# Ahakoa He Kiri Mā : A Fire in Our Blood

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Ahakoa He Kiri Mā: A Fire In Our Blood
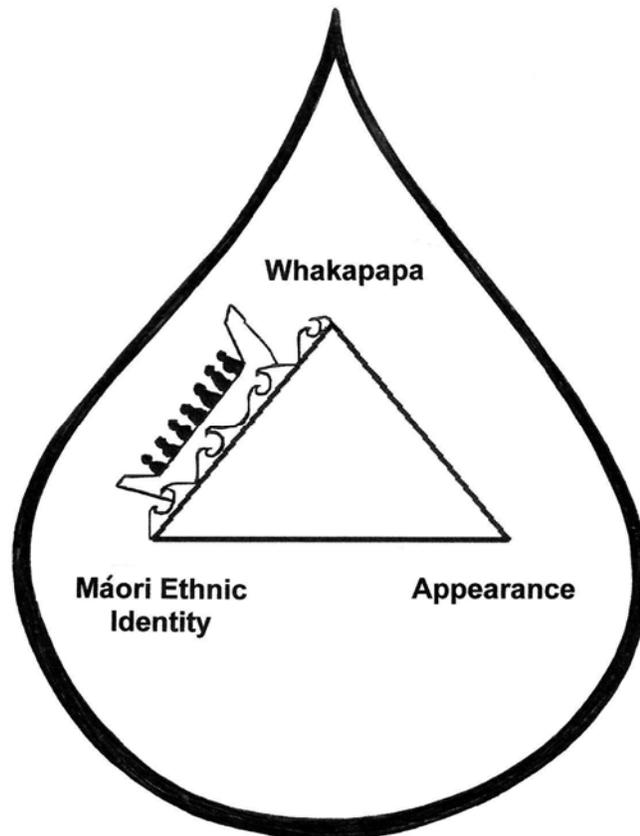
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Ora Wairua

Ora Tinana

Ka Ora Tangata!

Abstract:

This study approaches the nexus of whakapapa, Māori ethnic identity and non-conventional presentations of Māoriness. The factors and forces that enable or disable positive Māori identity development are examined through the experiences and meanings of six Māori women who are strongly and positively identified as Māori yet unidentifiable as Māori in appearance. By privileging kaupapa Māori research methodology, Māori participants and researcher, within mātauranga and tikanga Māori, a research paradigm capable of congruent cultural interpretation of Māori identity was developed.

After the conversations were transcribed, close reading of the transcript identified and critiqued factors and forces that indicated either 'tangibly sheltering' identity development environments of mana Māori that were incongruent with wider societal positioning of Māori, or 'tangibly traumatising' environments that denigrated Māori and mirrored societal attitudes to Māori. Contemporary and historical socio-political colonial influences articulated with Māori-centric forces. Whānaungātanga or collectivity as an outcome of tikanga or the tipuna inspired desire to seek what is right and good at the intra-personal and inter-subjective levels was revealed as the indomitable heart force of Māori identity. A felt and embodied connection to ancestors led the participants deeper into who they were as Māori women, this presence and pulse was either enhanced by, or continued in spite of socio-political forces.

A comparative focus on 'Māori dignity' revealed a rigid incapacity in New Zealand society generally and the 'helping professions' particularly, to move beyond an artificially entrenched 'Māori deficit' position. What is powerful and distinct about Māori is ignored when history and holisim are disallowed. Holistic and historical reconnection are indicated for Māori and Non-Māori to make existential sense of current day Māori and Non-Māori realities and to move out of a fixation on the outcomes of colonisation without attention to cause.

Implications for the re-emergence of collaboratively intelligent ways to critique the existing and imminent flows of power within and without Te Ao Māori are discussed for the restoration of dignity to Māori and Non-Māori identities.

Keywords: Tipuna, Māori identity, mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori, white domination, hegemony, tino rangatiratanga, Indigenous sovereignty.

He Mihi

E Te Kaiwhakaora kia whakawhetai. E ngā mātua tipuna tēna koutou. Ko tōku Whaea Atua Aunty Maria he pai tōu māhi kia maumahara, kia tuhonotia mātou ki ngā mātua tipuna, te whenua tūturu, te whānau whānui, kia pai tōu haerenga, tēna koe. Ki ngā hoa haere i tēnei kaupapa 'He tuakiri Māori', he taonga ōu kōrero, ōu whakaaro, he hākari mō mātou, he koha ki ngā tamariki, mokopuna onāianei, me inanahi rā, tēna koutou. Ki Te Rau Puawai nga mihi mo ou tautoko. Ki Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga teno koe mo awhi ki te kaupapa nei. Ki te Kaitohutohu e Mandy Morgan he mihi nui ki a koe, he pai te hikoi ki tō taha, he kaha, he ngāwari ki te mauri, he pai tōu manaaki ki tēnei kaupapa me ahau, tēna koe. Ki te Kaitohutohu o te pepa tuatahi e Leigh Coombes, tēna koe, i whangai pai ki ahau koe. Ki te whānau o Tuia Te Mana Māori, me tāku hoa, he pai te tautoko ki te hui kōrero, ki te panui, ki te whakawhiriwhiri kōrero, tēna kōutou. Ki te Patupaiarehe e Felicity Ware tēna koe mo ōu pāwera koura me tōu tautoko. Ko te taongā me te whānau o Ti Hauora o te Aroha te mātāpuna o te korowai i rungā i tēnei kaupapa, tena Koe, tena koutou. He mihi hoki ki ngā kaumātua kia whakaruruhau i tēnei hīkoi, tēna koutou. Ki tāku whānau e koha tēnei ki a mātou, e Uncle Jimmy/Gary/…tēna koe, ko tētahi tohutohu kia ārahi ki te ao Māori, hei whakahokia i a mātou ki te kotahitanga.

I te taha o tōku māmā Ko Ruataniwha, Ko Waipapa-a-Iwi, Ko Māngā Taipa ngā marae. Ko Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Ko Ngā Puhi ngā iwi. I te taha o tōku pāpā, He Dutch ahau. He Nana, he Whaea, he Kaimahi, he Academic activist, he Researcher, he Tauira hoki ahau. BA Psychology 2007, Massey University Turitea, Palmerston North, Aotearoa New Zealand.

To the source of all being and our ancestors I give thanks. To my aunt and God mother who passed while this work was in progress, and who reached through the years between our current generation, our papa kainga and our tipuna and pulled us all back together again, 'you're smart and beautiful my aunty'. To the participants I honour your generosity of spirit, heart and mind. Many thanks to Te Rau Puawai and also to Nga Pae o te Måramatanga for your support. To my academic supervisor Mandy Morgan you have been a clear and strong source of light and true sight for this waka as it journeys into today and tommorrow, thank you. To Leigh Coombes who supervised the Ahakoa He Kiri Må pilot, you looked after the work and me well and laid strong foundations for what followed, thank you. To the whānau of Tuia Te Mana Māori and 'you know who' thank-you for supporting the kōrero hui, proof reading and providing a reliably truthful and challenging source of support

and critique. To Felicity Ware your touches of gold and whole hearted support matter, and have made a big difference. To my own whānau and especailly Uncle Jimmy/Gary/…this is for us all as we find our way back, as we re-member and re-enter the natural embrace and re-emergence of our tipuna intelligence into today's world. To the taonga of Ti Hauora o te Aroha and our kaumātua thank you for the privilege.

On my mothers side I am of Māori ancestry and affiliate to Ngāti kahungunu and Ngā Puhi. On my fathers side I am Dutch. My main roles in life are Nana, Mother, Kaimahi, Academic activist, Researcher and Student. I completed a BA Psychology in 2007 with Massey Universtiy, Turitea, Palmerston North, Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This work seeks to peer into the confused and confusing space that represents both the part of my being that gives life meaning and purpose, and also which is often most challenging. For me the confluence of tipuna mandate, Māori identity and appearance is a deeply felt relationship that informs and underlies my whole being and existence, centring and ordering reality. My white appearance means it is also an experience that can leave me bewildered and certainly in the past occasionally bereft, as throughout my adult life I have been persistently driven to respond to an echo or call that sees me engaging in Te Ao Māori at deeper and deeper levels, and re-emerging these levels into today.

A pivotal and critical mass moment arrived seven years ago when a coincidence of several forces and factors including the coming of my first mokopuna, meant I saw and understood for the first time the literal heart and spirit rendering devastation our tipuna had endured. From within this deep and aching grief I called to my tipuna for direction asking them what could be done to heal. Their response was to reinstate them. To utilise my time here, between Ranginui and Papatuānuku, to restore to their form – the body that is me and our whānau whānui - the mana that they would have realised had colonisation not occurred, and had they been able to take on modernisation on their own terms. So I journey through life with their being and desire held deep within; I recognise that their desire is my desire, that my life is their life; and seek their reinstatement to the manifestation of full human potential that is centred in Te Ao Māori, and informed from local, international and cosmic energies.

To go on as my ancestors direct, to become more of who they are, the confusion that comes from possessing mixed ancestry, and the powerful ideological apparatus within which being Māori is entangled, needs to be uncloaked, revealed and re-ordered. I approach the field of Māori identity development to contribute to the decolonisation "of our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity" (Smith, 1999, p. 23), to re-member, respond to and express the natural mana of our tipuna, for them, for our whānau, for me and and for all our tamariki, mokopuna.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Consistent with international themes of social justice and indigineity I have chosen to prioritise tino rangatiratanga, or the Māori right to make our own history and to do our own labelling within our own culture by privileging Māori knowledge and voices in this journey to

understand Māori identity. This is an intentional political choice, and also a methodologically and ontologically intelligible one given the area of study.

I chose to capitalise Te Ao Māori and Indigenous throughout the body of this thesis on the basis that 'Western' is normally capitalised in the literature. In discourses that include Māori, Indigenous and Western a subtle yet powerful labeling of distinction is made when only Western is capitalized (Kavelin, 2007). In this thesis Māori and Indigenous are considered at least equal to Western civilisation even given the diverse expressions within them.

In addition, given that Māori constitutional and sovereign status remains contested and largely unrecognised in the contemporary context of New Zealand society, I also capitalise 'Tāngata Whenua' in recognition of the Māori unalienable right to sovereignty of these lands. To enhance the re-centering of Māori as the Tāngata Whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand, I choose to discriminate Māori as the Tāngata Whenua of this land, and use Non-Māori to describe all others who are immigrants or descend from those who immigrated here, immigrants who are or were the sovereign peoples of another land. It is not my intention to suggest binary oppositions that unrealistically allow Māori sovereign expressions based only on the eradication of outside influences. Instead I wish to acknowledge the fluid reality of innovation and change that characterises Māori reality and in particular, the Māori right and responsibility to makes choices, individually and collectively regarding issues that affect Māori.

Liminal edgewalkers

This work centers on Māori identity development, by working with those who as "edgewalkers" maintain continuity wherever they go (Webber, 2008, p. 75) remaining centered within their Māori culture of origin. It makes no sense then to establish a dissonance between the kaupapa (focus) of Māori identity, and whakaaro (methodology) by imposing alien, 'outsider' interpretations that possess neither the language nor the competency to participate in this dialogue with integrity and honour. To do so would be to mimic and perpetuate cultural imperialism, to de-center and subordinate Māori ways of doing, seeing, thinking and being, and privilege non-Māori conceptualisation in a domain that is inherently Māori; or to re-enact colonial cultural invasion into the heart territory of Māoridom.

I am fortunate in this position of being able to draw from a resource of Māori literature; this has not always been the case. Māori who first began to write about Māori identity have

done the work of Tane Mahuta and stretched apart the conceptual boundaries in both academia and the collective mind of Aotearoa; a mind that previously rigidly resisted and occluded things Māori. I intentionally attend and critique what Māori have to say about Māori identity. Their work has carved out and reclaimed a space in the social agenda of this country, and allowed for Māori voices to sit again at the table of naming Māori identities and realties. Much has been and remains to be gained by the interweaving of collaborative and critical Māori dialogue about Māori identity.

A potent strand of marginalisation features in almost all previous Māori conversations on Māori identity (Bevan, 2000; Borell, 2005; Collins, 1999; McIntosh, 2009; O'Regan, 2001; Te Hiwi, 2008; Webber, 2008). For many, the experience of being Māori and of mixed ethnicity has been "an extremely painful subject…an extremely traumatic journey" (Bevan, 1999, p. 53). Perhaps by looking intentionally and intently into the lives of those "periphery dwellers in a limited space where stigmatization and exclusion were part of lived reality" (McIntosh, 2005; in Webber, 2008, p. 79), the mechanisms of marginalisation can be revealed, disassembled and reconstructed to halt and transform the central, fragmenting, and dissonant role it currently holds, to one that enhances Māori identity and Māori development.

Less obvious, yet perhaps just as compelling are the assumptions about the nature of the relationship between Māori and non-Māori as fundamentally exclusive and oppositional (Walker, 1989). Such positioning allows only dissent, conflict and the either/positions of conquered or conqueror. Casting Māori and non-Māori cultures as antithetical feeds polarisation and disqualifies a space for meaningfully coming together. Yet following first contact, when this relationship was held within the embrace of Māori society a very different and more negotiated nature characterised this relationship (Walker, 1989). Other renderings that allow the best of both worlds are possible for the relationship between Māori and Non-Māori politically and personally.

Rather than the unforgiving tension of being wedged between a primordial Māori purity (Borell, 2005) and the de-acculturating and racist forces of New Zealand and modern society (Bevan, 2000; Borell, 2005; Collins, 1999; McIntosh, 2009; O'Regan, 2001; Te Hiwi, 2008; Webber, 2008), that mean "the half-cast is recast, as the in between, the go between, the hybrid" (Te Hiwi, 2008, p. 16), another way forward can be found. Just as the deliberate study of biological disease informed procedures and practices to manipulate, and control such forces, so too can a way forward that enables a third space beyond the reactive limitations of either or dualism can be found (Ramsden, 2002; Webber, 2005). Within the

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body of Māoridom, New Zealand and Aotearoa society we needn't begin to mimic physiological disorders such as AIDS or cancer, where a body goes to war against itself in a mistaken means of protection.

It is hoped that instead of slipping quickly over the contentious issue of mixed heritage encountered in the bodies of those of overt mixed descent (Bevan, 2000; Borell, 2005; Collins, 1999; McIntosh, 2009; O'Regan, 2001; Te Hiwi, 2008; Webber, 2008), or reacting with simplistic fixed impulses; by gazing critically and consciously into this between space of apparent contradictory, ambiguous, unsettled and uneasy relations, perceptions can be disturbed, expanded, stretched and problematised. Perhaps this space will allow for more considered, inclusive and strategic cultural relations on all levels. A respite in the dominant discourse of cultural discord will resound for all those who are Māori and of mixed descent.

The inclusion instead of alienation of white looking Māori needs to be balanced with Māori desires to resists assimilation (Webber, 2004). Some of the marginalisation of Pākehā looking Māori experience may arise from their bodies being coded as embodiments of assimilation (Collins, 1999); representations of defeat and therefore also of threat. Like corpses in societies that fear death, their bodies become symbols of that which is dreaded; the passing of the Māori. Yet examination of the lived reality of mixed descent Māori indicates the exact opposite, a massive potential to flourish, while simultaneously and deliberately re-ordering our lives to privilege Māori.

While it is necessary to find ways to maintain Māori Indigenous political and social identity distinct from that of the colonised and coloniser (Jones & Jenkins, 2008), this becomes particularly difficult as the boundaries between parties become blurred by shared intergenerational marriage and children. The "fatalistic light" (Durie, 1995, p. 56) of western reconfigurations of Māori identity needs to be recast by Māori as a guiding light to strategically manage the ongoing development of diverse and positive Māori identities and Māori development, while untangling the current confusion of trying to differentiate whānau from foe.

While an emphasis on difference remains significant to Māori identity, political location (Jones & Jenkins, 2008), and survival, the inclusion of Māori who possess whakapapa, is also necessary regardless of appearance. Inclusion will enhance the current movement towards the progressive accumulation of a collective cultural ideological arsenal; a critical mass that will continue an emergence trajectory of an Indigenous Māori centred future. If the tipuna arrives clothed in a white body, will whakapapa become insufficient

evidence for inclusion? And what is the root of such exclusive behaviours? These are the questions we need to be able to answer to move forward and continue our story in a deliberate and conscious way.

"Effective bridging comes from knowing when to close ranks to those outside our home, group, community, nation – and when to keep the gates open" (Anzaldu'a, 2002, p. 3). Our formula needs addressing. And while some may feel it is insultingly obvious to encourage the acceptance of those who possess whakapapa; how many have snubbed or turned away from white looking people at marae, Kohanga Reo, Kaupapa Māori, or te reo Māori classes as impostors contaminating Māori space?

It is my hope that this study will contribute to informing the 'who', 'what' and 'how' of effective Māori bridging, so that the gates no longer close out those who are from the inside, so that the increased occurrence of divisive categories "resulting in antagonistic polarisation premised on exclusion and purity" (Webber, 2008, p. 30) cease; so that we begin to reject rigid and dualistic 'authentic' ethnicity formulas that see us colluding and compounding the relational fragmentation, deprivation and tribal destruction of Māori collectivity and solidarity set in motion by colonial ways (Smith, 1999). The existing and next Māori generation's responsibility and decisions in continuing our story (Ramsden, 2001) will critically impact on the nature and course of the continuing Māori story.

Naming the world – naming realities

Possessing the authority to name or categorise self and others has repetitively featured in history as the power to bestow or remove humanity, life or death (Churchill, 1997; Smith, 1999). Without this power, those of minority cultures fend for survival and dignity in the gap that remains between the dominant ideological and social machinery and the inter-ethnic orientation of personal and collective interpretive maps. The imposition or external allocation of racial categorsations has lost currency and social sanction as racial stereotyping has increasingly been revealed as political laws not biological ones, but constructions of cultural superiority and societal self-interest rather than natural occurrence or biological determinism (Hall, 1997; O'Regan, 2001). Critique and re-labelling of practices and policies based on 'gross markers' as racist, and antithetical to social justice, together with a proliferation in global politicisation of the rights of Indigenous peoples (Allen, 2002; Hall, 1997), means "[t]he need to protect a way of life, a language and the right to make our own history is a deep need linked to the survival of Indigenous people" (Smith, 1999, p. 158), is gaining increasing attention and support from Indigenous and Non-Indigenous alike.

Naming Indigenous

Following the onslaught of colonisation Indigenous people epistemological worlds, social orders and entities, and daily identities became submerged in another world-view (Churchill, 1997; Durie, 1989, 2001; Smith, 1999). The legacy of this disturbance of form remains evident in Indigenous peoples attempts to name and define themselves. "You can read the body as a text, and we are all readers of it" (Hall, 1997, n.p.), yet even overt physical ethnic characteristics are insufficient to confirm who is and is not Indigenous. Institutionalised practices such as Indigenous Canadians use of blood quanta to define themselves (Maaka & Fleras, 2000), and anecdotal procedures such as the following confirm the ongoing and unsettled nature of Indigenous identities subsequent to colonisation.

"Nearly every community I have spent time with had a differing term for a person who appeared Indigenous on the outside but was seen as non-Indigenous on the inside. For the Native American's I knew, the term was sometimes an "Apple" (Red on the outside, white on the inside), while for Pacific Islanders it was a "Coconut" (Brown on the outside, white on the inside). Equally there are terms also spoken with humor such as 'instant coffee' to indicate one who has recently discovered and now identify with their Indigenous heritage but may have been raised as white (although it is acknowledged they may eventually become sufficiently 'percolated' as to become 'genuine coffee'). (Kavelin, 2001, p. 38)

After many years of intermarriage and cohabitation between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous, reliance on physical characteristics alone can be grossly misleading as increasing numbers of Indigenous people are not distinguishably as Indigenous by ethnic characteristics alone. "Aboriginality in European eyes is reduced to the immediately observable and the primitive. Where manifest aboriginality in these terms does not exist, people are perceived as empty vessels, drained of their content by European contact, and capable only of echoing the loud noises of European society" (Barcham, 2000, p. 151). Such erroneous views can be found amongst Indigenous people also. Lastly "there exist exceptionally rare cases such as Uncle Ian, a recognised aboriginal community elder who is genetically completely white but was adopted and raised from early childhood in an aboriginal community" (Kavelin, 2001, p. 38). The ongoing practice of whangai (adoption) means there are similarly placed genetically Non-Māori Māori here in Aotearoa also. Diverse definitions of Indigenous and Māori abound, this complex process, as with positions of societal disadvantage are shared by all colonised Indigneous peoples.

Naming Māori

Prior to colonisation epistemologies, social organisation and singular identities responded to the changing circumstances of life. Pre-colonial forms "ebbed and flowed across historical landscapes constantly shifting their definition over time" (Barcham, 2000, 147). Additionally and importantly, a congruence of character and form was mirrored through all levels of being – epistemological, social or plural and singular. Pre-eminence of the spiritual and prioritisation of tikanga would have meant Māori knowledge, institutional forms and identities congruently nested together. "Māori society was fluid, flexible, with a history of fission, dissolution, and fusion rather that a hierarchical pyramid of increasing inclusive whānau, hapu and iwi structures" (Maaka & Fleras, 2005. p.88).

Fixation and rigidifying of Māori forms and the names for these forms occurred subsequent to Māori engulfment by colonisation. Colonisation introduced the question of survival, and the "existential dichotomy of being and non-being that has effectively excluded recognition of the dynamic process of becoming" (Barcham, 2000, p. 139). Rather than a natural flow of response within a known system of being, need led to differential lines being drawn and positions of "a certain voice for 'authentic' Indigenous claims, it has also led to coterminous silencing of the Māori 'inauthentic'" (Barcham, 2000, p. 138). Reification and rigidifying of Māori forms, including identity are colonial survival mechanisms and consequences. "The namer of names is the father of all things" (Jackson, 2008). Māori capacity to name Māori was disturbed, and Non-Māori classifications were to prescribe Māori definitions until the 1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act (Durie, 1989). State control of Indigenous people's capacity to name themselves is a consistent colonial theme (Maaka & Fleras, 2005).

Yet in order to continue surviving, Māori forms, like all natural manifestations, need to maintain adequate responsiveness to change. Capacity to survive is therefore dependent on also maintaining an indeterminate nature, "the definition of what is represented must necessarily be constituted on the basis of difference between what is being represented and everything else" (Barcham, 2000, p. 148), and everything else is in continual flux.

Subsequent to colonisation then, several levels of Māori representation are present and continually interacting with each other within Te Ao Māori, and in addition also interacting with wider societal and global forces. Traditional forms, rigidified forms and becoming forms are all present and writhing against and into one another. It has been suggested that just as quantum physicists have discovered it is not possible to precisely and simultaneously perceive both the position and momentum of a particle "we can never fully

know the determinate characteristics of a people" (Barcham, 2000). This complexity is evident when approaching Māori identity development.

Perceiving Māoriness: Disturbances

While we might commonly assume the wide use of colour "as a proxy for ethnic identity" (O'Regan, 2001, p. 123), to locate those who look Māori and those who don't, participant selection for the current study revealed that the practice of discerning those who do, or do not look Māori is complex and has little connection to shared understandings of Māori appearance. Pre-study conversations on participant selection from within a particular Māori community revealed the code and language to decipher Māori looking from Non-Māori looking women is far from settled.

Five Māori woman were proposed as suitable study participants on the assumption that they were unidentifiable as Māori in their appearance. Of these four were immediately and strongly contested as being obviously Māori, with non-proposers often being incredulous that others could not perceive the Māoriness they saw. The contradiction and lack of clarity in trying to identify those who are, yet do not look Māori was both surprising and strong.

What is it that suggests evident Māori ancestry to some, yet is imperceptible to others? The apparently mundane identification of the presence or absence of physical characteristics of Māori ethnic identity is actually illusive and problematic. What are the levels of perception that we utilise when we perceive Māoriness? Are we weighing Māoriness based on physical features alone, or does our knowledge of who people are, and how they move in their worlds, colour our assessments, or are there other levels of knowing that are informing our recognition or failure to recognise? What about dynamics unrelated to the person and their whānau, do socio-political dynamics shape our capacity to recognise other Māori? Do these introduce changeable and shifting contexts, times when it may be more or less advantageous to identify or be identified as Māori? How can seemingly simple processes of participant identification by Māori through Māori networks become so complex?

Māori definitions

Conflict between a capacity to maintain distinctive Māori forms separate from colonial impositions, and yet also continue an ancestral tradition of innovation is indicated in colloquial naming. 'Riwai' (potato) brown on the outside, white on the inside and 'plastic Māori's' are just two descriptors for Māori who are judged as culturally uninformed, with artificial or fabricated identities (O'Regan, 2001; Reuben, 2009).

This confusion becomes even more complex when attempting to identify and name Māori who not only do not appear Māori, they have an appearance consistent with the colonial form: Nga tangata awarua (Collins, 1999), Māori who are no longer visibly Māori to look at (Durie, 1994). "Not looking Māori" (Webber, 2008, p.72). An identity that does not match their appearance, an identity not visible unless promoted, those who can cross over, mixed heritage, white Māori (Bevan, 2000). Pakeha Māori (Walker, 1987). Half-caste, he rereke (different), not a 'real' Māori, Pakeha-fied, not physically recognisable as Māori (O'Regan, 2001) no signs of Tāngata Whenua status, non-typical Māori phenotype, and hybrid Māori. Such variability suggests an absence of grammar and an inability to deal with and name Māori who do not look Māori. In this thesis I have chosen the term white Māori to emphasise Māori who happen to be white.

Doing white Māori

While the development of a positive Māori identity is a particularly important issue for Māori of mixed descent and their whānau, the blossoming numbers of mixed descent Māori make Māori identity a pertinent issue for all Māori (Webber, 2008). Māori of mixed heritage represent a sizeable portion of the New Zealand population; this demographic of our children will increase into the future (Butterworth & Mako, 1989). Attending Māori identity development may not only avert "a time when we shall have no Māoris at all, but a white race with a slight dash of the finest coloured race in the world" (Herries, Minister of Native Affairs 1912-1921; in Ball, 2005, p. 10), it may also enable strategic and intentional approaches to what being Māori means in the world of today and tomorrow.

The cost of secure Māori identities

Mental ill health has been predicted as the primary health risk to Māori into the future and positive Māori identity has been recognised as a prerequisite for wellbeing (Durie, 1995). Security of Māori cultural identity has been found to mitigate against childhood adversity and reduce propensity to offend (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2009), and also correlates with educational and economic success (Durie, A, 2005; Durie, 2001). Yet less than a quarter of Māori may possess a positive or secure identity (Durie, 2001). Census 2006 data, combined with Te Hoe Nuku Roa findings suggest that possibly less than a third of the entire Māori population, or as many as 502 645 remain alienated from a secure Māori cultural identity (Statistics NZ, 2007), and the protective influence associated with such an identity. For the majority of Māori, identity development as a foundation for wellbeing, remains a work in progress.

Those of mixed Māori ancestry comprise a significant portion of the New Zealand population. Multiple ethnicity features in the ancestry of 75% of Māori children, while 57% currently have one Pākehā parent. Māori children comprise 25% of all New Zealand's children, and 34.5% of the Māori population. As many as an eighth of all New Zealand children are of mixed Māori ancestry (Statistics NZ, 2007). Successful navigation of "the uncharted seas between the two peoples of Aotearoa of whom they embody is their challenge" (Bevan, 2000, p.11). Finding a sense of place and belonging between ethnicities, is a gauntlet that stands between this large group of potential future leaders in the Māori and non-Māori worlds and their optimum mental health and over all well-being.

In the following chapters a discussion of the literature is followed by explication of the theoretical and methodological position this thesis assumes in chapter two. Chapter three introduces the pilot fruits or conceptual outcomes of the Ahakoa He Kiri Mā pilot before other difficulties encountered in identifying Maori are considered and the method used to appraoch this study explained. Analysis of participant kōārero occurs in Chapter four, and is followed by amore indepth and expansive discussion of the findings in the conclusion of Chapter 5. The epilogue contains participants messages to their mokopuna, and the mokopuna of their mokopuna for whom they will be tipuna. The usual references and appendices complete the body of this thesis.

Chapter Two: Māori Identity Development

Walker (1989) was one of the first researchers to approach Māori identity as a cultural phenomenon, producing a conceptual approach to track the developing and changing nature of Māori identity, across time, oceans, and the major changes that shaped the body of Māoridom. Walker presents an overview of the development of Māori identity. 'Myth', 'traditional' and 'historical' are the three phases that align with key changes and growth in Te Ao Māori. The mythic phase relates to a Hawiiki centered existence that preceded arrival here in Aotearoa, where identity centered on Atuatanga, or being descendents of the divine impulse and as such related to all. The traditional phase onsets from arrival in Aotearoa. It is during this era that differentiation of the collective into tribal groupings based on internal migrations and location occurred. These were attached to divine whakapapa and became the primary underpinning of modern versions of identity we recognise today. The historical phase begins with the arrival of Non-Māori. It is only in this very late juncture of Māori collective existence with the introduction of different looking and acting peoples that ethnic features came to be included in Māori identity formulas.

Fragmented skin bags or re-membered collectivity

Durie's (1995; 2001) work investigated the contemporary form of Māori identity, while also re-membering the centrality of the collective entity. Thus the nature of Māori identity is seen as anchored to the collective body of Māoridom. Such an approach immunised Māori identity from being re-cast as a product of "the possessive individualism associated with capitalism" (Davis, 2007, n.p.), and being refashioned by Western fragmentary ideological machinery into a construct of individual self-concept such as self-esteem, but dressed up with cultural markers. Instead of a focus on individual characteristics, access, engagement and interdependency within an Māori corporeal social entity was advanced.

Rather than the isolation of a Non-Indigenous construct of identity such as "an individual's sense of uniqueness, of knowing who one is, and who one is not" (Harris, 1995, in Gibson, 1999, p. 53), Māori identity depends on "opportunities for cultural expression and endorsement within societie's institutions" (Durie, 2001, p. 54). Being able to reciprocally relate with the collective, cultural, social and economic resources is fore grounded. Māori identity is re-membered back into the affective social reality of Māori collective society.

Acknowledgement and inter-relationship within a larger Māori social entity provides the amorphous social scaffolding of meaning and context for identity orientation. An absence

of such institutional meaning and affirmation reduces an individual Māori identity to nonsense; "identity means little if it depends only on an abstract sense of belonging with little opportunity to share the groups cultural, social and economic resources" (Durie, 2001, p. 55). Instead of the monocular individual focus that characterises Western epistemological productions, Māori identity as a felt and embodied re-connection to a larger body of Māori corporeal inter-relationship is emphasised. So too is an awareness of the multiple socio-economic and political forces of modern society that also come to bear on and shape Māori identities today.

Walker's (1989) and Durie (1995; 2001) were among the first to attend Māori identity from an Māori perspective. Factors within and without the individual, collective and Te Ao Māori were included. Te Hoe Nuku Roa, a multidimensional tool and study were designed to perceive the complexity and diversity of determinants that comprise a Māori identity today, incorporating, yet not being driven by the value-laden judgments that permeate the domain of Māori identity. Differing levels of access to Māori cultural and physical resources indicated four Māori identity positions - comprised, notional, positive and secure were recognised. The goal of Te Hoe Nuku Roa is to "provide a bridge between class, culture and ethnicity" (Durie, 1995, p. 14). Diversity of Māori identities and a need to consciously and strategically approach this arena was recognised.

Ancestor - Affiliation - Action

In order to gain a perspective and approach to the domain of Māori identity development during the Ahakoa He Kiri Ma pilot (2009) that possessed an adequate conceptual breadth and depth, I reinterpreted Walker (1989) and Durie's (1995; 2001) work. While both look at Māori identity and recognise the multidimensional relational reality that lies at the heart of Māori identity, each seemed to perceive with different lenses. Walker retains a connection to the spiritually informed, mythic dimensions of Māori reality and identity, while Durie captures the corporate and contemporary forces that carve Māori identities in today's world. Together a conceptual framework is formed that is able to re-member that which is before and beyond the temporal and individual, yet is also sensitive to immediate and contemporary effects.

Walkers (1989) three phases of 'myth', 'tradition' and 'history' and Durie's (2001) promotion of whakapapa, access and engagement are interwoven to indicate three levels of relationship dynamics that underlie and inform the development of Māori identity: Ancestors – Affiliation – Action. This compilation also represents the phases of mauri in action (Whakaatere & Pohatu, 2009), characterising both a description of the process of identity

emergence and also a conceptual framework for approaching Māori identity and development in today's world as can be seen in Table .

Table 1

Ancestor, Affiliation and Action Compilation

	Ancestors	Affiliation	Action
Walkers phases (1989)	Mythic	Traditional	Historical
Determinants and markers	Atuatanga – divine whakapapa	Links – land and people	Behaviour or appearance
Durie's levels (2001)	Mandate	Access	Engagement
Māori identity level	Compromised	Notional	Positive or Secure
State of Mauri	Mauri Moe	Mauri Oho	Mauri Ora

The āhua (form) of identity emergence and embodiment

Each level, 'Ancestor', 'Affiliation', and 'Action' represent levels of identity coming into being, a critique or whakapapa of identity development. Each lies on top of the other nourishing, informing and embodying subsequent and previous layers. It is not possible to have an affiliation to Te Ao Māori as Māori, without ancestry; it is not possible to have an overt and activated functional Māori identity without ancestry and affiliation. Before contact with Europeans it would have been unthinkable for ancestry not to naturally manifest as

affiliation and action. With the disturbance of colonisation it is now possible to appropriate skills and behaviours that would have naturally emerged in the Action phase subsequent to the Ancestor and Affiliation stages, without either of the two preceding phases. The Māori language, protocols and knowledge can now be gained from institutions without entering a marae (affiliation), or being embedded in the reciprocal give and take that comprises the collective being of whānau institutions (ancestor). A framework such as Ancestor, Affiliation and Action allows the tracking of cultural dynamics.

Mythic identities were anchored in Atuatanga. Post migration and pre-colonial identities included affiliation and access to the social grouping and the land within which one was raised and shaped. As a consequence of ongoing colonisation, connection, access and engagement to ancestral land, and social communities have become compromised. Intimate connection to land and peoples as a lived and daily reality is now the rare experience of a minority, instead of the usual for the majority (Durie, 2001; Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Following colonisation, relationships with land and the hau kainga (whānau living on the land) have reversed. As distance across time and space has grown, abstractions and symbols increasingly stand in for what previously would have been intimate, embodied, multi-sensory connections.

Consciousness of unfolding mauri and whakapapa, or critical awareness is necessary to ensure we do not begin to mistake effect for cause, product for process, "letting symbols stand for or take the place of the primary experience" (Riessman, 1993, p. 8). Such awareness warns us against reifying and confusing markers of connection, such as ability with Te Reo or appearance, as the source or well spring of both Māori identity and Te Ao Māori. Walker's identity whakapapa reminds us that the inclusion of appearance as an identity marker did not occur until very recently in the timelessness of Māori being. Exclusive reliance today on appearance to differentiate Māori from Non-Māori betrays that reification and confusion are already in motion. Such ontological slippage and replacement of the eternal with the mundane leads to the ever-decreasing circles of epistemological vistas that leaves humanity trapped and isolated in only the physical (Fanon, 1970).

As many as seventy five percent of all Māori do not possess a minimum knowledge of whakapapa (Durie, 2001); 80% of Māori live in urban settings and 70% are not in their own tribal area (Maaka & Fleras, 2005), such a loss at the affiliation level indicates a greater gulf at action levels. It is likely that more than seventy five percent of Māori do not have meaningful contact with their home marae and peoples. If we also factor in that three quarters of all Māori tamariki are of mixed heritage (Statistics New Zealand, 2005), and

highly likely to be the children of those already suffering alienation, then future disenfranchisement from Te Ao Māori becomes a concern worthy of serious consideration. Urbanisation, inter-marriage and the continuing project of colonisation mean abstract, symbolic and creative connections, such as Māori television, are and will increasingly maintain connectedness to things Māori.

Paradoxically, creative solutions to bridge the gap between actual reconnection to home peoples and place and the proxies for these experiences resemble the destructive pattern of assimilation; erosion or cessation of overt Māori behaviour or actions and replacement with those that are Non-Māori, increasingly stretched affiliations and distance from embodied experiences of ancestor presence. Yet in this context, this trajectory can represents a maneuver of conscious cultural entrenchment to halt and reverse decay set in motion in previous generations, a fall back position of acknowledging whatever connections remain after the devastation and continuing echo of colonization that will then be built upon not eroded further.

