Māori Migration: Hau kāinga in relation to

Tuakiri and Hauora.

A thesis

presented in partial fullfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Psych)

At Massey University,

Papaioea, Aotearoa.

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Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Ngāpuhi.

2018

Ko Tongariro, ko Tautoro ōku maunga

Ko Taupōnui a tia, ko Hokianga ōku moana

Ko Waitahanui, ko Punakitere ōku awa

Ko Arawa, ko Ngātokimaataawhaorua ōku waka

Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa, ko Ngāpuhi ōku iwi.

Ko Ngati Hineuru, ko Ngāti Moerewa ōku hapū

Ko Te Hāroto, ko Mahuhukiterangi ōku marae

I tupu ake au ki Te Ahuriri.

Ko Te Kaumarua rāua ko Anne ōku mātua

Ko Jessica tōku ingoa

Te Karakia Hohourongo o Nukutawhiti.

He rūrū anō te rūrū, he kāeaea anō te kāeaea. Tēnā ko hau ko Māui-tikitikio-te-rangi takawai whiti takawai tai, he tū whai pō, he tū whai ao. He tapu tāwake i whānakenake ki te papa o Wahieroa. Ka tangi te kura i te ata o Waikau he ata amohanga, he ata ki te paerangi. Kia hui e te kura pō i tīwhaona ki te paparei o te iho rangi e iri iho nei. Kī e, ka ao, ka ao, ka ao te rā.[1]

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[1] This karakia was recited by my tūpuna Nukutawhiti, captain of the Ngatokimatawhaoorua Waka, when he entered the Hokianga from Hawaiki; to lure a tohora (whale) to the harbour for celebratory feasts. Nukutawhiti commenced a fierce battle of the karakia with tūpuna Ruanui in the South, pulling the tohora between them. Eventually, both tūpuna exhausted all karakia. The tohora escaped; and no-one got a celebratory feast. This karakia, learned from my Uncle Hone's book (Sadler, 2014) seemed appropriate to open research that calls for unity and co-operation.

HE MIHI - ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

E ngā reo, e ngā mana, Tēnā koutou katoa. He mihi whānui tēnei ki a koutou e awhi nei i tēnei kaupapa. He putanga tēnei mahi rangahau nā koutou. Nō reira, e rau rangatira mā tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

He tōtara wāhi rua, he kai nā te ahi.
A tōtara split in two is food for the fire.

I wish to acknowledge the people of the Kulin Nations, on whose land this research takes place. I pay my respects to their Elders, past and present. We stand on this land as beneficiaries of an uncompensated and unreconciled dispossession which began over 200 years ago and continues today. I would like to reflect that within acknowledgement there should be action. How do we act in solidarity with first nations peoples? How do we act against the economic and social systems which reinforce racism, oppression and subjugation? (Transformative Justice Camp, 2017).

I'd like to thank my Aunty Bub and cousin Angela who have carried out extensive whakapapa research for our whānau over a decade. I'd also like to acknowledge the achievement my Uncle and renown Ngāpuhi elder Hōne Sadler in publishing his book 'Ko Tautoro Te pito o Tōku Ao' (Sadler, 2014), which provided me with a history of my iwi and hapū. To my Uncle Rawiri Wharemate, who has provided tautoko since the beginning, ngā mihi.

Ngā mihi Liam Ogden and Rāwiri Beil, my Te Reo course tutors, who assisted me with finding appropriate whakataukī, polishing my mihi, and encouraging me to use my language.

Kia ora to Jeremy Nikora, community engagement officer and youth worker extraordinaire, for inspiring me to continue on the kaupapa pathway, listening to my ideas when they were fresh, and connecting me to participants.

Ngā mihi to my supervisor Mandy Morgan for encouraging me to be myself, and Hukarere Valentine for providing cultural assistance at the beginning and at the end which helped me polish my mahi.

To my whānau and friends, your tautoko and encouragement (and proof-reading services!) helped create this project – I couldn't do what I do without you.

KARAKIA:

Tirohia horohiwi ki waho, kia hakatikitiki, kia hakatikitiki āhaha!

Ko te marae o Te Hungaiti uiui kau ana rapurapu kau ana, kei hea te waha tangata aue he waha manu anake, kei hea te waha tangata?

Kei te puke ra i Miti, kei te puke rā i Kāoreore, Kei te puke o Taiāmai e noho ana Te Haramiti.

Ka moe Te Haramiti i a Turutu kia puta ki waho ko Marotoroa Ka moe i a Rangi-kā-ū-ki-te-whenua kia puta ki waho ko Hineira ka moe i a Karawaitaipa kia puta ki waho, tō mua ko Kūao, te mana, ka rere ki muri ko Whitianga te ringa kaha, ka rere ki muri ko Takurua te Kaipopoa. Ka moe i a Kopaki kia puta ki waho ko Tūkarawa, ka moe i a Tuha Te Āwha, kia puta ki waho ko Wharemate, ka moe i a Ngāwiki Tokikapu kia puta ki waho ko Pere Hatara, ka moe i a Kēti Ngāwati Mohi kia puta ki waho ko Rangi-ka-ū-ki-te-whenua ka moe i a Raima Nētana kia puta ko Mārara, ka rere ki muri ko Rangimārie, ka rere ki muri ko Maude, ka rere ki muri ko Tamaiti. Tīhewā mauriora[2]

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[2] Written for this research by my koroua Hōne Sadler

Table of Contents

Abstract

Despite the increasing population of Māori born in Australia, there is a lack of research on how our taitamariki[3] experience tuakiri outside Aotearoa. Māori models of health maintain that wairua is essential for Māori wellbeing; and wellbeing required to achieve a secure tuakiri Māori. Based on accepted indicators of wellbeing, achieving a balanced tuakiri Māori might involve nurturing personal relationships with overlapping aspects of Te Ao Māori, such as whenua, whānau and tino rangatiratanga. Many taitamariki living in Australia face challenges accessing these connected dimensions of tuakiri, which may contribute to health inequalities affecting young Māori migrants. Guided by kaupapa Māori principles, this qualitative study aims to contribute knowledge about the identity of young Māori migrants; and contribute towards Māori health development in Australia within a general kaupapa to uplift the oranga of our people collectively. Thematic analysis was conducted using stories from nine taitamariki residing in Melbourne regarding their experiences of migration on tuakiri Māori. The key themes that emerged from the participants korero were tūrangawaewae, oranga, and mauri, which characterised important aspects of participant's identities. Findings highlighted negative impacts of migration to wairuatanga, yet participants found strength in their relationships to 'home' through a sense of belonging, pride, self-awareness, respect, guidance, support, resilience and self-determination. All sub-themes intersected, representative of the holistic nature of hauora and tuakiri. In conclusion, this research explored the importance of 'home' in relation to migrant tuakiri Māori to enhance understanding of Māori wellbeing amongst Rangatahi Māori in Australia. The findings call for whānau/hapū/iwi and Government responsivity to the oranga and wairua of taitamariki in Aotearoa; and active acknowledgment of our taitamariki in Australia as mokopuna and taonga.

