori were conscious of wide variations within the category of " Māori" related not just to whakapapa, but also relating to culture and social association. Pere (1989: 16; McCarthy 1997: 29) in her explanation of the word *ha*, asserts that once Māori have the sustenance of knowing who they are, this contributes to a "strong central core that

enables Māori to become universal people.

Though there has been some debate over whether Aotearoa New Zealand is bi-cultural or multi-cultural (Vasil 1988; Mulgan 1989) it could also be argued that the terms are not mutually exclusive; that bi-culturalism should be given priority because of the special nature of the Treaty relationship between Māori and the Crown, but that the reality of multi-culturalism in society should also be recognized (Stuart 2003). Meredith (1999) writes that "since the 1980's, the notion of bi-culturalism has increasingly found popularity despite continual contestation as to its meaning and the form of its practical application."