Some entrenchment strategies represent and mimic older and perhaps deeper ways of doing identity prior to land and people allegiance and the introduction of ethnicity (Walker, 1989). Before settlement in Aotearoa, descent from the divine was the sole anchor and marker of Māori identity. Today those who possess only a Māori ethnic appearance can strongly and unapologetically claim allegiance to divine Māori ancestry, even in the absence of whakapapa or other currently recognised markers.

Across time and transitions various identity elements have arisen to culturally anchor Māori identity; they have been interwoven and recycled yet all do the job of weaving us into the cord of Māori identity, and carrying on "the work as today's version of Māori…to continue our story" (Ramsden, in Borell, 2005, p. 3). Some identities have bent around or through the forces that impeded growth. Instead of rigid exclusion we need "[t]o acknowledge, encompass and strengthen the broad range of identities evident in young [and other] Māori today" (Borell, 2005, p. 82). Past, present and ongoing Māori survival has been enabled by diversity, flexibility and creativity. Our tipuna have laid a tradition of innovation and exploration, forging new forms of expression as Māori in contemporary settings continues this tradition (Kipa, 2009).

In the face of multiple forms of identification, attaining balance and interconnectedness between traditional and non-conventional presentations of Māoriness is essential to avoid the disillusion of ethnic identity nihilism. To do this we will need to begin to

actively and collaboratively seek to understand what this essence is. If it is not appearance, proficiency in Te Reo Māori or the ability to claim and recite whakapapa, then what comprises a Māori identity? If an adequate conceptualisation and understanding of Māori identity is to occur, frameworks to approach Māori identity need to span the breadth of emergence over eons and the range of traditional, modern and contemporary forces through which Māori identity has grown, and continues to shape and be shaped.

A compilation of Walker (1989) and Durie's (1995; 2001) approach enables expansive conceptualisation and importantly also the reclamation of identity whakapapa. In particular the recognition of the multiple mythic dimensions that source identity, allows that sourcing to activate and come forward into our lives, so we can "resist, [and] retrieve what we were and remake ourselves" (Smith, 1999, p. 4). Once perceived, deliberate positioning can follow to align with the creative forces we wish to bring into being.

'Ancestor', 'Affiliation' and 'Action' not only tracks the process of identity coming into being, as divine impulse clothes itself in progressively more dense manifestations in both the historical and the current; it also reverses the assimilation trajectory that deconstructed and de-acculturated Māori identities. It represents a formula for tracking the emergence, and if reversed the submersion of Māori identity.

Māori ecology - Pākeha ecology and whānau

Ecological considerations were utilised by Moeke-Pickering (1996), who provided an overview of Māori identity development. Two ecologies impacted on Māori identity development; Māori and Pākeha. The source and succor of Māori identity was found to issue from an Māori ecology. In particular, whānau was emphasised as the essential link to ancestors and also the means of transmitting Māori socialisation. Rangahau (1977), Parata (1990), Karetu (1990) all affirmed Māori identity derived from whānau membership and socialisation. While descent and interconnectedness to land were also prioritized (Bennett, 1979; Walker, 1977), the maintenance of a 'sense of belonging' was achieved through knowing and activating the obligations and responsibilities of whakapapa within whānau (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 52). Whānau were the vital link to, and means of achieving Māori identity.

Whānau characteristics and well being were synonymous with Māori identity characteristics and well being (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Whānau was discussed as a management framework to assist, organize and understand people; to provide nurturance, meaning and belonging in a manner that meets security and well-being needs, leading to a

secure identity and the maintenance of well-being. "Whānau played a major role in forming and maintaining a pathway through which Māori identities could be formed and developed"(Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 57). The modern reconfiguration of the whānau traces change from systems that incorporated three to four generations of at least six to eight adults, into today's relationally impoverished 'unit' of a single generation of two adults (Durie, 1997) or worse; 43% of all Māori whānau are sole parent families (Te Puni Kokiri (TPK), 1998). Whānau destruction means that many Māori children and their parent, struggle to cope with only one adult where previously there were a minimum of six. Whānau capacity to maintain the function of Māori identity transmission is compromised.

Since colonization Māori ecology is no longer the sole determinant of Māori identity development. Data from overseas studies on ethnic identity and minority status contributed to considerations of the interplay between Māori ecological characteristics, such as whānau and whakapapa, and those that emerge out of the current Pākeha ecology, such as socio-political factors. While Te Ao Māori was recognised as the source of Māori identity, "the current reality is that Māori identity is embedded within a Pākeha ecology" (Moeke-Pickering, 1997, p. 53), and the political climate of such embedding fundamentally impacts Māori identity.

Threats and supports to Māori identity development were explicated, including the extension and birthing of ethnic Māori identity from the binary of Māori and Pākeha relations. Deliberate Māori inhibitory socio-political forces and systems were addressed as Māori "are at best poorly represented (politically, economically and in the media) and are at worst discriminated against" (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p.56). While Māori identity development has in the most recent past arisen through Pākehā tolerance or forbearance. Pākeha shaping is not an exclusively negative force to Māori identity development. Māori determination and endurance mean some threats have rallied Māori identity development more than dampened it (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

Whānau development – Māori development

The centrality of whānau to the development of Māori identity was also emphasised by Penetito (2008) who examined the relationship between whānau identity development and whānau development. Penetito's whānau was her research whānau, and subsequent to colonisation, despite significant gaps in some cultural elements including te reo Māori and tikanga, "the value of whānau remained constant" (Penetito, 2008, p. 117). In an echo of Borell's (2005) findings, interrelation factors more than possession of cultural expertise or markers were at the heart of Māori resistance to cultural replacement and eventual

restoration of Māori identities. Perhaps in a microcosmic reflection of the macro Māori experience "[t]he power of whānau and whānaungatanga and the cultural style that went with it as learnt in the house and community saved the total extinction of Māori customs" (Penetito, 2008, p. 177).

Reinforcing whānau is reclaiming tino rangatiratanga. Developing or enhancing a collective consciousness of whānau identity, becoming aware of and stimulated "about their own cultural heartbeat" (Penetito, 2008, p. 188) as a whānau body is what enables Māori to "distinguish their experience as inherent to their cultural identity versus products of behaviour and socialization attained through assimilation" (Penetito, 2008, p. 199). The light of collective whānau consciousness and wellbeing can help discriminate and heal systemized oppression and internalized representations of colonisation.

Awareness and caring concern for the collective wellbeing of the wider social entity of whānau was the glue that held the whānau together as Māori, and sustained an intact Māori identity. The formula of collective consciousness, plus secure well being, leads to meaningful Māori, and whānau identities (Penetitio, 2008). Given that wellbeing was and is eliminated or severely compromised by the 'forced existential deprivation' that is colonization (Fanon, 1970); for many Māori wellbeing was and is erased from this formula. In the absence of wellbeing, affiliation and adherence to collective caring and sharing alone has sustained and retained whānau and Māori identity. Through almost 170 years of systemized cultural devastation amidst a Pākeha ecology of socio-cultural and political forces inimical to Māori and overtly geared to disenfranchise and dis-member collectives (Maaka & Fleras, 2005), whānau consciousness and collectivity endured. Some have named Pākehå ecology 'vampire capitalism' for its exclusive pursuit of entrepreneurial individualism in the interests of corporate enterprise (Silko, 1991, p.312), yet it was unable to dislodge the power of whānau and whānaungatanga.

Even with little or no contact with Te Ao Māori or traditional cultural experiences, a whānau and Māori identity survives "through contact with a whānau identity, a Māori identity and a cultural identity" (Penetito, 2008, p. 29). From such a perspective it is not the demonstrable physical markers or behaviours of cultural prowess that has sustained and nourished Māori identity. Instead it is something much deeper, the ongoing attraction to, and maintenance of bodies of interdependent being that encompass consciousness of whānau past, present and future that has sustained Māori and whānau identity (Penetito, 2008). Māori collective attraction to collectivity is the pulse at the heart of whānau and Māori identity.

Whānau are the means of sustaining and perpetuating Māori identities; Māori identities are the means of sustaining and perpetuating Māori development. Whānau not only maintain and secure a future for us as Māori, they are also the means of designing our collective destiny as Māori (Penetito, 2008). Through whānau attraction Māori were and are able to resist the ethnocidal individualisation, and cultural extermination forces of modernization. "Whānau was under attack no sooner than the first missionaries had stepped ashore. It was clear right from the outset that Māori collectivism was philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism…the disruption of Māori social organisation was no mere by-product of colonisation, but an integral part of the process" (Mikaere 2003, p. 102, as cited in Penetito, 2008, p. 62). Secure whānau equals secure Māori identity; secure Māori identity equals Māori self-determination.

Even while colonisation has resulted in a loss of some forms of cultural traditions, deep in the normative roots of Te Ao Māori, "[m]anaakitanga is a cultural imprint that has survived the influences of marginalisation of other cultural cornerstones of Te Ao Māori, like that of Te Reo Māori" (Penetito, 2008, p. 96). Maintenance of a core of collective sharing and caring has kept the pulse throbbing in the consciousness and conservation of Māori collective social entities. The collective power of whānau and whānaungatanga individually mirrored in Māori identities means "Māori social instituions are largely intact, despite mountainous forces of change around them" (Hoselitz, 1962, as cited in Penetito, 2008, p. 50). Māori whānau, identities and development are varying aspects of the one inextricably phenomena that is Māoritanga. Māori identity is the mirroring of an individual aspect of Māoritanga, much like the rays of the sun that are sourced from, yet give expression to something far deeper and bigger than itself.

In contrast to the Māori ecological focus of Penetito (2008), McIntosh (2005) found "Māori identity is a marginal identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand" (p. 40). A typology of 'forced', 'fluid' or 'traditional' Māori identities, added to the development of Māori identity theory. Non-Māori domination and imposition together with internalisation of negative norms and perceptions, and the need to not sitgmatise the most vulnerable members of Māori society were highlighted. McIntosh's theoretical approach emphasised the need to be "absolutely aware of the conditions of our present social structure and our ability to determine positive change" (2005, p. 50).

Rather than Māori identity alone, Stevenson (2001) investigated the relationship between Māori identity and health. To attain meaningful outcomes the need to attend

broader socio-political and historical contexts was again emphasised. So too was a capacity to go beyond vague and misleading identity criteria and to instead discern degrees of cultural membership to arrive at meaningful data and associations between Māori identity and health.

Jahnke (2002) explored the relationship between ancestral homeplace and secure identities. A physical or metaphysical connection to ancestral homeplace featured for secure Māori identities.   Metaphysical connections sustained participants despite alienation by time, space and distance. Felt and embodied association to ancestral lands were experienced even in the absence of actual physical contact to whenua matua (homelands), such connections whether physical or metaphysical "are part of the reality of what it means to be Māori" in today's world (Jahnke, 2002, p. 358). For those raised outside of the tribal context, the importance of whānau was again highlighted as the means of transmission of Māori values, and socialisation.

Research into Māori success and education named identity and autonomy "as the twin pillars upon which accomplishment can be generated" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 319). Irrespective of socio-economic concerns, identity was targeted as a major determinant of education success. Analysis of Māori representation, constitutional and legislative standing, all indicated ongoing Pakeha undermining of Māori aspirations through media, politics and representation. In the absence of a significant Māori powerbase, Māori autonomy rests on Pakeha goodwill that continues to resist Māori control and dim Māori potential.   "Māori continue to live as secondary citizens in Aotearoa New Zealand (p. 314).   Māori value positions and "Māori aspirations are subject to Pakeha veto" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 318). In this climate of Māori suppression, capacity to "live as Māori, to experience a high standard of living and to be citizens of the world" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 318), rests solely on the flourishing of Māori identities that feature a singular commonality – a Māori group affiliation. "While Māori have been colonised and urbanised the inescapable conclusion is that being Māori matters" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 219).

Approaching Māori identity: Personal experiences

While all these authors explored the wider socio-political and cultural forces that impacted on Māori identities, Penetito (2008) did this through the specific Māori identity experiences of her own whānau, across time and through contemporary and colonial forces. The inclusion of the particular lived and embodied experience of Māori identity at both the individual and collective levels informed a cluster of studies undertaken by Māori researchers between 1996 and 2008 (Bellet, 1996; Bevan, 1996; Borell, 2005; Collin, 1999; Meredith, 1999; O'Regan, 2001; Te Hiwi, 2007; Webber, 2008).

Bellett (1996) and Bevan (1996) produced one the first studies addressing the contradictions in culture of mixed Māori ancestry and a white or Non-Māori appearance. Unlike studies that dealt with the development of identity theory or measures of Māori identity, Bevan (1996) and Bellet's (1996) work involved testifying from the embodied experience of mixed ancestry. Bellett (1996) disclosed the lived reality of whakapapa, ethnic identity and appearance as "an extremely painful subject" (2001, p. 53); and one that white looking Māori voices had yet to speak about. Collins (1999) noted Māori resistance to assimilation contributed to the difficult position of Māori with dual heritage that 'showed'. In direct contrast Meredith (1999) saw those of mixed descent as possessing the ideal characteristics to act as ambassadors, facilitating relations between Māori and Non-Māori. Hana O'Regan (2001) produced an influential critique that linked exclusionary mechanisms to not just individuals but groups and tribes, spanning both personal and collective dynamics. The echo of alienation recognised at the individual level, resounded throughout the collective of Māoridom. A model of transformation and re-culturation despite inter-ethnic exclusion was also shared. O'Regan (2001) provided a comprehensive "baseline discussion on identity formation" by unpacking Māori identity development within the frames of international Indigenous, tribal and personal dynamics (Ramsden, 2001, p. 10).

Te Hiwi (2007), as an 'insider' with a newly re-acculturated Māori identity explored the impact of racism on identity formation. Intergenerational trauma, torn loyalties and embodied racial disparities and dissonance featured. Borell (2005) extended investigations of Māori identity and exclusion and worked with rangatahi who possessed a Māori ethnic appearance, but not the traditional markers to indicate or prove Māoriness. Denial of rangatahi entry and acceptance as Māori contrasted with consistently being drawn to recreate themselves as Māori. Webber (2008) took a different approach entirely and rather than looking at identity impacts within Te Ao Māori, she investigated the relationship between whakapapa, constructions of dual ethnic identity and competence in the Non-Māori world. Again alienation featured, and again marginalisation did not dispel desire for a Māori identity.

Overall findings indicated both a ceaseless commitment to being Māori and a broadcast sense and an embodied experience of alienation and marginalisation. The Meredith (1999) study was the only exception and instead found that those of mixed descent possess 'cultural lubricants' that allow them to negotiate and mediate race relations between Māori and Non-Māori. In comparison, Webber's work (2005) is more characteristic of the majority of studies and echoes the twin themes of repeated attempts to seek inclusion and a stable sense of Māori identity amidst equally consistent social exclusion. "I walk with

trepidation in both worlds, constantly searching out a niche within which it is acceptable to be my kind of Māori – a Māori of my own definition" (Webber, 2005, p. 13).   The other strong themes were the powerful inhibitory forces of hegemonic majority discourse, exercised as both personal and structural racial violence, and also intra-ethnic exclusion from within Te Ao Māori.   Māori identity research has investigated and combined a diversity of approaches, including the ethnic identity state of the researcher and participants, and a variety of research methodologies that may or may not be influenced by Māori ontology.

Māori identity overview

Māori research and theorisation on Māori identity has been conducted since the late 1970's. General Māori identity issues have featured (Durie, 1995; Durie, A 2001; Jahnke, 2002; McIntosh, 2005; Moeke-Pickering, 1997; Penetito, 2008; Stevenson, 2001; Walker, 1989) equivalent to issues of alienation and exclusion due to possession of a Non-Māori appearance, or dispossession of traditional cultural markers, or dual heritage (Bevan, 1996; Bellett, 1996; Borell, 2005; Collins, 1999; Meredith, 1999; O'Regan, 2001; Te Hiwi, 2007; Webber, 2008). Twenty-one years are spanned by these sixteen studies; fourteen are the work of Māori women and four Māori men. Of the nine studies on Māori identity done in the new millennium a Māori man conducted only one.

It has been noted that "when Māori women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities lies in whakapapa" (Smith, 1992, p. 39), and again "in terms of understanding what it means to be Māori and female, the discourse of whānau is often over looked" (Jahnke, 2002, p. 509). Whakapapa and whānau are central to Māori women's definitions and understandings of Māori identity. Given the consistent recognition that Māori identity underlies whānau development, which in turn underlies Māori development and successful achievement in te ao turoa, are Māori men engaging this issue less than Māori women and if so what does this mean for the wider aspiration of Māori development?

Re-dignifying the de-dignified

The persistent ability Māori possess to turn adversity into strength; to re-dignify the de-dignified is present in all of these studies (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003).   Even though the rangatahi in Borells study (2005) had lost strong and meaningful associations and connections to whakapapa and markers recognised as anchoring Māori identity, Māori remained centrally important to their sense of self and collective place (Borell, 2005). While reporting a lack of Māori cultural language or skills, Bevan still experienced her "dead great

grandmother was in effect speaking to me" (Bevan, 1996, p. 5). The source and agency of Kai Tahu tribal resiliency and transformation from perceived weakness and deprivation to cultural and contemporary strength, has been named as "its collective tribal memory [that] refuses to allow it to disappear" (Milroy, in O'Regan, 2001, p. 14). Unrelenting pursuit and quest follow consistent rejection and alienation. What is it that continues to draw Māori on to being Māori?

In Ihimaera's "Growing Up Māori" (1998), fifteen contributors named a source to their identity. Only one named contemporary discursive elements. The majority spoke of something pre-eminent, shared, and inherent; whakapapa, soul, ancestry, natural grace, mauri and potential were named. A felt connection to an inter-subjective experience sourced and anchored their identities as Māori. Contemporary social forces of denied inclusion from both Te Ao Māori and the Non-Māori world do not halt the desire to continue to approach, respond to and seek out things Māori. A force some have called "my mauri which called forth my potential to be Māori" (Carter, 1998, in Ihimaera, p. 260) incessantly calls.

A profound presence in the absence

In reviewing Māori identity literature there seems to be a seat of Māori identity that is beyond and before the mundane: A consistent Māori identity source and anchor that is clear of the tumult of colonisation, urbanisation, racism, oppression, confused protection and modernisation. That such a force remains perceptible is remarkable as the majority of the work took place within the body and ethos of Pākeha educational institutions. These are domains that are not only historically and politically inimical to Māori, but also epistemologically antithetical to any variables that arise beyond positivism. What is even more extraordinary is that the source and nature of this indomitable force, while present in all Māori identity work, has not been directly addressed, nor has this absence been remarked. That which potentially beats at the heart of Māori identity development remains over-looked, why is this?

In the absence of ability to wield dominant power, omission can function as defense, denying Non-Māori access to some aspects of Māori knowledge and lore. The retention by some, of ancestral ways of knowing and being, testifies to the efficacy of the strategy (Smith, 2008). Overlooking the inter-subjective may protect the subtler aspects of Te Ao Māori against the predatory individualism and consumerism of modern Western societies' need to appropriate: "It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the west cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control yet" (Smith, 1999, p. 74). It may be that, as the journey into Māori identity continues, some talk will find its way to the discussion table of academia, and

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some won't. In the past a need to protect has kept us silent, and in some areas it is appropriate that this silence remains, in others the need to critique and dialogue to inform intentional growth means it is important that we begin to consciously and critically question. Some of these questions will be about the forums of questing, the 'if', 'how', 'where' and 'when' of sharing dialogue to centre and maintain Māori privilege and control over our own knowledge and naming.

Shaping minds, shaping identities, shaping reality

Perhaps the lack of approach to an inherent and shared source of Māori identity suggests ideological tip-toeing inherited from academic law makers, dictating acceptable methods of knowledge and knowledge generation. Some Non-Indigenous scholars now question all universal principles in their efforts to recover from the reified abstractions of dissociated mind, set in motion by the Cartesian split. Instead of disembodied purity of mind, the pendulum is swinging as the immediate, contextual and social are prioritised. Universally applicable truths that privileged the Non-Indigenous are being torn down and replaced by localised and contextualised knowledge that continue to privilege the Non-Indigenous. Curiously, at no time in this ontological writhing, has the Indigenous knowledge position been considered; a position that for some continues to be informed from a foundation of ageless wisdom that is able to embrace expansive cosmological knowing through to the most mundane and immediate, in a coherent and unified whole (Deloria, 1994; Krammer, 1996).

Post-modern critiques of essentialism threaten to edit Indigenous and Māori essential understandings from our discourse (Smith, 1999) yet, "many Indigenous peoples have claimed essential cultural characteristics for not only strategic purposes but also in relation to spiritual dynamics involved with one's genealogical connection to the earth and its animate and inanimate entities" (Smith, G; in Denzin, Lincoln & Smith, 2008, p. 744). Essentialism in the hands of Indigenous scholars is about acknowledging the pre-eminent dimensions that constitute the non-physical domains of a holistic relational reality, not merely the weeding out of ontological errors. Non-Indigenous treatment of race and racelessness also mirrors zealous reactionary ontological editing (Shelford, in Denzin et al., 2008), as that which unites is thrown out alongside biologically dependent codes, leaving the illusion of disparate people where there used to be peoples. In re-claiming an identity separate from that which is forced upon us, we need to vigilantly examine all facets of the reconstruction for re-colonising influences (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

Questioning the unquestionable

While in today's cultural climate of rallying from the detonation of the global 'cultural bomb' (Ngugi, 1986), we are able to dialogue about the difficulties associated with the attainment of proficiency in traditional cultural markers; we are yet to look directly at the image of the 'real' Māori against which we measure ourselves and others (Bevan, 1996; O'Regan, 2001). Do 'real' Māori, those who could tick all the boxes from pure ancestry through to cultural proficiency, even exist? If they do, why do they not feature in academic based research? Where does this image come from? Who produces it and who is silenced in the re-production of this image (Hall, 1997)?

Could it be possible that they do not exist and that the 'real' Māori is actually a specter of our collective imagination? A cultural construction carried forward from early contact days and held as either a symbol of hope and endurance, or an acceptable assimilation model, a current day irrelevancy and therefore impotent relic-like rendering of Māoriness in the context of contemporary society? Could the 'real' Māori, against whom we are measured and measure other Māori, be an icon that became more semantic than real, a symbol of exclusion or inclusion more than a descriptive concept? A sign that has taken on a life of its own, a simulacrum that once examined will be found to come unstuck from the meanings that give it life. Could the 'real Māori' prototype be an unattainable representation that does more to terrorise and alienate than to give heart? We are encouraged to "go into the power of stereotype itself and begin to (as it were) subvert, open and expose it from the inside" (Hall, 1997, n.p.). Is the disposition of the image of the 'real' Māori inclined towards or away from Māori?

Not one more tupuna

This study will be the first to specifically approach Māori identity development from the perspective of those who are strongly and securely identified as Māori. Yet in direct contrast to the inner strength and degree of Māori cultural identity those who participate in this study are unable to be identified as Māori: To those who do not know them they appear Pākehā. It is hoped that this disturbance in the elements of whakapapa, appearance and ethnic identity, alongside successful attainment of a Māori identity will open up spaces to inform the field of Māori identity development.

It is particularly hoped that explorations of a presentation that infers a reverse ethnicity to the actual, will inform the dynamic of Māori marginalisation by Non-Māori and gather information to inform the exclusion and alienation of Maori. The ontological posture of

this research, design, researcher and of the participants, is informed by and privileges a Māori worldview. Ti Hauora O Te Aroha, a traditional Māori spiritual healing center provided an umbrella of tikanga to hold this work in terms of cultural supervision, hosting the focus group hui and beyond. I share 'insider' status alongside the co-investigators, positively identifying as Māori and yet possessing a Pākehā appearance. Ontologically I centre in and source from Te Ao Māori in all facets of life.

Politically I recognise the huge numbers of Māori who have, are currently, and will be affected by dual or multiple ethnicities, and will need to take the journey of ethnic identity development to find an inner place and outer expression of resonance and congruence between the cultural systems they embody. As a nana and mother I know my own are, and will increasingly be, in this number. Personally, even though I can be categorised as a Māori who is positively identified and am unable to conceive of any other meaningful way to be in the world, I remain unable to comprehensively understand why this choice and only this choice propels me on?

While my need to understand centre's like the rest of my being in Te Ao Māori I am also curious about mine and others disinclination to take the road that our appearance offers, towards opportunity and away from Māori marginality, that modern research rhetoric and media announces, and the dominant majority social forces promote (Durie, A, 2001; O'Regan, T, 2003). If the dominant modern narrative is to be believed, this is regressive, not progressive behaviour. White looking and other Māori seeking their ethnic identity are swimming against the tide of 'civilisation' and consistently seem to have no desire to turn back. Is this a poke in the eye for progress? And if so what does it mean?

All of these considerations remain a conundrum for me and other white looking, and or identity challenged Māori who remain consistently drawn to Te Ao Māori, at times seemingly against our own will and all odds; against our appearance, and always against the flow of apparent progress Māori identity seems to beckon, a fire in our blood forever calling us home.

I am hoping to explicitly reveal the source and nature of this attractant and the conditions that facilitate its growth: To unveil the forces that are antithetical to and inhibit this attractant so they can be minimised or eliminated. To locate and name supportive forces so they can be promoted to contribute to the "positive embracing of identity which is the driving force of the current regeneration of Māori culture" (Walker, 1989, p. 50). Just as 'not one more acre' was the catch cry of the first overt displays of Māori resistance and political re-

emergence, 'not one more future tipuna' captures a vital position in the battlefield of representation for control of Māori identities and futures. For all of these reasons this project seeks to examine and understand the factors and forces that enable or disable positive Māori identity development, by investigating the experiences and meanings of Māori women who are positively identified as Māori, yet are unidentifiable as Māori to those who do not know them.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

All action carries responsibility and accountability, this is particularly so in borderlands where new comings together create the obviousness of new change, amid the uncertainty of unknown outcomes. Research by Māori for Māori and in Māori ways within academia is new (Smith, 1999). In addition, the existence of social prejudice and systemised Māori oppression requires critical consideration. To produce culturally valid and therefore meaningful research for Māori, a Māori centred research position is clearly required (Smith, 1999), yet modern history and contemporary socio-political forces in Aotearoa New Zealand evidence the need for extreme caution when deliberately bringing things Māori into the academic arena: An arena traditionally fraught with the overt exploitation, appropriation and incorrect interpretation of Māori (Smith, 2006).

While a mātauranga Māori theroretical framework is the only choice to meaningfully approach the domain of Māori identity development, it is necessary to critique the wider implications of making space for mātauranga Māori within the academy (Ratima, 2008). To critically examine whether "centering kaupapa Māori within a Western theoretical paradigm" (Ratima, 2008, p. 2) enhances or inhibits the wider project of Māori development. A parallel dilemmā that involves including 'white looking Māori', while also excluding and resisting assimilation requires solving (Webber, 2004). How do we advance our ways of being, knowing and doing within what is for now a Western epistemologically dominated world (Moeke-Pickering, 1996), while also resisting diffusion and appropriation? Previous applications of formulas derived from non-Māori theorising; or trauma induced Māori participation in hegemonic discourse has been profoundly dis-advantageous for Māori (Smith, 2006).

In considering the relationship between the cost and consequences of research projects and the wider aim of advancing or jeopardising mātauranga Māori and Māori development, Smith (2008, p.121) states that "negotiating and transforming institutional practices and research frameworks is as significant as the carrying out of actual research programmes". Researchers who privilege Māori have dual opportunities, to address Māori centred and Māori enhancing topics, while also advancing Māori epistemologies. I choose to maximise Māori epistemological advancement of mātauranga Māori as not only an intelligible research framework, but also as a deliberate manoeuvre to promote Māori epistemological influence.

I concur with, and pick up Cheryl Warea-i-te-rangi Smith's (2000) challenge that it is time we stopped leaving Māori culture "at the door", or making it more palatable for non-Māori. I also follow the path laid by Donna Awatere to explain the Pākehā world to the Māori, rather than the other way around (Awatere, 1983). I deliberately engage in the 'special battlefield' of knowledge legitimisation from the position of an Indigenous researcher who seeks to facilitate the reconnection to past histories, to inform future lives that privilege Māori people and concerns (Fanon, 1990; Smith, 1999, 2008). I also seek to contribute to the destabilisation of the current tyrannical knowledge capture that feeds the "racist spirit of exclusive legitimate entitlement" (Smith, 1999, p. 56). I choose to carry mātauranga Māori forward as a deliberate contribution to the "ideological pole shifting" towards a Māori epistemological centre (Smith, 1999).

The entity of modern knowledge generation is a target audience of this research. How does the current problematic state of monologic, unilateral knowledge (Gergen, 1991; Sampson, 1978; Vine, 1995; Wexler, 1996) get challenged if Māori knowing and wisdom continues to be excluded? If "the way we know people, groups, and organisations is fateful" (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2003, P. 177) exclusion of Māori knowing is an ominous premonition. And if "our topics, like windsocks, blow steadily onwards in the conversational gaze" (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2003, P. 177) how do we begin to ensure that Māori knowledge and life-centric ways are enabled if mātauranga is either disqualified, or maintained in exclusively Māori domains? If Māori scholars choose not to engage Māoritangā in the academy, then how do we influence or generate more Māori or Indigenous centric values and thinking into the process of knowledge generation and the thinking of society at both the national and the international level? How do we breach the segregation of marginalisation that renders Māori institutionally critically and politically mute if we are not influencing the institutions that perpetuate society?

We need to break through the reified force field of antiquated essentialism that has been placed around our ways; to do less is to condemn ourselves to perpetual self reductionism, a 'Guard the pa' (Durie, 2008) back footed retreat that ends in extinction, as new forms and expressions are disallowed. What would have occurred after Tane separated Rangi and Papatuanuku if Ngā Atua (The Gods) continued to function as if Te Ao Mārama had not been born? Many Māori leaders have directed us to develop a Māoritanga that resists imposed stultifying rules and oversimplifications (Pere, 1988), to go "beyond an awakening to the grinding negativism of white culture towards a new analysis" (Awatere, 1984, p. 92). To place emphasis on "the maintenance of such Māori characteristics and such features of Māori culture as present day circumstances will permit, the inculcation of

pride in Māori history and traditions, the retention so far as possible of old time ceremonial [sic], the continuous attempt to interpret the Māori point of view to the Pākehā in power" (Ngata, 1931, p. 176-177).

In choosing to advance kaupapa Māori within the academy I attempt to contribute to the re-centering of mātauranga Māori to the ripples of power that issue from research as a site of contestation. I seek also to deconstruct imperialism and advance the transformation of the institution of research, "the deep underlying structures and taken-for-granted ways of organising, conducting and disseminating research and knowledge" (Smith, 2008, p. 117). To contribute to the revivification of " the ways of knowing, deep metaphors, and motivational drivers that inspire the transformative praxis that many researchers identify as a powerful agent for resistance and change (Smith, 2008, p. 119) and to continue the work of re-emerging, re-claiming and re-centering Te Ao Māori as a normal expression in today's world (Ratima, 2008; Levy, M. Masters-Awatere, B. Nikora, L. Rua, M. & Waitoki, W, 2007). "The tension of the land is that the past comes back to disrupt the present. The tipuna never go away" (Awatere, 1983, p. 19), privileging kaupapa Māori enhances tipuna presence in todays world.

I seek to intentionally take part in disturbing the existing state of existential and epistemological highjaking perpetrated on Māori and Māori systems of knowing and being. To soften, dilate and stretch the cervix of humanities collective mind, in order to open more space and light to emerge "an ancient presence and prescience necessary for our survival" (Kramer, 1996, p.13). I deliberately contribute to the protection and promotion of mātauranga Māori in order to influence the epistemological arena of knowledge generation in modern society. 'Our work as today's version of Māori is the same as that of our tipuna: to continue our story" (Ramsden, 1993, in Borell, 2005, p. 3). To contribute to placing back into Māori hands control over forces that were periodically beyond our control, yet remain instrumental in shaping our realities requires the re-emergence of mātrauranga Māori in generative societal institutions.

It is time to engage in strategic thinking and acting to attain long term and sustainable goals (O'Regan, 2003, Smith, 1999). Unlike our tipuna who with guns held at their heads literally and figuratively, had no choice but to practice patience and utilise their imagination "to rise above their own circumstances to dream new visions and to hold on to old ones" (Smith, 1999, p. 158), in order to ensure our survival and our future; we have other options. Their foresight and determination has enabled our present, and we now have the capacity to demānd not just a future, but a future we have some control over. We can do more than

imāgine, we can now discuss, plan and control (Smith, 1999), we are in a position to strategically negotiate and grow their visions as our visions, "to create a new world for our descendents. Of re-ordering reality" (Awatere, 1984, p. 106). For these reason I engage kaupapa Māori in the academy.

Methodology

This study seeks to explore precisely the ability of the participants to make sense of their cultural position as "dweller(s) in liminal space"; women who appear white, embody the Indigenous-coloniser hyphen (Jenkins & Jones, 2008), yet still manage to attain a positive and stable identity as Māori. It is considered that the factors and forces that enable or disable positive Māori identity development will be explicated by attending their journey of cultural identity.

Why Kaupapa Māori?

To look into such borderlands requires a positioning capable of not merely noticing difference, but being both literate and competent in apprehending and expressing such positioning with cultural integrity. "In order to understand any body of knowledge, the tools of analysis need to be congruent with the world views attached to that knowledge base" (Durie, 2005, p. 158). Given that the site of exploration is positive Māori identity, the methodology must provide a congruent interpretive and expressive lens capable of approaching and contextualising this space as a site where Māori ways and means are privileged.

Qualitative, critical and Indigenous scholars challenge the positivist myth of objective neutrality and instead state that there is no such thing as a "view from nowhere" (Hagel, 1986; as cited in Reissman, 1993, p. 15). It is acknowledged that researchers interpret and measure "through a set of values reflecting what is important or desirable in any culture" (Javidan, House, Dorfmān, Hanges & de Luque, 2006, p, 897). It is important then that the cultural value utilised as an interpretive lens, is firstly made explicit, and secondly is meaningful within the culture being investigated.

Adherence to paradigms not of the culture under investigation will result in limitations that will obstruct the ability to perceive beyond the normative frameworks of the research paradigm (Tsui, 2004). "If all the questions are immersed in a Western root metaphor, what kind of answers can we expect?" (Duran, 2006, p. 114). Research that is bound to metaphors, models and theories not of the culture being studied is doomed to conceptual

ignorance of the target culture. The research will be blinded to unique patterns that go beyond the established norm and conceptual framework of the reseacher. Perpetuation of culturally self serving solipsisms will inevitably occur as discovered information is confined within the boundary of the existing epistemology and theory.

Rather than pursuing the impossibility of empirically removing culture as a contaminant, overt declaration of cultural positioning enables contextual understandings. Those most versed in a phenomenon are obviously the most suitable to produce meaningful outcomes, "validation should be in the control of those who have knowledge of these metaphors" (Duran, 2006, p.114). It is essential then, that the research paradigm utilised to investigate Māori identity development can go beyond systemised non-Māori cultural myopia. In contrast to practices of Eurocentricism that denigrates or denies Māori worth and wisdom (Durie, 1998), Kaupapa Māori research engages "the root metaphor or the most basic understanding of the life-world of the people being researched" (Duran, 2006, p.114). Kaupapa Māori research declares a posture based on mātauranga Māori as the epistemological soil from which to go about the cultivation of Māori cultural re-emergence.

Māori identity is represented as the successful reconnection to and expression within Māori and other communities of ngā taonga tuku iho, or the language, knowledge and social institutions and processes of our Māori ancestors (Durie, 1995, 2001; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1989). It is important then, to consider the process of achieving such benchmarks in today's society that is dominated by an entirely different discourse to the socio-cultural world of our ancestors. Those who are positively identified as Māori have re-emerged ancient knowledge and ways into a contemporary context while resisting societies assimilationist, and therefore for Māori ethnocidal tendencies. The successful attainment of a positive Māori identity within a contemporary position of Māori socio-political marginalisation and minority status (Durie, 2005) represents an overt project of Māori resistance, reclaimation and revivification. A research perspective that can perceive and articulate both the impact of Western monoculturalism and mātauranga Māori is essential to enable congruent tools of analysis to approach the domain of Māori cultural identity that today is bathed in both of these phenomena.

Interconnectedness with our ancient ways allows us to move beyond the dichotomy of hegemony and anti-hegemony. "The binary opposition of Māori and Pākehā ethnicity is as important a determinant of Māori identity as enculturation" (Walker, 1989, p. 35). Yet Māori do not need to orbit or centre on the epistemological pole of "white, supremist, capitalistic patriarchy" (hooks, 1997, n.p.). Just as Fanon was able to conceive a third element or

posture beyond dichotomy in his declaration "I am not the slave of the slavery that dehumanised my ancestors" (1970, p. 164), Māori also have access to emancipatory ways of thinking and doing that are beyond and before dehumanising binaries; ancestral ways of thinking and being. Ontological, theoretical, methodological and political congruence exists between Kaupapa Māori as a research methodology and the research question.