Keywords: Māori migration, Māori identity, Māori wellbeing, urban Māori youth

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[3] This research refers to taitamariki and rangatahi interchangeably to refer specifically to Māori youth.

INTRODUCTION

Much of the social constructionist literature suggests that one's sense of identity is shaped by culture, and vice versa (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Burr, 1995, 2003; Markus, Hazel Rose; Kitayama, Shinobu, 2010; Weedon 2004). The impacts of colonisation, assimilation, biculturalism & globalisation are social processes that have no doubt influenced the ways some taitamariki experience culture in varying ways. It is my lived experience of the ways these social processes have shaped my Māori identity that inspired me to do this research. My mother is of European descent and my father is of Māori descent. I was raised on the back section of land where my papa raised my father, auntie's and uncles; and then also my cousins. My mother and father built a house there. My Māori grandparents have their mokopuna living with them; but family obligations were different on my Pākehā side. For example, my grandmother did not offer to let my mum build a house on her back yard, and visits had to be scheduled.   My childhood was spent with my uncle, my cousins and my papa living on the same property, and although not our ancestral tūrangawaewae, this was a place three generations of our whānau called 'home'. My father migrated to Australia for mahi and both my parents remarried. We moved away from the whānau kāinga, leaving my papa and my uncle behind. My sisters and I gradually had less regular contact with my Māori whānau throughout our teenage years. When we buried my papa at our marae in Te Hāroto, I was 17. At the tangitanga, I remember some distant aunties asking who-where I belonged in the whānau, which made me feeI that I had let my papa down, and my wairuatanga felt damaged. My uncle who had lived with papa his entire life was unable to upkeep the whare that my whānau called home, so the section was sold. The contact I had with whānau remained sporadic due to my migration overseas, and in this time, I felt somewhat lost, or incomplete. My story shows how social factors like migration, unemployment, and divorce weakened traditional whānau structures of support that I had been raised with; and negatively shaped my tuakiri Māori. Reconnecting with whānau can re-centre one's wairua, both vital components of Māori wellbeing (Ripikoi, 2015). Links to wairua and a secure tuakiri Māori have been discussed by other academics (Kingi 2002; Durie, 1995; Ripikoi 2015). It has only been in recent years that I began to nurture my own wairua (and in turn, increase my wellbeing) with more whānau contact; whakapapa research; and learning Te Reo Māori. I hope my kaupapa journey takes me back

to my tūrangawaewae in Taupo nui a tia, or the Hokianga to pursue a career as a beginning Māori psychologist and contribute to the wellbeing of my whānau, hapū and iwi. This story about the growth of my tuakiri Māori began with whānau, whakapapa and tūrangawaewae connections, which are attached to wairua.

Being predominantly raised by Pākehā parents; and the fact that I am fair skinned has given me privileged access to the Pākehā experience. However, I dropped out of high school young and unskilled. I am now one of the approximately 170 000 Māori (Hamer, 2012) residing in Australia. I came to Australia for employment opportunities; however, a strong connection with my whānau, accountability to my tūpuna, a pride in my culture and a love for the land are always calling me home. Like approximately 80% of Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), I cannot hold a conversation in Te Reo Māori, but I am currently learning. My commitment to utilising this mātauranga in a society that privileges Pākehā ways of communicating is evident throughout this project. I self-identify as Māori-Pākehā - not one or the other, because I feel proud of both my Māori and Scottish/Irish ancestry. I feel lucky to have a unique, bi-cultural world-view which anchors me to Aotearoa. Varying experiences mean that not all Māori feel this way, as the connections they have to their culture might be different to mine. For some Māori, Australia may provide opportunity perhaps not accessible in Aotearoa, and they may have no intention to return to those pressures back 'home' (Hamer, 2007). For Māori born or raised in Melbourne, 'home' might be Frankston Beach.   This research hopes to explore the complex ways social structures (such as biculturalism, divorce/marriage, education, migration, familial living arrangements) might intersect to affect the tuakiri Māori of taitamariki living in Australia, and the implications this might have on shaping Māori culture in general.

Tama tū, tama ora. Tama noho, tama mate.
Those who get involved, contribute and take the initiative will prosper more than those who don't

Regardless of all the diversity in cultural affiliation, I believe that tuakiri Māori; and thus all aspects of Māori culture in general should be encouraged, prioritised, nurtured and protected. There is much literature that supports my belief that a secure Māori identity reflects wellbeing; providing insight into holistic markers of a secure Māori identity, such as knowing about one's whakapapa and speaking Te Reo Māori (Durie, 2006; Te Huia, 2015).

Not having access to participate in all things in Te Ao Māori is a barrier to holistic Māori wellbeing (Durie et al., 2002).

The devastation of indigenous cultures intentionally in the past continues today because of the privileging of certain ways of knowing and being. Like many Māori of that generation, my papa used to be beaten for speaking Te Reo Māori. Perhaps trauma/fear for their children's safety is the reason why reo fluency has skipped two generations in my whānau. I am now learning as an adult and finding it difficult to korero in a 'multi-cultural' society that prioritises English; a society that has conditioned me to think in English also.

Where I live, most Aboriginal languages are lost because Australian government policies banned and discouraged Aboriginal people from speaking their languages (Mūhlhāusler & Damania, 2004). Languages pass on cultural knowledge, so language loss means the loss of Aboriginal culture, such as taking care of ancestral lands (Green, 2008) and connection to their ancestors (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010). The impact of spiritual loss has affected and continues to affect Aboriginal people's health and well-being (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010). Yet, the remaining Aboriginal languages are at danger of extinction (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2009).

Most states and territories in Australia endorse Aboriginal language within school curriculum. However, this agenda is left to the schools themselves to implement as they see fit, as this agenda is not enforced by the Australian federal Government. A study in 2009 showed that nationwide, only 260 schools provided students with the opportunity to learn an indigenous language (Purdie, Frigo, Ozolins, Noblett, Thieberger, & Sharp, 2008). This is partly due to the lack of indigenous language teachers (More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative, 2015). According to Joseph Lo Bianco, Professor of Language and Literacy Education in Melbourne, the low number of schools offering indigenous language in their curriculum is also due to the lack of social currency Aboriginal languages have in Australian mainstream society (Lo Bianco, 2008). According to the 2016 census, there was a 1.3% decline in the population who spoke an Australian Indigenous language from 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2016). Endorsing indigenous language use in the mainstream society is a 'token' gesture if English communication remains privileged. I am frustrated about the recognition of language loss from Western institutions, who are yet

unwilling to give up space to prioritise indigenous language use in everyday situations. Being Pākehā is privileged; the default expectation, which is why it is of my opinion that Māori (and our indigenous brothers and sisters in Australia) might benefit from passive resistance to assimilation processes by embracing and exploring aspects of tuakiri Māori.

Despite continued efforts, socio-economic disparities that contribute to ill-health disproportionately affect the first nations of both Australia and Aoteaora, while the dominant non-indigenous populations enjoy better health outcomes overall. Disparities on almost all measures of health exist between other colonised indigenous populations globally and their non-indigenous neighbours (Stephens, Nettleton, Porter, Willis, & Clark, 2005; King, Smith and Gracey, 2009; Mitrou et al., 2014; Anderson et al., 2016). Māori in Aotearoa are over represented in prisons – they make up over half of all inmates (Durie, 2003, pg 60); they experience more poverty (Biddulph, Biddulph, & Biddulph, 2003; Gilbert, 2005); are underrepresented in universities (Shulruf, Hattie, & Tumen, 2008), and experience worse health and lower life expectancy (Marriott, & Sim, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2012- 2014) than the rest of the population.

Preventative measures, interventions and causes continue to be framed as individualistic (Hoy 2009; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008) without addressing the issue of language or land loss, cultural breakdown, control over health outcomes, or indigenous concepts of wellbeing. As a student researcher committed to indigenous wellbeing and culturally safe practice, I advocate that Māori be in control of all things affecting their oranga. This is because many non-Māori researchers have failed to address concerns of Māori, as research questions have been generated by Western ideals, and focused around individualistic causes of disease (Murchie, 1984). Colonisation is happening right now and is insidious. Prioritising Western ways of knowing means privileging Western groups of people and excluding other ethnic group's knowledge and worldview - and neglects culture as a cure (Muriwai, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015).

Ko tōku reo tōku ohooho, ko tōku reo tōku māpihi maurea - *My language is my awakening, my language is the window to my soul*

There are many holistic aspects of 'being' Māori, that contradict race-based conceptualisations of identity. Race is a concept associated with stereotypical assumptions

about a person's identity that has been argued to be socially constructed, and therefore not biological, or innate (McChesney, 2015; Omi & Winant, 2015). People who have multiple ethnic backgrounds may feel strongly connected to their Māori culture, evident in their connections to whakapapa; ability to speak Te Reo Māori; acceptance of mātauranga Māori; their wairuatanga; or physical expressions of māoritanga (cultural pride) by wearing their ancestral connections, like tā moko, or taonga worn around the neck (Higgins, 2004; McIntosh, 2005; Penetito, 2011). Unlike simplistic, statistical measures of identity, a secure tuakiri Māori is complex, and difficult to measure. According to three main Māori models of oranga and hauora, Te Whare Tapa wha (Durie,1998); Te Wheke (Pere, 1991), and Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988), Māori health is holistic. Thus, a secure tuakiri Māori might not be able to be compartmentalised if it is attached to dimensions outlined in these holistic models. For example, Māori society is collective; organised around whānau, hapū and iwi (Durie, 1997). Māori are intrinsically linked to their tūpuna, which for all Māori includes Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Sadler, 2014). Therefore, Māori see themselves in relation to the land and others, and therefore like hauora, tuakiri Māori is assumed to be holistic (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Therefore, measurable components of cultural identity, like being able to speak Te Reo Māori might not necessarily equate to a secure tuakiri Māori. Likewise, one might have physical features that resemble their Māori ancestry (like brown skin), yet being of Māori decent alone might not be sufficient to acquire a secure Māori tuakiri. Fostering tuakiri Māori then depends on nurturing multiple, interrelated factors utilising a holistic approach. Tuakiri Māori has been shown to promote hauora (Pere, 2006; Houkamau, & Sibley, 2010; Durie, 2001; Borell, 2005). Since tuakiri Māori is formed around the natural environment of tribal lands, many Māori elders view lack of access to whenua tupu as having ill-health (Durie, 1994).

The urbanisation of most young Māori in Aotearoa today (many of whom are multicultural) and increasing Māori migration outside Aotearoa has affected access to whenua tupu (Rata, 2015). From a Māori perspective, wairua is the most essential aspect of holistic hauora (Ripikoi, 2015). As a Māori migrant separated from the physical aspects of my identity, such as my whānau and tūrangawaewae, I am 'homesick', and therefore not completely well. However, I can say that having a tūrangawaewae waiting for me, and the tautoko of my whānau enhances my wairuatanga, and gives me resilience to ill mental

health. The last time that I visited Te Hāroto Marae, my uncle ~~(our marae oto)~~ expressed his desire to have the young whānau members 'come home' and help maintain the marae. This desire seems to be a general consensus among those maintaining their ahikā, especially older Māori (Durie, 1999; Hohepa, Kawharu, M., Ngaha, A. & Peri; Parata & Gifford, 2017). In the collective interest of my own iwi, hapū and whānau wellbeing, this research is transparently hopeful that our tatamariki will consider returning to their tūrangawaewae.

E te akunga houhare, tutungia te hatete o Te Reo.
Oh you the industrious, Ignite the fire of the language.(Leon Blake, Pania Papa)

The ability to speak Te Reo Māori is a key factor in securing a tuakiri Māori, as using the language is understood as becoming a whole person; and gives people mana tūpuna (Kāretu, 1993; Waikerepuru, 1986; Durie 2006; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Reclaiming Te Reo Māori began in the 1960's as a central part of a movement to address concerns about language loss, prior injustices and strengthening culture (Smith, 1989). Notable government Initiatives to address language loss have included Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (Māori language week), an annual celebration of Te Reo Māori that began in 1975 (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage [NZMCH], 2017). The campaign recognises that *all* New Zealanders should be able to kōrero in some capacity for Te Reo Māori to remain one of Aotearoa's official, living languages.   Te Reo-o-Pōneke, the first Māori owned reo radio station aired in 1983 (NZMCH, 2017). My sister was part of the immersion kōhanga reo movement when it started in 1982 (Smith, 2003). There is a Kura Kaupapa, Kura Tuarua and Whare Wānanga education system in Aotearoa in which lessons are taught in Te Reo Māori at least half the time. However, only 9.6% of Māori primary and secondary children attended immersion schools in 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2016).