What is Kaupapa Māori Research?

Given the freshness of our colonial experience, when Māori turn "to history for a sense of identity" (Rhea, 1997, p. 8), we can perceive more than the "dominant memory" of oppressive histories that serves to "bleach the bloodstains of historical records" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p.42) and has tragically become the only option for many other colonised peoples (Hall, 1996). While non-Indigenous critical scholars have no other choice than to name emancipatory thinking and doing as forms of countering, re-appropriating and rearticulating hegemonic discourse, Māori and other Indigenous peoples who are still interwoven within their ancient knowledge ways are able to reference themselves from a source that is beyond hegemonic artefacts. For Māori there is something outside the text of the dominant discourse: "We also think in another cultural dimension" (Awatere, 1984, p. 32). Kaupapa Māori research is about reclaiming and re-emerging our multidimensional ways of being and knowing, restoring a natural state of intellectual liberation from the brutally imposed Western discourse.

Mātauranga Māori informing Kaupapa Māori research represents an epistemology, methodology and tool. Kaupapa Māori research facilitates and affirms Māori knowledge and ways of knowing (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research utilises Māori values, ethics and philosophies in order to shape and direct a rigorous and culturally trustworthy process that embodies reciprocity, accountability and ensures a beneficial outcome for participants by equalising and merging community and researcher relations (Boulton, 2005; Cram & Pihamā 2002; Irwin, 1994; Smith 1999). The reclaimation of Māori language, theorisation and methodologies, the resistance and rejection of the ongoing erasure of Māori histories, experience and existence, while also critiquing, and renegotiating dominant ideologies and generating transformative counter oppressive discourses, are all implied in kaupapa Māori research approaches (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research embodies and activates an approach that is not only by Māori, for Māori, and with Māori, but which increasingly utilises, affirms and reinstates Māori knowledges and lifeways (Durie, 2005; Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori can go beyond the limitations of qualitative and critical research methodologies by embracing more than an individual's mind, body, and emotional experiences, within a historic-political frame. As an expression of mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori is able to recognise and incorporate the timeless and all embracing collective consciousness, that for many sits at the heart of Māori identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Penetito, 2008): A reality that enables relations and expressions that transcend individualism, time and place, and recognises the presence and action of our ancestors in our midst (Awatere, 1984; Gibson, 1999). Restoration of an epistemological awareness beyond that of present based, individual bodies allows for the fullness of interconnectedness and replaces the limited misrecognition of fragmented individual phenomenon (Smith, 1999). Due to a more expansive epistemological perception of what constitutes the nature of reality and humanity, kaupapa Māori is able to go further, deeper and wider than western paradigms

In the domain of Māori identity it is vital that the epistemology, methodology and tools utilised possess a perceptive lens with a breadth capable of expansive recognition and inclusion. Just as Māori who are positively identified as Māori have stretched and challenged rigid Eurocentric concepts and ideas, and re-merged ancient and collective ways of being and doing, so the research paradigm must be capable of recognising and accommodating the same. Kaupapa Māori is therefore the selected and only option to approach the domain of Māori identities that continue to be connected to Māori ancestral ways of being and knowing; there is no other intelligible option. Kaupapa Māori research as an epistemology, methodology and eclectic tool, possesses the cultural congruence and therefore extensive critical perspectives to apprehend the research question this study seeks to explore.

Target Audience

As a researcher who shares the participants position of a positive Māori cultural identity that is apparently at odds with appearance, I undertake this journey with the explicit intention of finding meaning in this experience, expressing this meaning, and in doing so enable Māori, white and otherwise to think more about these experiences, rather than just live them. Through consciousness and critique, ways can be found for Māori identities and therefore Te Ao Māori, to re-emerge and thrive, not just merely exist or survive. The realms of Te Ao Māori and colonisation compose the primāry articulations that create the conditions of possibility and restriction for Māori identities (Jackson, 2009).

White Māori generally

Within Te Ao Māori, the participants, white Māori and all Māori are the first level of receivers this study is oriented towards. The first audience in Te Ao Māori are Māori who embody the apparent self-other hyphen of Māori-Pākehā including the participants and myself. "We attempt to bridge the contradiction in our experience…by naming our selves and by telling our stories in our own words" (Moraga & Anzaldu'a. 2002, p. 21). It is hoped that in the telling of what has otherwise not been told, this project will provide a safe space geographically and metaphysically for the reflexive work of contradiction reconciliation to occur. This project seeks to make space for the largely yet to be spoken voices of Pākehā looking Māori, and in doing to lay a safe course for our mokopuna and tamariki who will also have to navigate the uncharted seas between Māori and Pākehā cultures to attain a positive Māori identity (Bevan, 2000).

It is hoped by drawing Māori attention to the hyphen that represents self-other, Colonised-Coloniser, Indigenous-Coloniser (Jones & Jenkins, 2008) or Māori-Pākehā, exploration, insight and understanding will occur. For when this hyphenated relationship becomes embodied and anchored in the mundane corporeality of white looking contemporary Māori bodies, instead of simplistic, superficial and dichotomous representations of us-them; such representations are increasingly likely to embody kuia-moko, koro-moko, whaea-pepe, mātua-pepe, moko-kuia. Given the growing numbers of Māori who possess mixed ancestry (Howard & Didham, 2005, Statistics NZ, 2005), transformative ways of doing Māori-white, self-other are timely and essential to develop critical ways for Māori to go on into the future.

All Māori in general

The second audience are all Māori who struggle to feel or find an enduring sense of acceptance and belonging within Te Ao Māori: A sense of belonging that they can then carry with them into all realms they may enter. My research addresses all those who instead of experiencing mānākitangā (upliftment), inclusion, tolerance and acceptance as Māori, experience something else. It is my hope that by articulating the meaning making experiences of Māori who do not look Māori, yet have attained postiive Māori identities, light can be shone on the insular subjectivity of self blame that cripples and mutes many Māori. It is hoped illumination of the socio-historical and political dynamics that surround Māori identity development, will break the crippling spell of personalised blame and shame and restore naimng and responsibility, an awareness that just as our ancestors where not the authors of

their own demise, nor is the alienation and shame experienced by many Māori a consequence of their own actions. Their mana remains intact (Jones, 2000).

Academy of knowledge generation

As discussed above and in the theoretical framework mātauranga Māori, as opposed to Western or 'other' knowledge systems will necessarily be required and therefore privileged to examine Māori identity. This raises Māori knowledge and knowledge generating systems into a realm where it has been deliberately excluded and occluded. "Ako Pākehā atu, ka puta Pākehā mai", "Given Pākehā teaching, it will be Pākehā (thinking) that emerges" (Milne, 2005, p. 15). The exclusion of Māori knowledge from the knowledge generating systems of modern New Zealand society enables a monopoly of eurocentrism (Smith, 1999).   The inclusion of mātauranga Māori within the knowledge generating system enables the spirit or mauri of Māori thinking, doing and being to infuse this institution.

The entity of modern knowledge generation is the third audience of this study. As Māori centric ways of knowing and doing are re-emerged into a domain that shapes and perpetuates what is and can be. Transformation of the current ideological capture is possible.   The conglomeration of seemingly disparate conditions and possibilities that function under Western knowledge ideologies yet consistently and jealously disallows past, current or future epistemological or pedagogical variation begins to be re-shaped.

Repositioning

Unlike the pilot study of Ahakoa He Kiri Mā described in the chapter three, this work is being undertaken with the explicit aim of meeting requirements of a Masterate within a Western academic institution. While many may read this report it is expected predominant access will be by those affiliated to the academy as either students or lecturers. Rather than promulgating the myth of objective neutrality of positivism, doing Māori within the academy necessarily requires critical strategies to uphold the principles of kaupapa Māori research.

While my position of privileging Māori theoretically remains, within the academy Māori represent a minority of academic staff and comprise less than 2% of all postgraduate students, and 20% of all bachelor students (Ministry of Education, 2005). This report is targeted for Māori yet destined for a realm that is primarily occupied and epistemologically dominated by Non-Māori. At least three implications arise.

Māori in academy

Firstly, in terms of the academy as an audience, while Māori academics are a minority, it is hoped this work will contribute to the body of literature that is allowing Māori academics and others to re-emerge and privilege Māori ways, of being, thinking and doing. That it will contribute to the growth of Māori research capability and capacity to realise and support Māori social and economic development aspirations. It is recognised that while Māori are a quantitative minority, the quality of Māori presence can powerfully catalyse and transform. It is hoped this report will contribute to the "fissile material needed to maintain a nuclear chain reaction" (Levy, 2007, p. 6) to detonate the critical mass explosion of mātauranga Māori within the academy. "We can be either bold or timid, seek to transform or tinker" (Love, 2007, n.p), this work, seeks to contribute to the bold transformation of the institutions that form society.

Academy and protection

Secondly, as discussed in the theoretical framework, in critical acknowledgement of the special battlefield that is knowledge generation and Māori representation (Fanon, 1990; Smith, 1999, 2008), I seek to uplift Māori and Māori ways of thinking, feeling and doing, as opposed to making the Māori world more palatable to Non-Māori cultural voyeurism. Kaupapa Māori research requires that research benefits flow to the participants and those to whom the material belongs. In keeping with this ethos material generated in the study that may enable Non-Māori to peer into aspects of Te Ao Māori they would otherwise not gain entry to have not been carried forward and embedded in this document. Nor has data that if wielded superficially can reinforce and reproduce particular social relations of power that caste Māori into an inherently inferior posture. "To escape the penetration and surveillance of that gaze whilst simultaneously reordering and reconstituting ourselves as Indigenous human beings" (Smith, 1999, p. 34), is my intention.

Lastly, this work is obviously positioned with the aspiration of successfully meeting masterate requirements, and is implicitly targeted at the examiners who will critique and evaluate this work.

Colonising Language

While the theory and practice of kaupapa Māori research has carved out an authentic academic research space to do Māori things, with Māori people, in Māori ways, allegedly for Māori benefit, an inescapable reality that underpins most thesis centered academic studies, is the requirement to utilise a language that while purporting to advance Māori interests, will also sabotage communication with the majority of Māori who do not exist within the world of academia.

Do we colonise our selves and those we work with when we become purveyors of academic prose? Māori who also happen to be academics need to critically examine the 'No-Mans Land' that exists between everyday Māori communities and language, and the realm of academic rhetoric, especially when it is targeted at Māori (Jones, 2008). Such critique is necessary to ensure that academic practices are being consciously and deliberately utilised, instead of merely re-packaged in forms taken from Te Ao Māori, to enhance exploitation of Te Ao Māori, under the guise of Māori development.

Subsequent and concurrent to colonisation, Western based universities present the majority, although no longer exclusive corporeal form of knowledge institutions in our society today. Friction necessarily and interestingly characterises the coming together of Māori, knowledge and knowing with Western systems of knowledge. While such friction requires critique to ensure outcomes beneficial to Māori, the existence of this concern indicates the presence of things Māori in domains previously inimical to Indigenous forms. Ground has been made and taken. The existence of tensions between Western and Māori forms of knowledge and knowledge production signals the success of challenging, resisting and transforming colonial knowledge formations, while simultaneously advancing and re-emerging things Māori. These battles were undertaken in English.

Prior to challenging and re-ordering the status of things Māori in academia, the procedure of academic credentialing from review of the known, ventures into the new, recording of the journey and post academic practices, were likely to be almost exclusively centered on Non-Māori concerns and procedures that may have incorporated Māori themes or subjects only if it was advantageous to the researcher or institution (Smith, 1999). Today, as a Māori academic, being able to incorporate Māori knowledge and processes at all stages of the knowledge generation process and having to grapple with merely the language of the report and the grounding of kaupapa Māori rhetoric into Māori community outcomes, during and post training is a testimony to the pioneering work of previous Māori academics.

While such tasks as balancing usage of academic discourse with retention of foci on Māori communities will be ongoing concerns to anchor and maintain cultural integrity and competence, such challenges rather than being problematic, are emblematic of the advances that have been made. Māori leaders who have gone ahead into the halls of knowledge, demonstrate that academic discourse is the "most powerful political force in the world [behind religion and violence]" (Jones, 2008, p. 2), and further that such potency can be harnessed for Māori wellbeing. Just as the constitutional position of Māori is being nationally re-configured, flows of influence ripple out and down from these academic leaders, creating conditions that incrementally admit and become conducive to things Māori, while also creating a whakapapa for other Māori leaders to follow (William, 2007, p. 1).

While at face value academic writing continues to present a stony face of incomprehensibility towards Māori communities, a deeper examination of the historical process of knowledge generation, together with the influence won by the constant, and careful contributions of Māori academic pioneers to re-shape this process, reveals not exclusion or alienation of Māori, but rather a narrative of enduring Māori advancement.

Just as our tipuna sought mastery in all domains of the expansive epistemological realties they inhabited, excelling when approaching and embracing the new, we too have the opportunity to include academic power in our 'multifaceted Māori cultural toolbox' (Jones, 2008, p. 2). The fact that we are able to debate the language 'problem' of academic discourse is testimony to the unflinching and incessantly questing spirit of those who have gone before, refusing to be stunted by the invisible keep out signs of foreign territory, or the hegemony of colonial assumptions (Awatere, 1984), Māori academic pioneers have instead entered and began the work of resisting and transforming such arenas, and re-writing the signs.

It has been argued that "while the obvious and tangible components of colonialism are being addressed, the intangible and subtle are not, especially in the racist and arrogant right to define what is acceptable or not" (Jackson, 1992, p. 13). The repeating incidences of genocide that litter recent and ancient human history, together with the recent production of Māori focused eugenic scientific discourse such as the warrior gene (Churchill, 1997; Led & Chambers, 2007), reveals that ethnic minorities ought to be vigilantly aware of the values, beliefs and the knowledge's, that are used to systematically perceive and treat with minorities (Raumāti-Hook, 2009). Māori advancement into the academy can monitor the existence and

character of discourse that arises from stereotypical and racist roots, and can also influence the ideological foundations that generate such institutionalising ideologies.

In addition, just as Māori 'communal living' was recognised as a powerful impediment to forces targeted at the disintegration and destruction of colonial forces (Fleras & Maaka, 2005), the critical and collaborative advancement of Māori into academia can provide a shelter of cultural resistance and resilience within what is, for now, an overbearing and therefore potentially alienating ecology for isolated Māori individuals. Continuing critical reflection will be essential to ensure the advancement of Māori into academia gives life to outcomes that remain anchored to collective Māori well being.

Ancestral narratives describe Māori as courageous and competent adventurers into unknown realms to meet and master the powerful, for the well being of the people. Māori are increasingly taking up positions within one of the most powerful and ideologically generative hubs of society. Māori graduates currently comprise 80 of Massey's Universities 1000 PhD candidates (Matthews, 2009). It is precisely these institutions that contribute the perpetuation of "subjugated Indigenous identities through the power imbalances by which the word becomes material" (Bell, 2004, p. 52-53).

Māori infiltration and practice of academic conventions is infiltration and participation in the distillation of the notions that create the ideological codes our society functions on. "The namer of names is the father of all things" (Jackson, 2008, in Coates, 2008, p. 72). Māori utilisation of colonial language represents another phase of Māori innovation, with the vital potential of restoring to Māori authorship of our own realities and destinies. Māori aptitude for higher learning is not new, Māori entry into, and acquisition of contemporary knowledge, represents an expansion into domains that are both traditional and tribal, yet have assumed new forms in a colonial society. For now surely it is acceptable that we are reassuming this naming, even if in a colonial tongue.

Te reo Māori is obviously the most potent and purest form to address Māori identity with, yet given the ongoing fall out of colonisation exclusive use of te reo would render the work indecipherable for not only the academy but also the majority of Māori for whom the work is most likely to benefit. Perhaps through the use of the most congruent non-te reo language, mana is still enabled and the vibrations of potency are evident in the flowering of this topic for considered and open conversation.

Chapter Four: Pilot Fruits

Over the summer of 2008-2009 a single *n* pilot of Ahakoa he Kiri Mā: A Fire in Our Blood was conducted with the support of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. As in the current study, "the factors and forces that enable or disable positive Māori identity development were examined by talking about the experiences and meanings of being a Māori woman who is strongly and positively identified as Māori yet is unidentifiable as Māori in appearance" (Roestenburg, 2009). By privileging kaupapa Māori research methodology, Māori co-investigators, within mātauranga and tikanga Māori, a research paradigm capable of congruent cultural interpretation of Māori identity was developed.

Factors and forces that led to either an ahi kā posture of identity, one of warmth, belonging and connection, or an ahi mātao state of identity, one of coldness, alienation, fragmentation and mental, personal and social dis-ease and disorder were identified. Hegemonic ethnocentric discourse featured as an ongoing pervasive and destructive force to the development of positive Māori identities. When internalised by Māori racialised discourse gave birth to intra-ethnic Māori exclusionary mechanisms. Occupying the difficult position of symbolising and embodying the continuing dissonance that is 'race relations' between Māori and non-Māori also featured. Rather than mārkers that are commonly used as proxies for Māoriness such as cultural expertise or skin colour; the subtle force of immersion in Māori relational social entities, was suggested as the most potent force for Māori identity development. Re-membering to collective Māori epistemological and social 'realities' lent resilient protection against the divisive and fragmentary individual, and collective effects of systemised oppression. Implications for the re-emergence of collaboratively intelligent ways to critique the existing and imminent flows of power within and without te ao Māori were also discussed (Roestenburg, 2009).

A key concern in developing the proposal for the single *n* pilot was my capacity as kaitaiaki. My understanding of Māori identity acknowledges tipuna presence. Māori identity kōrero is tipuna kōrero. Was I worthy or able to look after the kōrero, and those who the kōrero flows from and through?

While venturing into and gaining experience in the unknown of actual research, and gaining familiarity in the research domain were sought, primarily I hoped to glean some form of concrete direction or methodology to direct me in the kaitaiaki role, to care well for the co-investigator and all those of whom she was of. Affirmation of tikanga Māori occurred not just

as an appropriate cultural methodology given the research question, but as an ideal methodology in any research that seeks to hold people in a way that allows a sense of safety and embrace.

Manaaki

As an untested researcher the conscious positioning of dedicating "our energy to their safety as they explore experience and meaning with themselves" (Becker, Chasin, Chasin, Herzig & Roth, 2003, p. 188) informed how I prepared. I was aware that if I held the space appropriatley the participant would release the need to defend or guard, and instead focus her attention on reflection and exploration of the research question. While I experienced a sense of naturalness in preparing and holding the space, and overt aspects of tikanga such as karakia and kai were deliberately brought into the research space and methodology, it was not until reflection on the interview process that the inherent and natural centrality of manaaki to the study was realised. The institution of manaaki, or the care and concern the Tāngata Whenua display in looking after the manuhiri or visitors on marae, while not necessarily connected to any goals of acheiving extraneous end products, are very linked to providing realtional spaces of warmth, comfort and security.

Recognition of the central role of manaaki to preparing and holding a research space that enbles participants to feel welcome and safe was a surprise for me as a new researcher. As a deliberately Māori academic I was familiar with kaupapa Māori research literature and the use of Māori principles in the research enterprise, however my training in Psychology had not provided any concrete experiences to apply or expect such learning's.

In direct contrast training and experiences in the deliberate preparation and holistic caring for people on marae, was crucial to providing the skills and understanding to order and hold a safe research space for the pilot study. Such a space is critical to research that requires participants to enter into genuine disclosure, dialogue and collaborative questing with themselves and others, to be vulnerable and open with people they may never have meet before.

Manaaki or being able to hold, on a multitude of levels, a space safe enough to enable the natural un-folding of kōrero is a practice well know in Te Ao Māori. The two hours of co-investigator exploration and their express appreciation in having, for the first time the opportunity and space to settle into and speak from a place of personal identity controversy suggests a deep level of support and safety was achieved through the inherent practice of manaaki.

When people are brought together to share personal experiences and values and to enter a space of vulnerability that takes them below and beyond the mere recycling of dominant discourse or stereotypes, deliberate attention to conditions supportive of engagement are essential. "[T]ikanga is derived from the word tika. Tika can cover a while range of meanings, from right and proper, true, honest, just, personally and culturally correct, to upright" (Kaa & Milroy, 2004, p. V). Tikanga enables processes that are life-centric, and provides a robust strategy for creating high levels of relational safety required in any research that requests participants to enter into a relational space of being disarmed, vulnerable and reflexive, not merely Kaupapa Māori research.

Tikanga is concerned with the maintenance of balanced relationships. Manaakitanga or the institution of deliberately uplifting others is central to the practice of tikanga. "Besides its moral and ancestral authority, tikanga adds rationale, authoritiveness and control which is timeless. In that sense tikanga can be defined as law in its widest sense while kaupapa and kawa is the process and ritual of tikanga" (Kaa & Milroy, 2004, p. V). Manaakitanga is an aspect of the enactment of tikanga. In the pilot manaakitanga ensured a multidimensionally safe space, within which the un-foldment and expression of mauri (life force) was affirmed. Kaitiakitanga or integrity and competency of this research lay in the practice of tikanga Māori, and in particular manaakitanga.

The affirmation of tikanga and manaaki as the most appropriate and effective way to approach a Māori identity research domain informed my decision to hold this study within the most comprehensive embrace of tikanga possible. For this reason the focus group hui was held by and at Ti Hauora O Te Aroha, a traditional Māori spiritual healing centre that is informed from and continues the beliefs and practices of tohunga and matakite lineage.

Insider status

The benefits and obstructions to possessing insider status with the research participant became evident during the interview. While we were both postivey identified Māori women, differing identity pathways meant at times our contradicting understandings bumped against one another. Questions that invited the participant to respond from a non-Māori centred position resulted in consistent confusion and indicated a blurring or glitch in our 'common' identity understandings. The participant had been raised and remained within a Māori centric-world view, I had regained mine in adulthood. While I had experienced standing outside of Te Ao Māori and looking in, the participant had not, my questions inviting her to do so were incomprehensible.

The difference between an intellectual awareness of the many differing epidemiological Māori identity pathways and the reality of meeting and allowing space for these was highlighted. It was only post interview, after tracking occurrences of participant incredulity, that I could discern my own epistemological blindness. Awareness of this sense of mismatch and oddity of these experiences during interview can richly inform the presence of epistemological diversity in the future. The need to remain especially open and receptive at these times, even though there will be an absence of understanding has been highlighted. The need to be constantly aware that the heuristics available to me as an 'insider' may enable identity conversations in some areas, and disable understandings in other areas was recognised.

My position as a white Māori insider leant familiarity and similarity of experience in navigating the shadow lands of being Māori and white, and enhanced the dialogic potential of the research space. Shared past experiences and commitment to Te Ao Māori laid a foundation of trust and safety. Participant recognition of genuine empathy enabled conversation, where previously there had been silence. It was disclosed that much of what the co-investigator thought and spoke during the interview, had not been thought or voiced before. Being able to communicate with someone who did not need convincing, and who already knew of the existence of this ao (world) of unique experiences, enabled the participant to view her position from a more critical perspective. She was able to extract herself from an insular subjectivity of identity alienation and develop more considered understandings of her distinctive position within Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Hurihuri (modern world).

New meanings were enabled that incorporated socio-cultural historical and political factors of identity formation. Individuo-centrism of self-blame was replaced with socio-centric consideration of systemic socio-historical and political societal forces. Insider status provided an environment that enabled understanding of alienation as a dynamic that originates and perpetuates itself from outside the realm of personal accountability of white looking Māori. Insider understanding and tikanga Māori enabled kōrero and understanding to enter where previously there had been only the silence of unspoken isolation. The silence of visionless voices that often characterises domains where people are deprecated as a peoples, and only politically recognised as individuals was broken.

Researcher development

In terms of my own development, my position as a Māori women and a researcher matured, enabling clarification of my own personal and professional posture. Knowing that while there is much more that remains unknown rather than known, the questing, testing, weighing and challenging has enabled a consolidation of my own identity as a 'white looking' Māori woman, and given me a sense of surety of position on which to stand. I am better positioned to recognise my place, what I know and what I do not know, and have also had the opportunity to develop critical tools to allow more easeful navigation of this terrain.

Like the participant in having had the opportunity to deliberately and critically enter the domain of Māori identity development, from the perspective of 'white looking' Māori I now possess a deeper and clearer understanding of what is present when white Māori meet others, and where these influences arise from. Much like familiarity with geographical locations, a heightened awareness of the socio-centric landscape of Māori identity formation, imparts a new sense of sureness of orientation, a comfort, although not a guarantee against hurts that are sure to arise from future experiences of alienation.

Like the participant I am far more able to identify and separate out personal shame and blame from systemic social forces. To discern social dynamics informed by the subtle or outright products of internalised or externalised racism. I am far less inclined to collude with or confuse such misallocation as any form of personal lack or shame, whatever the source of the dispersion. For the participant and myself the desire expressed in the information sheet that the study "in itself will be a healing, strengthening and revivifying experience that leads to new and deeper understanding of your unique position in this world. Understandings that will lead to an enhanced strategic ability to create opportunities and mediate challenges leading to a deeper sense of identity and belonging in both the cultural worlds that you occupy may be valuable resources" (Appendix A) has occurred.

Dilemmas of contrast

The comparative contrast of writing to a predominantly Māori audience for the pilot and a predominantly Non-Māori academic audience was a critical perspective gifted by the pilot. This contrast has facilitated a keener comprehension of the need to strategically and critically examine and assess what information is put out into the open and largely unprotected arena of academic knowledge generation. An arena that rather than being neutral and unbiased has provided the truth regimes of expert leaders that have rested upon

and justified racial stereotypes and eugenic dogma in modern societies (Raumati-Hook, 2009; Chant, 2009).

Identity and research are both potent sites where Māori capacity to self-name, self-define and protect have been contested (Smith, 1999). Within Te Ao Māori it is recognised that all knowledge is not available to all (Marsden, 2003). Prior to release of knowledge a system of checks and balances ensures competency, safety and especially accountability to those whom the information belongs (Durie, 1998, Smith, 1999). Unlike research that claims neutrality, and fails to identify and declare it's positioning, I declare my intention as a Māori indigenous researcher to name, define and protect things and people Māori.

Māori exclusion of Māori

Māori exclusion of other Māori is an example of kōrero that may be used to uphold the 'standard story' and reproduce social and psychological climates that advantage settler populations and disadvantage Māori (McCreanor, 2005).   As a white Māori who predominantly experienced exclusion when moving outside of known Māori circles, I was personally and politically motivated to gain understanding of this dynamic, and bring it above the horizon of general Māori consciousness.

Given the increasing numbers of Māori children of mixed heritage and non-Māori appearance rejection of white Māori by other Māori is a crucial issue, a potential and powerful spanner in the works of the wider agenda of Māori development. Māori exclusion sits between the function of Māori identity development as the sociological and ontological pump that powers Māori development (Walker, 1989), and actual Māori development. Suppression of white Māori who progressively comprise larger portions of the Māori population is suppression of Māori development. Kōrero that draws Māori attention to this issue contributes to the capacity of Māori for political maturity, to proactively and responsibly predict and manage the entity of Māori development. Yet how much of this discussion can benefit Māori if it takes place in a domain that has a history of contributing to the mass manufacture of derogatory Māori rhetoric (Smith, 1999), and that currently contains a minority of Māori?

Māori exclusion of other Māori also featured in the pilot, and has been addressed by Māori scholars (O' Regan, 2000; Bevan, 2000; Borrell, 2005). While revelation of such self-destructive programming is necessary to enable us to "rip away the lizards claws clinging to our hearts and guts and suffocating our taha Māori intelligence" (Awatere, 1983, p. 19), and

disclosure of our own potential for being kupapa, for colonial collusion enables Māori to resist, reappraise and transform such practices (Mikaere, 2008, n.p); "Matters concerning Māori which came from within Māori should be settled by Māori using Māori systems of arbitration involving consensus seeking" (Hohepa, 1998, p. 2). The unearthing and critiquing of Māori exclusion of Māori has occurred and need not be repeated in a study that is targeted at a domain not inhabited by a majority of Māori.

Additionally, little is to be gained in reworking Māori exclusion of Māori without contextualising the dynamic in its socio-historical context. A 'focalized' perspective results when behaviour is examined in isolation (Freire, 1972, p. 111). A finger is pointed at and describes behaviour separate from the totality of dynamics in which it is embedded, and which give it life. A socio-political critique of the dynamics that give rise to such behaviours is proposed. Instead of examining an outcome of Māori exclusion separate from the antecedents, the methodologies involved in the epidermalization of inferiority (Fanon, 1970, p. 10), the enforced depravity of being "forced to look at himself through the eyes of his enemy in order to become his own enemy, and thus wish his own death" (Churchill, 1997, p.110), and necessarily reject his own kind, is critiqued.

Critical examination means descriptions of effects do not become confused with, or come to stand in, for causality (Hudson, 2008; Smith, 1999). In the case of Māori exclusion of Māori, such causality lies outside of Te Ao Māori. In the absence of the pilot, I would not have possessed sufficient understanding, knowledge or conceptual space separate from the reality and hurts of exclusion experiences, to properly acknowledge Non-Māori meddling as underlying this dynamic. When within a blizzard of oppression effects and poisonous layers of justification, it can be hard to see clearly the source of destruction. Failure to contextualise Māori exclusionary and other culturally self-destructive behaviours as the outcomes of deliberate and systematic ideological implantation of self-hate is akin to blaming the Jews in Nazi concentration camps for being skinny. A people's are blamed for an outcome that was forced upon them. For these reasons attention to dynamics of Māori manifestations of internalised self-hate have been limited. Illuminating of the socio-political and historical forces and violence that have given rise to these death-centric regimes are attended instead. Critique of socio-historical and existing political forces is central to producing research that is responsive, accountable and therefore beneficial to Māori.

Prioritisation of tikanga Māori for not just kaupapa but any reflective research, research experience as an 'insider' Māori researcher and increased capacity to critic, discern and match the audience, arena and content of data to maintain a stance the prioritises and

privileges Māori, while also meeting academic requirements are the fruits of the opportunity to pilot Ahakoa He Kiri Mā.

Perceiving Māoriness

As mentioned in the introduction, during the participant selection process of this study, complexities involved in gaining consensus on who defintitely does and does not look Maori indicated the the levels of disturbance and uncertainty that continue to underlie Maori indentity since colonisation.

Socio-Political Environment

One of the contested participants noticed that political conditions definitely affected her recognition by other Māori. This participant spent time in Whanganui and prior to the occupation of Pakaitore experienced an exclusively rejecting face from other Māori. Yet during and post occupation she was acknowledged and meet with sisterly affection and offers of inclusion instead of disdain or oversight. Over a brief period of time the same ethnic features, in the same location drew very different responses that seemed dependent on local political conditions.

Overt changes in the local and national socio-political of Māori-Non-Māori relations seem to impact the capacity of Māori to either recognise or acknowledge other Māori. The example provides a clear demonstration of the enmeshed nature of Māori identity with Non-Māori politics and power, and also demonstrates that one-sided mono-cultural investigations are futile for developing understandings of what constitutes Māori identities. Instead critical explorations of all aspects of Māori identity formation Måori and Non-Måori are essential. While this recommended participant noted the shift in how she was treated by other Māori, I wonder if the other Māori were as critically aware of their own behaviour? "By finding meaning in experience and then exploring this meaning in words, the speaker enables the community to think about experience and not just live it" (Reissman, 1993). Such is the potential of critique to Māori ways for recognising other Māori and doing identity.

Speech

Increasing numbers of Māori possess an appearance that to most, provides no physical sign of Māoriness. For many it is not until they speak that they can be identified as possessing a form of utterance, or word useage and intonation that indicates Māori socialisation. The pilot and some of this studies participants and I are among this number.

Intelligence

For one of the contested participants being naturally inquisitive and interested in learning and schooling meant they went unrecognised as Māori by other Māori. Displaying intelligence functioned as a disconfirming Māori attribute Māori 'dumbing down' or accentuating the negative has been identified elsewhere (O'Regan, 2001), and betrays the depth of internalised racism ingrained into the Māori soul and mind. When we disqualify those who are alert and bright we condemn ourselves to every reducing worlds that shrink away from the "Māori aptitude for applying to new facts empirical solutions inspired by racial experience over many seas in many lands" (Ngāta, 1930, Parliamentary Paper G.10: X-XI). In perpetuating our intellectual denigration we actively collaborate in the turning of our destiny into destruction, and align with those who "placed themselves in the position of knowing more, on the basis of their own very short-term investigation, than the collective remembrances of the rest of humankind" (Deloria, 1995, p. 47), and out tipuna.

Non-Māori selection and cultural no-sense

On a single occasion I was directed by a Non-Māori friend to someone considered an ideal participant. Given that I did not know the recommended person and was not prepared to introduce Non-Māori identification of Māori into the study I followed up on this suggestion within Māori networks.

A glaring discrepancy arose in perceptions between the non-Māori recommender and a whānau member of the suggested participant. The person who was seen to be steeped and deeply connected to Te Ao Māori by a Non-Māori was known for a superficial commitment to Whānau and Māori within their own Whānau. Such disparity confirms the need to ensure that 'validation should be in the control of those who have knowledge" (Duran, 2006, p. 114) to avoid nonsensical renderings.

Lines in the Shifting Sands

Identity is as much about closing out as it is closing in, "[w]ithout clear lines drawn literally in the sand indigenous minorities risk their total engulfment by powerful settler nations" (Chadwick, 2002, p. 199). While the ideological position is clear the lived experience of differentiating Māori from Non-Māori is not. While much injustice and Eurocentric rhetoric was and continues to be perpetuated by Non-Indigenous interpretations and renditions of Māori culture by Non-Māori, the confusion evident in the selection stage of

this study indicates a need for astute care and constant critical explication even for Māori. Identifying the dividing line between different degrees of Māori engagement based on ethnic and cultural measures remains a mysterious and complicated process.

"Did Māori tell you, you are pretty?"

Another revelation in the selection process was the instruction from a participant who was perceived as possessing a Non-Māori appearance, but was otherwise unable to participate, "Ask them, did Māori tell you, you are pretty?"

Non-Māori ethnic features were identified as attractive. Beautiful meant looking non-Māori, looking Māori meant being ugly. Such compliments were experienced as insults and did more to perpetuate denigration and exclusion of Māoriness for this woman, than to affirm a sense of personal beauty. Much like the 'dumbing down' phenomenon, natural expressions of Māoriness were denigrated, and replaced by Western tinkerations of acceptable representations of Māoriness, which by definition needed to be devoid of Māoriness.

What goes on when a Māori person tells another Maori they are beautiful because they do not look Māori? If "[e]very image we see is being read, in part, against what isn't there" (Hall, 1997, n.p.), are they really saying you are pretty, or are they saying 'you are, by virtue of not looking like my ugliness that I have been taught is Māori, beautiful? A socially programmed perception that trains people to like the look of 'others', precisely because they do not look like themselves, 'you don't look like the parts of me that I have been taught to detest'?

Politics of the Māori Image

If "[t]o become a human subject is precisely to internalise the shared maps of meaning of others in your culture…to become a cultural subject rather than a blob of genetic material" (Hall, 1997, n.p), as the author of the shared maps here in New Zealand became Non-Måor, Māori have had much to navigate.

The challenge of coping with the annihilation of interpretation schemas and being plunged into imposed interpretive maps that were, and remain, for now, eurocentric continues. Pre-contact Māori appearance meant little in its assumed normalness. Post contact Māori appearance became not only outside of the norm, but deviant. Same appearance different renderings. Since the invasion of colonisation there have been two

primary systems of representation, Māori and Non-Māori, yet there is diverse variation in Måori identities, identities that are constituted within, not out-side representations (Hall, 1996), and much like a kaleidescope, multiple elements fall and are forced together to create particular patterns.

A marginalised peoples do not possess the power to author the ascription of societal labels, and may also lack a capacity to resist the assumption of negative labels (McIntosh, 2005, 2007). The collectivisation of what were previously hapu or iwi based nations under the term Māori, while a commonsense descriptor for Tāngata Whenua peoples, remains a contested and incomplete phenomenon played out in 'tribaltanga' versus 'pan Māori' debates today (Durie, 2001)). On both the singular and coll;ective levels Māori identification and labelling of Māori remains a contested and uncertain question.