Māori perspectives have been integrated into the New Zealand mainstream health system, such as He Korowai Oranga framework for Māori with disability (Ministry of Health [MOH], 2014) and Te Puāwaiwhero framework for mental health and addiction (MOH, 2008) that recognise the importance of reo for oranga. Te Reo Māori is a vital aspect of taha wairua, which affects all other facets of Māori hauora, such as relationship development, resilience and self-respect (Ripikoi, 2015, Mead, 2003). Despite all these initiatives, around 80% of Māori are unable to kōrero Māori on an everyday level (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In fact, there was a 4.7% decrease in the Māori population of te reo Māori speakers

between 1996 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). This drop could be attributed to increases in Māori migration to Australia, according to migration researcher Paul Hamer (2010). It has taken a personal journey of self-discovery to realise that I can stand strong in the face of arbitrary societal relevance and seek Te Reo Māori as an inheritance from my tūpuna, which is why I am learning in Australia. He reo e kōrerotia ana, he Reo ka ora, a spoken language is a living language. People will learn a language that society values; and speakers need to be valued as holders of a national treasure.

Like Te Reo Māori, the taken-for-granted practising of everyday tikanga is a vital component of a secure tuakiri Māori, as tikanga stem from, and maintain, a Māori world view (Mead, 2003). Examples of tikanga that I remember from childhood are to do with the tapu of my body. In Māoridom, your head is considered very tapu, so I was reminded not to sit on pillows. My cousins would remind me it was not OK to swim in the sea whilst menstruating, as my body and blood were tapu. I have since learnt that tikanga related to tapu of the body has a purpose of self-protection, among many other purposes (August, 2005). These customs are shared amongst all Māori – although iwi variations exist (Williams, & Broadley, 2012). There are also general practices that were second nature to me growing up in Aotearoa, such as removing shoes before entering my papa's house. I have reflected on how strange these behaviours might seem to me if I had been raised in Melbourne far removed from my whānau who taught me these social aspects of Māori culture were normal.

Being raised with Māori whānau, I was able to see the photos of my tūpuna that used to hang on my papa's wall, showing me my whakapapa, and where I belong in it. Although I have been a migrant away from home for some time, having this early base of cultural participation, I believe, has helped me to establish my connection to ancestors by remembering how it was in the past and changes since; is a reminder of where I came from and belong; and my responsibility/accountability for the future of my whānau. To this day, my whānau continue to strengthen my wairuatanga by connecting me to my whakapapa in various ways, even from a distance.

Participating in Māori society involves being on the marae, and whakapapa plays a significant role in this (Durie et al., 2002; Gallagher, 2012; Moeke-Pickering, 1996). A Statistics New Zealand survey (2013) concluded that although most Māori in Aotearoa have

visited their ancestral marae, they don't go as often as they would like – this was especially true of younger Māori who had less of a connection. For many Māori in Aotearoa, their marae is their tūrangawaewae (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). For others who may not access their marae often, or know where their marae is, their tūrangawaewae might be constructed from where they were born or raised, or where their parents came from. This is because Māori often express tuakiri through their relationship with a geographic location and the natural features of that place including maunga, awa, and moana (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013); and having a fragmented whakapapa might be one of the barriers to bringing it all together in a traditional sense. My pepeha locates me to all of these aspects of my home, as well as my marae of my iwi and hapū. Introducing myself in relation to my whānau and where I come from was often necessary when talking to Māori in Melbourne in relation to this research to establish a meaningful relationship.

With my knowledge about Māori identity and hauora, it is easier to understand why there are significant disparities in the wellbeing of Māori in Aotearoa despite the effort to address them (Reid & Robson, 2006). As mentioned briefly, mainstream society privileges Western ways of knowing and being (Muriwai, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015). For example, land loss and urbanisation of Māori; and the priority of English language in our society are barriers to a Māori tuakiri that have been recognised in policy recommendations and research, yet not often in practice (Dyall, Feigin, Brown, & Roberts 2008). The recent commitment that the New Zealand health system has made in terms allowing Māori develop Māori oranga frameworks is a step in the right direction (Dyall et al., 2008). However, what use are holistic Māori frameworks if aspects of them are not accessible, applicable, responsive, representative or relevant to many urban, multicultural Māori – including the approximate 20 percent of all Māori who have migrated to Australia whose access to vital aspects of culture outlined in these frameworks, like whenua, whakapapa and wairua may be limited?

This research is relevant to, and representative of the taitamariki in Australia participating in this research, as their lived experience is different to those who reside in Aotearoa. However, it is my view that the tuakiri Māori of our young migrants is important for the overall wellbeing of Māori, and therefore the findings will be relevant for whānau of young Māori migrants. Based on my own connections to tūrangawaewae and whenua that I

was not raised on, I believe it is possible that strong connections to Aotearoa remain relevant to maintaining a sense of tuakiri among Māori migrants, even if they were not raised there. Although not my ancestral tūrangawaewae, the place I was raised, or my papakāinga Te Ahuriri, is part of who I am because of the whānau relationships I attach to it. My ancestral tūrangawaewae in the Hokianga and Taupo nui a tia are places I belong through whakapapa, despite not ever living there. Aotearoa is my kāinga tupu (homeland) in a general sense, as tangata whenua. The way Māori think about whakapapa is a meaningful framework, surviving colonisation and continuing to connect Māori socially, historically, geographically, and through stories (Hemara, 2000; Hoskins, 2001). Being Māori for me is about the wairua of my whakapapa and tūpuna that attach me to places. This research will embody Māori notions of secure tuakiri and hauora, which means acknowledging and taking for granted the importance of whakapapa as a concept that transcends location. This kaupapa Māori thesis sent me on my own whakapapa journey, and with the help of whānau, I was able to find photos of my kuia for the first time. Whakapapa is an essential aspect of a Māori worldview, therefore including my whakapapa in this research is a necessity, for guidance and also as a reminder of my purpose and journey towards becoming a health practitioner that contributes to Māori wellbeing.

It was not only a vested interest in Māori; and a bias towards Māori models of health that inspired this research project, but also working with other resilient, collectivist cultures in Melbourne. I worked with people seeking asylum and have witnessed first-hand the benefits of maintaining strong cultural connections away from 'home' on the health and wellbeing of communities.   I saw how vital resources such as housing, income and social support were often provided through people's own resilient community networks, despite structural barriers. Social connections and support are maintained via cultural practices, (such as the use of language, religious gatherings, or cultural food) within cheaper-to-live suburbs – crucial in a current political environment which denies many people seeking asylum access to fundamentals like food, housing, and healthcare. I learnt it is important to consider proximity to others of the same culture when assisting this vulnerable group find housing. Like people seeking asylum, but to a much lesser extent, New Zealand migrants in Australia experience structural barriers. And like the asylum seekers in my residential suburb, Māori seem to have built strong communities in cheaper-to-live areas.