Non-Māori perspective

Much like the allegiance and active support of Māori people, histories, knowledge and epistemologies that occurs subsequent to Non-Māori developing a critical or conscientized perspective to Māori-Non-Māori relations (Hansen, 1989); many early Europeans on first contact with Māori, choose to become assimilated into Māori ways of living (Walker, 1989). Rather than challenging or altering Māori systems of meaning and representation, they merged into Te Ao Māori. Māori systems of meaning and representation continued to provide the epistemological realities for both Māori and early European settlers. The first chapter of Māori and non-Māori coming together occurred within one system of representation, a Māori system.

Even after the introduction of the systems of imperialism that had been rolled out in the America's, India, Australia and other recently accumulated exotic colonial outposts (Bodley, 1999), Māori were not immediately or uniformly written off as irredeemable uncivilised savages.   Instead under the banner of the 'reunification of the Aryans" (Sorrenson, 1979, p, 30), and what later proved to be erroneous European cultural self recognition, much initial effort was invested in race relations and nation building.   This system of representation presents an inversion to the first contacts between the peoples. While again one system is all encompassing, this time it is a Pākeha system, and rather than exhibiting a tolerance for diversity by admitting those who are clearly different, Māori are made into long lost, and therefore acceptable even if retarded Europeans (Hansen, 1989). The "highly civilised Britain and the Māori, just emerging from barbarism, are one in origin; that in fraternising with the Māori the European undergoes no degradation; in inter-marrying

with the race he does no violence to the claims of consanguinity. It is thought that when this is known there will be a rise in more cordial feeling between peoples inhabiting the colony, both equally the subject of one king" (R. Studholme Thompson, in Sorrenson, 1979, p. 29). This chapter of European representations of Māori while exhibiting a shift to Eurocentricism, and demonstrating universal homogenisation as colonialism flattens or eliminates diversity in its path, was yet to be coloured by active denigration of Māori as deviant.

While both these early chapters of representation demonstrate forms of Māori to non-Māori relations that are beyond "[t]he binary opposition of Māori and Pākeha ethnicity [that] is as important a determinant of Māori identity as enculturation" (Walker, 1989, p. 35), this was to change as increasing Māori disenfranchisement and social marginalisation were to remove from Māori the political and ideological power necessary to shape or influence what became the primary and derogatory Non-Māori system of representing Māori. "Settlers invaded the land and missionaries invaded the mind" (Walker, 1989, p. 41). Systematic and pervasive negative reconfiguration of Māori representations occurred in education and all society institutions as "Pākehā control of the media and the printed word added to the derogation of Māori identity by context and negative public definitions" (Walker, 1989, p. 49). The casting of Māori into the dichotomous social role of the 'undesirable other' came to permeate all levels of New Zealand society, the national symbolic, institutional and petty personal (McCreanor, 2005).

From disaster to damage control?

The historical and contemporary geographic, cultural, economic and political invasion of Māori people and land means all Māori now experience the imposition of non-Māori representational systems. How much this impacts on Māori identity development and the process of Māori recognition of Māori in today's world depends on contextual specifics that this study seeks to illumine. "Identities are never unified…never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions." (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

For Māori, ways had to be found to manage the seismic shifts that occurred with the wresting by Non-Māori of the ideological and political mechanisms of ascribing and enforcing systemic social meanings. "Identity is a construction, a process, never completed, never a proper fit of totality" (Penetito, 2008, p.64). Māori systems of representation were and continue to be hijacked by the invasion and ongoing terrorism of a colonialism that is or has changed 'the guard' of social control with neo-liberal economic machinery. The confusion

and contestation surrounding identification of participants for this study indicates that Tāngata Whenua capacity to recognise Tāngata Whenua remains disturbed.

Participants

The participants were purposively selected utilising informal Māori networks. Participant ages ranged from the twenties to fifties, and the women represented tribal domains from across the country. At the time of interview three were mothers, and four had academic backgrounds. All possessed expertise from either Te Ao Māori or Te Ao Hurihuri or both, and therefore represented a highly skilled group.

All participants are Māori women who possess tipuna mandated Māori ancestry or whakapapa, and a secure Māori identity that is evident through the possession of positive and secure markers of identity as identified by Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie, 2001). Mārkers for study selection were Te Reo Māori, regular and frequent access and contact with Māori social institutions of Whānau, hapu, iwi and marae; and knowledge of whakapapa. These women choose to be Māori in all spaces at all times, and importantly for the purposes of this study, the participants also possess a physical appearance that does not reveal their Tāngata Whenua status. All participants are strongly and positively identified as Māori, yet unidentifiable as Māori. Their external ethnic appearance presents a different representation to their internal ethnic identity.

Data Collection

Tikanga Māori process and procedures covered all aspects of this study; kaumātua and cultural supervisors were provided by Ti Hauora o Te Aroha, a traditional Māori Spiritual Healing Clinic based in Whanganui. A Kaupapa Māori research approach and semi-structured questions informed the boundaries of and held the interview process. See Appendix D for 'Interview Schedule Prompts'.

As discussed in the Pilot Fruits section, given that identity kōrero is tipuna kōrero a focus group hui took place at Ti Hauora O Te Aroha with four participants as a deliberate strategy to welcome, hold and care for the participants as Māori woman who are also whakatinana (embodiments) of their ancestors. Ti Hauora O Te Aroha provided a marae like setting capable of acknowledging and caring for the spiritual and physical realities of the participants through tikanga practices and protocols.

Two 1:1 interviews were also conducted with participants who were unable to make the focus group hui. Interviews were conducted at a venue of the participants choosing one choose her home, the other a neutral venue. Focus group and interviews began with the question, "can you talk about your experiences and meanings of being Māori women who strongly identifies and centers as Māori, yet is not identifiable as Māori by those who do not know you? The interviews were taped and video recorded for later transcription by the researcher.

In all cases except for one where the participant lived some distance from the researcher, an initial meeting occurred to allow the participant and researcher to get to know each other and fully inform the participants of the aims and processes of the study. All interview processes were covered by karakia before and after the kōrero, which was recited by kaumātua in the instance of the focus group hui and one interview, and by the researcher in the other interview. In keeping with tikanga protocols, on conclusion of the kōrero Kai (food) prepared by Ti Hauora O Te Aroha Kaiwhakatinana and Te Rau Aroha Whānau was shared respectively in the focus group hui and one interview. In the other interview held in the participants home kai was generously shared earlier.

All participants received the 'Information Sheet' depicted in Appendix A. The 'Participant Consent Form' depicted in Appendix B was viewed and signed prior to commencement of the interview that was taped and transcribed by the researcher. All participants viewed, amended and released the transcript for the purposes of this study. 'Tape Transcript Release' is appendix C. The process of collection use and storage of data for this study was approved by Massey University Human Ethics Committee HEC: Southern B Application – 09/28.

Data Analysis

Given that this project involved six Māori women with diverse histories and life experiences, who varied in age from the 20's to 50's, and were from tribal areas that spanned the country, the material generated was richer and more expansive than the kōrero from the single n pilot and therefore required a new analysis approach.

Once the participant's kōrero was transcribed, the dialogue was mapped to produce an abbreviated summary of each of the dialogues in their entirety. This enabled the three territories of the talk to be considered as a whole, an entity in itself. These maps of the dialogue territories ordered the kōrero as common themes and stand out quotes were

identified, colour coded, and clustered into themes. Two super-ordinate streams were identified and within these streams finer grained theme explication emerged. In the analysis participant quotes that gave the clearest example of the sub-theme were followed by discussion of the whakapapa (causes and influences that constituted the experience).

In keeping with centering the control of the research and its outcomes with the participants, the analysis and conclusion were sent out to the participants who were invited to make suggestions and amendments prior to binding.

Naming

Given that this research as kaupapa Māori research and seeks to position power with the participants' and Māori, perpetuating the colonially imposed dislocation of naming others was rejected. Instead of perpetuating the 'pain of being defined by others" (Ramsden, in O'Regan, 2001, p. 10), the women's were invited to provide the name they would like their kōrero to rest under. "It is a powerful form of social control to be in a position of being able to name" (McIntosh, 2008). The participants' process of naming themselves for this study affirmed whakapapa, tipuna and given names.

Poroporoaki - closure

A final gathering was held with participants, researcher, supervisors and Whānau.

Time was allowed for the participants to share kōrero and experiences of being a part of this research journey with the other participants and the researcher. Copies of the thesis were gifted to participants and their Whānau, and kai was shared to celebrate and close the research process.

Chapter Five: Analysis – Whiriwhiri Kōrero

It has been stated "probing closer into the particular also takes us closer to the universal" (Eatough & Smith, 2008, p.182). The presentation of the participants' kōrero in this chapter mirrors the spiral or unfurling of the universe. A movement that radiates out from the nest of the sheltering Whānau as the source of all life, to the Whānau whānui, the wider collective, society and expands into the intimate yet cosmic presence of tipuna, the intersubjective and intra-personal and beyond. In the flux and flow of becoming, the spiral bends and reconnects with the beginning on another level, carving out the takarangi or double spiral (Henare and Williams, 2009), and describing the 'tangibly traumatising' experiences that have also contributed to Māori identity development for some of the participants.

This pulse of being informs participant's particular sense of the world and their place within it as Māori women, and although Māori identity is fluid and flexing, tracking allows discernment of some overriding patterns. First 'tangibly sheltering' or enhancing, and then 'tangibly traumatising' or inhibitory Māori identity influences are tracked as they flow through bodies of Māori being, tangible and intangible, singular and plural, Indigenous and Non-Indigenous.

A model of nested concentric circles is introduced that illustrates the diverse intersection of these realms of being, and how they are variously infused with a presence or absence of Māori-centric values, beliefs and practices, according to the diversity of each participant's kōrero about their experience of Māori identity.

Winds of Change and Social Force Fields

Experiences of being Māori are shaped by how the greater world perceives Māori. It is very easy to conform to those expectations. If the foundations of your identity are not solid, then it does not take much shaking to loosen the tenuous connections and from there it is just a house of cards, a small breath of wind can expose the gaps (Hinehika)

All participant accounts consistently identify a foundational Māori identity that was acquired or inherited from within the Whānau whānui (immediate and extended family). This turangāwaewae, or core territory of 'being,' provided a collective, spiritual, emotional, mental and physical orientation from which to meet with and understand the intimate, immediate and

'greater world'. Participants also spoke of their experience of meeting with values, beliefs and behaviours from the 'greater world' that articulated with this foundational grounding of Māori identity. Māori identities arose from the articulation between a Māori centric foundation and Non-Māori forces.

Others have named Te Ao Māori and colonisation as the primāry forces of Māori identity formation (Jackson, 2009). Restoration of Māori identities occurs through the twin processes of challenging, resisting and transforming colonisation while simultaneously re-emerging Te Ao Māori (Jackson, 2009). Incongruence between Māori realities and a 'greater world' that arises from and continues to prioritise colonial interests and values, whether they are rooted in imperialism or capitalism, are also indicated in the above quote. While participants varied in their awareness and management of this dissonance, all described contradiction and incongruence between these two primāry forces of identity influence. The foundational bedrock of a Māori identity and Non-Māori socio-political institutions and climate are at odds.

Māori worth

Māori was always given the mana being Māori was always a thing to be proud of in our home…um…and the way that we walked in our world (Hinehika)

The exposure that I had was to places of being Māori that were totally proud (Nellie)

We grew up not being allowed to acknowledge our Māori selves. And that was difficult because you had this surge for an identity that you knew inside you. When I was very young I had some strange idea that being Māori must be like a disease, because you weren't allowed to talk about it (Erana)

Māori identity did not merely rely on the cumulative effect of the forces of colonisation and Te Ao Māori, but critically on the value ascribed to Māori through these interactions. The presence, strength and quality of Māori affirmation seemed instrumental in determining whether Māori identity, and all things pertaining to Māori, maintained mana and positions of integrity in their worlds, both intimate and societal; or conversely became submerged by wider denigratory societal forces.

Participant accounts reveal two essential elements in a critical approach to influences from Te Ao Māori. Firstly, the presence of Māori people and tipuna, tangible and intangible; and secondly, the overall value judgement of worth ascribed to Māori. While all had the

experience of interacting with Māori people and ways, the value ascribed to Māori varied from an attraction to a way of life that was sacred and treasured, to an aversive irrelevancy, a source of denigration and shame.

Given the historical and contemporary conditions of colonisation, and the subsequent marginalisation and eventual embedding of Māori identity within a Pākehā ecology (McIntosh, 2005; Moeke-Pickering, 1996); value judgements of Māori are vulnerable to and at times riddled with colonial perceptions; consistently deprecating perceptions of Māori. 'Māori' has become a code of derogatory prefix in New Zealand societal institutions (Borrell, 2005). Conceptions of Māori are power infused and dominate the Aotearoa socio-political climate since Māori mārginality was first secured when Māori "ancestors were militarily overcome, forced to yield their resources and then reduced to constant poverty" (Jones, 2000, p. 164), in the early 19th century.

While all participants have attained positive identification as Māori women, divergent patterns of value for things Māori contributed to their identity. In terms of the value or mana attributed or denied to Māori in their Whānau immediate and extended, a continuum of orientations to things and people Māori from pro and proud Māori, to the violent and active denigration of all things Māori, including the participant was discernable. A consistently Māori derogatory pattern was acknowledged in the wider arena of regional and national attitudes to Māori.

Realms of influence

Comprehensive consideration of Māori identity requires an examination of the ecologies, and the nature of the relationships between these ecologies, in which identities are formed and shaped (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). While two meta-narratives of culture are emphasised as comprising the overall territory of identity for all New Zealanders, Māori and Non-Māori alike (Sibley & Liu, 2007), participant responses reveal multiple influences arising from varying tiers of social organisation, contributing to the ideological and cultural shaping of their identities as Māori.

I realised that without realising it I tended to gravitate towards other Mäori or Māori things… but I just always felt like I was doing the right thing, you know I was following my gut instinct to either learn Te Reo, or to spend time with the kaumātua or whatever it was (Whi)

My mother was a product of her generation as well, for some reason she was absolutely stuck on the fact that I was going to be another Māori statistic. I was just going to

go out get pregnant at a young age leave school, just because that was the stereotypical imāge of Māori when she was growing up. And I guess that she had been taught that by her mother as she was growing up, and that was why they weren't so fond of my father because he was Māori and that meant he brought all these characteristics of being Māori, you know the hori like I'd never wear shoes and I would always get told off (Whi)

In these two accounts, discrepant value judgements, and multiple influences arising from the inter-subjective intra-personal, Whānau, and societal are all discernable. The fact that they describe the experience of only one participant highlights the complex spectrum of influences, and variable value judgements that impact on Māori identity formation.

Cultural influences from seven levels or realms of social ordering were discernable in participant accounts. Levels ranged from the most intimate to the most extended, a template can be seen in figure 1.
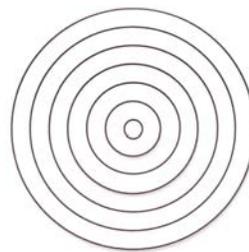
Figure 1. The seven realms of social influence are from the centre, the inter-subjective and intra-personal, the immediate whānau, the extended whānau whānui, the local socio-cultural, the regional, and the global.

The contemporary extended Whānau structure described in this study is recognised as a colonial truncation of only 2-3 generations, within an extensive multi-generational pre-urbanised institution of extended Whānau that could contain four or more generations.

Participant kōrero indicated a Māori realm of being in themselves and their Whānau that arose from the complex convergence of multiple judgements and influences that both infused and disrupted identification as Māori. While all layers of influence were intimately experienced, there were differences in their origin, context and impact for the participants' identity, and attitudes towards Māori.

Whānau and Fields of Social Influence

Within the sanctum of the Whānau Whānaui two overall value positions to Māori people and ways were evident. Four participants lived within social ecologies that ascribed mana to all things and people Māori. Two shared the reverse cultural realities, in which they, and most, although not all things Māori were predominantly denigrated by their Non-Māori parent, who was also the most influential in establishing the cultural atmosphere of the home.

'Tangibly sheltering' or 'tangibly traumatising' are the themes that embrace these two overall positions of participant experiences of themselves and things Māori within their Whānau of origin and primāry spheres of social and ideological influence in childhood.

Tangibly Sheltering

"I think it makes a huge difference the value in your family that Māori is given…I mean in my life, Māori was always given the mana, being Māori was always a thing to be proud of in our home, and the way that we walked in our world" (Hinehika)

Four of the six participants were raised in or had access to social and ideological fields comprised of Whānau whānui, and local socio-cultural influence that unquestionably, consistently and pervasively gave mana to all things Māori. This positioning was so comprehensive that, in the main, derogatory forces of wider socio-political contexts were excluded from the participant's awareness until they emerged from the shelter of parents and extended Whānau in early adulthood.

A positive and proud Māori-centric orientation was congruent across the realms of childhood experience. The participants raised in Māori-centric communities recalled only positive attitudes towards all things Māori, and were accustomed to high levels of reciprocal interaction between the Whānau whānui, reciprocal community, and close kinship and relational links to all in their world. The extent and quality of Māori cultural positioning for the 'tangibly sheltering' participants can be seen in figure 2.

Figure 2. Bold lines represent a mana Māori orientation within the Inner four realms of the inter-subjective and intra-personal, the immediate whānau, the extended whānui whānui, and the local socio-cultural.

While all four shared 'tangibly sheltering' there were differences. One was raised in a home where "*Dads influence was greater*" (Nellie) and European behaviours were common yet Māori values and beliefs remained prominent in her world. She was always encouraged to hold who she was as Māori as central, essential and proud, and was regularly taken 'home' to be with her Whānau Whānaui and whenua. Two other participants were raised in regions with comparative high Māori populations. Another had strong whakapapa links to an area of high Māori population and was also a 'betweenager' (Ramsden, 2002, p. 29), being among the first generations of urban born Māori following the 'last great migrations' of Māori to the cities (Ramsden, 2002, p. 29). For this participant the long-range whenua and Whānau based intergenerational kin group of socio-cultural support and sustenance as Māori, was supplemented by the various parental affiliations and commitments to the establishment and maintenance of pan-Māori urban institutions.

Keepers of culture

Preservation of proud and Māori-centric worlds required far more than the haphazard coming together of ancestry, Whānau and populations.   "One of the fundamentals underpinning the continuity of Māori identity is the political climate in which Māori identity is embedded" (Moeke-Pikering, 1996, p. 56).   For all participants' Non-Māori ecologies explicitly dominated the political climate, however the 'tangibly sheltering' participants were unaware of this reality as children. Yet parental knowledge of the existence of anti-Māori sentiments and deliberate countering of these by the Māori parent and Whānau is evident in the kōrero of one of the women.

We lived in Upper Hutt which was very, very white…we were alone in a little white cul-de-sac. It wasn't that bad, you know kids make friends. But Mum tells stories about when we got invited to birthday parties she was very excited because we didn't get invited to

lots of things by Pākehā. And she would feed us up before we went because she didn't want them to think that these Māori kids were little pigs, and that we'd get invited back (Hinehika)

Challenging, resisting and transforming - Without

So comprehensive was the sheltering the mother provided for her Māori children that there was an absence of experience to inform comprehension of these conditions. The participant remained unaware of the institutionalised denigration, exclusion and marginalisation of Māori until her mothers' recent disclosures to her as an adult.

And once she told me I was thinking "That's so sad" how could she have that perception of what a people thought and I guess her perception was reinforced actually by experience that we didn't get invited to lots of things and why would that be? We got invited in the Māori world and the Pākehā family world, but by school friends we didn't get invited to lots of stuff (Hinehika)

Disbelief and sadness signal the surprise experienced by this participant when acknowledging the existence of Non-Māori marginalisation of Māori; A marginalisation that for most Māori is the norm, not the unusual (Durie, A, 2001).

I wasn't aware of that…it certainly wasn't until recent years until she said that (Hinehika)

Challenging, resisting and transforming - Within

Deliberate mānoeuvring to inoculate children from negative forces before they may embed into a vulnerable and developing Māori identity, whether arising within or without the Whānau, is also evident in an account of being excluded because of a Non-Māori appearance.

Mum said that with my sister was um brown eyed, long black hair and um, she said that I used to cry about not having black hair and about having blonde hair and not looking like her (Hinehika)

It started of course from talking about participating in this [study] and her recounting some of her memories which of course are joint memories, but I don't recall them…her saying that there were times I would cry cause I didn't look like my siblings. You know that's just a freak of genetic nature really. I certainly look like my relatives I just don't have their

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colouring. And when she was talking about it I didn't recall it… I don't know, but I certainly feel that my mother would have done a good job of making me feel quite secure because it's not something that carried on into my adolescence or into my adulthood - that I felt different (Hinehika)

The mother had done such a good job of inoculating and healing her early sense of exclusion and hurt that no recall of this event or negative consequences remained. Prior to this discussion with her mother the participant had no memory of feeling different or excluded as a child due to her appearance. Instead she experienced an exclusively positive and secure sense and memory of who she was as a Māori.

Inoculation from self-subjectification

Cause we lived down in … it was soo.um…so alien from anything that I have ever experienced. Even the Māori were different, you know, and I think that there has been a resurgence down there. And I hate to say this but they were deliberately off hand or mean, but it was, it was really just like…you know there's these universal things that Māori do, and one of them is that even if you don't mihi to each other there's the (eye brow lift), or introduce a Māori word into a sentence. They'd be like "we say hello around here" and I was like "ohhhh (painful sound)". I lived down there for 18 months and it was very, yeah it was very isolating… and when they came up to do their exhibition [Te Papa] it was, you know, that's maybe ten years from when we lived down there. And there were people sitting on the paepae who I met, who never really acknowledged their Māoriness to me…so… it's good to see that there has been some movement (Hinehika)

So comprehensive and positive was the foundation provided within the Whānau Whānaui that when the rare event of exclusion from other Māori did occur, no personal blame or ownership resulted. Rather than any conditioned subordination tendencies to personalise blame or shame, or 'adaptation to the structure of domination' (Fanon, 1970; Freire, 1972, p. 25), a more expansive and critical view in terms of broader Māori development of the excluding Māori resulted.

I actually very occasionally get reminded that I look different to how I feel. And it's funny when it happens cause it sooooo sticks out of my brain (Hinehika)

The deliberate shielding actions of the mother provided an oppression free zone for her children. Instead of becoming entrapped in the individualizing dynamic of personal

blame or shame for others reactions to her different Māori appearance, critique occurred. The participant grew into a world that held no barriers or restrictions due to difference or ethnicity, a world that acknowledged a positive Māori centre and expected critical and active engagement, growth and contributions to the formation of that world.

Ethnic coding and signification

Participant pre-study discussions with her mother revealed that in a reverse trend to the mother's awareness of a Māori ethnic appearance signifying derogatory interpretations in a Non-Māori cultural realm, the mother had no such initial awareness of difficulties arising from significations of ethnic appearance within a Māori cultural realm.

The mother "*didn't have a feeling of me being different from my siblings, or thinking I was thought of as different*" (Hinehika). Awareness of the importance of the ethnic physical difference carried by other Māori was gained when an associate with close family connections remārked, "*Oh isn't that fabulous that little Pākehā kid playing with our kids*" (Hinehika). On being unable to locate the 'Pākehā kid' the family friend pointed out the participant. It was a shock for the mother to realize that the participant was identified and thought of differently by others.

In a Tane Māhuta, Herculean like act, the mother held the sky up in a particular way to create a specific cultural world for her daughter, children and possibly also Non-Māori husband. "To exist, humanly, is to name the word, to change it" (Freire, 1972, p. 69). The mother existed humanly, utilising her consciousness of the exclusion and differentness her daughter would meet in Te Ao Māori and te ao hurihuri (modern world) to existentially change the world her daughter and children inhabited.

She seems to have shielded and protected her Whānau from a consciousness of the "constant negative public definitions" (Walker, 1989, p. 49) of Māori that permeates the wider societal structure of Aotearoa New Zealand. Instead in the realm created by the mother, father and extended Whānau on both sides paternal and māternal, being Māori meant naturally questing to attain a Māori ability to be *"attuned to the world. So total understanding of nature and the bush and the things that dictated our survival"* (Hinehika) continues today.

"The focus was always on education and being the best you could be, and that was about standing in the community as well. But also… if you didn't have education, if you didn't understand the world, you weren't going to progress in the world, and that came on both

sides of my family. So there's always a drive for, not academic excellence, but certainly an awareness, to be educated and able to articulate. We were made aware of people who weren't articulate that weren't well educated and that reflected in their social standing. So for me social standing mean being educated, being able to be understood by everyone

It was about finding a place in te ao kaore i roto i Te Ao Māori, kaore i roto i te ao Pākehā (the world, not in the Māori world, not in the Pākehā, the world). So those were the lines that I grew up with, and yes I have seen poverty, but what is poverty? If you can't read, that's poverty, if you can't make yourself understood that is poverty (Hinehika)

Whānaungatanga

The participation of parents in establishing urban Māori institutions provided opportunities to continue the practice of Māori values and beliefs in an urban setting. A practice that provided a place and sense of self in the world that was meaningfully Māori. A sense of self that extends beyond the limited parameters of the Western individual as a unified rational being (Sampson, 1982) is evident in the behaviours of the parents and the participants.

My parents used to do a lot of you know like, they would be on just about every marae committee. They used to go around the maraes and for hui (Hinehika)

Dad and a lot of Māori that came to Wellington, they spent lots of time building up the local Māori interest here. We were a very strong family within Ngāti Poneke. And my early memories are on Monday nights practicing at club, so I've always been involved in kapa haka and from that aspect lots of contact with Māori… and having contact with lots of people, in that Māori world…they were both really active in the community so while I was growing up, they would be at this hui and that hui and most were Māori themed (Hinehika)

Although contributing to the development of urban based pan tribal organisations required māmmoth time and energy, Whānau involvement within these networks provided a focus, affirmation and perpetuation of a mana Māori world beyond the immediacy of self (Durie, A, 2001; Ramsden, 2002).

Reciprocity

The centrality of being part of a wider relation web of community is mirrored in the participant's assumption of the community generation role on behalf of her own Whānau and children.

I think it has come to me that they role modeled a certain level of participation in the community and if you wanted to get from, you had to put in. I didn't want to be the person who was out of the house every night, but… (Hinehika)

Māori concepts of what is, and what can be, have always prioritised and respected an interdependent relational view of reality. "Our future as Māori peoples lies in our adherence to the fundamental principles of life that complement the strong sense of community fostered by our tipuna" (Vercoe, 1998, p. 245). From a Māori epistemological centre community, interdependence and the relational are prioritised as all is recognised as kin, tangible, intangible, animāte and inanimāte (Barlow, 1991; Mārsden, 2003).

Prioritisation and care of the relational is at the heart of Māori protocol and procedures, this is not the case with Western societal systems. "The common feature of Māori law was it was not in fact about property, but about arranging relationships between people" (Kaa & Milroy, in Ministry of Justice, 2004). One system privileges relations and collective wellbeing, the other property acquisition for personal gain.

In the Māori worldview, to acknowledge the mana of the giver and receiver, and to lay relational lines for future reciprocity, more is given than is received (Durie, 2001). 'Giving to', instead of 'taking from' establishes relationships of mutually enhancing mana recognition. While both the Western and the Māori systems of social organisation are based on unequal giving, the intentions, processes and outcomes of each are very different. Within a Māori philosophical framework exchanges enhance the collective and act as a mutual resource for all contributors. Isolation and hoarding for personal gain are inimical to systems relationally based on collective consciousness and care (Awatere, 1982). "*If you wanted to get from, you had to put in" (Hinehika),* not take from.

Urbanisation exposed Māori to systems that functioned on very different epistemological realities to those held by Māori, realms where alien economic and political organisation predominated (Ramsden, 2002). Instead of colluding with and becoming submerged into the deliberate giving of a lesser value in order to generate a surplus for personal profit that characterises the Western capitalist system, other choices were made by

this participants whakapapa and kaupapa Whānau. "People can transform themselves by transforming the structures from which they are formed" (Sampson, 1983, p. 145). Instead of being changed by the structures that existed in urban New Zealand, they introduced institutions to transform aspects of this environment into one that perpetuated Māori values of prioritising of the relational, and care for the collective.

I don't think there is any point in being you know, half involved. Because what do you actually teach your children?   That you don't really have to contribute? Someone else will do it for you? I think those are very strong, um community values…you know these come from my parents, come from my grandparents. My great great grandfather, and my grandfather was involved in the raising of funds for the Takitimu marae which is really…the most beautiful marae (Hinehika)

Even though this family had a rural whānau whānaui they continued to be attached and responsive to, they also created pan Māori urban collectives. Such bodies maintained the essential daily norm of being part of something that transcended the isolation of self. An awareness of being embedded in and inseparable from a collective that gives life the sustenance of meaning and belonging, meant generating a collective to be able to reciprocally relate on a day to day basis was essential.

Māori privileging of the relational and collective has come under threat with colonisation and urbanisation. The engineered migration of Māori from turangāwaewae to urban settings has resulted today in over 70% of Māori not living in their tribal area (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Some have claimed Māori are no longer a tribal people (Walker, in Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 88), others highlight that Māori are tribal by descent, urban by domicile, as well as tribal and ethnic by identity (Durie, 1998).

But he carved so he was brought up within that real Māori world as well. Everything that we attended our parents where a part of so they knew we were Māori as well, so for myself… cause everyone we had interacted with as children everyone was Mäori, or if they weren't Māori they knew who our parents where (Tania)

The lives of all the 'tangibly sheltering' participants and their Whānau testify to the possibility of being tribal by descent, urban by domicile, and collective by cultural inclination. All of these levels of being, by retaining a prioritisation of the collective, are reciprocally beneficial and provide essential and meaningful institutions to meet with, and nourish the diverse forms Māori and Māori identity now present in Aotearoa. A consciousness of kinship

that extends beyond the "skin bound organism" (Sampson, 1983, p. 160) of the individual, or the artefact of the nuclear family, and also the linear bounds of the here and now, is still very much a part of the unity and belonging experienced by Māori as being Māori.

I think because we actually went to hui a lot with our parents and it wasn't a bad life, you know, go to play with other peoples kids, got chocolate biscuits, you got to, you know everyone thought you were cute. It wasn't a bad life – really, bit I often remember thinking where's Dad? Oh don't need to ask…you know, and it's sort of like, I am not going to be like that. And suddenly you wake up and you are your parent you are doing those community focused things and yeah. Its maybe… for my Māori focus I went onto the board of trustees to make sure our kids in the immersion unit weren't lost because they weren't represented on the BOT. Going to reo classes twice a week, it's a way to better support my girls in their education (Hinehika)

Community as cultural destruction immunity

Te Kotahitangā or tendencies to community represent fundamental sites of resistance and strength, "[a]ccordingly, the oppressors halt by any method (including violence) any action which even in incipient fashion could awaken the oppressed to the need for unity" (Freire, 1972, p. 111). For Māori unity is far more than a potential; it was and is an epistemological given. As with many Indigenous peoples, a full-blown consciousness of unity and the relational permeated all levels of society and reality.

Yeah and yet when I was growing up I used to get so PO'd with my parents cause they were always out at hui, at this or that, and then my life is imitating their life, you know I can be out all week and only home on a Saturday night. Kohangā hui, with Kura hui (Hinehika)

Whakawhānaungātangā, or the tendency to remember and recognise inter-connectedness and interdependency has been named as communism, and was targeted for systemised annihilation by the New Zealand government (Fleras & Maaka, 2005). "Virtually all legislation was aimed to achieve the detribalisation of the Māoris – to destroy if it were possible the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their societal system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amālgamāte the Māori race into our society and political system" (NZ Parliamentary Debates, 1870:361, in Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 113). Cataclysmic levels of violence were required to annihilate Māori people and Māori political control, and to remove

formal Māori institutions from New Zealand society in order to lend credence to the Western myth of divide and rule individualism. "By the end of the 19C, some 60 years from the beginning of organised colonisation, the saga of dispossession had run its course" (Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 120). Removal of all that makes Māori unique and powerful was required to subjugate and marginalise Māori. Yet the indomitable and resilient nature of Māori prioritisation of the relational and collective remains clear in all 'tangibly sheltering' participant accounts.

How could I be teaching Māori subjects? But you had someone else ask you to do that - expects you to do that, and that gave you confidence no matter what you can do, whatever you know, wherever you are at now, your Whānaungā thinks that you are in a place where you can do that, so you do it to the best of your ability (Nellie)

Subsequent to urbanisation more than 26% of Māori may not know their iwi (Fleras & Maaka, 2005), and as many as 75% do not possess minimum knowledge of their whakapapa (Durie, 2001). In this vacuum of whakapapa connection, kaupapa based networks have arisen as collective substitutes. While urbanisation has re-configured many aspects of being Māori, and it is not known by just how much (Moeke-Pickering, 1996), the deliberate deconstructing of Māori society did not occur (Durie, 1998). Instead the mushrooming of urban marae and pan tribal Māori entities "are highly symbolic cultural statements that Māori identity has survived the double trauma of colonisation and urbanisation" (Walker, 1989, p. 50). Participant accounts reveal that if meaningful Māori collectives were unavailable, then ways were found to create or symbolise them.

Māori need Māori and um to feel that isolated…we used to have lots of boil ups…so you'd put on a boil up and everyone would be able to have a good feed, so it was a community… so I don't know yeah… a memory of that gathering yeah…symbolic, hmm symbolic like there was no place to do it (Hinehika)

Institutionalisation of the tribal values of connection and interdependency continue to feature in the intergenerational perpetuation of behaviour that seeks, and prioritises the existence and well being of the collective as a fundamental requirement for wellbeing of self. Collective and self-identity are synonymous. Stan Walker even though living outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, demonstrates the community consciousness that continues to psychologically and socially ground Māori existence, regardless of geographical location, for many Māori in today's world when he comments on winning the "Australian Idol" competition: "This idol experience is not just for me, it's a reward that my family gets as well…If I win Idol

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they win idol and we win idol, this is a together thing…like I don't role by myself, we roll together" (Walker Stan, 2009, n.p).

While the effects of colonisation and urbanisation have drāmatically reconfigured Māori society and were effective in removing all formal Māori institutions from the generative horizons of society, the intangible and informal institution of collectivity endured. Increasingly Māori analyses of historical and contemporary flows of political power are recognising that "[p]olicies to disappear us are all around us" (Mikaere, 2008, n.p). The imposition of individualism and the institutionalised coercion of Māori away from communities are being illumined and critiqued (Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Penetito, 2008). Contemporaneously, the shelter of Māori kinship, the value and practice of collectivity is providing the corporate means for Māori to "exert a greater sense of control, confidence and agency in not only challenging this discourse but also in considering positive counter imāges" (Borrell, 2005, p. 204).

For the 'tangibly sheltering' participants and many Māori (Borrell, 2005; Penetito, 2008), the protective institution of Māori-centric community provides shelter form the corrosive negative representations and positions that New Zealand societal institutions place on Māori. "Not only to acknowledge the power of such representations but also to control, contest and re-define this into a sense of pride, survival and unity" (Borrell, 2005, p. 204). The collective provides a source of strength and pride within which the individual establishes self-confidence and belonging in being Māori.

Whakapapa or kaupapa Whānau systems function as recycling sites. Power saturated discourses of systemised Māori denigration were recognised, rejected and replaced with positive identities as Māori. Māori collectivity re-dignifies that which has been de-dignified, and protects against the corrosive denigration of the individual and collective.

Make time to get together with your Whānau, and you will get that whole diversity of realities and it might encourage you. Spending time together creates the opportunities for those values to be seen and demonstrated and observed by others who might not have been exposed to them I suppose it is about making the time. Making time to spend with your whakapapa Whānau, because a lot of people are time poor they say, they haven't got time to spend time (Nellie)

Instead of the existential desiccation and entrapment in individualism (Fanon, 1972; Sampson, 1983); participant accounts indicate a consciousness of the Māori collective

enabled refusal of entombment in the arid reality of individualized materiality. Participants raised in 'tangibly sheltering' Whānau Whānaui maintained Māori kin-centric worldviews of generosity, reciprocity and care for the collective.

Knowable communities

You know the community isn't a whole lot of people that you can't know, you know we are the community, and if we want a voice and if we want to make sure that we are informed then we need to be part of those things and sometimes it is really tiresome to think that the one night I had off, I had to go to a hui (Hinehika)

In direct comparison with the participants experience of contributing to a social body that *'isn't a whole lot of people that you can't know,'* "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an imāge of their community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). The 'nation' has been described as an "imāgined political community'' (Anderson, 1991). Rather than social bodies that are creating benefit from and for those who are contributing, the nation has been described as a social fabrication of shared representations (Liu, 2005). Instead of mutual effort for mutual gain, the nation creates constructions of common language to "maintain societal cohesion without recourse to feudal bonds of loyalty, obligation and inherited status" (Liu, 2005, p. 69). In other words, the construct of 'nation' manufactures virtual relations, achieving manipulation of the national body, minus the messy inconvenience of real connections. The communities in which the sheltering participants were raised were not like the imāgined community of a nation; genuine connections existed between people who acted together.