Although it is difficult to officially measure Māori population demographics in Australia (see Hamer, 2009), my whānau state there is a strong Māori community in the cheaper Western suburbs where they reside; and my observations of working with youth in Frankston have been that there is a strong Māori/pacific community growing in the cheaper south side areas. It was through my current role as a youth worker in Frankston that I met some inspiring Māori who are leading our vulnerable taitamariki in the right direction through kaupapa Māori initiatives in that area. In Aotearoa, too, structural barriers can lead Māori to cheaper-to-live areas like South Auckland; or due to the imperative to live close to whānau, and engage in cultural practices with whānau (Borell, 2005). The issue of living proximity to whānau has been recognised in housing policy recommendations in Aotearoa (Whānau ora, 2010), and in qualitative research on Māori housing experiences (Waldegrave, 2006). Whānau seems to act as a buffer to structural barriers that have removed Māori from their tūrangawaewae.

As a response to recommendations and research, the New Zealand Government offered secured bank loans for Māori building on whenua (National Māori Housing Conference, 2016). However, only around five Kāinga Whenua loans are granted annually, and other Māori led housing networks have been significantly more successful (Council to Homeless Persons [CHP], 2016). Non-adjusted, regular bank lending criteria makes the Kāinga Whenua loan unavailable or unaffordable to many Māori (Office of the Auditor-General, 2011; CHP, 2016). The Government housing initiative's slow success might be because they don't address the fact that the majority of whenua papatupu is rural; and the majority of young Māori families have urban jobs, with established urban connections. The fact that Māori whenua cannot be easily sold in the market (righty so) is a consideration. Property is not seen as an asset to other banks, therefore families can't buy another home using the house they own as a deposit like most second home buyers.

Māori in Australia maintain social connections without advocacy/Government funding for housing; and keep up cultural practices (such as kapahaka, mau rākau, raranga, reo and so on) despite the additional challenge of distance from their whenua and whānau connections. The ways resilience is fostered through community tautoko among Māori migrants in Australia is not well researched, but understanding Māori migrant experiences

would be valuable for mental health professionals like myself working within these communities.

As a youth worker, I'm particularly interested in the ways young people express culture. I work with high risk youth who often lack a sense of 'self'. I have liaised with government organisations like the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency and the Koori Youth Justice Programme, who link Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth with inter-agency services designed to foster strong cultural connection. There are similar government funded organisations/departments in Aotearoa that aim to foster tuakiri Māori among at-risk taitamariki through networking with grass-roots Māori organisations, such as Te Rau Matatini, Te Puni Kōkiri, Kia Ora Hauora, and Waka Hourua. The New Zealand Ministry of Health spends around $8.2 million annually on youth (see Ministry of Youth Development website[4]).

Despite the growing number of taitamariki making up the Australian population, and worryingly entering the Youth Justice system (South East Local Learning and Employment Network, 2012), research and funding is lacking for our at-risk taitamariki living in Australia. As mentioned, there are services aimed at fostering a secure tuakiri Māori among taitamariki, but in my experience, these community funded organisations are not well utilised by mainstream government Youth Justice services. Research needs to show that these kaupapa-led initiatives assist taitamariki connect to their culture, so that mainstream youth services can adhere to evidence-based practice guidelines when referring youth. Moreover, taitamariki often creatively express their tuakiri Māori through new adaptations of traditional ideas which also shows a need for qualitive research on the lived experiences of taitamariki. Through waiata over synth beats and punk riffs (Dalvaneous Prime[5]; Fantails[6]); satiric animated comics (Aroha Bridge[7]); movies about contemporary Māori

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[4] http://www.myd.govt.nz/about-myd/

[5] Dalvaneous Prime (16 January 1948 – 3 October 2002) was a musical entertainer who supported Māori culture. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=2997633

[6] Fantails are a Wellington punk band using Māori lyrics
http://www.undertheradar.co.nz/news/8300/Interview-Fantails.utr
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ypgXgbYEDnA

[7] Aroha Bridge is a comical cartoon about the authors representation of growing up Māori in Auckland
http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11665475

culture (Taika Waititi[8]); bilingual television series about issues affecting taitamariki (Ahikāroa[9]); re-inventing common slang like 'whanaugna-from-another-maunga' (Māori version of common urban slang 'brother-from-another-mother'); and appearance (fashion, modern tamōkō art), Māori culture adapts and stays relevant. Because culture is a social construct, what it means to be Māori will continue to 'morph' as a representative and relevant collective identity for taitamariki Māori. The ways in which our taitamariki in Australia collectively express their tuakiri Māori could assist youth workers like myself who believe fostering tuakiri Māori and pride among growing rates of taitamariki involved with crime would be beneficial, in achieving higher rates of participation to those who may not be as receptive to more traditional aspects of culture.

Although some expressions of tuakiri Māori evidently are not determinate on geographic location here in Melbourne, as mentioned above, some Māori models of oranga imply there are other aspects vital to tuakiri Māori that may not be as accessible to migrants. As I'm interested in working within Māori frameworks, I wondered about the dimensions of health like whenua, whānau, and particularly tino rangitiratanga (self-determination) for Māori migrants in Australia. Migrants might be distanced from their tūrangawaewae and whānau, like many Māori who have migrated within Aotearoa. However, they also experience additional structural inequalities that residents in Aotearoa do not. Additionally, Māori migrants face immigration stressors on top of their experiences of colonisation. How do Māori construct a secure tuakiri Māori (which can contribute to the hauora of not only individuals but Māori in general) on non-ancestral land; in a country whose social policies hinder self-determination? It is acknowledged that many Māori migrate to join other whānau members (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013); and for those who don't have whānau in Australia, technology has surely made international communication easier. Moreover, an ingrained whānau responsibility have meant Māori migrants, like my father and some of his siblings, maintain connections to their tūrangawaewae with regular flights home for whānau obligations (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012). However, do young Māori in Australia have those same whānau obligations calling them home if they were born or raised in Australia?