Intersubjective, intra-personal and tipuna

Rather than representative abstractions of virtual relations, an embodied and intimate sense of kin resonated through the women's accounts.

My tipuna, my knowingness of being Māori is still there, and that's what keeps you safe and protected from anything that comes your way or people saying "You're not Māori enough" or that sort of thing or sensing that… cause you are still accepted by your own tipuna and your own Whānau (Nellie)

Recognition and acceptance that as Māori we are whakatinana, or embodiments of our ancestors means, "I am because they were, and because I am they are" (Carter, In

Ihimāera, 1998, p. 267). Spiritual connection at the inter-subjective or intra-personal levels means not only the values of our ancestors, but our tipuna themselves continue to exist. Tipuna presence comforts and informs our voyage through life (Awatere, 1984; Gibson, 1999).

A Māori epistemology and the institutions that arise form it all recognise "the inter-connectedness of transcendental and phenomenological levels of understanding. It reflects a holistic and vital view of the world. So the whakapapa begins at a cosmological level, through the earth and the sky, through the god-children, through the generations of humans to the present and into the future" (Tumoana & Henare, 2009, p. 3). Boundaries of individuality, time and place are superseded.

And at times it's been very lonely, it's been a lonely place for me in the world. The strength I've had has been knowing my tipuna. My tipuna being and knowing I am their mokopuna has helped me to keep some strength in that loneliness. So I might be feeling a little bit lonely in this world but I am not alone...yeah (Nellie)

The Māori collective, like the Māori world-view necessarily extends beyond not just the individual and also the here and now, enabling a way of hearing and knowing that is undecipherable and uncontrollable by colonial māchinations...yet (Smith, 2008). Concepts of spirituality that within which Māori epistemology is embedded and that Christianity and other Western societal institutions have attempted to destroy, or appropriate (Smith, 1999; Walker, 1989), have resiliently survived. Spiritually mediated tipuna interconnectedness appears in participant kōrero, as a critical source of resistance, succour and the emergence of Māori identity.

Tangible and intangible guidance

Approaching the collective is approaching the spiritual, approaching the spiritual is approaching the collective. For participants, irrespective of Whānau or tipuna location in Te Ao Māramā, or otherwise, "[T]he kinship Whānau plays a major role in bringing about a sense of security, wellbeing and belonging" (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p.59).

It all really started when my Mum gave me my taongā. I'd had it since I was born but it had been in the cupboard in a little jewellery box. Recently I've found out its pre-European, but since I've got it... I got it off Kui... I've worn it everyday and my boyfriend of the time said, he was Māori, "don't you ever take that off". You know and so I didn't make a choice, but

you know how people just come into your life, or someone comes along. And it just all sort of started to flow from there (Nellie)

The gifting of a pounamu to this participant enhanced and synergised the tangible guidance she had been sheltered and nourished within. An awareness of destiny and tipuna guidance was activated by the gift. So too was surrender to the presence and guidance of tipuna.

Things just happened to me I didn't make a choice. People just entered my life, or I ended up hitch hiking somewhere, or I ended up being with people who were Māori (Nellie)

While colonisation failed to destroy Māori collectivity it has disturbed the forms and access to Māori formal and informal institutions of guidance and nourishment. Prior to colonisation the necessarily spiritually infused institutions of whakapapa and whare wanangā maintained the social organisation and epistemological realities and behaviours that sustained Te Ao Māori (Durie, 1989). These institutions were recognised as comprising the tangible and intangible, and it was the intangible or spiritual - the ancestors and Atua who were acknowledged as the most primāry and potent (Awatere, 1984; Mārsden, 2003).

For those raised in 'tangibly sheltering homes', they like their ancestors continue to receive tangible and intangible guidance and support, from the physical and spiritual dimensions of the Whānau Whānaui, those who occupy Te Ao Māramā or this temporal world of time and space, and those who are now in timelessness.

Choice or chosen

Cause you don't get a choice, whether you are a ¼ Māori or a 26th Māori or a 1/64th Māori you don't get a choice, you're Māori and you have whakapapa and you have links…you don't get to escape that…lots of people may think that they do…but they never will (Hinehika)

For all of the women in this study whakapapa and the inherent connection to ancestors, Whānau, hapu, and iwi known, or unknown, removed any choice point or decision making about being Māori. If you possessed whakapapa you were inescapably Māori. "*I don't think you get a choice whether you are Māori or not, you just are*" (Hinehika).

If you are mokopuna you are Māori. Nor were there any issues about quantum's, percentages or degrees. If a person had whakapapa, they were Māori "…it is impossible to have only a 'part grandchild', whakapapa is not divisible because mokopuna cannot be divided up into discrete parts" (Jackson, 203, p. 62). "*It's not how Māori are you, cause you just are*" (Hinehika). Being Māori for the participants meant there was no choice, with or without Māori socialization, if you had whakapapa, you were Māori, "*there are no tikanga free days*" (Tania), and there are no Māori free options when you are mokopuna of tipuna. "Māori birth parentage is unalterable" (Duire, A, 2001, p, 299). Regardless of tangible support, intangible sheltering includes tipuna māndate of inherent belonging.

Tangible birthright

I think it's always been like that maybe. I mean because of my background in terms of being brought up with Māori community, friends and schooling, that I have a particular world-view that I will always, thats sort of a foundation, that I will always take with me...so I suppose…that the decision was made by my parents I suppose, really (Marino)

I s'pose I've probably been sort of given my identity, if that makes sense, in terms of my up bringing, but some people don't get that (Marino)

I've never had to make a choice its always there, it's always in front of me, but I suppose the choice someone made to give me… to allow me to wear this, I believe has lead things to me (Nellie)

For those raised in 'tangibly sheltering' Whānau Whānaui, "*there isn't any place where you sort of need to choose*" (Mārino). Through whakapapa and the committed choice of others, they had been embedded and sustained into a world view within which being Māori was the natural unfolding of an existential given.

The exposure that I had was to places of being Māori that were totally proud. Standing by your reo from 1872 till the day you die in 1946…she was 112 when kui died so you have this person that chooses to only speak Te Reo and be a weaver, and her daughter is a weaver my great grandmother (Nellie)

I've had such a positive Māori upbringing…I think because of the mana that Māori had in our house that it's hard to put myself into another [cultural frame] (Hinehika)

For those who were 'given their identity', not only was their upbringing and identity Māori, but being Māori was inherently, naturally and exclusively a proud centre and anchor for all areas of their lives. In direct contrast to Māori who live 'trapped lives' dominated by the effects of colonisation and mārginalization (Durie, 1989), rather than Māori values, for these participants being inescapably Māori, means being inescapably proudly Māori.

Being Māori, a World Apart

My experiences were, there was a world over here that was Māori, that was completely different from how I was being brought up (Nellie)

When I was little it was just another world over there (Nellie)

In contrast to inhabiting predominantly Māori-centric worlds, the fourth 'tangibly sheltering' participant was raised in a cultural world within which the Non-Māori "dad's influence was greater", yet she still received tangible and positive sheltering as a Māori.

The exposure that I had was to places of being Māori that were totally proud, and standing by your reo from 1872 till the day you die in 1946 or whatever, and you choose to… she was 112 when kui died (Nellie)

A Māori–centric position was further enabled as no derogation and some support of things Māori was present in the Non-Māori world she was raised in, rather than the common inclusion of negative and exclusion of positive Māori representations in New Zealand society (Durie, A, 2001). For this participant, who is the mātaamua, or first born of her generation, foundations of a strong and positive Māori identity were laid when she was regularly taken to see and stay with her Kui and Whānau within an environment where only respect and mana was accorded to all things Māori. The at least Māori neutral home environment, together with the nature and regularity of cultural sustenance she received while within Te Ao Māori, led her to positively position as Māori regardless of her geographical or cultural orientation.

Exclusively inclusive to excluding

So we were brought up in the world of Māori, everything that we attended our parents where a part of, so they knew we were Māori, so for myself I never got umm that - "who are you? " - till I went to college (Tania)

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When you are over there, you know everybody is accepting you as Māori even though you look different, they are accepting you and awhiing you, but then you go away from that world… (Nellie)

Participants who had received an exclusive, naturalised and ascribed dignity and mana for all things Māori, were inevitably as adults, and occasionally as children to find themselves outside of this shelter. Participants were shocked by the treatment they received. Where previously an absence of Māori ethnic features was of little consequence next to the primacy of Whānau and relational links within the small rural or urban-based communities of childhood, there was disorientating rejection outside of this context.

…to put my hand up and say I was Māori, but the reaction I got outside of my family, people laughed at me. So you sort of weren't sure then what was going on (Nellie)

The experience and age of exposure to a Non-Māori centric reality depended on the extensiveness of the kin group networks and community orientation to Māori. Of crucial import were the actions taken by the Māori parent and Whānau to manage their child's interactions with a world that not only was not Māori-centric, but held historical and current antithetical cultural postures towards Māori (Durie, A, 2001; Ramsden, 2002).

He tangata, he tangata, he tangata – It is people, it is people, it is people

For some, Māori values of kin and reciprocity were enhanced by complimentary Non-Māori ancestry and cultural values. For one participant the Scottish ancestry of her grandmother meant, "*The whole extended family thing didn't bother her at all, where there was space for a body there was one*" (Hinehika). Cultural values of kinship, prioritising people, and treasuring ancestry were congruently held in the extended networks of aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents māternal and paternal. For another participant these values were nurtured and perpetuated in the community beyond the immediate Whānau, through involvement in Christian communities.

Christianity has been explicitly identified as a primāry tool in the deliberate destruction and disassembling of the Māori world (Awatere, 1984). "She does not call the natives to Gods ways but to the ways of the White mān, the master, the oppressor" (Fanon, 1970, p. 49). Any focus for Māori nationalism had to be suppressed in the quest for dispossession of Māori land and lives. Māori spirituality and collectivism were, and perhaps remain, the most unique and powerful aspects of Māori society. Māori pre-renaissance leaders who

advocated Māori political autonomy were also prophets, for example Te Whiti, Tohu, Rua Kenana (Maaka & Fleras, 2005).

The political leaders were the spiritual leaders (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Introduced western Religions appropriated Māori priorities on the spiritual and implanted 'nuclear' as the civilised family form. Religion was instrumental in rendering Māori politically mute. Yet, for one participant, Māori values were held, maintained and inter-generationally transmitted within Christian practices the family was embedded in. Much like the Trojan horse, perhaps it is possible to perceive the mauri of Māori values and cultural practices disguising itself in forms such as Christianity to survive the times of extermination and assimilation.

Participants, who received tangible sheltering as Māori, were surrounded by a world that ideologically centred on Māori pride at the social levels of the inter-subjective and intra-personal, the immediate Whānau, the extended Whānau whānui, and the local socio-cultural. This cultural aura of a 'positively Māori' realm sheltered and protected them throughout their childhood, even at a distance or through the medium of Christian communities. These participants did not meet with the wider socio-political environment or "the current reality that Māori identity is embedded within a Pākehā ecology" (Moeke-Pikering, 1996, p. 56), till adolescence or adulthood.

Fathers fostering Māori culture

Cause my Dads non-Māori but he carved. He was one of three Non-Māori who went to a native school there… his aunty taught there. But he carved so he was brought up within that real Māori world, so we were brought up in the world of Māori everything that we attended our parents where a part of so they (the community) knew we were Māori (Tania)

You know even though he was Pākehā, at times Mum would go, "oh would you, oh you know, leave it alone for a bit". You know cause we would never be at home. There were on marae committees, fundraising, it was just like building marae… (Hinehika)

Like he had an amazing ability to hear someone's name and say "Oh your from such and such" or "would you be related to so and so" and for a Pākehā to do that, it was you know very cool. And as I was saying sometimes Mum would say just give it a break. Sometimes it would be like, you know, can we just narrow our focus down to our family instead of the Māori whānui (Hinehika)

In all of the 'tangibly sheltering' Whānau accounts the mothers were Māori and strongly committed to the perpetuation of Māori as a fundamental, positive and meaningful cultural reality. All three of the participants raised in Te Ao Māori had Non-Māori fathers. Two of the women who received positive Māori upbringings spoke of their father's active and passionate involvement in reinforcing the Māori centricity of their families. In one family the Non-Māori fathers zeal for things Māori, at times out paced the mothers.

Parenting alone

Just as the mother had predicted Non-Māori exclusion of her Māori children, but had been unprepared for Māori to take exception to her daughters absence of Māori ethnic features, the Non-Māori fathers may not have had awareness of has any awareness of their Māori child's status as 'other', and what that meant due to the naturalisation of their own 'in group' status.

And because he was Pākehā he may not have experienced any negative sides of being Māori. Whereas like my Mum has stories (Hinehika)

One of the participants considered that unlike the Mother who moved to proactively protect her child, the Non-Māori father was unaware of the systemised denigration society imposed on Māori. Instead of the given of a taken for granted acceptance in a Pākehā dominated society, the participants raised in 'tangibly traumatising' homes that mirrored a Eurocentric socio-political environment, were unable to not know the racialised denigration that permeated many levels of their childhood existence.

Tangibly Traumatising

As with all things in Te Ao Māori, whakapapa or a consciousness and deliberate attention to the multiple layers of becoming that underlay being yields continuity and understanding (Williams & Henare, 2009). Whakapapa links the temporal with the transcendent, the immediate with the timeless, inextricably locating the individual in the collective. Tracking of the layers in participant kōrero that contributed to homes that offered 'tangible trauma' to their Māori begins like the 'tangibly sheltering' accounts with the Whānau.

Instead of nourishment support and worlds that orbited on the naturalness of pride and positivity in being Māori, two participants experienced the opposite.

When I was very young I had some strange idea that being Māori must be like a disease, because you weren't allowed to talk about it…one of my sisters was actually beaten by my mother because she let it slip at school, she got a really bad hiding. That's where I came across this idea in my mind that it must be like a disease (Erana)

My hands, my mother didn't like my hands because they were too dark , they weren't white enough so she was always making me go away to scrub my hands and my knuckles and that sort of stuff. And there was a part inside me which rebelled, you now it was denying me who I am and not accepting who I am (Erana)

I realised that without realising it I tended to gravitate towards other Māori or Māori things…I was almost like this black sheep within the family. She mārried a Pākehā and they had kids, and she wanted to bring them up very proper, and I was constantly getting into Māori, the good and the bad things (Whi)

Tangibly traumatising' describes the home environment in which these participants were raised. Active and at times violent denigration and condemnation of all things Māori, and by extension themselves was the dominant cultural posture.

Cultural parentage

While the mixing of Māori and Non-Māori whakapapa could have occurred in any recent generation so as to result in white looking positively identified Māori women, all participants in this study had one Māori and one Non-Māori parent. Four had Māori mothers, and two had Māori fathers.

The fathers were Māori, yet, just like the 'tangibly sheltering' homes, it was the Non-Māori mothers who set the cultural tone of the home, a tone that for one participant was in accord with all levels of the wider socio-cultural environment in which the family was located. In a reverse relational state to the naturalness of the Whānau Whānaui of the 'tangibly sheltering' Whānau, both families were in the main isolated from Māori kin group networks. Instead of an abbreviated post urbanisation model of Whānau whānui, the European model of 'nuclear families' dominated the every day lives of both 'tangible traumatising' participants, who were isolated from connection to or the support of the wider Whānau Whānaui.

Instead of Mana Māori, a taken-for-granted and active white culture assumed the norm of superiority and Māori inferiority permeated the home environments. One participant

experienced respite from this condemnatory cultural attitude on being taken annually by her father to their ancestral lands and Whānau whānui. "[V]iolence in its natural state" (Fanon, 1967, p. 48) according to Fanon "putting into practice the claim to be first where the objective is supremacy of one group over another or others" (Fanon 1967, p.27). Fanon goes on to explicate the need to name such violence as violence and not to camouflage it with words such as "force and not violence" (Fanon, 1967, p.29). Rather than a social force field, these two participants grew through the corrosive storm of social violence in order to arrive at and claim their identity as Māori.

In direct contrast to the 'tangible sheltering', immediate Whānau, Whānau whānui, and local socio-cultural environments, these two participants experienced the harshness of exposure to racial violence, within what is meant to be the sanctuary of the home. "*You know it was denying me who I am and not accepting who I am*" (Erana).

Whakapapa and legacies of dispossession

In addition to the broadcast historical and contemporary patterns of systemised racial violence in the majority culture, the specific capacity of the Māori fathers to exercise personal agency to influence the climate of the family environment was further attenuated.

My grandfather three generations back lost land because he didn't speak English, because of that, because he was the head of the Whānau he decided that all of his descendents from there on would only speak English, so there was a big emphasis on everybody speaking English to the detriment of Te Reo (Erana)

One father descended from an ancestral line that had their land and language taken in the 1860's, or approximātely three generations prior to this study. Such loss came to "*completely isolate them from things Māori*" (Erana), and also set in motion alienation and progressive marginalisation as the family "*became dislocated from where they were from and ended up in the cities*" with "*nothing to come back to*" (Erana). The connections or cords of being and belonging that could tie and anchor the Whānau to physical and spiritual turangāwaewae were stretched almost to breaking.

So they lost contact then and they had to go further and further afield and it became more and more difficult to return home and soon, most of the land was gone so there was virtually nothing to come back to, so it added to that dislocation. And then within my

immediate Whānau my mother and her family were very prejudiced against coloured people so she decided that we would all be white (Erana)

The loss of land removed the physical and spiritual foundations of collective being, as well as the means to sustain life. Loss of te reo Māori occurred because lack of English was the 'reason' the Whānau lands were taken under. Loss of language further eliminated an intangible spiritual foundation leaving the Whānau without any footing in either world. Loss of land and language together removed the physical and non-physical turangāwaewae that give purchase to Māori cultural institutions that cultivate and nourish Māori ways of life and being. Loss of the ability to learn or transmit distinctive and unique ways of a peoples being is ethnocide. A direct connection between the systemised deprivations of land, language and ways of living that is the science, legacy and continuing methodology of colonisation, and the doing of Māori identity in today's Aotearoa is evident in this participants and her Whānau story.

We meet all these relations that we didn't even know we had that had been completely lost we had only just re-found them they are all in their 50's and even older now. They ended up in social welfare homes, they had ended up dragged around the place and we didn't even know about them and they didn't even know about us. So we meet them and they had known nothing about their Māori identity, so they have to learn about that as well, and they were able to share all of their terrible stories with us. What they had been through you know. The treatment they'd received, their parents had broken up and in this case it was the mothers that had decided they didn't want the children and they ended up in social welfare homes and they had led shit lives, really bad lives, went through bad things. I was very sad for us to know we had all these people we didn't know anything about. And they were obviously sad that they hadn't known about any of us, so I guess that's another price that people pay. Oh I don't know if it's got anything to do with being mixed blood, but it certainly is the case of urban Māori anyway. Another price to pay when people are colonised and taken out of their area, and plonked in these cities, completely dislocated from where they are from (Erana)

At a family reunion the participant meet Whānau who had been deprived not only of their Māori ancestry, but of any ancestry or nourishing home environment. For them the dislocation that began with ancestral land loss 150 years ago continued to resound. Without turangāwaewae or institutions to tangibly and intangibly anchor and stabilise the Whānau and their particular ways of life, progressive generational dispossession ensued.

Dispossession: A collective phenomenon

This window into the life and history of this participant and her Whānau also illuminates the importance of being able to gain a collectivist vantage to enable a historically and politically informed perspective. Such a vantage enables us to adequately contextualise and politicise personal experiences. An ability to critique from a socio-political and historically informed perspective lifts us beyond the crippling and socially engineered tendency to incorrectly ascribe personal shame and blame to events that have roots in far broader and politically potent soils. An absence of capacity to consider and track flows of power renders people "politically and critically mute" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 34). Dual alienation and deprivation of the sheltering and nourishing of any familial institution was a consequence of the colonial agenda for systemised Māori land dispossession, and settler land acquisition set in motion 150 years before; not individual failing or lack of agency by any members of this Whānau.

De-collectivisation removes the capacity for a people to perceive when we are targets of institutionalised racism. An individual perspective alone is unable to perceive strategies of control and domination that are geared at a body of people. "Alienation is not an individual question" (Fanon, 1970, p. 10). Being sealed into the ideology entrapment of individualism, together with a process "where every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation" (Fanon, 1970, p. 10), removes critical corporate capacity. Self-deprecation is a natural consequence for a people who have suffered the de-collectivisation and "internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them" (Freire, 1972, p.38). In the poverty and absence of being able to hold to their own existential realities as a people, individual 'epidermālization of inferiority' (Fanon, 1970, p. 10) results.

They had no idea about things Māori so I think some of them were pretty angry… so they came with a lot of anger and they sort of displayed that and it sort of rubbed some people up the wrong way…You know in their 50's and no background, so I could understand from the treatment they had, why they might be angry even. Why they might present with this particular face they wore, you know it wasn't really them, it was coming from their māemāe all the things that had happened to them (Erana)

The absence of capacity to critique collective and socio-historical patterns deforms societal perceptions of cause and effect. Systematic historical trauma links to current societal deficit positions and how this embeds in the nature of oppressed people are misread. In the absence of a socio-political, collective and historical lens the natural

consequences of generational dispossession, denigration and poverty of an oppressed people, are mis-ascribed to individuals. "Fatalism in the guise of docility is the fruit of an historical and sociological situation, not an essential characteristic of a peoples' behaviour" (Freire, 1972, p. 37). Absence of socio-historical truth of collectively targeted political strategies, together with the presence of myths inserted as 'institutional memory" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 41) into the larger collective of a societies mind, results in 'common sense' and deformed perceptions. Current circumstances of social deficit and deviance become outcomes of a natural or God given order when disconnected from their violent antecedents (Freire, 1972, p. 37).

Such a state and the violence that it perpetuated produced an ongoing climate of Māori derogation that leaked into and informed the culture within the family home (Freire, 1972). Contemporary and intimate forms of institutionalised racism exacerbated long standing cultural deprivations that were achieved on the back of severe enforced physical deprivations. "Depopulation was greatest where land alienation had been most extensive. Loss of land had more than economic implications. Personal and tribal identity were inextricably linked to papatuanuku – the earth mother – and alienation from land earned with it a severe psychological toll, quite apart from loss of income and livelihood" (Durie, 1996, in Howden and Chapmān, 1998, p. 10). Historical and contemporary layering of inhumane conditions resulted in the participant being raised in a home that offered open hostility to all manifest forms of Māori.

…it didn't make sense to me even though I was very young, so I actually took on a funny identity as a child. I became a Red Indian because that's alright to be an American Indian, that was acceptable, so that was how I identified myself in some fashion (Erana)

Narrative creations of creatures

The cultural positioning of Māori and Non-Māori parents seems to have been an important, although not singular influence on the culture that permeated the home environment. Tracking the factors that inform parental conceptualisations of 'Māori' reveal stronger and deeper forces, or violence's at work than the simple and spontaneous personal agency of one individual in an apparent neutral setting.

Also while a superficial, commonsense examination of the 'tangible sheltering' and 'tangible traumatising' narratives suggest that communities with higher concentrations of Māori are more likely to create a cultural environment that results in positive perceptions of

Māori, and the reverse with low concentrations of Māori, deeper layers of generative influence are at work. Apartheid dominated South Africa and Franz Fanon's work reveals that a majority of black people does not in itself create a culture favourable to black people (Fanon, 1971). Increased numbers of Māori or Non-Māori alone in any community will not determine the culture that arises. It is not merely the numbers of particular peoples that create culture, but rather the series of ideas, the ideological codes that give life to "collective understandings" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 56). It is the programme that provides the substrate of meaning to order and interpret reality for the collective that determines and is the culture. It is the intangible, not the tangible that culturally orientates societies.

The flow-on effects of past and current systemised deprivation have created particular narratives and positions for Māori and Non-Māori alike in Aotearoa today. The entrenchment of grinding intergenerational Māori poverty and ethnocide through ideological violence of Eurocentric supremacy, dished out on top of the historical horror of the stripping of the land and lives from 75-80% of our Māori ancestors are the bare bones of the current New Zealand social and political order (Durie, 1998; Ramsden, 2002). An order that continues to shape although not determine the Māori identity.

Historical, social and political cause and effect are conveniently erased in social narratives that provide the substance for popular explanation and meaning. "Those who control the present control the past, those who control the past control the future" (Orwell, 1949). Such positioning acts as a prophetic legacy to create particular renderings of the world we inhabit. "Material manifestations of particular power-saturated forms of talk are responsible for the everyday maintainance of the social order and resource allocation that gives rise to marginalised Māori identities" (McCreanor, 2005, p. 54), and realties. On one side of the cultural divide the ascription of power and privilege to Non-Māori is naturalised, on the other a mythic picture of structural inevitability explains Māori physical, intellectual, economic and political dispossession (Ramsden, 2002).

Inevitable stereotypes flourish in fertile soils formed from the coupling of historical amnesia and the systemisation of demeaning and prejudiced attitudes towards Māori. Attitudinal engineering is sustained by a denial that rests on the historical refashioning of a violence-initiated oppression into paternalistic salvation of the otherwise deviant (Mikaere, 2003). A violence "is perpetuated from generation to generation of oppressors, who become its heirs and are shaped in its climate. This climate creates in the oppressor a strongly possessive consciousness – possessive of the world and of men" (Freire, 1972, p, 35). Such

possessiveness reacts almost instinctively against losing control of the reality it has manufactured.

While empirical understandings that only admit the gross, or objective dominate Western epistemologies (Sampson, 1978), it is the unseen that has always been recognised by Indigenous peoples (Mārsden, 2003), and is being restored to the recognition of Non-Indigenous as central to the nature of existence and humanity (Schein, 1996). "To deny the importance of subjectivity in the process of transforming the world and history is naive and simplistic" (Freire, 1972, p.32). Our ability to develop intangible systems of interpretation and meaning is our humanity, denial or disallowance of this capacity, individually or collectively de-humanises.

Having parents who might have a strong Māori cultural identity or have strong bond with the Māori world...I think was more helpful for me, because…you know, you do try and find things that hook you onto that, that actual world, umm…you know you have an identity and it's, and it's…it's Māori inclined or whatever, you have certain things that you want to hook on to that and….um...if your parents are, or your caregivers, primāry caregivers are not really involved in that world then that cuts a lot out (Marino)

Parents - Creatures of Their Time

But my mother was a creature of her own generation in that her whole Whānau was like that, you know you didn't mix with coloured people and you didn't have anything to do with them. And she ended up getting hapu with my older sister which is how she came in those days to get mārried, cause that's what you had to do then. So I think she felt trapped and she resented it, and her own Whānau looked down upon her. Her own Pākehā Whānau looked down on her cause she had mārried this 'native'. She used to try and pass my father off as a Spaniard or a Jew…a Jew even and they weren't that popular (Erana)

It follows then that it is not merely parental culture, or the influence of demographics that act as obstacles to harmonious cultural relations or the development of positive cultural identities, Māori or otherwise here in Aotearoa. "Identities may be less about choice and more about the dominance of outsider perceptions" (McIntosh, 2005, p. 38). It is the normative values and beliefs used to measure, define, or disqualify what it means to be human, rigidified and purveyed by formal and informal institutions across societies, that determine the cultural climate of a home, nation. "They are always political and consist of

notions of history and power, justice and equality which distil into local everyday activities as well as global webs of economic control" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 52).

These are the rules that determine ethnic engagement. Families are entangled in and perpetuate the socio-political web of this formula, the micro-sociology of invisible social bonds that create and maintain the meaning making of a society. The economic and cultural domination of cultural invasion perpetuated at the mācro societal level, to be effective, requires permeation of all other levels of human organisation and meaning, including the family (Freire, 1972). Such formulae, in the absence of epistemological alternative, are the sociological soup that comprises the inter-subjective and intrapersonal. For Māori, such a formula arises from and continues a vampish colonial tradition of "threatening constructs that enabled living" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 41) through the making and maintaining of the Māori life and land into hosts of colonial interests. Such exploitive posturing necessarily disqualifies potential for harmonious, mutually beneficial relations and identities.

Divergent dispossessions

While the pervasiveness of systemised Māori derogation underpinned both participants' family experiences of 'tangibly traumatising' cultural alienation, some elements were shared and some were not.

The first participant lived near her tribal area, yet was obstructed from connection to it. The second participant's father was from a different tribal and geographical area, and he did not live with the family who lived a considerable distance from the Māori ancestral homeland's. Estrangement and distance from the Whānau Whānaui and turangāwaewae featured for both participants, yet the sources of the distancing differed.

One participant lived virtually on top of her ancestral land, but the combination of intergenerational disenfranchisement of land ownership, combined with the destruction and destitution of Whānau institutions, meant there were no accessible sources of entry into or shelter within Te Ao Māori. While there was a closeness of geographical location to the physical manifestation of turangāwaewae or the ancestral land, historical and contemporary erasure of physical, social and political Māori forms or connection, led to generational dispossession and poverty.

Yes sometimes it's a difficult place to walk because you may feel that you are not accepted by either group. You may not be accepted by Pākehā, who perceive you as "other"

or 'native' or whatever. And you may not necessarily be accepted by Māori who perceive you as Pākehā. So it's about trying to find I think, when you are young, a place to walk. Because You don't necessarily fit into anybodies category so therefore for myself I have found that I have to find my own way of walking with perhaps a foot in either world, with perhaps a foot in neither. And I didn't find it an easy situation. I think when you are young person, you feel as if you should belong somewhere and have a strong sense of wanting to belong to a group, a people, or...you always had that feeling that you didn't quite belong didn't quite fit. You could end up wearing the prejudice of both sides of the world upon you because of that. And you might go to one group and want to fit in there, but they push you aside to some degree because you are not quite like them...so I identify with what you say with loneliness factor, yeah, umm... (Erana)

For the other participant, geographical distance from the Māori parent and the ancestral lands and all they held, together with a societal cultural dissonance, that was mirrored between the parents, meant a geographical distance that may otherwise have been determinedly overcome by Māori wanting to retain and sustain links home, acted as an obstacle for all but a few weeks of the year.

While geographical and cultural distance existed for both participants, the second participant's experience of cultural alienation was less severe. The combination of a less concentrated and pervasive forms of institutionalised Māori derogation, alongside more positive reflections and opportunities to pursue things Māori resulted in cultural attenuation, yet not dispossession.

From painful to positive and political

Probably my experience has been maybe slightly different, being slightly more recent and the changes going on with Te Ao Māori as well as nationwide... So I think it's generally, been a positive experience but definitely a political experience (Whi)

Approximātely thirty years separated the two participants who experienced 'tangible trauma'. Although separated by time, both families lived in the same area enabling a comparison of the two identity narratives over time. Huge changes to both the colonial or systematic societal orientation to Māori, and also Te Ao Māori occurred over the three decades that spanned their experiences these are discussed in the following sections.

Systemic destruction, denigration and denial

For the first 'tangibly traumatising' participant the historical pattern of alienation continued with ongoing layering of marginalisation and oppression in contemporary times.

My own people the Waitaha were always fair anyway I have photographs of my tipuna right back in the 1880's onwards and they are all fair. So I am not really…if you were to see them you would notice that they are not different to me in terms of their colour…yeah it is not an unusual characteristic within our iwi it is very common in the South, you know that's why the Pākehā down South would say, "Oh we don't have any Māori's down here", cause they could be almost not noticeable and…that was a common supposition form early days that there were no Māoris in the South Island (Erana)

… the neighbourhood that we grew up in was virtually completely white (Erana)

In the 1940s - 50s the immediate cultural environment offered no succour for Māori. 'White' environments were not neutral cultural zones. Instead the active erasure through absorption and denial of 'fair Māori' occurred in a dynamic of ethnocide, a subtle violence that followed the systematic divesting of all other Māori cultural institutions and mārkers. All aspects and resources that made Māori unique and powerful were taken, directly or indirectly by systemised colonisation, regardless of impossible attempts made by tipuna to contain and cope with the multidimensional devastation. For the first participant a paucity of Māori institutions together with systemic prevalence of direct and indirect Māori denigration created a cruel cultural world in which to be Māori.

Within my immediate Whānau my mother and her family were very prejudiced against coloured people so she decided that we would all be white, and I remember her being very angry because some of the neighbours in the neighbourhood that we grew up in which was virtually completely white, making some comment about me as a small child sitting on the doorstep. I used to have long hair in those days, and it was perhaps a bit darker. And this neighbour had said to my mother "Oh I looked at …. the other day and she looked like a little Māori girl sitting there". And my mother was furious so that um we grew up not being allowed to acknowledge our Māori selves (Erana)

When my grandfather and others came for a visit, which was very rare we weren't allowed to say that they were our grandparents, we weren't allowed to identify them to any of the neighbours (Erana)

One of my sisters was actually beaten by my mother because she let it slip at school [being Māori], she got a really bad hiding (Erana)

Identity very political, public and intensely personal

This participants' story, unlike the 'tangibly sheltering' narratives, was more characteristic of the national 'Māori' experience at this time. Following the destruction and dispossession of the initial colonial onslaught, and urbanisation, many Māori were, for the first time, without the shielding of a Māori-centric kin group. Unprotected yet exposed to the caustic prevalence of institutionalised and systemic Māori oppression. New Zealand of the 1950's had been "largely stripped of native people, trees and birds over the preceding century" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 14). A barren Māori cultural landscape offered little protection from the open, active and systematic opposition aimed at almost all forms of Māori representation.

So it wasn't until I left home which was early about 15 that I made a bee line back to things Mäori, and became very interested in trying to learn about those things, and I rebelled against what my mother had imposed upon us as did another sister of mine. And as we found our way back we mārried Māori, and my mother was highly angry about that of course. That was our way of finding our way back to who we were. As you mentioned there were no Māori classes or any Te Reo, or such things around so…um… we didn't really learn Te Reo, but we were able to become more identified with that world. And then my next journey came when I just looked, went back into the whakapapa and looked at the history and all those things so that is a huge long journey that I have undertaken in order to, you know, know completely, identify who we are, where we come from, and all those important things that help you know who you are and feel strong in yourself (Erana)

In a cultural environment divested of representations or access to positive Māori institutions, identifying with the Māori world was difficult. With little or no access to formal or informal institutions to learn te reo Māori or other traditionally recognised cultural skills or processes, less formal ways of being Māori were recognised and acknowledged. Simply locating and relating to other Māori, and mārrying other Māori was for many the only way to respond to *'this surge for an identity that you knew inside you*" (Erana), and be Māori.

In the absence of a birthright that naturally ascribes mana to all people, ways and things Māori, as occurred in the 'tangibly sheltering' homes, for this participant it had taken a

lifes journeying to restore a sense of to *"know completely, identify who we are, where we come from"* as Māori. *"To know who you are and feel strong in yourself"(Erana).*

And I remember living in Wellington myself when I was a young woman. And all of the Māori that we knew then were a lot of us were urban Māori in that respect. And we would all get together on the weekends and have a sing song or a hangi or things like that. We were all immediately drawn to each other because we were Māori. But no one ever said where are you from, but if they did it was sort of a vague, oh North Auckland or Gisborne, or whatever. But it was never, no-one ever sat around and really discussed their iwi or anything but we were all automātically drawn together to share that sort of Māoridom within the group at the time. So…and that was the way of being Māori, it was common in the 70's, that was it. Although there was one[Māori culture group in Wellington, they were down in Puketia? (Erana)

On leaving the area of her birth, and transferring to New Zealand's capital, there remained a dearth of accessible Māori institutions, and again socialising with other Māori was the primāry source and expression of being Māori. In the early 70's urbanised environment sharing expressions of Māoridom and 'being Māori' did not always mean participating in cultural customs as it would have in the past, or politically analysing power differentials that impact on being Māori, as it does for some today; but rather simply just being together in whatever meaningful Māori forms were available or achievable.

…that was the way of making an instant Māori community within a city… That was Māoridom, even Māoridom back then (Erana)

Within a climate bereft of Māori forms of shelter for Māori, and pervaded with racial stereotypes and systemic indifference to Māori marginalisation, the existence of Māori identities was multiply threatened. Institutionalisation of racially driven ideological codes solidified the violently created socio-political inequalities, and effectively threatened or eliminated potential for sanctuary or nourishment for the development of positive Māori perceptions, not only within Te Ao Māori, but also within the wider New Zealand society as a whole.

What Māoridom was, or is able to be, depends on the complex interaction of multiple historical and contemporary socio-historical factors, forces and violence's of the coming together of the colonial and Māori worlds. Such dynamics also impact and shape identities according to the intricate intimācy of the individual, within whom these forces collide.