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[8] Taika Waititi is a Māori director and New Zealander of the year.
[9] Link to Māori television series Ahikāroa http://www.maoritelevision.com/tv/shows/ahikaroa

At no point in this research do I intend to imply or assume in any way that Māori in Australia are at a deficit. However, I wanted to create a space for the voices of taitamariki in Melbourne, considering the lack of accountability of either government for the oranga and hauora of Māori migrants. In 1985 a submission made to the Waitangi Tribunal advocated for the addition of Te Reo Māori in the Aotearoa school curriculum be extended to Māori in Australia, because migration was said to be contributing to language loss (Hamer, 2010). The submission argued that the New Zealand Government should include Māori in Australia in Te Reo programmes, as it is New Zealand Government policies that cause migration in the first place (Hamer, 2010). It was unsuccessful. Over 20 years later in 2007, Pita Sharples, then co-leader of the Māori Party, advocated for a seat in parliament for Māori migrants in Australia, but was also unsuccessful (Hamer, 2008). Māori in Australia are voiceless in real issues that, according to key Māori oranga models, could be affecting their health and wellbeing. However, Māori are also resilient, and a secure tuakiri Māori is not limited to being able to kōrero. Otherwise the majority of Māori could be considered at being deficit of tuakiri Māori and hauora. The overall kaupapa of this research is to contribute to knowledge about tuakiri Māori that can uplift the oranga of our people as a collective; and contribute to the kōrerorero about Māori identity and health literature in Australia. Dominant views of a 'healthy' Māori identity need to be compatible with the movement towards Māori political, social and cultural self-determination if they are to be accurate or realistic (Ratima, 2010). Therefore, this research will explore the ways tuakiri Māori and cultural expression is impacted with migration.

The lack of advocacy for Māori in Australia includes a lack of research on the experiences of Māori migration (Te Huia, 2015). Therefore, the ways resilience is established; relationships to whenua and whānau are maintained; and Māoritanga is felt are the focus of exploration in this research. The next section is a review of the literature, providing a socio-historical context to provide an understanding of why Māori health disparities exist. An overview of Māori migration patterns and migration research follows, providing insight on the reasons why significant and increasing numbers of Māori migrate. The current state of Māori oranga and hauora in Australia shows that disparities exist here too, and explanations will be discussed by unpacking the structural barriers, acculturations stressors and additional colonisation processes Māori migrants face. Issues that have arisen

from the realisation that tuakiri Māori is not singular, such as trying to define tuakiri Māori against fragmented ancestry, culture, and multiplicity will also be discussed. With the fluidity and complexity of culture in mind, the idea that of a secure, specific tuakiri Māori seems not only difficult to achieve, but potentially excluding for many Māori. The relationship between wairua, tūrangawaewae, whakapapa, and tino rangatiratanga for identity will be covered in more detail, as they are common themes central to securing a tuakiri Māori, according to Māori health perspectives that may be experienced differently by taitamariki in Australia. The implications of encouraging individual responsibility and neglecting identity as collective; and acknowledging history, power and the social environment as contributors to cultural breakdown are discussed. Finally, the benefits of a rights based rather than needs based approach is explored to show how diversity among and within cultures can be included in a way that empowers all Māori to determine their own wellbeing. The research aims to hear and analyse participant's stories about life in Melbourne, to enable a greater understanding about identity and home among young Māori migrants.

An encouraging message from my Uncle Rawiri:

Ngā mihi nui ki a koe e aru ake ana i te rārangi wāhine whai mana o Ngāpuhi me tōu hiahia kia rapu i te māramatanga me te mōhiotanga ki ēnei wāhine ariki tapairu, ā, ki tōu tupuna a Moerewa. Nā reira kia kaha, kia toa, kia manawa nui koe, e rapu ana i te huarahi kia rite tonu koe ki ngā tapairu, te taumata tiketike o te wahine.

Praises for the line of mana wahine Ngāpuhi and your desire to seek for yourself the light, and knowledge of these mana wahine, especially the wahine tūpuna from Moerewa. Hence be strong, be brave, be heartfelt in your seeking for your place in line with many of the women who are identified as 'Tapairu' which is the highest rank for wahine ariki.

My wahine tūpuna that will guide me through my lifelong kaupapa journey:

Figure 1. Ngahinu Hapupo Parepupuhi Irihipeti (Elizabeth) TUNUA PITA, (1870-1959).

Great, great nanny was born in Whananaki, Northland, Aotearoa, when her father, Hapupo, was 30, and her mother, Taapapa, was 14. She married Reihana Taokete Netana in 1897 in her hometown. She gave birth to 12 children, including my great nanny Raima (pictured below). My great, great nanny died on August 8, 1959, in Auckland, Aotearoa, at the age of 89, and was buried in Whangarei, Northland.

Figure 2: RAIMA (Roti) Reihana NETANA, (1901–1928).

My great nanny was born in Whananaki, Northland, Aotearoa. Her father, Reihana, was 35, and her mother, Ngahinu, was 31. She married Rangipere Kauukitewhenua (Pere Rangi-ka-ū-ki-te-whenua) Wharemate in 1923 in Tautoro, Northland, Aotearoa when she was 22 years old. They had seven children, all daughters, during their marriage, including my Dad's mother's Marara and Maudie (sisters). She died as a young mother on September 28, 1928, in Kawakawa, Northland, at the age of 27, and was buried in Tautoro, Northland.

Figure 3. Maude Rangi Pere (Mori, Maudie Rangi Ka Uu-ki-te Whenua) WHAREMATE, (1924, 1990).

My fathers' natural mother was born on June 16, 1924, in Tautoro, Northland. Her father, Rangipere, was 23, and her mother, Raima, was 23. Maude married Te Okemohu (Okey) Okeroa (Te Oke Mohi) Wepia-Webster in Tautoro, Northland, in 1945 when she was 21 years old. She had seven sons and seven daughters. She gave my dad (her 5th child) to her older sister, Marara, to raise at birth. My dad believed my nanny Maude to be his Aunty until he was 12! She died on March 16, 1990, in Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa, at the age of 65.

Figure 4: Te Kaumarua Toheriri RAHUI (1931-2002); and Marara (Muriel) Maraea Rangipere (Hatara) WHAREMATE, (1921-1973).

Nanny Marara was born in Mokau, Northland, Aotearoa. Her father, Rangipere, was 20, and her mother, Raima, was 19. She had six sons and six daughters. Nanny Marara married Pauraha Te Tao Heta or Peta on May 10, 1937, when she was 16 years old. She married Patira (Pat) Te Aurewa Rangi Whaikawa in 1938 when she was 18 years old. She ran away to Napier to be with my papa (pictured) at the age of 30. She married my papa, Te Kaumarua Toheriri Rahui in Te Hāroto, Hawke's Bay on November 18, 1956, when she was 35 years

old. Nanny Marara adopted my dad from her younger sister Maude in 1961, and named him Te Kaumarua after my papa. Apparently Nanny Marara was happiest in Napier with my papa, evident in the fact that when she died at the age of 52, she was buried in Te Hāroto, away from her tūrangawaewae in Tautoro! My beloved papa lies there with her.

This thesis is dedicated to my whānau.

Literature Review

Socio-historical context

      If ancestral land connection and the rangatira of whānau are known to contribute to relational and spiritual wellbeing, then why would Māori migrate to Australia…and stay? To understand, we need to look at the socio-historical context of Aotearoa. Māori in Aotearoa make up 15.4% per cent (723 400), of the total population of about 4.7 million (Statistics New Zealand, 2016), which is around the same ratio as the estimated Māori population to non-Māori in Australia (Hamer, 2007). However, Māori population and culture was dominant for about 20 years after the first English settlers arrived (Pool & Kukutai, 2010). After a rapid decline of population and the associated loss of Māori land in the mid-19th century onwards, there was a recuperation of the Māori population between 1900-1945 (Pool & Kukutai, 2010). However, despite this population growth, Māori experienced dramatic losses between 1900 – 1970's, including traditional ways of living from whenua; and language loss (Pool & Kukutai, 2010; Higgins & Keane, 2015). Like many other colonised indigenous peoples, dramatic Māori population losses first started to occur due to the introduction of infectious diseases, alcohol and guns by Pākehā settlers (Walker, 1990). As the Pākehā population started to dominate, more intentional assimilation processes occurred which encouraged, and in some cases, enforced Māori to adopt Pākehā language (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011); and social organisational structures and institutions such as law, religion, education, land tenure, and the patriarchy (Walker, 1990; Mikaere, p.92, 2011).

      Despite all the activism of Māori for social justice and the huge work of legal claims made before the Waitangi tribunal, colonial dominance continues to cause Māori loss of culture, land, political power, health and wellbeing (Durie, 2004). Lifestyle risks that were foreign to Māori not that long ago, such as excessive drinking, poor diet, and smoking now affect Māori more than pākehā. Māori experience more physical and mental health issues than other New Zealanders, such as obesity, heart disease, diabetes, cancer, alcoholism, depression and suicide. Māori also experience disparities in nearly all aspects of social wellbeing, such as educational achievement, employment, income, home ownership, and homelessness compared to non-Māori (Durie, 2004). The literature that informs policy on Māori wellbeing mostly acknowledges the assimilation processes of the past as intentional; and emphasises the need for Māori to reclaim a positive tuakiri Māori (Dyall et al., 2008).

However, autonomy over hauora is not readily achievable if current structural barriers limit access and equal opportunity to social, geographical, and spiritual aspects of Te Ao Māori. Moreover, Māori well-being is holistic, so all aspects of hauroa need to be in balance if better health outcomes for Māori are truly the agenda of health policy.

Most Māori in Aotearoa live on Te Ika a Maui, with around a quarter now living in the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Up until the 1950s though, nearly 70 per cent of Māori still lived in rural areas (Kingi. 2008). It wasn't that long ago when most Māori were living by traditional, pre-Pākehā land 'ownership' systems – wherein the land 'owns' you, rather than the other way around. These systems were based around Papatūānuku and Ranginui as the creators of all life, including tangata whenua, meaning people born of the earth's womb. Individual ownership of land isn't the way Māori traditionally conceptualised 'home'. Home is the place you belong to; a land your ancestors came from. Pre-Pākehā land was protected and cared for as an iwi, and whānau collectively. The literature states that belonging to whenua was more of a process of discovery, occupation and claim (whenua taunaha), which later becomes whenua papatipu, meaning land that is an ancestral inheritance (Kawharu, 1977). Traditionally, land was often gifted (whenua tuku) or taken by conquest, so birthright was not the only criteria because living, using and looking after land was enough evidence for outside iwi to see there was collective 'ownership' (Kawharu 1977).

In Aotearoa today, whenua papatipu is passed down generationally through shares. This land is usually of poor quality because most of the prime agricultural land was 'bought' or confiscated from traditional Māori owners during settler times (Harmsworth, 2003). Around 30% of whenua papatipu is land-locked, and much of it is now coastal areas that have greater government restrictions for use (Harmsworth 2003). Accessing whenua papatipu has become a challenge and most Māori live in urban areas now. Moving away from whenua papatipu means moving away from one's tūrngawaewae. Māori migrants are also distanced from whānau and kaitaiki that remain behind, who are often holders of valuable matauranga Māori. Over time, urbanisation has created many rangatahi who have grown up not feeling comfortable in their roles and responsibilities on the marae; missing out on stories of their whakapapa; and therefore, impacting their wairua due to not knowing where they truly 'belong' or came from (Walker, 2010).

Rangatahi are the focus of this study. On average Māori are younger than pākehā: The median Māori age is 23.9 years while the total population's is 38 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2013; 2013b). Tamariki under 15 years old make up approximately a third of the entire Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Compared to pākehā, Māori children are more likely to finish school with lower qualifications; have low-skilled jobs, or become unemployed (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009; Marriot & Sim, 2014.). They also are less likely to own a house; and more likely to experience physical and mental health issues (Durie 2005; Te Puni Kokiri 1998). However, in pre-colonial times, tamariki were taught to be self-sufficient and resilient; and success was not left to the responsibility of the individual (Jenkins, 2011). Before Pākehā introduced Māori to their way of social organisation, the extended whānau raised tamariki as a collective. Physical discipline was not acceptable, because children were taonga to hapū and iwi and women were highly respected (Pihama et al., 2003). A break-down of whānau structures over generations is evident when Māori over-represented in family violence statistics; and when Pākehā approaches have not worked to decrease whānau violence (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). The causes of health and socioeconomic disparities among young Māori are recognised as complex; resulting from both historical and prevailing colonisation processes which have prevented and continue to prevent Māori from controlling necessary interrelated social aspects of health and wellbeing (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Acknowledging the losses experienced by whānau – and likely future losses if culturally appropriate ways of wellbeing remain inaccessible - it becomes understandable why many rangatahi have left, and are still leaving the comforts of their tūrangawaewae and their whānau obligations.

Māori migration: Health and Wellbeing of Māori in Australia.

Census data and migration patterns tell us that historically, New Zealanders increasingly relocate to Australia. In the 20 years between 1989 - 2009 there was an 89% increase in the Aotearoa-born population in Australia (ABS, 2010). Of all Aotearoa-born migrants to Australia, Māori are over-represented.   From 2001-2011, the number of Aotearoa-born Māori that migrated to Australia increased from 33,000 to 83,000 (Hamer, 2012; Kukutai, 2013). This increase was 17.5% more than non-Māori born in Aotearoa, the most significant gains being young Māori arrivals between the ages of 20-29 (Kukutai, 2013). From 2006-2011, migration of Aotearoa-born Māori between the ages of 20-25 increased by

224% (Kukutai, 2013). This has implications for whānau, hapū and iwi who are losing their working-age population overseas. Moreover, Māori who came to live in Australia as young children may be more inclined to stay in Australia and raise their own families (Kukutai, 2013).