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Overwhelming racial stereotypes following the near liquidation of Te Ao Māori produced a hostile socio-political environment for not just this participant alone, but for all Māori as can be seen in figure 3.
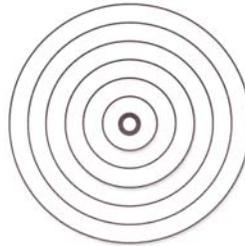
Figure 3. Derogation to Māori was evident through all realms of social influence except the intra-personal or intersubjective where a mana Māori orientation was maintained.

Awatea Tåkiri – The re-emergence of Te Ao Māori

The second participant who experienced a 'tangibly traumatising' home environment was able to find reflections, affirmation and opportunity to be positively Māori in the same geographical area. Thirty years later a very different cultural ethos was to be found in that location.

I'd spend a lot of time with kaumātua and kuia… I just always felt like I was doing the right thing, you know I was following my gut instinct to either learn Te Reo, or to spend time with the kaumātua or whatever it was (Whi)

I was constantly…getting into Māori, the good and the bad things, things that are commonly associate with being Māori..and the good things were fine, I was allowed to be good at sports and I was interesting to the family as well, the step family, I was like this young Māori girl and that was interesting, but as soon as anything else started happening, as soon as I started choosing Te Reo over sciences at school, that was immediately looked down upon and I was questioned and told that it was a waste of time and I should stick to what was best, sciences and māths and…Te Reo wouldn't get me anywhere it would be no good for a career. And that's kind of when I think I started realising it was ok to be Māori when you are playing sports and when you are being introduced to somebody else who might find that interesting, but in every other context it wasn't ok (Whi)

Instead of a barren desert of opportunity and disparagement to Māori in any form, it was now acceptable to be Māori in some ways. There were now opportunities to '*follow my gut instinct'* (Whi) and to get into being Māori. Opportunities were so plentiful that the desire

to '*constantly get into Māori*' was now pursuable even for a child. While prescriptions of 'not good enough' were still associated with Māori, there were aspects of being Māori that were acceptable in an environment where no forms had been permissible before.

I think it is bit of a late resurgence because certainly when I lived down South Māori were very much on the periphery, very much fringe dwellers if you like. So this is a recent thing you are seeing down there, it didn't use to be there (Erana)

Even for someone who was not from this area, there were now opportunities to pursue te reo Māori and to have access to kaumātua and other Māori institutions. Some of these opportunities arose in the education setting which had held severe and violent repercussions for disclosure of any Māori associations for the previous participant. Institutions that previously acted as purveyors of anti-Māori sentiment, now delivered te reo Māori and other cultural opportunities. The introduction of broader societal tolerance of Māori was concurrent with, although not necessarily dependent on, lesser severity of societal segregation and violence to Māori in local socio-cultural environments and institutions.

While the second participant experienced an anti-Māori climate in the home, and Non-Māori family, this cultural monopoly was not mirrored in the wider socio-cultural climate, or Māori Whānau Whānaui. Much had changed in the wider social complexion over the thirty years that separated these two participants.

Whānau whānui

While derogation of Māori was the pervasive posture in the home for the second 'tangibly traumatising' participant, this was not mirrored in the local socio-cultural environment, or by her father, or his Whānau whānui with whom the participant had regular, although infrequent contact.

So we would go back and visit Dad every year, and then he would take us back up North and we would go and visit the Aunties and Uncles and ummm Koro and Kuia. So it was slightly different. I realised that without realising it I tended to gravitate towards other Māori or Māori things (Whi)

I just found that anything Māori I tended to be very good at and I tended to enjoy it, so any kind of school activates that we did. Every time we went home we'd go and visit the marae and urupa and stuff, it just felt, it made sense like I know what I am doing and I know

who that person is, cause I remembered names and I knew what to do, whereas in most contexts as a child you generally feel unsure and you have to be told (Whi)

Experiences of being naturally and positively Māori in the local socio-cultural and Whānau whānui environments reinforced a Māori orientation to being in the world that was both meaningful and held mana. Any propensity to a negative Māori identity that may have arisen from within the home environment did not gain purchase and was inoculated by an 'tikanga within' and the ability to regularly access and be embraced by affirming Māori institutions within both the Whānau and society, as can be seen in figure 4.
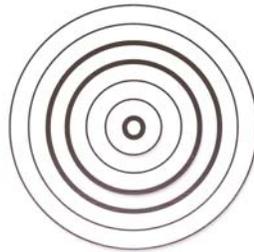
Figure 4. Mana Māori characterised the inter-subjective or intra-personal, the local socio-cultural, and regional. Māori derogation characterised the immediate whānau, the extended whānau whānui, the societal, and the global.

Inconceiveably positively Māori

The second participant acknowledged that prior to the changes in the violent force fields of cultural invasion, doing positive Māori identities was not just awkward or difficult, but inconceivable.

I think possibly the doing, the idea of a 'positive Māori identity' was inconceivable. That identifying as Māori wasn't positive in anyway, it didn't bring any huge benefit so, in terms of having role models or positive characteristics that were well known, or things to be proud of, that kind of thing, possibly because we are always reminded of the negative, mainly media hype that goes on, the stereotypical 'once were warriors' imāge, that's the kind of imāge that we think of, if we think of identifying as Māori that's what a lot of people will automātically think of (Whi)

Naming the inconceivability of being positively Māori acknowledges the forced existential deviation (Fanon, 1970), or epistemological violence of removing any way to

positively be Māori. Such re-writing of the meaning of Māori is a denial of the ability to pursue "self-affirmation as a responsible person" (Freire, 1972, p. 31).

This positioning strikes at the heart of what it means to be human. "To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it." (Freire, 1972, p. 61). To remove from a people their capacity to name through epistemological violence, is to dehumanise. "Imagination enables people to rise above their own circumstances to dream new visions and to hold on to old ones" (Smith, 1999, p. 29). Epistemological highjacking of a peoples self and future perceptions is objectification, and "objectification is a process of dehumanisation" (Smith, 1999, p. 39). It is Slavery to anothers will to name.

Within the snapshot of contrast posed between these two participants stories it has been possible to view not only local, but also national flows of socio-political and cultural influences. The systemic changes taking place as a direct consequence of the coming together of societal and Māori forces in the individual, institutions, collectives and New Zealand society as a whole become discernable. While a myriad of forces contribute to the doing of identity the over-riding tides of Māori and Non-Māori influences can be seen as flowing together and forming a discernable socio-cultural pattern when viewed from a time informed collective perspective.

I am the first one in my family to be… the first one to really…I think be proud to be Māori. This generation has the opportunity to express that in more ways than ever before (Whi)

Instead of suffering the "disembowelled silence" and "soul shrinkage" (Fanon, 1970, p. 99) of being powerless in the presence of overwhelming and layered oppressions that deliberately suffocate or abort sources of succour, the social complexion towards Māori has changed. The conditions that contribute to the doing of Māori identities today, present a freedom and potential that is previously unseen since the onset of a New Zealand and colonial history.

Undercover counterforce

In both the Māori and the Non-Māori worlds, possessing a 'white' ethnic appearance and a Māori cultural allegiance allowed participants to bear witness to behaviors motivated by ethnic or racial cues. As Māori who possessed a physical appearance that allowed them

to remain undetected as Māori, participants were uniquely positioned to observe and commentate on dynamics of prejudice.

When people do realise that I strongly identify as being Māori, that I advocate for things Māori, or that I have strong links into Te Ao Māori. I tend to see changes in the way people perceive you…I am sure a lot of people think "be wary of that person", it's almost like "they are undercover. They come across as looking very Pākehā, and possibly coming across as well-educated, and then next thing they open their mouth and speak about Māori issues", yeah a bit of a change (Whi)

I also have moko and that was a big change in the way people perceived me in public, that don't know me at all. So front on I can pass as being Spanish or Dutch, they have some of the darker toning in some families. And then from behind I am very obviously Māori, also Polynesian, and in a place like a public pool, you can very very obviously see the reactions, and some can be pretty much disgust and some, surprise astonishment or, from some, especially from māles, because they don't see it as being a cultural look, they don't seem to see it as a cultural symbol (Whi)

As the above kōrero indicates revelation of Māori allegiance by someone possessing a 'white' appearance within predominantly 'white' realms, meet with astonishment, disgust, shock and distrust. Initial disbelief was followed by judgments linked to deliberate self-harm and self-destruction.

So people say, "Oh you are still so young" and "Why would you do something like that to yourself?" Like its just saving me in some way or….   Which I suppose is more a reflection of how other people see me…I still don't feel in any way like it [moko] is a burden, or a disability or anything. I still feel like it is personal, like my hair, I get to choose how I wear my hair, it's part of who I am, and it says a little bit about my inheritance. It s a privilege to have… (Whi)

I tend to see changes in the way people perceive you. I would like to think that people actually see you for what you think and believe in… (Whi)

This participant noticed that rather than being treated as the person family, friends and she knew herself to be, she was mis-identified through racially motivated filters. When Non-Māori people realized that their assumptions of commonality and sameness were misplaced, ascription of deviancy followed initial shock and disbelief.

Rather than politically correct (PC) packaged responses, the sharp contrast of white assumptions, meeting with a person who possess a white appearance, yet overt Māori allegiance, flushed out stereotypical and racially motivated positions. The spontaneous almost involuntary nature of the reactions reveals the naturalisation of racial oppression as an integral part of the socialization and cultural normalising of New Zealander society today. The participant's deliberate and conscious choice to become more of who she found herself to naturally be – Māori, was an inconceivable aberration in the eyes of the respondents. Being Māori did not hold a neutral or positive cultural value; to deliberately be Māori was to be deliberately deviant.

These exchanges illuminate the otherwise invisible, and indicate that while overt forms of racism have slipped below the radar of politically correct detection, entrenchment of a socially sanctioned capacity to measure and define Māori as less than human remains commonplace in New Zealand society today, for "the settlers belief in their own cultural superiority prevented them from allowing Māori culture to exist side by side" (Awatere, 1982, p. 35). Genuine cohabitation and a just future in this land will not occur until such ideological codes are resisted, revealed and rejected by the majority of Māori and Non-Māori in New Zealand. Benefit will accrue for Non Māori and Māori as "Māori must be at ease in their own country or a national identity will continue to fracture until this is the case" (Durie, 2001, p. 85).

The experiences of white looking Māori confirm that racial stereotypes of Māori as being sub-human and deviant are still very much alive, there remain "deeply held prejudices against Māori throughout New Zealand society" (Ramsden, 2002, p.151). Such discourse continues to powerfully shape society, divide Māori and Non-Māori, and disqualifying the capacity to establish mutually enhancing relations and identities. Even after over two hundred years of intermārriage and co-habitation between Māori and Non-Māori, these responses suggest that while overt forms of racial violence are morally unfashionable, there remains an assumed sanctum of white privilege within which Māori inferiority is a given, is sanctioned and can be assumed without recourse to censorship or checking.

Fair-faced warriors

Māori you know they go to a shop or they are looking for a house to rent…they will know that they are getting judged because they are Māori…so they send me in…and maybe I get it without realising, you know, I walk into a shop and the shop keeper is just you know,

really welcoming and doesn't expect me to steal something…that's white privilege in mainstream society (Marino)

In both Māori and Pākehā societies, Māori who possess a Non-Māori appearance are 'both-in-one insider/outsider' (Trinh T. Minh-ha, 1995, p. 216), "bafflingly both alike and different" (Bhabha, 1996, p.54). Precisely because of the position they occupy in a shadow zone that is "contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures – at once the impossibility of cultures containedness and the boundary between" (Bhabha, 1996, p. 54), they can explore and navigate areas of overlap that are otherwise undetectable. The no-māns land that continues to exist between Māori and Non-Māori. Detecting and perhaps disarming landmines systematically targeted at Māori looking Māori, by Non-Māori who have become accustomed to the naturalisation of inflicting a "relentless campaign of criminal violence" (Mikaere, 2008, n.p), on the partner with whom they share this land.

White looking Māori who have been socialized as Māori possess the physical and psychological attributes to unearth and bring to the light of scrutiny the domestic violence perpetrated by one cultural partner in this land over the other (Love & Milne, 2009): A civil war that is an integral and fundamental component of modern New Zealand society. This violence that has been invisibilised by ceaseless iterations of white superiority, legitimated by a fraudulent history, and cemented in place by the ongoing enactment of political power and control that exercises a monopoly over the means to coerce (Jackson, 2008; Mikaere, 2008; Smith, 1999).

White looking Māori are a "potent counterforce" in Aotearoa New Zealand (Awatere, 1983, p. 19). Instead of the limiting Māori perceptions of white Māori as symbols of defeat or "the products and processes of assimilation which encouraged urbanization and inter-mārriage" (Bevan, 2000, p. 57); or alternately Non-Māori perceptions of them as social aberrations; Māori whose mixed descent is showing are "a potent counterforce when they acknowledge their taha Māori. They have the skills of the white nation, but little allegiance to it" (Awatere, 1983, p. 19). "White blood is not the problem. White culture is. White looking Māori can expose the ongoing, unwelcome and violent invasion and de-acculturation of Māori that continues to background Māori-Pākehā relations.

Exposure and elimination of the systemized racial violence that foundered and drives the functioning of New Zealand society by white looking Māori, other Māori and Pākehā with pride (McCreanor, 2009), will contribute to the emāncipation of both Māori and Non-Māori alike. "No one can be authentically human while [she or] he prevents others from being so"

(Freire, 1972, p. 58). The development of not just positive Māori, but also Non-Māori identities depends on the removal of all forms of racial oppression in Aotearoa New Zealand, white Māori possess the attributes to facilitate the unearthing and elimination of these faulty collective understandings of power, to introduce critique where there may otherwise be only conformity (Ramsden, 2002), I they so choose.

Political positions

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, there are two primāry postures for society transformation, the revelation, resistance and rejection of Eurocentric hegemony and the re-emergence of positive and powerful Māori identities. While white looking Māori can be effective undercover agents to uncloak systematic oppression, there is an essential, and perhaps more natural role to be fulfilled in relation to Te Ao Māori.

Q. Could we use being white…or appearing to be white as a strategic force on behalf of Māori?

I think that may be in place without having to do anything..like maybe we would use it our advantage to help Te Ao Māori or help Māori (Marino)

You may use that European look to your advantage in that Pākehā world…I mean Apirana Ngāta talks about having both, using both I mean that's quite important. Having Pākehā tools as well as Māori identity, and tools (Marino)

This participant recognised a very strategic and natural role for white Māori in the re-emergence of Te Ao Māori. By being Māori, and engāging with the world as Māori in areas of social influence, systematic change is ushered in. "In the end remedying the ills of our people is a political, a constitutional issue, not in terms of the beehive and parliament, but in terms of changing the mindset of our people about our power and our powerlessness" (Jackson, in Elliso-Loschmān, 2010, n.p). Being naturally Māori in 'power' sites that once excluded Māori contributes to the natruralisation of the emergence of tipuna mind, irrespective of domain; disturbing and troubing the rigidity of hegemony. *"You've got all these people like us coming through who go to university and get ourselves into positions of influence"* (Hinehika). Such positioning challenges and reveals the real enemies within Whānau, hapu and iwi – ignorance, powerlessness and poverty (Kruger, 2008).

Yeah and growing up it would be interesting to hear peoples whakaaro on Māori, cause I don't particularly look Māori and to hear people's negative thoughts about Māori. And you know there's an air of suspicion about what Māori do and what Māori say and that was interesting. I can't recall quite who said it, it might have been Tipene O'Regan who said it in the 80's early 90's, "Watch out for the fair faced warrior", and they are just saying that we are getting fairer and you won't know who you are talking to… you won't know whose amongst you…the fair faced warriors… (Hinehika)

Inescapably Māori values

Q. Have you ever considered moving out of your Māori centred stance?

Hmmm..how do you do that? I suppose not because I wouldn't know how to…I don't think I would know how to…I mean I suppose I could...like...if I left New Zealand that would be the easiest way…if I was to leave New Zealand and just move into a another culture. Where as staying in New Zealand um it would be difficult to leave behind…I don't know…It doesn't sound possible because it's a worldview, its you know, the way in which I think the world exists, I suppose (Marino)

I think as a teenager I made some choice to be not so readily identified as Māori. I got away from kapa haka, got away from that ao…it wasn't about not being Māori; it was about experiencing things that weren't Māori. But then you can't ever escape it. It was the loneliest time of my life, as a Māori woman. I cried because it was so lonely…. like I've never been anywhere in New Zealand and not felt a connection to a Māori…and I think that was when…I had not made a conscious choice not to be Māori, but that was when I realised I could never escape being Māori…It might have been an epiphany for me that you know, there are some things you can't escape (Hinehika)

For two of the participants who were 'given their identity' by being raised exclusively within the shelter of Te Ao Māori, consideration of, and deliberate attempts to experience a Non-Māori orientation were either inconceivable, or if attempted, intolerably alienating. Such experiences were instrumental contributions in bringing the participants to a place of consciously activating their choice for Māori identities where previously they had passively received.

It was not traditional cultural mārkers of proficiency in te reo Māori, tikanga or kapa haka that were the essential elements to a meaningful Māori identity. Instead inhabiting a

Māori worldview and experiencing a felt connection to other Māori featured. Again it was the intangible rather than the tangible that meaningfully anchored Māori identity. Connection or relationships with other Māori, as Māori and existence within an ideological realm of Māori values and beliefs of what is and can be, were identified as fundamental to a meaningful existence as Māori.

Manaaki and Wairua

Expression of Māori values and beliefs featured as central to a meaningful Māori existence in other participant accounts.

Then I lived spending time with my nannie when I looked after her...it seemed to me the most important thing was how you try to portray the values of your tipuna…I always try to make decisions on the basis of the values…you know manaakitanga… I do try to make decisions and walk the talk with my values, how I demonstrate them to my own Whānau. And they will be the judge of whether I do that…Cause you see these guys who say they have not been brought up Māori, and then you see how they manaaki people when you go to their homes and you know a karakia is so important to them… wairuatangā those values are still there and they might not be recognised by them by the term manaakitanga but it is there. That's what bonds us together I feel, is values (Nellie)

We need to be more affirming of and not abuse the Māori identities that we have. Umm…more so now than ever I think, and that's why I think a lot of Māori go overseas to Australia to get away from that critical perspective of some people. So we need to be more affirming about what we do in our everyday lives, or how we're with our Whānau, or how we practice in our work, or you know that all demonstrates aspects, the ahuatangā of being Māori. We are not just Māori when we go onto marae (Whi)

But all my cousins are fairer than me, blonde, blonde hair. The way they demonstrated manaakitanga to all the people who came, it was inherent in them, cause its inherent in their Mum… and it didn't matter that they may not be able to speak a word of te reo, but they demonstrated to those people the value of looking after everyone, they just looked after everyone so well. So I suppose we can say that sometimes those values are within us. We haven't lost them…we may have just lost a little way of how we recognise, and how to demonstrate them in other settings, outside of the marae. We always say that's where we demonstrate them , but how do we demonstrate them outside of those settings? That's the importance in our Whānau (Nellie)

But in the end they demonstrated their Māoriness in just who they were and what they did. They might not meet the criteria for this study but those values were still inherent in them (Nellie)

As in other Māori identity studies it is the capacity and opportunity to learn and give expression to Māori values that prioritise the relational and collective generating social and epistemological spaces and identities that are meaningfully Māori (Borrell, 2005; Moeke-pickering, 1997; Penetitio, 2008; Durie, A, 2001).

Tikanga within

For the 'tangibly traumatising' participants who were denied or had limited access to a tangible Māori kinship Whānau, connection to an intangible pathway became essential to the development of a positive Māori identity. Against the backdrop of limited or prohibited access to things Māori in the physical world, and the presence of active denigration of Māori, intangible or wairua guidance became a lifeline and link to who they "felt themselves to be as Māori" as opposed to who they were being told they were as Māori.

In the following passages intangible aspects such as a sense of inherent values and beliefs and an aptitude for things Māori acted as the primāry guidance in the development of positive Māori identities in the absence of ready access to tangible guidance.

I sacrificed a lot of things…but then you feel good in yourself…for being attuned to how you feel, being able to practice the values and beliefs that you have even if you don't know why you feel that way, or where they come from (Whi)

I just always felt like I was doing the right thing, you know I was following my gut instinct to either learn Te Reo, or to spend time with the kaumātua or whatever it was. Much to the disgust I think of a lot of my Pākehā family, for a long time (Whi)

I just found that anything Māori I tended to be very good at and I tended to enjoy it, so any kind of school activities that we did… Every time we went home we'd go and visit the marae and urupa and stuff, it just felt, it made sense like I know what I am doing and I know who that person is, cause I remembered names and I knew what to do, whereas in most contexts as a child you generally feel unsure and you have to be told (Whi)

For these participants the inter-subjective or intra-personal, the presence of 'tikanga within', provided an ongoing source of guidance towards a positive Māori identity. From this inner turangāwaewae or place of 'Māori being' participants were not only able to discern and move toward Māori enhancing opportunities, they were also able to perceive and assess anti-Māori influences independent from the primāry socio-political influences in which they were immersed.

So it wasn't until I left home which was early about 15 that I made a bee line back to things Māori, and became very interested in trying to learn about those things, and I rebelled against what my mother had imposed upon us as did another sister of mine…That was our way of finding our way back to who we were…we were able to become more identified with that world. And then my next journey came when I just went back into the whakapapa and looked at the history and all those things. So that is a huge long journey that I have undertaken in order to, you know, know completely, identify who we are, where we come from, and all those important things that help you know who you are, and feel strong in yourself (Erana)

Participant conceptions of reality and their place within it differed to the worldview that was dominant in their childhood homes. Instead of prioritising individual material gain and valuing the present, participant experiences, like their tipuna realities, continued to prioritise the spiritual or intangible. In this way the intra-personal lives of these participants is also the inter-subjective life of the collective. This collective inter-subjective involves the coming together of those who are of the here and now, and all who make us who we are as Māori - ancestors and Atua. Collectivity and spirituality arises from a realm that is independent from, yet pervades Te Ao Māramā.

Well that feeling inside of me that that was wrong. Even though I was really young and you normally believe everything your mother says (Erana)

While all participants received nourishment and direction to guide the development of Māori identities, those whose childhood experiences as Māori were 'tangibly traumatising', met in their everyday lives the twin effects of an absence of nourishing Māori representations or guidance, and a presence of Māori denigration. Tangible conditions of Māori cultural deprivation and derogation emphasise an intangible presence that informed positive Māori identity development in an intimate and enlivened manner. An "[e]loquent reassurance that our collective histories help to explain our social condition in far more personal ways than dry impersonal political commentaries" (Smith, M, in Ihimāera, 1998, p. 249), or institutionally

sanctioned societal rhetoric that seeps into and permeates contemporary family life (Freire, 1972).

The accounts of these women reveal that for some, collective histories come alive in the felt, lived and embodied realities of the inter-subjective intra-personal, regardless of contemporary influences. Such was the strength of the intra-personal inter-subjective or tipuna guidance that the endless reiterations of a standard story of Māori inferiority that "serve[s] to reproduce the social orders that provide advantage to settler populations and individuals and disadvantage to Māori" (McCreanor, 2005, p. 65) was resisted, revealed and rejected.

The institution of intangible tipuna presence inoculated participants, granting some protection from concrete situations of oppression, and racial violence in the home, local socio-cultural and regional environments. Overt hostility and denigration of Māori featured in the social organisation in which they lived, but did not manage to penetrate the inter-subjective intra-personal. Recent criminogenic research confirms, secure Māori cultural identities mitigate the effects of exposure to childhood adversity (Mārie, Fergusson, Boden, 2009). Intangible protection prevented these Māori woman from being 'civilised into something else by someone else" (Kruger, 2008, n.p). Instead they had been endowed with a relational consciousness that enabled them to perceive and refuse the oppressions embedded in almost all levels of their environments.

"Colour my skin by what you see…colour my soul by what you think you know…Colour my words by what you think you hear…my heart is my strength you cannot colour me there" (Māhinarangi Tocker, 1996).

Critique and collective consciousness

Emāncipation writers encourage those who are oppressed to develop critical thinking (Fanon, 1970; Freire, 1972; Smith, 1999). "Only as they discover themselves to be the 'hosts' of the oppressor can they contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 30). A capacity to engage in conscientization, or the ability to note and questions contradictions (Friere, 1972), usually begins with "that historic moment when one begins to think critically about the self and identity in relation to ones political circumstance" (bell hooks, 1994, p. 47). These women were protected from becoming hosts, or internalising the imprinting of Māori denigration that permeated their home environments.

Instead a capacity to independently critique was enlivened from a very young age in even the hostile conditions of their environments with and very few opportunities to experience Māori as attractive or positive.

And then my grandfather and others came for a visit, which was very rare we weren't allowed to say that they were our grandparents, we weren't allowed to identify them to any of the neighbours…and somewhere inside me I felt it was all wrong and I didn't accept it or believe it. I realised there was some part of me that wanted to know who all these things were, that are a part of me, so I suppose it was a kind of determination to recover, or try and recover all of those things I felt were lost (Erana)

The tipuna infused inter-subjective, experienced as the intra-personal provided life pathways that were more meaningful than those ascribed by the less discrete forms that dominated their lives. The inner wellspring of guidance enabled the participants to pursue and locate themselves as positively Māori, irrespective of the origin, concentration or quality of cultural denigration they experienced or witnessed, precisely because they were Māori. "[T]his state of natural grace would be hard to find, not because it wasn't there, but because its expression was either outlawed or transformed. Yet it existed humming in the background like a subliminal harmonic, out of tune with the Western world. Welcome to the twilight zone" (Smith, M, in Ihimāera, 1998, p. 250). For these participants the outlawing or deforming of most things Māori did not inhibit, and in fact may have enhanced their capacity to hear and respond to what was a continual and comforting presence.

While all participants allude to the presence of the transcendent in their lives, it is in the accounts of the Māori women who experienced 'tangibly traumatising' upbringing that this influence is most remārkable. For these Māori women the virtual absence of opportunity for affirmation as positive Māori in almost all areas of their lives makes the intersubjective influence of tipuna a stark and obvious reality. In the absence of such contrast, tipuna presence becomes naturally and inseparably embedded in the naturalness of being Māori. The person, whānui, iwi and tipuna are permeably and inextricably inter-related. Within the narratives of the 'tangibly traumatising' participants, tipuna presence becomes visible.

Slipping into 'whiteness'

But I think for them it is easier to slip into mainly mainstream Pākehā worldviews and lifestyle, because they look like it and that's their background…it is actually harder to go into the Māori world (Marino)

Some participants pointed out that a lack of Māori ethnic features and dominant Non-Māori values in the home could grant immunity from racially based oppression in the environment beyond the home. Given that participants' did not appear Māori, it may have been easier for them to slip under the radar of racial detection. They could have rejected Māori associations, allied with anti-Māori sentiment, avoided detection and punishment for being of the 'undesirable' ethnic class.

We learn to walk on two paths the Pākehā world because we can slide in there without having to try, and the more difficult path maybe to walk is the Māori way…creates tolerance, acceptance, diversity (Erana)

Instead of grasping this convenience and meeting the immediacy of self-protection or interest, an inner sense continually, stubbornly and determinedly guided them back to, not only who they were as Māori, but to overtly pursue being Māori.

Follow what you think is right because at the end of the day you've got to be able to rest your head and your heart and know that you have done what you think is right. And I think for most of us that's following tikanga really within us, even if no one else is patting us on the back and telling us it is the right thing to do (Whi)

An inner Māori compass offered perpetual direction and affirmation, independent from, and in direct opposition to the wider socio-cultural 'normality' values and beliefs at the local, regional and national levels. Repeated rejection of the convenient in favour of the far more difficult and deliberate pursuit of a Māori identity resounded in the 'tangibly traumatising' kōrero, and also echoed through the 'tangibly sheltering' accounts.

Intentionally Māori unintentional activists

I think you feel like you have no choice. It's not something that you go like "Oh today I am going to be Māori", it's just the little choices and things that you decide as you go along, and you look back and think, Oh Gee! (Whi)

An indwelling sense of unquestionable and consistent Māori orientation occurred as an outcome of an inner sense that cumulatively guided them to who they were as Māori. Much like Belinda Webber's question – "I choose to be ethnically identified as Māori, why?" (2008, p. 8), a choice is made before any individual volition or conscious choice arises. An

almost involuntary impulse meant that participants consistently refused deviations that may have been more easeful.

Well it must have been a yearning that we had inside to rebel and find our own selves…that's how I became identified with the Māori world in this area, connected with health which is my profession, and I became involved with a group who were Māori health workers and we became activists, we didn't intend to be activists, but that is how it ended up because we would try and fight to make the health system more user friendly so it would be more effective for Māori… So we didn't really start off to be activists but it ended up that way (Erana)

The combination of a natural ability and passion for the collective well-being of Māori people, and being tasked as a health professional to do just this, targeted this participant and her peers as trouble makers. Allegations of activism in this situation are striking given the overt promotion of health policies such as Te Korowai Orangā which "supports Māori aspirations to take control of their own health" (Building on Strengths, Ministry of Health, 2002, p. 8). Such policies are targeted at precisaly the activities this participant and her colleagues were attempting, increasing effective services for Māori by increasing access to health services and professionals. Yet instead of being recognised and rewarded they received notoriety.

Rather than being supported and rewarded for combining a desire to contribute as a Māori, to Māori well being, she attracted a negtativity that is consistent with most participant accounts of being naturally Māori in a socio-political environment that is Non-Māori. Even when supported by policy rhetoric, "Māori aspirations are subject to the Pākehā veto" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 313). Again subjugation to a wider collective dominance was resisted, and Māori interests and identity pursued. "The desire by the native to be self-defining, self-naming can be read as a desire to be free, to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human" (Smith, 2008, p. 115). And in this case, the desire for such freedom attracted the condemnation usually ascribed to radicals.

A resilient desire and pursuit to prioritise things Māori consistently featured in participant accounts. Rather than dimming this desire, denigration or censure often had the opposite effect.

And one of my friends parent from a very wealthy family, they sat me down and said what are you going to do next year. And I said "Oh well I have found a school that teaches

*Te Reo in immersion, and so I am going to go to this school, because I want to be fluent".
And he just looked at me in disgust, and said "it will never get you anywhere, learning Te
Reo you may as well throw your life away… and I am like, "Wow I am definitely going to do
te reo". That made my mind up and I just listened. I don't know why, yeah I have ever
since, I don't know… I think it was the way he said it…and the way he looked at me that I
immediately, I don't know why… I just made my mind up its like, that was what I was doing
whether anybody liked it or not. So I did (Whi)*

Participants, like Indigenous and minority writers have not remained silent when
responding to the overwhelming erasure or oppression of Indigenous identities. "Since the
other hesitated to recognise me, there remained only one solution: to make myself known"
(Fanon, 1970, p. 81). Labels and representations of Māori "are a matter of conjecture rather
that a statement of fact" (Durie, A, 2001, 299). The disgust, denial and denigration offered to
the participants because they were Māori women, rather than being taken at face value and
depressing a desire to be Māori, acted as an incentive. "In some ways the threats have
acted to support Māori identity. Supports and threats to Māori identity are by no means
mutually exclusive" (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 55).

Adversity has consistently acted as an incentive for those who know and understand
the price of loss. For those who know what they have lost, complacency is to be resisted,
and determined retention and reclaimātion of Māori identities and ways pursued. Here in
Aotearoa it has been acknowledged that the revival of Te Reo Māori was carried forward not
by those who were first language speakers, but those who through their lack were "painfully
aware of how great that loss is" (Karetu, 1993, p. 225). A similar dynamic of loss informing
proactive action has been observed in Indigenous peoples' vigilance around definitions of
humanity. "Colonised people have been compelled to define what it means to be human
because there is a deep understanding of what it has meant to be considered not fully
human, to be savage" (Smith, 1999, p. 26). Being overtly judged as less than because of
allegiance to Māori, compelled this participant into a life time commitment to Māori identity,
people and ways.

Denial of acknowledgement, of who we are, equates with a denial of existence. In
pre-contact Māori society intentional exclusion was a serious social sanction, activated on
behalf of the collectives well-being. Declaring a person dead was second only to death
(Pere, cited in Mikaere, 2000, p. 21), and acted as a powerful mechanism of discipline and
social justice. Enforced silencing of Māori in today's society creates social injustice and

restoration of relational balance. "A feeling of inferiority? No a feeling of non-existence" (Fanon, 1970, p. 98).

Avoidance of soul shrinkage

But then I am stubborn, I think us Māori are a bit stubborn about our identity, even if it means getting a bit of battering and sort of feeling like you are outside like…we tend a lot to do that as opposed to fitting in (Whi)

As with other Indigenous peoples Māori were, and continue to be, re-cast as sub-human or second class citizens in their own land (Durie, A, 2001; Jackson, 2008; Mikaere, 2008; Smith, 1999). Participants consistently opposed such casting, choosing repetitively to reject rather than collude with these roles. Participants displayed an instinctive awareness that silence in the face of collective and individual representational violence is not a sustainable protection mechanism. "My silences have not protected me. Your silence will not protect you" (Lourdes, 2007).

The power to define is a central mechanism of oppression (Hall, 1997; Jackson, 2008; Fanon, 1970). Definitional and representational power has historically functioned to legitimate or remove the status of 'humanity' (Ramsden, 2002; Smith, 1999). Rather than mistaking short term avoidance as a long term remedy, participants instead took the more difficult path of stubbornly holding onto their identity as Māori. Rejecting the invitation to be struck mute for immediate convenience, participants avoided the far more devastating and long term impact of "soul shrinkage" (Fanon, 1970): the too frequent psycho-social dynamics subsequent to catastrophic physical violence (Freire, 1972). When left unchallenged these dynamics establish the economic and social marginalisation of a people politically gutting and muting them (Ramsden, 2002).

Defining oneself and ones people, is protecting ones humanity on the individual and collective levels (Fanon, 1970; Smith, 1999). "We need not wait for them to recognise our humanity, but to recognise it ourselves and act accordingly and in settling for nothing less than our liberation we will be in the process of becoming more fully human" (Ramsden, In Ihimāera, 1998, p. 262). Consistent insistence on, and pursuit of a positive Māori identity characterised the participants life stories. They determinedly and deliberately named themselves as positively Māori.

Imposed choice and denial of the chosen – Half people

While exploring the nature and place of choice in developing a Māori identity, a perspective was given of those who rather than embracing a Māori identity against all odds, denied their Māori identity.

Q. Was there a choice to be or not be Māori for you?

Well not without denying some of who you are…if you want to go around as a half person to fulfil someone else expectations then you have to walk that path. But you would feel like part of you is missing. You'd only be half there, half present. And you'd be denying part of who you are, um all of who you are. And that must be a painful thing to have to do. That's not a comfortable thing, to deny some of who you are (Erana)

And one of the reasons I say that is because one of my sisters, the one who was beaten by my mother, she was badly beaten and as a result of that she turned away from all things Māori because of her experience. It was only when my father died and she had to come to the marae, we were the kauamāte for him, that she then started to feel more comfortable in looking at that side of her…umm…but because of her experience she had completely cut that off and lived, continued to live as half a person. That I'm sure has its own pain for her, and the pain that the other two of us had by insisting that we lived all of us, if you like, it was a painful journey too, but I am sure it can't have been as painful as hers, which insisted that she only live as half a person (Erana)

The kōrero of all the participants highlights that the pull to be Māori, independent of Māori contemporary socialisation or denigration is powerful. It seems that catastrophic amounts of trauma and violence are required to sever a person from responding to the inner calling of the tipuna.

Others have noted that "[w]hile Māori have been colonised and urbanised the inescapable conclusion is that being Māori matters" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 219). Despite being alienated by time, space and distance, from whakapapa, whenua and Whānau, a connectedness to an ancestral homeland from which all things good and spiritually potent arises, continues to form an integral 'part of what it means to be Māori" (Jahnke, 2002, p. 358) in the world today.

The tipuna never go away (Gibson, 1999; Awatere, 1984), and it is one's destiny and duty as Māori to live one's whakapapa. "To be moved by your inner mauri, to respond to that

taha Māori deep within" (Awatere, 1982, p. 29). The "crying of my soul for its identity (Harawira, in Ihimāera, 1998, p. 24), the "something else…like a karangā inside me…or a fire burning deep within me. It is a fire lit there by my tipuna. The fire began when my mauri brought together my tinana and my wairua…it is my mauri which called forth my potential to be Māori" (Carter, in Ihimāera, 1998, p. 260). The tipuna are never silenced, but the ability to sense and respond to them can be brutalised.

The tipuna inoculation of the intra-personal inter-subjective indicated by the kōrero of those who survived the 'tangibly traumatising' upbringings, can be eroded and broken down. Instead of experiencing a guiding presence and sense of belonging as Māori, the imposition of multiple forms of extreme violence in an environment devoid of Māori affirmation, and instead drenched in Māori denigration, can, over time, erase a natural compulsion towards Māori. Self-esteem and identity can be inverted (Fanon, 1970), and a hate of self as Māori and all things Māori inserted. Where previously there was an irresistible attractant to Māori, there is now the opposite as can be seen in figure 5.
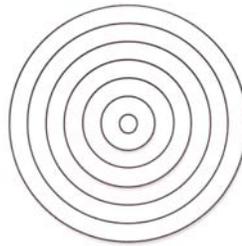
Figure 5. Denigration of Māori pervaded all levels of social influence.

Colonisation the disease of cultural destruction

The process of violence mediated cultural annihilation experienced by the participant and her sisters at the family level, mirrors what occurred, and continues to occur on a mācro or collective level for all Māori, through the ongoing imposition of colonisation.

For those exposed to such repetitive and vicious cultural assaults, the sense of a Māori intra-personal or intersubjective is lost. Not the tipuna presence itself, "for the tension of the land…is that the tipuna never go away" (Awatere, 1982, p. 19), but the ability to feel or respond becomes buried under the effects of combined physical and psychological brutalisation and solidified trauma. An incesant attraction to being Māori, is replaced with a self-hate and repulsion for things Māori. The mediation of violence results in the world-view of the oppressor displacing the Māori world-view.

When I was very young I had some strange idea that being Māori must be like a disease, because you weren't allowed to talk about it and you weren't allowed to…one of my sisters was actually beaten by my mother because she let it slip at school she got a really bad hiding. That's where I got, I came across this idea in my mind that it must be like a disease (Erana)

The dissemination of stereotypes under the authoritative guise of truth regimes manufactures and purveys from a Māori centric stance, abnormality and pathology as nomālity. Entrenchment of such positions within societies results in the packaging of ethnocidal social theories and eugenic dogmā as common sense (Smith, 1999). The warrior gene debacle is an example of the twisted fruits that result from a methodology that combines racial stereotypes, social theories and eugenesis (Chart, 2009; Mārtin, 2009; Raumāti-hook, 2009). Systemisation of racial hatred buried under unquestioning conformity to racially motivated rhetoric does not reveal an inherent Māori genetic defect or disease. Rather it reveals the products of hate. "Ethnic minorities should always be aware and vigilant of how they are perceived by eurocentric majorities" (Raumāti-Hook, 2009, p. 2). Such critical positioning and vigilance is difficult for individualised peoples, and certainly for a child to achieve.

So…so there may be…is there a choice? I don't know if there's a choice but there's things that can be imposed upon you which may affect you so badly that you will find that you can only walk…It may not be their fault it may that what has been imposed upon them is not something that they would have freely chosen, had they had the ability to choose freely who they would be, they may have chosen a completely different path. But perhaps the pressure upon them was so intense, was so severe they were unable to have made a free choice or you know, been able to do that (Erana)

The erasure of volition or choice for the sister parallels and repeats the colonial experience of our tipuna. "The hearing of the evidence as to how the ancestors were militarily overcome, forced to yield their resources and then reduced to constant poverty, is both a relief and a burden" (Jones, 2000, p. 164). Nor is personal volition or choice involved in the stories of those who are forced to turn away from Te Ao Māori and tipuna guidance. Relief and burden will continue to resound as "[i]njustice is never settled when superior power imposes a solution. Injustice evaporates only when justice is done" (Barclay, 2005, p. 113). Where choice is annihilated, justice is not done.

Ngā taonga tuku iho – Ancestral gifts

For the participants reaching a place of deliberate and active choice and commitment to Māori identities occurred as an incremental layering process that involved a multitude of socio-cultural political and historical influences. There were also decisive events or experiences that stood out as central contributors or choice points in the development of their identity as Māori.

Te reo Māori anake

Even my great great grandmother she was still alive, she only spoke te reo Māori so I couldn't…when I went there she knew who I was, she would cry and wail sort of to see me, but I couldn't speak to her in any way and I always wonder why someone didn't think that it might be good that we all learn Te Reo so that we could speak to her… She lived till I was 22 but even me I didn't think to…we just sort of communicated in a way… how many of her descendents couldn't actually communicate with her? (Nellie)

The determination of this kuia to maintain the mana and practice of te reo Māori, even though it denied her ready access to day to day communication with her first born mokopuna of her mokopuna, was a strong and pivotal influence in this participants development of identity. While the participant said "but the ultimate is you can't communicate with your great great grandmother in a meaningful way". The kuia's deliberate sacrifice of everyday communication with her first mokopuna, imparted a deeply meaningful and powerful message, an example of standing by your cultural language and ways no matter what. According to Freire (1972, p. 47) "the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated". This kuia modelled utter defiance to colonial subordination, and absolute faith and fidelity to the mana and ways of Te Ao Māori.

The kuia maintained her role as the Whare Tangāta of this Whānau, displaying that the "continuity of descent lines and the flow of ancestral blood through the generations is of upmost importance" (Pere, 1982, p. 7), imparting to her descendent who walked in a different cultural world, the centrality and importance of ngā taongā tuku ihoa (ancestral gifts). The provision of such a staunch and mana filled role model may have removed opportunities for conversations on the daily mundane, yet the choice of the kuia to uphold Te Ao Moari provided a psycho-spritual backbone that powerfully modeled only mana for all things Māori to her mokopuna and Whānau. If "[a] nation is not conquered until the hearts of its woman are on the ground" (Mikaere, 2003), then this kuias example demonstrates that the mana of Te Ao Māori continues to powerfully pulse.

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Te reo Māori

While the kuia in the above example stood by her reo and world, there was generally no te reo Māori in any other areas of this participants life. This was common for all but the youngest of the participants who was raised with te reo Māori as she was able to attend Te Kohangā Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. So influential were these institutions on the development of identity that only her eldest sibling, who was schooled before the advent of Te Kohangā Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, did not attend these Māori educational institutions and does not have a secure Māori identity. This example demonstrates the direct link between access to and the example of mana Māori institutions in New Zealand society and the development of positive Māori identities.

Most participants spoke of not growing up with te reo Māori. Due to the abuse and denigration grandparents had received, their parents and they had been raised without te reo Māori in an attempt to adapt. Loss of te reo for the parents generation, and the recovery of it in their own, was a common thread. While te reo was acknowledged by all participants as vital to Māori generally, te reo Māori did not feature as a core force for positive Māori identity development.

'Our Place'

When we were growing up we were always going home. Mum would say, "Oh we're going home". We do have a plot of land out at Te R… with the old homestead on it, with emphasis on old, you know, you can see more of the ground it is precarious. And like growing up, we went back there every holiday. There was no running water and no toilet, there was no electricity half of the time and that was our holidays, it was really rustic. We would spend our whole time getting the lawns down and then we would come back to the city. Umm so I have a connection with the place (Hinehika)

Swimming against the tide of 'progress' this family left city sophistication and traveled to the 'rustic' wilderness of their ancestral kaingā and whenua not once or twice a year, but every school holidays. Today this trip is a trek of six hours three decades ago when these pilgrimāges were undertaken the travel would have been perhaps double that without the current improvements in roads and vehicles.

The voice of the child remains clear in the adult woman's kōrero, traveling for hours to stay in a broken down house, in the middle of nowhere, to mow lawns and then drive home

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again seems nonsensical. Yet from the adult woman's perspective it is precisely these 'going home' journeys that lay within the participant an unerring connection, orientation and sense of home. The participant has used exactly the same strategy to successfully awaken in her children an embodied knowing of 'our place', a connection to ancestral whenua and Whānau.

It's lovely to like hear the girls they go like, oh Mum I just want to go home, and I said we'll be home soon, and she said no Mum home! And I'm like where? And she says Te R…. I'm like huh! You've got it that that is our place. That's our connection. When are we going home Mum? And I just go Ohh ok…you know, and that to me is like…that's a success that that's what they think (Hinehika)

What could be superficially perceived as simplistic decision-making leading to uneconomic wasteful activities from a world-view that prioritises personal gain and convenience, has been a deliberate and powerful succession strategy that has successfully orientated at least two generations of this Māori Whānau to who they are and how they fit in the world as Māori. This identity foundation anchored the participant as she ventured into the world to not merely survive, but to seek wisdom and mastery, which she had also been taught were inherently Māori characteristics.

Connecting back

And then my grandfather and others came for a visit, which was very rare we weren't allowed to say that they were our grandparents, we weren't allowed to identify them to any of the neighbours…

Cause my grandfather sent me this māgazine when I was a kid and it came through the māil and it was called 'Whitiora'. And it was written half in English and half in Mäori and this was his way of connecting. Cause as a child when you get something through the māil you are very excited, when you get something with your name on it. I opened this up and this was what it was. I was so excited to see this. My mother, when she saw it, and saw it had Mäori in it, ripped it off my hands and ripped it into shreds and threw it out (Erana)

Immense discomfort must have been experienced by the korua and kuia on knowingly entering and remaining in a home where their presence was considered a source of shame, and social contamination. Yet the sacrifice they made in doing so provided an

anchor of Māori being for this participant, who had little else from which she could draw on to sustain herself as a Māori.

> *There were things like that that stick in your mind and… make you want to discover and want to reclaim that part of you that has been taken away for whatever reason. Part of reclaiming your identity….finding your way, your way to it, back to it. Because its in there but its been denied you (Erana)*

Ngā taongā tuku ihoa (gifts left by tipuna), in this instance memories of very rare visits, and a māgazine sent through the post and possessed for a very short time. These were sufficient for this participant to realise she was a recognised and valued mokopuna. Such acknowledgement although rare, established within the participant an awareness of inherent Māoriness: A connection to an inner orientation that she was able to follow in early adulthood to revivify and restore herself as a Māori woman.

Adaptation convenience and disappearing

Rather than adapting, assimilating or taking the easiest option, all of these instances exemplify the great lengths the kuia and koroua went to, to communicate their love for their mokopuna and the value of being Māori. While convenience or finding the quickest, cheapest and easiest ways of doing, or not doing, is a norm that dominates modern Western societies, it is memories of the kuia and koroua's deliberate choices to do precisely the inconvenient that stands out in the participants kōrero. While many factors from personal to political, socio-cultural, economic and historical all articulate in a complex layering that forms the substrate of identity, these were some of the critical experiences in determining how the participants oriented to their identity as Māori woman. The tipuna, koro and kuia in these accounts did all they could, sometimes within almost debilitating restrictions of existing within marginalised and denigrated social and political positions of society, to communicate to their mokopuna that they were loved, valued and Māori.

Interestingly, the superficiality of the child's account is likely to mirror the opinion of many Non-Māori, and provide evidence to substantiate primitivism judgments of Māori. However, just as a child's perspective necessarily lacks the depth of adult analysis, 'outsider' interpretations lack the requisite values and beliefs for adequate cultural comprehension. Early studies that found Māori or other Indigenous peoples 'life –ways' savage or unintelligible demonstrate the interpretive failure that results when meaning is interpreted by those lacking 'in group' perceptions (Smith, 1999). Genuine depth is sacrificed to inadequate

cognitions. Instead of culturally intelligible renderings we "lose the inner thought through the outer garb" (Hiroa, 1926, p.187). The deeply poetic and significant becomes simplistic child-like fabrications.

Those lacking the necessary cultural cognitions do not possess the interpretive frameworks to allow accurate decoding. For them a Māori worldview is invisible (Mārsden, 2003).   Lack of familiarity with multidimensional 'know-how' coupled with a conditioned cultural supremacy results in many non-Māori mistakenly rendering the profound into the trivial.   What from a Māori perspective is a deeply multilayered and complex relational phenomenon, become perceived as hollow, crude and misguided acts.

The above kōrero is drawn from across the spectrum of 'tangibly sheltering' and 'tangibly traumatising' experiences of being Māori. Consistent through all accounts is a determination to impart connections to Whānau, whenua, te reo Māori, and ngā taongā tuku ihoa (ancestral gifts). Strategies employed by the kuia and kaumātua matched the particular contexts of their specific situations, yet all demonstrate determined and committed wills to uphold connection to mana Māori for their mokopuna, often at great personal cost. Such role modeling formed the core of how all the participants oriented to Te Ao Māori. With an indomitable focus and will.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

"Every indivdiual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place" (Smith, 1999, p. 144)

The particular kōrero of the single participant in the Ahakoa He Kiri Mā pilot spoke to the general experiences, issues and expectations of identity development within Te Ao Māori for Māori who do not look Māori. In the absence of a collective dialogic experience only a cursory glimpse was gained of the inter-relational nature of the forces and forms that arise from within and without te ao Māori. This study has begun from another level. The kōrero of this group of Māori women with diverse experiences, covering different decades and tribal domains, has flowed out in a wider arc. Affirmation of forces that arise from deep within te ao Māori that positively and determinedly empower Māori identities are touched, so too are forces that arise from beyond te ao Māori; some of which enhance, but most of which inhibit the development of positive Māori identities.

Participant kōrero demonstrates what from a Māori world-view, is an epistemological given - the interconnected and holistic nature of the intra-personal or inter-subjective, Whānau whānui, community, regional, national and international across time and place. Permeability of boundaries means influences arising at one level ripple through and touch all else. The tipuna infused will of the 'tangibly traumatising' participants not only enabled the participant to stand as Māori in the world, in so doing they, like the self-perpetuating cultural oasis of 'tangibly sheltering' Māori homes, offered succor and direction for others within and without the Whānau whānui to find ways of being Māori in the world. Importantly, this capacity for mentorship of meaningful existence, intentional and unintentional, impacted on not just Māori but also Non-Māori. The mother of one of the 'tangibly traumatising' participants is today a staunch ally of Māori, and deliberately seeks to enhance Māori wellbeing in both her personal and professional capacities.

The radiant expressive nature of Māori values providing direction for Māori and Non-Māori is also observable in the increasing numbers of Non-Māori parents who like the 'tangibly sheltering' Non-Māori parents, choose to ally with and prioritise Māori culture for their children and themselves. Similarly the increasing numbers of Non-Māori who name themselves Pākehā to acknowledge and ally with Māori as Tāngata Whenua: the past and existing sovereign people of this land (McCreanor, 2009), and also the increasing numbers of Non-Māori who recognise in Māori culture the opportunity to retrieve a humanizing humility

and wisdom to antidote the cultural deprivation and domination of Western civilisation (Bell, 2007; Jones, 2008), reveal the rippling and outward flowing nature of Māori life-centric ways of being.

What sits at the heart of this outward spiraling of Māori being and identity is present in all the kōrero of the Māori women, yet revealed most strongly against the stark back-drop of the 'tangibly traumatising' participants childhood experiences. "Being attuned to how you feel, being able to practice the values and beliefs that you have even if you don't know why you feel that way, or where they come from" (Whi). Within the shelter and nourishment of the 'tangibly sheltering' homes the presence becomes named as "My tipuna, my knowingness of being Māori… So I might be feeling a little bit lonely in this world but I am not alone" (Nellie). Tipuna presence, life-centric values and beliefs that prioritise the relational, the collective and wellbeing, effervescently continue to bubble up and infuse Māori existence. Participant accounts reveal the spiritual potency of this force, particularly in the absence of congruent or enhancing conditions at both the individual, collective and socio-political levels.   The indomitable determination of tipuna presence in the women's accounts presents a micro-reflection of the irrepressibility and resiliency of Māori on the historical and contemporary national and international stage.

The presence of ancestral lineage is at the heart of Māori identity. "Ehara au nā tēnei ao,engāri nā te aroha i wae āku mātua. Ko āku kahu, ko te mauri me te wehi o ōku tipuna. Ko āku kupu whakaaro, a rātau tikanga. (I am not solely from this world. Instead I am the embodiment of the love of my parents. My clothes are fashioned from the vitality and greatness of my ancestors, and my thoughts are shaped by their manners)" (Melbourne, in Ihimāera, 1982, p. 2).

Tikanga is the voice of our ancestors, and eminates from the unseen. Pre-colonisation, the discipline of tikanga unquestionably and naturally provided the "comprehensive philosophical frameworks within which relationships were nourished and disputes resolved" (Mikaere, 2008, n.p). It was the spiritual institutions within which, and from which all other social and political institutions were embedded (Kaa & Milroy, 2004; Mārsden. 2003; Walker, 1989). Furthermore, "[th]ere are…still many native and Indigenous families and communities who possess the ancient memories of another way of knowing that informs many of their contemporary practices" (Smith, 2008, p. 115). The accounts of these Māori women reveal that the force and action of tikanga, like molten lava rising up from within papatuanūku continues to find expression in today's world.

The fulfilment of tikanga can be seen in a dual phased process, communication, and practice. Communication of ngā taonga tuku iho (ancestral gifts), whakapapa, karanga, karakia, whaikōrero, and waitata provides the metaphysical conditions to enable and enhance connection to tipuna, the environment and others. Practice of Māori principles such as aroha, manaaki and tautoko creates physical and metaphysical conditions which enable coming togethers that provide for all of who we are, in the appropriate manner (Ti Hauora O Te Aroha, 2009).

The women's kōrero acknowledges both communication and practice, yet emphasises the second form of tikanga, the activation of Māori principles and values. Without an ability to come together as Māori, life was meaningless and unbearably lonely. In this absence participants either recreated or sought social forms that enabled the restoration of this practice. "To be connected is to be whole" (Smith, 1999, p. 148). Prioritisaton of the relational was also named as central to positive Māori identity development in the literature (Borell, 2005; Penetito, 2008). Being Māori meant practicing Māori values "if we don't want to do that, the values of being Māori will disappear even if my children can now learn Māori at school. If they learn the language without the values, it will be meaningless, saying English ideas in Māori words" (Durie, A, 2001, p. 203)

The desire to come together as Māori and in Māori ways, or to practice tikanga, impelled singular participants or whānau to seek, create and maintain committed connections to their own whānau whānaui or pan collectives of Māori if that was not possible. Desire for Māori ways of being together as Māori, seems to have sourced the first generations of urbanised Māori to create Māori bodies in cities when whakapapa institutions were absent, or access was blocked. An inherent, and for the 'tangibly sheltering' participants, enhanced desire for inhabiting a Māori worldview and experiencing a felt connection to other Māori meant participants actively sought restoration or perpetuation of these particular coming togethers. In essence it was desire for the practice and immersion in expressions of Māori values, or tikanga, that provided particular socio-spiritual spaces infused with Māoritanga.

Desire has been named as "the first milestone on the road that leads to the dignity of spirit" (Fanon, 1970, p. 155). The desire to seek connection with Māori and things Māori acted as a thirst or lure leading participants in an ongoing search for the opportunity and reality of mutually recognising cultural connections. "Ko te pū, ko te kauru. Kei te hiahia, kei te koronga…" (This is the origin, this is the core. Let there be desire, and let there be longing [for knowledge] (karakia of the ancient Tainui school of learning, 'Hui Te Rangiora'). Such a

self perpetuating momentum, of 'resonance seeking resonance' reveals an attraction that begins to explain the enduring sustainability of te ao Māori.

Tikanga the heart of it

It's not how Māori are you, 'cause you just are…it's a really exciting journey when people want to explore their Māoriness…and it's like rain I guess. You know lots of things falling on you and how that gets absorbed… And I am always excited about new knowledge about family…learning new things is an exciting thing, never shut yourself off from those. And it's like - How Māori are you? You are never Māori enough really (Hinehika)

Tikanga sits at the heart of being Māori. In its absence it was sought, in its presence it was prepetuated. 'Tikanga within' (Whi) is the authority and power that activates our conviction to protect, nourish and celebrate our whakapapa, even against all odds. For through whakapapa you can know your place, know where you can stand, where you can be proud and confident within a "series of neverending beginnings" (Jackson, 2008, n.p). Restoration of opportunities to gather and practice tikanga or values of aroha and manaaki is what gives life and meaning to Māori forms of being, strengthening and infusing tipuna mandated whakapapa in today's world.

While the participants' kōrero indicates diverse experiences and influences, it is the prioritisation, pursuit and perpetuation of Māori values and practices that permeates all participant accounts. Tikanga is the common factor that underlies positive Māori identity even in the absence of any other Māori confirming factors and the presence of seemingly overwhelming forces of Māori derogation. While there was broad diversity in the conditions and cultural orientation experienced by the women, the presence of 'tikanga within' meant these differences are not comparatively distinguishable today. Instead the positive and secure identities as Māori all of these women possess is distinct. They have chosen to enhance tikanga in their own and Whānau lives by continually and deliberately choosing "to portray the values of your tipuna" (Nellie). Interdependent relationship with Māori collectives is imperative to practice Māori values.

The intangible and tangible institution of tikanga is the glue that cements the individual to the collective and beyond. By recalling us to our essential oneness, tikanga creates spiritual, social and political adherence. It is tikanga that permeates the singular of an individual and adheres them to their whakapapa – Whānau whānui, hapu iwi, ancestors, life and atua. "Tikanga may be seen as Māori principles for determining justice. Tikanga grew out of and was inextricably woven into the spiritual everyday framework of Māori life.

Besides it's moral and ancestral authority, tikanga adds rationale, authoritiveness and control which is timeless. In that sense tikanga can be defined as law in its widest sense…" (Kaa & Milroy in Ministry of Justice, 2004, p.V).

As with other Indigenous societies, tikanga, or orders that maintained relational consciousness and care, within a pragmatic and cosmic awareness of being, seamlessly infused and informed all aspects of pre-colonisation Māori society (Smith 1999). The epistemology, language and all levels of socio-political organisation centred on tikanga. Tipuna, wairua and relational holism permeated all structures and the deep normative roots of Māori society from the unseen to the seen realms as can be seen in figure 6.

Figure 6. Pre-colonisation tikanga and mana Māori pervaded all realms of being.

While tikanga embraced and ordered the early and mutually enhancing coming togethers of Māori and Non-Māori, this was to change with the introduction of organised colonisation. In the last 260 years since organised colonisation began, Māori socio-political positioning in Aotearoa has undergone a massive power shift (Durie, A, 2001; Smith, 1998). A pre-contact tribal or Māori centre of social, cultural and political normality was de-centered by the violence and science of cultural and geographical invasion. "The land had been largely stripped of native people, trees and birds" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 14), and all overt forms of Māori, people and institutions were erased from the skyline of Māori day-to-day existence. ""[O]ne of the most prevalent attitudes towards Māori that I encountered in New Zealand was a feeling of complete and utter indifference about the welfare of the Māori people. Many persons hardly seemed aware that the Māori existed and cared even less" (Ausabel, in Ramsden, 2002, p.15). British people, forms and law supplanted Māori people and explicit forms of the first lore of the land – tikanga. Since then "Māori have been living in bondage of the law in order to be free" (Kruger, 2008, n.p). Changes in the societal orientation to Māori can be seen in figure 7.
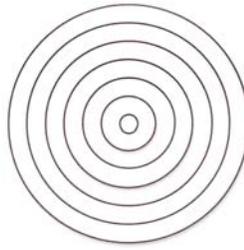
Figure 7. All levels of New Zealand society except for the private Māori domains of the intra-personal of intersubjective, immediate whānau, and the whānau whānui were characterised by derogation of Māori.

From the dawning of the 1800's the vicious and systemized dealing of death, destruction and the dispossession of the conditions necessary for life, succeeded in exterminating not only the majority of Māori land and lives. The tikanga infused institutions necessary to maintain meaningful Māori lives were also erased from what had become New Zealand society (Walker, 1989). "By the end of the 19C, some 60 years from the beginning of organised colonisation, the saga of dispossession had run its course" (Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 120). Compared to the presence of tipuna (Awatere, 1984), Māori society, understandings and forms of being were erased from the political, public and western-dominated norm of private New Zealand society in a small handful years. "To face individual death is one thing; to face death for all your kin and for all that you care for is a horror of an entirely different magnitude" (Bay, in Bodley, 1988, p. 42). The implications of this rapid, broadcast and engineered catastrophe remain.

Instead of occupying a pervasive and taken for granted natural centre of existence, Māori lore, institutional forms and the Māori survivors were segregated to the few remaining slithers of tribal lands. "Colonisation is just another word for war" (Kruger, 2008, n.p). Following the massive physical and meta-physical existential devastation of Māori people and ways, the tangible bedrock or turangawaewae has been and is continually and progressively eroded (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Yet, this study along with other Māori-centric literature and material indicates that while the physical turangawaewae became the spoils of war and ended up in Non-Māori hands, the metaphysical turangawaewae from which all that is good and spiritually potent continues to provide a place to stand and a source of strength for Māori (Jahnke, 2002). "You may have had our lands but you never had our rangatiratanga" (Māhuta, in Melbourne 1995, p. 151).

Participant and Whānau resilience mirror a singular aspect of collective Māori resiliency. While the power to name our word and therefore name the world was taken from us (Smith, 1999), and different pasts, presents and futures were authored for Māori by

'others'; the collective body of Māori has survived the cultural and physical devastation that resulted in the death of 80% of the Māori collective body (Fleras & Maaka, 2005), "Māori have remained Māori, tribes have remained intact" (Maaka & Fleras, p. 124), and Māori continue to desire their rights to the reinstatement of Māori values and knowledge (Kruger, 2008). Just as "Identity is a fundamental organising principle in the enactment of power" (Liu, et al, 2005, p. 15), Māori singular responses to and reclamation of tikanga in their personal and public lives, is the plural force of tino rangatiratanga for the body of Māoridom. Instead of Māori erasure, Māori have not only survived, but survived as Māori (Durie, 2001), and are restoring "a level of social equality that is not contingent on becoming Pākehā" (Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 124).

The timelessness of tikanga has sustained Māori through both the genocidal and ethnocidal versions of assimilation, and integration as the more recent market version of assimilation. Across this span of time Māori are learning "[e] tipu e rea mo ngā ra o tou ao, ki to ringā ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā, hei ora mo to tinana. Ki to ngākau ki ngā taongā a o tipuna, hei tikitiki mo to māhungā. Ko to wairua ki te atua, nana nēi ngā me kātoa", (To thrive in the days destined to you, put your hands to the tools of the Pākehā for your physical wellbeing; your heart, to tipuna allegiance for the flourishing of dignity, and your spirit to the source of all life), (Ngāta, in Te Awanuiārangi, 2006). Māori are moving out of powerless and damage control modes enforced by colonisation and assimilation, and are instead increasingly meeting with 'modernisation' on their own terms. Much like the people of Bhutan who without the assault of colonisation, retain the power to discern, to pick and choose the aspects of Western knowledge or technology that enhance their unique way of being in the world (Morisco, 2009).

Indigenism offers…a vision of how things might be which is based on how things have been since time immemorial, and how things must be once again it the human species, and perhaps the planet itself, is to survive much longer (Means, in Merrill, 1996, p. 264)

Māori dignity Māori deficit

"There is something not perfect, but wonderful in our past" (Jackson, 2008, n.p), yet even a cursory examination of how Māori are represented and therefore approached by government, popular media, academia and the professionals tasked to supply interventions for Māori, shows it is not mana Māori or Māori dignity that appears. Instead it is a 'fatalistic light' (Durie, 2001), an artifact of Māori deficit separated from the causal roots that gave it being, (Taonui, 2009, n.p; Liu et al; 2005). What are the implications for being able to approach societal disadvantage and successfully work with a people individually or

collectively, when instead of their histories and realities of survival and resilience being acknowledged, they are framed as only deficit?

Would any professional today approach a woman who had been raped and disallow her to consider anything outside of her rape and the rapist? To prohibit her considering who she was before the trauma, and who she may be in the future in spite of it? And further, to insist that she continue in the world only under the name of 'raped' and deny her any acknowledgement of who she is outside of this label? Of course not, to do so is to existentially doom her by encaging her in perpetual reiterations of her most powerless and painful moments. She fails to exist instead she becomes the violence that was done to her. All of who she is, is annihilated, all that remains are the leavings of violence. Such is the forced existential violence that continues to be perpetrated against Māori.

Irihapeti Ramsden observed 'Fated impairment' when over two years she included in her health assessment of 58 Māori, Samoan and Non-Māori five-year-old children the question "Is to be from a Māori/Samoan/Pākehā a good thing?" Samoan children responded consistently in the affirmative and found the need to even ask the question ridiculous. Pākehā children didn't understand the question. Māori children "answered consistently that they did not think it was a good thing to be from a Māori" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 64). In Ramsden's view, "probably the most severe impairment was in the collective ethnic and emotional identity of specific groups of children… their fate in terms of social indices appeared to me to be sealed" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 58).

Rather than perpetuating trauma entrapment disguised as intervention, Moana Jackson recommends that we "deal with wrong by reinforcing what is right" (Jackson, 2008, n.p). A recent critique of Māori child homicide (MCH) and Māori child abuse reveals that rather than the media generated aspersions of inherent Māori infanticide and violence; within pre-colonised Māori society such violence was unacceptable (Taonui, 2009). The violence of child abuse as with Māori deficit positions in New Zealand society arrived as the consequences of colonisation. Yet after decades of 'interventions' and billions of dollars targeted at Māori 'dysfunction' and closing gaps; the colonial legacy of political, economic and cultural impoverishment that ushered in 'Māori deficit' remains almost exclusively unaddressed. Māori, not the designers of faulty methodology are blamed. And even more importantly, the legacy of Māori resilience and the reservoir of spiritual potency that sources this indomitability remains submerged beneath the horizons of New Zealand's general consciousness.

From a Māori worldview holistic wellbeing is comprised of wairua or spirit, the immortal element; ngākau or emotions, the irrational metaphysical element; hinengāro or intellect, the rational metaphysical element; and tinana or physical, the mortal or pragmatic element (Kruger, 2007). A trauma preoccupation that disallows what is most unique, distinctive and potent for Māori healing is evident in approaches that instead of healing "the wairua first, then the hinengāro, then the tinana, the healing of whakapapa and then deal with the trauma; …those others they start with the trauma first and may or may not deal with the wairua, hinengāro, tinana and whakapapa. There should be recognition of healing the wairua first then the mind" (Milne, 2005, p.19). Such practices compound, not heal disorder.

Since Māori overt re-emergence in New Zealand society in the 1980's a reduction in MCH that is "faster than that of the general population" (Taonui, 2009, n.p), suggests the pragmatic and clinical effectiveness, when opportunities to be positively Māori are nourished not just at the private, but importantly at socially overt levels. "When we are imprisoned we are out of our natural being, our natural state" (Ti Hauora o Te Aroha, 2007). Instead of a continuing fixation on the consequences of historical and contemporary normalisation of violence and neglecting to attend the causes of contemporary Māori comparative economic, social and political disadvantage; acknowledgment and enhancement of Māori resiliency and spiritual potency are clearly indicated to enable Māori to escape the walls of limited expectation and 'fated impairment'.

Titiro ki muri kia whakatika a mua - Look back to walk with integrity

It seems too obvious to suggest that attention to causality is required to appropriately address dis-ease. Since the enlightenment scientific and medical bodies, and all of modern knowledge generation are based on the discipline of positivism; the strict controlling of environments to isolate and identify causal factors. In medicine fundamental disease diagnosis "follows a model of describing aetiology and the development of a disease in order to understand the symptoms" (Ramsden, 2001, p. 180). Treatment without regard to previous history and causality is recognised as unethical. Past inadequacies in linking cause and effect resulted in many, what are now recognised as inhumane practices, prefrontal lobotomies being but one example from psychiatry (Davison, Neale & Kring, 2004). Psychology has been implicated as "predominantly concerning itself with the abnormalisation of Māori" (Stewart, 1997). Without attention to history, causality comes to be linked with individual psychological processes, and the effects of historical conditions are confounded with its cause. Destruction not dis-ease remediation occurs. It is good practice to seek what came before in order to understand and remedy what is occurring now. Why does such a recognised, institutionalised and basic approach to problem solving find unquestionable

application in almost all areas of modern New Zealand society, except consideration of Māori issues?

What is it that obstructs the application of such a basic approach to Māori? Is it that giving recognition to Indigenous or Māori people who are necessarily the experts of their own knowledge and history disturbs a system of knowledge generation, that has an established tradition of admitting Indigenous and Māori people as 'subject' material only (Smith, 1999; Levy, 2007); and relegates their knowledge to mere child-like superstition, or to archaic relics that no longer fit today's world? (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Yet, problematicaly access to sources of Māori history, knowledge and practices that revivify Māori, are only attainable through Māori.

For Non-Māori academics this suggests the primacy of humility in acknowledging the right and capacity of the 'other' to define their own knowledge, history and identity. This requires becoming comfortable with a condition within oneself of vulnerability and ignorance; these are not qualities generally valued in the academic enterprise (Kavelin, 2007).

Indeed, different cultures very often open the eyes, minds and hearts of the outsiders who enter into the process of recognizing them. However, this requires an opening up of one's deeper self to what seems alien in the other. To go through such an experience with a grassroots community, one has to jettison some of one's most cherished intellectual convictions and to relativise one's all-encompassing reason. This means abandoning some psychological security, and making oneself vulnerable. The other may then change us. The experts who avoid these challenges by sticking to a mechanistic approach, justified by their claim to use professional tools, will miss all the enrichment gained by entering into the complexity and the life and "warmth" of a community (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2001; in Kavelin, 2007, p. 40), and in prioritising personal comfort over patient healing are likely to deliver destruction and disorder, not relief from dis-ease.

Bell (2007), advocates that Pākehā develop a politics of disappointment and ignorance in order to become comfortable with being in positions of not knowing. She identifies two processes that contribute to Non-Māori difficulties in accepting difference and the unknown. Looking determinedly to the future, to not remember the past, and the normality of dominating 'others'. "The pervasive effect of contemporary settler culture in New Zealand…[is] a problem of living in the present, or living without history…the will to forget the trauma of dislocation and unsettlement has taken the form of a psychic structure" (Bell, 2007, p. n.p). A migrant's desire to look forward, to not remember the displacement from and loss

of the 'Mother country', together with a colonisers desire to forget compounds a refusal to remember settlement struggles, formative Māori relationships and perhaps also, like Averill Bells ancestors the 'no capital required' land the family settled on. Māori land, rather than being free, is likely to have been gained by the blood of tipuna. "Forgetting is crucial to the legitimization of European settlement" (Tillett, 2007, p. 28).

Inheritance and sedimentation of a habitual expectation to always be positioned at the centre of power and normality underlies 'unconscious dominance'. "The normality we feel at being the dominant, national culture is reinforced by our inheritance of the white, western heritage of enlightened thought" (Bell, 2007, n.p). Looking towards relations and away from property are prerequisites to the development of humility and wisdom required to acknowledge Māori dignity instead of deficit in contemporary times; and to have the grace and wisdom to acknowledge Māori as central to the restoration of Māori life-centric orientations to past, present and future; rather the Non-Māori acting out semblances of Māori ritual, or applying cultural formula. "They need to stop stealing and start thinking more historically" (Merrill, 1996, p. 44).

Power, safety and being positively Māori

You can't claim rights unless you're safe in who you are, and you can't express those rights unless you're safe and then have the power to do so (Jackson, 2002, in Ramsden, 2002, p. 126).

Claim rights = Safe in who you are	Subjective private
Express rights = Safe	Objective public
Express claimed rights = Safety + Power	Political

Contemporary and historical societal subjugation of Māori was not achieved by historical violence alone. Just as Tane and the 'tangible sheltering' parents held up the sky in a particular manner to create specific life-worlds, a new story was inserted in and continues to dominate the skyscape of New Zealand's socio-psycho-political world. "Ideology is not a garment that one puts on and removes at will" (Sampson, 1983, p. 153). Particular ideological renderings create the horizons of possibilities, a system of interconnected notions with which we construct our realities. Contemporaneous to the imposition on Māori of conditions inimical to life was the skillful injection of cultural supremacy and Indigenous degradation. This ideological imprint remains embedded in the

wider social context that participants experienced and continues to pervade New Zealand society.

Private Māori-centric islands

Participants' accounts and the literature demonstrate cultural reservoirs of mana Māori were not only retained in Māori bodies, singular or plural, but are perpetuating themselves. Much like the over-wintering behaviour of plants to survive harsh conditions, the re-assumption of Māori institutions on the New Zealand skyline are publically a manifestation of the private capacity to sustain.

Though the whites may exterminate the trunk they cannot pull out the roots
(Te Whiti in Walker, 1989, p. 52).

Yet outside of these albeit expanding islands of Māori centricism, Māori identity remains a marginalised identity (McIntosh, 2005; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). For the majority of Māori who are or were not part of the fortunate few raised in mana Māori-centric worlds, identity formation is shaped, although not necessarily determined by Non-Māori ideological forces and violences that have been both power saturated and overwhelmingly negatively positioned and directed towards Māori. For Māori a past expression of the private sense of 'who you are' that was carried out into and mirrored in the public domain of physical, emotional, social and political, was removed and yet is also being slowly restored.

Socio-political environments

While it is clear from participant accounts and some of the literature on Māori identity that the indomitability and nobility of tikanga continues to source Māori desires to express and be positively Māori, and that restoration of Māori dignity can powerfully address contemporary Māori disadvantage, like a tree reaching for growth and the sun, the environmental socio-political conditions shape the final form that is achievable. Yet white domination and an inability to do vulnerability and history (Bell, 2007), together with contemporary dynamics and implications of the continuing geographical, cultural and epistemological invasion of Māori, pollute this environment (Mikaere, 2009; McCreanor, 2005). The places and spaces Māori inherit and occupy today, subjective, objective and political, "which are so much a part of our psyches as they are a physical or geographical placement" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 52) are intimately linked with historical, contemporary and potential use of power.

Power is central to the political and personal capacity to safely claim and express rights. Expressing the claim of 'who you are' in the political domain is dependent on the possession of power cumulative and subsequent to personal and public safety. The development of positive Māori identities is intimately linked to Māori possession of the power to author Māori renderings of Māori in New Zealand society. Attainment of Māori dignity orientations instead of Māori 'deficit' requires an overhaul of the "material manifestations of particular power saturated forms of talk" (McCreanor, 2005, p. 54). A substrate of 'distilled notions' that all Māori and Non-Māori, except for mana Māori pockets, are embedded in, produces the power imbalances by which the word becomes manifest, and Māori as with other Indigenous peoples have become institutionally subjugated (Ramsden, 2002). Power enhanced language distills into particular notions of a social matrix of meaning, and gives rise to understandings and norms that are the interpretive code of a particular society. Such a code rather than pre-colonial replications of Māori dignity, produce Māori deficit. As was evidenced in both the 'tangibly sheltering' and 'tangibly traumatising' accounts, without critical and deliberate protection, and inoculating, these normative systems seep into the homes and hearts of all.

Māori deficit arrived with colonisation and is perpetuated by "[t]he endless reiterations of the standard story, in their myriad personalised versions, [to] constitute and maintain the social and psychological climate" (McCreanor, 2005, p. 65). Like a thermostat, a default setting standard story of Māori deficit permeates all levels of New Zealand society and has meant that "[t]he most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko, in Duran, 1970, p. 13), was to some degree fulfilled. Yet most of the oppressed and many of the oppressors had little consciousness of their collusion in the systemised dealing of dehumanisation.

Power shift and sea changes

Shifts in the social and political positioning of Māori are evident in participants' kōrero. A rigid and stoney past societal segregation of Māori has softened and the ripples of these changes are mirrored in the experiences from within the families of the participants. In today's socio-political landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori and Māori culture are no longer openly acceptable targets for physical or cultural extermination, nor walled away as undesirable by physical or psychological segregation (Ramsden, 2002; Awatere, 1984).

In a reversal of the excluding Eurocentric posture of the past, Māori not only occupying more space within society, Māori is going out into the world as the representation of the country and the bearer of New Zealand's identity (Sibley, Liu & Khan, 2008). Rather

than confinement from New Zealand society, or a trimming of exotica to the New Zealand international identity, Māori forms have become central to the 'shared' national iconography (Sibley and Barlow, 2009), and are "helping to define the culture in New Zealand in a positively distinct way" (Sibley, Liu & Khan, 2008, p.5). How has such a shift come about, what are the forces that underpinned this movement? In the following sections, the historical forces revealed through participants' kōrero in relation to available literature will be discussed to address this question.

National Identity - Representative orientations

Before the entrenchment of Eurocentrism, New Zealand national identity was necessarily Māori. From Cook's time to the early 1800's reference to New Zealanders, was obviously reference to Māori. Sometime in the 1800's this differentiation shifted and immigrants and their ancestors had come to displace Māori and assumed centre stage, the national identity of New Zealanders had become white immigrants and their descendents (Bell, 2007).

Today this centering is again in flux as "[t]he dominant majority lacks symbols that are positively distinct in an international context" (Sibley & Liu, 2007, p. 37). Non-Māori society has not only developed a tolerance of Māori forms, but in a reversal of previous representative power, is now reliant on Māori for cultural and national identity. Without Māori and Māori culture New Zealanders are unable to differentiate or define themselves in relation to others beyond our shores.

Power and identity

In addition to the historical and institutional re-emergence of Māori, the New Zealand Non-Māori national identity has been challenged from within. The economic and psychological abandonment by Mother England in the early 1970's and subsequent empire disillusion challenged the continuity, and therefore moral legitimacy, of not just Non-Māori histories, but also the identities and forms such myths gave to life and lives (Liu, 2005). Validation and moral sanctioning of white New Zealander's identities and histories are under question.

Over the past two hundred years the national identity orientation of Māori has moved from being obviously central, to non-existent, and more recently to being reintroduced as an overt feature of New Zealand society.

Immigration and the changing complexion of society

Manipulation of policy to shape the socio-political form of New Zealand society is evident in changes to immigration policy. "Nationalism creates the nation state" (Zodgkar, 2005, p. 245). Prior to 1986 "racial and ethnic criteria were explicitly used as yardsticks to measure physical and cultural distance from the majority and gauge mentality for assimilation into state and nation" (Liu, et al, 2005, p. 27), a state that prioritised and protected Pākehā supremacy, ideas and institutions, and perpetuated Māori inferiority (Liu, et al, 2005).

Weakened colonial bonds and strengthening global economic pressures resulted in major changes to New Zealand immigration policy (Zodgkar, 2005). The racial and ethnic categories that had been in place for almost as long as the nation were abandoned in favour of the sole prioritisation of money or skill to attain money. Management of the complexion of New Zealand society has, like most modern western states, been denuded of recognisable cultural or ethnic tendencies.

Immigration policy is implicated in the deliberate constitution of New Zealand society and how we come to see ourselves as 'undesirable', 'alien', 'other' or normal. According to immigration policy, in the future being a New Zealander will not mean being Māori or even a colonial descendent, either biologically or politically, instead it will mean being monied. Recent changes in the immigration policy highlight that possession of property has come to dominate how we measure incoming New Zealanders, and reveals expectations for existing New Zealanders. Importantly for all current citizens will be the realisation that the new lines of distinction, like the machinery of corporate greed, eliminate most of the existing people living in New Zealand from qualifying as important. In the colonial past, immigration criteria reflected and perpetuated existing societal patterns, current definitions do not. Given the kinds of issues raised by participants about the wider social world which was implicated in the formation of their identities, where does this leave Māori and Non-Māori in the future of New Zealand?

From blaming and shaming to naming and responsibility

Non-Māori are the biological and or political ancestors and contemporary beneficiaries of historic and current forms of systemic violence perpetuated against Māori. Addressing issues of Māori political and social standing in today's society are essential to the development of positive Māori identities. Given that Māori are a 14.6% minority in today's society (NZ Statistics, 2006), addressing current power imbalances requires Non-Māori alliance.

The virility of the New Zealand national identity and colonial history have been deflated, by the coincidence of multiple cultural, social, economic, political and historical factors arising from international, national and Māori realms of influence (Liu, McCreanor, Te Aiwa and McIntosh, 2005). Legitimacy and validity are being restored to Māori people, forms, history and society alongside other. As the accounts of the "Bosnia and Rwanda in our present and past" (Byrnes, 2005, p. 19) gain popular credibility and reach increasing numbers of Māori and Non-Māori populations, habits of historical amnesia and denial will rub against moral outrage and a need to make amends (Byrnes, 2005; McCreanor, 2005). The outcome of the confluence of these forces at all levels of New Zealand society, and Māori responses will contribute to the re-formation of Māori and Non-Māori identities and New Zealand society.

An absence of history, a presence of 'unconscious domination' and the saturation, distillation and sedimentation of the abnormalisation of Māori dignity, and history through all levels of society, dictates and perpetuates the same. "The ultimate outcome of colonisation is when the colonised believe the stores told to them about themselves by their colonisers" (Jackson, 1990, in Ramsden, 2002, p. 29). Getting outside of the standard story begins with a capacity to acknowledge that another way of being exists. Holding alternative histories is having alternative knowledge (Smith, 1999), and knowledge is power-filled.

For Māori, as for the participants, reconnection to our tipuna knowing, and whakapapa or legitimate and continuing history provide an independent ideological place to stand to discover ourselves "to be the "hosts' of the oppressor" (Freire, 1996, p. 30), "to rip away the lizards claws clinging to our hearts and guts and suffocating our taha Māori intelligence" (Awatere, 191983, p. 19). To mid-wife ourselves by identifying and discarding the garments of the oppressor. Where can Non-Māori stand to do this work?

To resist, challenge and transform colonial forms, while re-emerging and reconstituting ourselves as Māori who pre-, and will post-colonially exist, is the pathway to restoration of human potential as Māori (Ramsden, 2002; Smith, 1999). "To teach decolonization you have to teach history, you have to teach the ideas and philosophies of dispossession" (Jackson, in Ramsden, 2002, p. 127). Historical recollection, reconnection and responsibility are the key "for all those who want to restore their humanity in a way that is harmonious with natural law" (Duran, 2006, p. 74). Asking simple questions rooted in history will reveal the impregnated values and beliefs that fail to support the relational and therefore the wellbeing of all New Zealanders, "the vampire as it lurks in the recesses of the psyches

shadow. Once awareness is focused on the vampire, changes will occur" (Duran, 2006, p. 28). Māori continue to possess the systems of being and knowing to enable restoration of systems of social organisation and epistemology that realise human, not merely economic potential. The survival of mana Māori evidenced by participants' kōrero is testimony to this. In the existing political climate Non-Māori alliance is required to release this potential.

Kinds of power

Social control is taken and maintained by either conquest or brute physical power, or by a combination of moral (doctrine and 'treaties') and brute force (Ivison, Patton & Sanders, 2000). The power to physically control is comprised of both brute and economic force. Moral power in the Western recent past was vested almost entirely in religious institutions yet now depends on a society's sense of legitimacy and continuity (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Legitimacy and continuity are primarily provided by historical accounts that are reinforced and solidified by artefacts, and the incessant recycling of particular facts, values and beliefs by media, knowledge generators and government (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Colonial brute and moral power imposed and maintained marginalisation of Māori, dispossessing and therefore disqualifying Māori from holding current forms of concrete power. Possession of physical and political power enables force and coercion, and importantly, also the capacity to disguise both of these as non-coercion. While Māori do not possess political, economic or physical power, Māori political influence in the form of moral and symbolic power is being discussed as an influential force; a force that can benefit not only Māori, but all of New Zealand society (Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Sibley and Liu, 2007; Sibley, Liu & Khan, 2008; Liu, 2005; Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Māori moral power of legitimacy and continuity is exponentially growing as Māori renderings of Māori historical and contemporary societal positions increasingly find societal expression. The Waitangi Tribunal reports continue to re-shape Māori and Non-Māori historical conceptualisations (Durie, 1998). The restoration of Māori social institutions, Te Kohanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura, Wānanga, Te Reo Irirangi and Māori television, Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and others are affirming and disseminating Māori centric renderings of Māori, history and knowledge. The demise of Non-Māori historical accounts erodes and undermines the moral power of legitimacy and continuity upon which settler society validity and national identities were constructed. Moral power and authority is slowly seeping out of the bare bones of New Zealand nationhood and transforming the wider world in which Māori identity is formed.

New Zealand history is being re-written by Māori and their allies. "He (or she) who controls the present, controls the past. He (or she) who controls the past, controls the future" (Orwell, in Ramsden, 2002). Restoration of Māori histories and institutions means the capacity to use our word to name our world has returned. Māori re-writing and righting of past, present and future will continue. The re-emergence of Māori identities, values, beliefs and the institutions to perpetuate these demonstrates that "[p]eople can transform themselves by transforming the structures from which they are formed) Sampson, 1983, p. 145). Māori reconfiguration of colonial New Zealand society can be seen in figure 8.

Figure 8. Mana Māori can again be represented at the inter-subjective and intra-personal, the immediate whānau, the extended whānau whānui, the local socio-cultural, the regional, and the societal, and the global.

Disconnected and doing connection

Destruction of the cultural and collective in pursuit of the economic features in the participant accounts and Māori post-contact colonial history, has been played out repetitively in the new world of Western civilisation. As "[n]o matter how big multi-national corporations grow, they are always too small for the logic of growth (Vandana Shiva in Merril, 1996, p. 46). Perpetrators of cultural denuding have been identified as people who "disrupted their own spiritual immersion in their own homeland" (Awatere, 1983, p. 14), and in so doing "have no sense of where they have come from or where they are, and thus can have no sense of who or what they are" (Churchill, 1993, p. 45).

To look at Māori identity in contemporary New Zealand society, demands looking at Non-Māori identity and the social mechanisms that are geared to prioritise and perpetuate these identities or configurations of what it means to be human in New Zealand today. While Māori representations cloak the New Zealand national identity on the international stage, closer to home the modern New Zealand Non-Māori cultural identity is evaporating under the horizon of corporate takeover. Non-Māori identities are being pulled up and shaken lose from all historical, cultural and relational anchors.

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Deficit statistics indicate that Māori comprise huge portions of the populations that are targeted for interventions and psychological practice, jails, drug and alcohol, and mental illness to name a few (Brown, Wells & Scott, 2006; Mārie, Fergusson, Boden, 2009), yet huge implications arise if as this and other research indicates, Māori re-acculturation of Māori is the most potent and powerful source in the development of positive Māori identities and wellbeing.

How can a Non-indigenous practitioner as a descendent and product of de-acculturation and alienation from their own culture, take a Māori client to re-acculturation in Māori culture? "It follows that if the healer is split from her soul, she will not be able to facilitate the integration of soul in her patients" (Duran, 2006, p. 19). Even if problematic historical considerations could be placed aside, and they can't, there remain massive implications in terms of facilitating holistic reconnection of the wairua (spirit), ngākau (heart), hinengāro (mind) and tinana (physical) at the individual and collective level, by someone who is the product of generational, historical and collective severance from connection. From this posture it is not the 'disadvantaged Māori' who is dispossessed.

To thrive as human beings and move to trauma enriched, instead of trauma entrapped realties requires forming relationship with, not disconnection from the source of historical and contemporary pain. Reconnection enables the making of "existential sense of what happened" (Duran, 2006, p. 15), freeing the person and peoples from misallocated shame and blaming, and enabling them to move into a future that is sourced both beyond and before the epistemological shackles and catastrophic physical violence of colonisation.

In direct contrast to de-acculturation and cultural destruction, participant's kōrero and the literature indicate "[i]t is ones duty as a Māori to be moved by your inner mauri, to respond to that taha Māori within…" (Awatere, 1982, p. 29), and that fulfilling this duty remains irresistible, powerful and pertinent to not just survive, but to survive as thriving Māori, in a modern world. Re-emergence and restoration of institutions and practices that enhance the inherent desire for positive Māori identities restores Māoriness or "the process of becoming more fully human" (Ramsden, in Ihimāera, 1998, p. 262), and also offers a life-centric alternative to Non-Māori who experience dissatisfaction with their inheritance of cultural dispossession.

Research into the pragmatic efficacy of re-connecting people to the wholeness of who they are as spiritual, mental, emotional and physical beings is required. So too are Māori-centric tikanga re-emergence wānanga and research to verify efficacy. Such work will

provide evidence to facilitate recognition and perpetuation of Māori dignity. Importantly this type of work can also assist Non-Māori to positions of dignity that will enable a capacity to frankly address history and "from this new story, individuals, families and communities can move toward collective healing that will have an impact on the overall society" (Duran, 2006, p. 28).

Inoculation from cultural dissolution

Rather than dissolution, Māori resiliency, like that of the participants and their Whānau, models rejection of economic reconstitution and instead offers an example of relational fidelity, loyalty and continuity. Property is not prioritised over the relational. Settler descendents who now comprise Mother England's neglected and abandoned wards, can like the example of National New Zealand identity, benefit from Māori resiliency. "Māori have been persistent in refusing to reduce all things to a single metric, in the currency of money or ideology; this can now be a source of great strength in the coming century when corporate giants will seek to exploit nations to their own ends" (Liu, 2005, p. 85). Māori epistemology and ways of being can provide an anchor for those whose sense of belonging and meaning has been removed along with the disappearance of the Motherland, providing an anchor in the swiftly shifting tides of international economic currents. Māori societal process and institutions may buffer the local impact of economically driven forces of de-acculturation that are scouring across the country and globe.

In contrast to the instrumentalism of immediate need and personal gain regardless of long-term social and ecological consequence that currently dominates political power interests across the globe (Crossan, 2001; Senge, 2001), Māori as with all indigenous people offer a sustainable and meaningful way of seeing and being in the world. An 'antidote to all that…a vision of how things might be which is based on how things have been since time immemorial" (Churchill, in Merril, 1996, p. 264). Māori remain in possession of ancient ways of knowing that can powerfully and meaningfully inform contemporary ways of living (Smith, 2008).

The spiritual or existential need of all peoples to "belong to something bigger than themselves that will continue after they are dead" (Liu, 205, p. 70), that was previously fulfilled by the now challenged 'political phantasm' of a unitary political and national identity (Morris, 2005, p. 253), can be assuaged by developing a respectful relational connection and political acknowledgement of Māori as at least constitutional state partners.   The transcendent and enduring nature of Māori culture, peoples and society is becoming

increasingly evident. The old identities that stabilised the colonial world are no more, yet Māori continue, as participants testify.

For all of these reasons, while still dispossessed of numerical, economic or political power in their own land, Māori are increasingly accumulating moral, symbolic and I would suggest potent spiritual power. A compilation of multiple forces that are "unevenly visible to elites and seldom seen by the masses" (Liu et al, 2005, p. 28), mean unlike most indigenous people, Māori hold the key to far more than a secure national identity for all New Zealanders. Māori bases of increasing moral, symbolic and epistemological power also hold the key to the sustainable and meaningful survival of not just Māori, but New Zealand people and the land. Te Ao Māori, can be a powerful protective force and sustainable life-centric order, for all who have chosen to make New Zealand their home.

The indigenisation of New Zealand's national identity is not a recognizable symptom of colonisation. While New Zealand, Australia, Canada and America all share colonial histories, and current day realities of the peripheralisation and alienation of their indigenous populations, it is only New Zealand that has a 'Non-White' national identity, an identity that relies on Māori (Sibley & Liu, 2008). The unique position of Māori in relation to the national identity of this colonized country, confirms both a sea change in the societal orientation to Māori, and also signals the presence of underlying currents unique to this land and peoples.

In these times of cultural impoverishment and commodification, embedding the Treaty of Waitangi into NZ constitutional status to umbrella and endorse both the authority of Tāngata Whenua and open the way for introducing the institutionalisation of tikanga Māori offers much to Māori and Non-Māori alike. Instead of an order that is fixated and stuck in an objective reality of physical manifestations, "a system without life" (Tanczos, 2000, n.p.), because it denies all that is intangible and makes life meaningful. "Imāgine a reconstituted kawa (law) across this land, not just the marae?" (Jackson, 2009, n.p.). We can choose a new cultural code to carry us into the future, a new waka.

"Based upon the kawa and tikanga our tipuna have left us. A waka where everyone will be safe, everyone will be secure. And those who upset the waka won't be tempted to abandon it, wont be tempted to jump overboard and cause damāge to those left behind. But rather we will have a kawa on the waka that prevents that by helping us deal with wrong by reinforcing what is right, which helps us deal with hurt by dealing with those who are hurt. Which helps us deal with justice by redefining what is justice, and what is just in our terms. If we do that then we create a Kaupapa Māori Criminal Justice System" (Jackson, 2009, n.p).

Summary

One of the complexities in the Māori identity is the necessity to engage an epistemological world that is invisible to, and outside of the acceptable Western societal eye. This world is not of the systemised societal code of compliance, yet it is a world that is built on a way of being that has always been, and continues to provide for many Māori, in varying ways, understandings of the world and our place within it (Awatere, 1984). Until the recent Māori renaissance this world was unknown, imperceptible and utterly inaccessible to those who failed to possess the relationships and sophistication or subtlety of 'souls of poets' (Mārsden, 2003), that enables recognition.

The colonial model of enforced imperialism is but one example of culture at work. While it has been in a posture of dominance for the past 160 years here in Aotearoa, this time is but a blink in the eyes of our tipuna (Awatere, 1984), and humanity's collective existence. Marginalisation of Māori set in motion by organised colonialism in its informal and formal guise has been challenged and in its wake Māori are gathering themselves (Durie, 2001). Māori peoples and processes are re-emerging and resuming their central positions in Māori realities. "Māori no longer accept that our world is a perspective on the reality of any one else. We have our own whole, viable, legitimate reality. It operates in different ways for different Māori but it is one of the realities in this country, not a perspective" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 110).

Restoring things Māori to a central cultural position is not an exclusive Māori phenomenon. Increasing numbers of Non-Māori seek to operate as 'Pākehā with Pride' (McCreanor, 2009, n.p), by refusing to accept 90% Māori forgiveness or cultural amnesia as the foundation of Māori-Non-Māori relations. Instead they are allying with Māori to make the invisibleness of systemised generational entrenchment of Māori disadvantage to source Non-Māori advantage visible and therefore challengeable (Liu, McCreanor, MācIntosh, Te Aiwa, 2005). 'Pākehā with pride' strategically position to ally with and support Māori. Such positioning echoes early Māori-Non-Māori relations before the violence mediated institutionalisation of Western epistemologies, and is amply demonstrated directly or indirectly by the Non-Māori fathers of the 'tangibly sheltering' women.

Strategic alliance and promotion of Māori world-views, values and beliefs are evident in a trend that reverses the experiences of the study participants who experienced 'tangible trauma'. Instead of Non-Māori parents colluding with what was previously, systematic and socially programmed rejection and denigration of Māori, there is an increasing and strong

trend by Non-Māori parents of children with mixed ethnicity to identify their child with, and promote Māori ethnicity (Howard & Didham, 2005). Fifty seven percent of all Māori children have a European identified parent (Statistics NZ, 2005), a parent who is increasingly likely to be drawn towards, and be supportive of Māori and things Māori, not repulsed.

Historical and contemporary patterns of repetitive and consistent derogation, demonisation and dehumanisation of those with dark skin by societies of white skinned peoples are being named and challenged (Awatere, 1984; Hall, 1996; Fanon, 1971; Davis, 1998). It is not 'darkness of skin' that indicates the presence of in-humanity, rather it is the fruits of a power enhanced, and collectivised 'darkness of mind', that is inhumane. Systemised darkness of mind not darkness of skin introduces the inhumane. Culture is more important than biology in gaining an understanding of who you are in a cultural sense (O'Regan, 2001; Stevenson, 2001), and in the transmission of ethnicity to children. The fact that increasingly "[m]ore children are assigned Māori ethnicity than not" (Kukutai, 2005, p. 28) in today's cultural climate of Aotearoa New Zealand indicates the presence of a cultural transformation.

Discrepant concepts of Māori arise between the 'tangibly sheltering' and 'tangibly traumatising' homes. Representations of Māori arising from the 'tangibly traumatising' homes collude and perpetuate pervasive national imagery and stereotypes that 'facilitate ideological sovereignty over the other" (Wall, 1997, p. 40), of Māori as passive, primitive and simplistic (Ramsden, 2002), dumb, dirty and bad (McCreanor, 2005), or savage and predatory (Wall, 1997), and inherently criminal (Mikaere, 2008). Representation of Māori from the 'tangibly sheltering' homes collides with such societal renderings and instead portrays Māori and Māori people as dignifying their own and others' humanity.

The 'tangibly sheltering' narrative suggests that a Māori-centric ideological framework characterised by kin based social orders and inclusion, allows for the doing of diversity and cultural coming togethers that enable, not occlude positive identities for Māori and Non-Māori. Just as the predominating social order is mirrored in the intimate privacy of participant families and homes (Freire, 1972), so too can more inclusive social forms and norms echo out to ripple into and transform the larger society.

Identity is "a fundamental organising principle in the enactment of power" (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh & Te Aiwa, 2005, p. 15), changes in the flow or form of power requires changes in the unit of identity in order to maintain and sustain new power forms. Māori identity as a societal phenomenon mirrors the condition of Māori – Non-Māori social

relations, and the position of the Treaty of Waitangi. As New Zealand societies instrumental use for Māori has changed, so too have the parameters that delineate an acceptable way of being Māori. As Māori have recovered from the politically disqualifying initial onslaught of colonialism, and international attention has swung around to take note of an international indigenous voice, Māori have begun to once again influence societal flows of power.

While Non-Māori definition of Māori was unavoidable in the initial era of the overt violent colonial onslaught, survival is now assured. It is hoped this work will contribute to the development of a grammar and tools to approach and attend the more subtle but no less lethal weapons of mass destruction of "a type of violence that had yet to be named (Ramsden, 2002). This is a specific type of violence, and is an example of identity politics, both individually and collectively, serving interests other than our own" (Mātahaere-Atariki in O'Regan, 2001, p. 10). Māori have survived as Māori from organised colonialism. It is my hope and aspiration that this work will contribute to the ongoing development of a Māori language of critique.   A grammar that sees Māori and Māori forms spiritually, epistemologically, institutionally at both the collective and singular levels restored to political potency. Such is required for Māori identities and forms to not only to continue to survive, but to flourish. Furthermore it is proposed that the re-emergence and installation of Māori forms at all levels including the skyscape of Aotearoa New Zealand, will reinvest life-centric meaning and sustainable futures for all within the collective body that is this land and people.

No matter what, you are Māori

In closing an incident recounted by one of the participants captured the fundamental and enduring nature that is Māori and therefore Māori identity.

We were at a hui… it was full and there were a whole lot of new academic Māori people there it was just when te reo was becoming the thing to do. And the paepae was full and there was some amazing koroua sitting on the paepae, and anyway it was a beautiful day and there were people from all over the motu there, and we were sitting there, and when Uncle got up and spoke it rained. It didn't just rain, it poured, and because there had been so many manuhiri the paepae had been pushed out onto the ātea so that the speakers were in the rain. And as soon as it started to pour, those new academics that were sitting on the paepae, got up, and all ran for shelter.

There were three people that were left sitting on the paepae out of the fifty men that were there. It was Uncle H, Uncle M and Uncle H who was the speaker at the time, and Uncle H just pulled his jacket up, and Uncle M did the same thing, and the koroua was just

standing there. The tāngata whenua sent a little boy out with an umbrella to hold it over this
koroua that was speaking who was a little bit annoyed, and told them off in that context. But
then after we'd gone in and we were in the whare one of the young academic men came
over to my uncle and said to him. "Matua you know when it started to rain how come you
didn't come into the shelter with the rest of us? And his answer was just as simple as what
you said… "In the sun I am Māori, in the rain I am Māori, in the snow I am Māori" and he just
looked at him, "Ko wai koe?" (Tania)

An indelible and indomitable intangible foundation and source of Māoriness was found to underlie Māori identity for all participants. The women who experienced 'tangibly sheltering' upbringings were fortunate to receive messages about who they were as Māori that were congruent with and enhanced this grounding landscape of unalterable Māori birth parentage (Durie, A, 2001, p. 299). All the women and particularly those who received upbringings that were 'tangibly traumatising' experienced a metaphysical connection to an innate sense of something that was a potent source of goodness and strength. Tipuna as an inter-subjective or intra-personal presence lent succor and determination to be actively Māori, regardless of the surrounding socio-political conditions.

If you have whakapapa, in the sun you are Māori, in the rain you are Māori, in the snow you are Māori, in the absence of cultural teaching you are Māori, in white bodies you are Māori. If you are a mokopuna (Māori descendent) you are Māori, and regardless of the tangible conditions, intangible tipuna presence of mana Māori will never go away and will always remind you, you are Māori, and you will one day take your place as an indigenous ancestor, as tipuna.

Epilogue

A final narrative – Mokopuna Kōrero

Q. If you could send your voice forward into the future to the mokopuna of your mokopuna, what would you say?

...Oh...quite humbling to think about the mokopuna...(gently weeping)...He kākano koe i ruia māi i Rangiātea. I think that would be it...I have never thought of my mokopuna until then
(Hinehika)

Umm...probably...that um it doesn't matter what, it doesn't matter what you look like and what other people think...about what you look like, it really is the most important thing just knowing for yourself who you are. Umm..and having a strong foundation whether it be whānau or um a religious belief, whakapapa or something or whether it's those things or a marae you know Māori um...sort of...land marks or indicators having a strong sense of those things. As long as they know who they are really. That's probably the main thing, and hopefully their parents, or grandparents or whatever will help with that...cause its helpful to be told who you are, or to be given help on that instead of leaving it for them to find out for themselves...but ultimately just knowing who they are...and that's it's not always easy
(Marino)

Make time to get together with your whakapapa, and you will get that whole diversity of realities and it might encourage you. Spending time together creates the opportunities for those values to be seen and demonstrated and observed by others who might not have been exposed to them, I suppose it is about making the time. Making time to spend with your whakapapa whānau, because a lot of people are time poor they say, they haven't got time to spend time. That would probably be it, an important message to encourage them to do
(Nellie)

Treasure the part of yourself that is Māori and...know it, learn about it...know that this is the only country in which you can truly be Māori...and know that this is a special part of you which nobody can take away... you are from the land and of the land and you carry this sacred seed of your tipuna
(Erana)

Umm…it is always good to remember that we all from the same place from Rangiatea and that seed is sooo deep within us, and expresses itself in different ways. It is important to know where you come from and to know where you are going, and…it can be your heritage if that's how you feel. But to also follow what you think is right because at the end of the day you've got to be able to rest your head and your heart and know that you have done, what you think is right. And I think for most of us that's following tikanga really, within us, even if no one else is patting us on the back and telling us it is the right thing to do. Follow what you feel is right and to…and to have many good relationships with the whānau. At the end of the day whānau is where we come from and how we will continue in this world and our tamariki they get all the good things and the bad things too. One day I will have mokopuna hopefully a feather in that cap. Hopefully it will be a little bit easier for them to express themselves, and the world may be a little bit more accepting of difference

(Whi)

Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet

Ora Wairua

Ora Tinana

Ka Ora Tangāta!

Ahakoa He kiri Mā: A Fire in Our Blood

Tēna Koe

He mihi nui tēnei ki a koutou katoa e hapai ana i te kaupapa o Te Hauora, ngā taongā tuku iho a Kui mā a Koro mā, mo mātou ngā whakatipurangā. No reira tēna koutou, tēna koutou, tēna tatou katoa.

Ko tāku pepeha tēnei

Ki te taha o tōku Māmā

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa

Ko Ngā Puhi ngā iwi

Ki te taha o tōku Papa

Ko Holland te turangāwaewae

Ko Michelle Waireti Māria Roestenburg tāku ingoa.

No reira tēna koutou, tēna koutou, tēna tatou katoa.

I would like to invite you to join me in a research project to locate and identify the essential elements and forces that enable the development of a positive Māori identity. The project will also assist me to meet the requirements of a Masters in Psychology. I am particularly interested in understanding the insights, challenges, and experiences associated with the journey of attaining a secure identity under challenging conditions. Before considering whether you wish to be involved please read this letter carefully to ensure you fully understand the nature of the research project and your rights should you choose to participate.

A consistent theme that arises in the kōrero about Māori identity formation is the ability Māori possess to turn adversity into strength, to re-dignify the de-dignified (Durie, 1998, Tawhiwhirangi in Diamond, 2003). This study seeks to understand the experience and meaning for those who occupy the unique position of possessing an inner cultural identity

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that is in direct contrast to how most would ethnically identify them. It is essential to the study that participant's appearance means they cannot be identified as Māori. If you are a Māori woman with whakapapa connections: strongly and positively identified as Māori; have Te Reo Māori; remain in frequent and regular contact with your whānau, marae and papa kaingā; and are often recognised as Pākeha by those who do not know you, then you possess the attributes being sought in this study.

It is my heartfelt desire that study participation in itself will be a healing, strengthening and revivifying experience. I hope that our kōrero leads to new and deeper understanding of your unique position in this world, and enhances our strategic ability to create opportunities and mediate challenges and, deepen our sense of identity and belonging in both the cultural worlds that you occupy, while also generating a valuable resources for others.

This research will involve up to six co-investigators who will be contacted utilising Māori networks. Tikanga Māori process and procedures will embrace all aspects of this study, a Kaupapa Māori research approach will be utilised. An initial hui will occur to familiarise co-investigators with the study and allow the researcher and co-investigators to get to know each other. This will be followed by a focus group hui that will be held in the marae like setting of Ti Hauora o Te Aroha, a traditional Māori healing center in Whangānui, travel costs will be reimbursed.

Consistent with tikanga and Kaupapa Māori research ideology, time will be made available according to the requirements of the kōrero. While the initial meeting is likely to take less than two hours, you are asked to free a whole day to enable powhiri (welcome), whakatau (settling), kōrero (focus group) and whakanoa (closing and food) on the day of the focus group hui.

The focus group hui will be recorded using video so that I can fully transcribe the discussion for analysis. A pseudonym will be used when the talk is transcribed to ensure your identity is protected. Prior to analysis you will be given an opportunity to meet to discuss and collectively edit the content of the transcript. Tapes and transcripts will be seen/heard by me and possibly by the supervisors. Should this research be published in the future, either in journals or at conferences, every attempt will be made to protect your identity. Once the MĀ research project is complete all tapes will be destroyed. At the completion of this research project you will be invited to an informal kōrero, presentation and gifting of report findings, you may invite your whānau to this gathering if all participants collectively agree.

This study will allow the co-investigators to reflect on experiences that may have been painful. Should you experience any discomfort during or following our discussion, both my supervisors and myself will be available to discuss with you any concerns you may have, and to provide support. In addition you will be provided with access to support from a Traditional Māori Healing Center that can be contacted should you require it.

Academic Supervisors

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Emāil: C.A.Morgan@massey.ac.nz

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Cultural Supervisors

Ti Hauora o Te Aroha Healing
Traditional Māori Healing Centre
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You are, of course, under no obligation to accept this invitation. However if you decide to participate, you have the right to: decline to answer any particular question; withdraw from the study up until 1 month after you have approved the transcription of your interview; 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 summāry of the project findings and final report when it is concluded. Ask for the video recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Thank you for reading this information sheet. If you are interested in taking part in this research project then please contact me as per the above details and I can answer any questions you may have.

Naku noa

Na

Michelle Waireti Māria Roestenburg

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, application 09/28. 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, emāil humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Ti Hei Mauri Ora!

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

Ahakoa He Kiri Mā: A Fire in Our Blood

This form will be held for a period of five (5) years

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 agree/ do not agree to the interview being videotaped.

I agree to not disclose anything discussed in the Focus Group Hui.

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

Signature: **D**

ate:

_____   ....

Full Name - printed

_____

Appendix C: Authority for the Release of Tape Transcripts

Ahakoa He Kiri Mā: A Fire in Our Blood

This form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the focus group/interveiw I participated in.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used by the researcher, Michelle Roestenburg in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: D

ate: ....

Full Name - printed ....

Appendix D: Interview Schedule Prompts

Ahakoa he Kiri Mā: A Fire In Our Blood

How was your commitment to Te Ao Māori formed? Did it occur by virtue of a given inheritance and Whānau inclusion, or was a journey of reclamātion undertaken, or were there other dynamics?

What do you understand about your stages of growth, and the events in your life that were important in your journey towards a Māori centered identity?

What Influences, forces, events promote the growth or strength of a Māori centered identity?

Was there a moment or event of recognition and commitment to Te Ao Māori?

What have been the reactions or responses you have encountered in Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Hurihuri?

Is there a pattern of response or reaction, and if so how does this operate?

How have you found meaning and strategies to negotiate, manage or meet such reactions or responses?

Are there differences in your approaches to the Māori cultural world and the Pākehā cultural world?

What experiences and knowledge do you have of receiving white privilege?

How could your access to contemporary society in Aotearoa be managed to strategically enhance the advancement of Māori Development personally, socially and politically.

How could your navigations between the shores of your cultural identities, inform strategies to māximize personal and collective Māori Development?

What are you views on the likely journey existing and future 999, mokopuna of mixed ancestry will take to reclaim or retain a Māori centered identity?

What would you say to assist other Māori who are pursuing, or wanting to pursue a positive Māori identity and also look white?

What would you say to assist other Māori of mixed descent who are pursuing or wanting to pursue a positive Māori identity?

How do you conceive Māori society could alter to smooth the pathway to a positive Māori centered identity?

How do you conceive Pākehā society could alter to smooth the pathway to a positive Māori centered identity?

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