By 2011 the total Māori population living in Australia, according to an analysis of census data, was 128,430 including the third of whom were born in Australia (Kukutai, 2013). There has not been an official release of the Māori population estimates from the 2016 Australian census, however, the steady increases in the Australian born Māori population over the previous three censuses indicate an expected increase (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013). The Australian census asks about Māori ancestry but does not allow Māori migrants to indicate their cultural affiliation. According to migration expert Paul Hamer, official Māori migration figures are most likely underestimates, and more accurately around 35% higher than census reports (Hamer, 2012). Hamer states there are a number of shortfalls when using census data to infer cultural population demographics in Australia, including limited ancestry options (only two); the tendency for bias in tick-box survey categories; the fact the 'Māori' has to be written in as 'other'; and that some Māori prefer to identify more generally as 'Australian' (Hamer, 2008, 2012). The complexity of identity statistics is further evident in the fact Aotearoa-born Māori identify more strongly as Māori than Māori born in Australia. 46.5% gave Māori as their sole ethnic group in the New Zealand 2013 Census, compared with 23% of Australian-born Māori in the Australian 2011 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2013; Kukutai and Pawar, 2013).

Despite the gradual increase over time, there have been significant influences during the last 20 years that have caused major fluctuation in migration numbers from Aotearoa to Australia. Immigration policy changes affected all New Zealanders who migrated to Australia after 26 February 2001, putting new arrivals at a socio-economic disadvantage – which could reflect the immediate drop in Aotearoa-born residents for the next few years (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013; ABS, 2011b). The immigration changes made Australian citizenship far more difficult to obtain for New Zealand migrants, and Aotearoa-born Māori have been the most affected by the higher application costs, income threshold, and skill sets required (McMillan, 2017; Hamer, 2012). Only 17% of Māori migrants in Australia were Australian citizens in 2011, compared to 38% of non-Māori Aotearoa-born migrants (Kukutai

and Pawar, 2013). Unlike other migrants, New Zealanders can live and work for as long as they please without meeting citizenship pathway requirements. This means the majority of New Zealand migrants, especially Māori migrants, pay the same taxes as a permanent resident without the same social security entitlements. This security includes welfare benefits for people who could be vulnerable to homelessness, unemployment, or domestic violence. Denial of social security is centred around an arbitrary date of arrival rather than a skill set or earning capacity.

The Department of Immigration and Border Protection states that to obtain a permanent residency visa in Australia, New Zealanders must be under 45 years of age; and have a particular skill set which has earned you at least $53,000 a year for the five years prior to your visa application. Children born in Australia to ineligible New Zealanders must continuously live in Australia until they are 10 years old to have access to their citizenship. Ineligible New Zealanders who arrived with their children after February 26, 2001 won't receive any government support if their child is disabled; and student loans will not be available for university fees. Many ineligible families are caught in a cycle of children not being able to up-skill; and therefore not being able to gain citizenship entitlements. Māori earn less and work in lower skilled sectors than the majority population in both Australia and Aotearoa (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013; Te Puni Kokiri, 2017). Whānau obligations might mean that living in Australia continually for 10 years is not possible. The current immigration policy has created a situation where more Māori than Pākehā migrants are socially excluded.

For the first time in over two decades, the 2016 Australian census data indicated a New Zealand-born population drop to 518,466 (ABS, 2016). In mid-2015 when the shift began, many of the economic indicators that were better in Australia switched in the favour of Aotearoa. There was a growth in jobs in Aotearoa and unemployment decreased (Statistics New Zealand, 2015) whilst these indicators declined in Australia (Trading Economics, 2017). Rising unemployment in Australia may be a factor for New Zealanders as a whole – but Māori still experience unemployment in Aotearoa at 2.83 times the rate of Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). Dr Anna Boucher at the University of Sydney attributes the migration switch to the limited social welfare and educational opportunities

for many New Zealanders living in Australia (Boucher, 2016). Although Māori in Australia fare worse than national Australians and non-Māori New Zealand migrants in educational outcomes and income levels (ABS, 2011; Kukutai and Pawar, 2013), these are disparities are similarly experienced in Aotearoa (Te Puni Kokiri, 2017). Moreover, Māori employment rates were actually similar with others in Australia (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013), which begs the question – how many Māori are returning to Aotearoa? Of the increasing number of New Zealanders returning home, which was a high record of 68,400 migrants gained in 2016 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016), it's difficult to say how many were Māori, as the literature on Māori migration is mostly about leaving for Australia (Haig, 2010; Poot, 2009; Green, Power, & Jang, 2008)

The processes of colonisation and acculturation impact the oranga and hauora of Māori in Aotearoa and Australia. Like the many other immigrant populations in Australia, Māori migrants have to adjust to usual acculturative stressors including physical, social, cultural, functional and environmental change (Berry, 1997). In addition to this acculturative stress, Māori also experience the residual effects of colonisation. The overrepresentation of Māori migrants; the effects of losing rangatahi on iwi, hapū and whānau; and the complexity of Māori tuakiri are crucial to considering the wellbeing of Māori migrants in Australia – yet are ignored in related government statistics. Statistics need to be relevant to Māori concerns, development and related wellbeing – not gathered to assist government departments in designing discriminatory immigration policy based on irrelevant and inaccurate data (Wereta, 2006).

Cultural identity

It's common for others to assume that groups of people have a distinct culture that is recognisable (Benhabib, p.4, 2002). However, these generalisations reduce culture to a static concept – when culture is in fact fluid and ever changing (Schultz & Lavender, 2005). Culture is not the same as 'race'. It is a social construct, and therefore societal views contribute to the complex, and adaptive nature of culture. This study acknowledges the political and economic processes that influence the way culture is reproduced and maintained; that everyone has a culture - not only the people/groups perceived as 'cultural'; and that social forces can actively construct individual cultural identities (Parton & O'Byrne 2000; Fleras & Spoonley 1999; Holland et al., 1998). Māori individuals and groups vary in

the ways they maintain more traditional aspects of culture (McIntosh, 2005). People of Māori decent will have varying levels of cultural affiliation because the social importance they place on being Māori varies (Kukutai, 2003). With the concept of cultural fluidity in mind, this research assumes the ways young Māori specifically construct, maintain and reproduce identity in Australia could be different to the ways rangatahi from Aotearoa do.

Māori maintain a strong connection with whakapapa as a dimension of their identity. This is not to say all Māori continue to associate whakapapa with identity. Kukutai (2003) noted that some 15% of those with Māori ancestry identify as "non-Māori", and the New Zealand 2013 census statistics suggest this phenomenon was still occurring (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Durie (1995b) talks about the difference in the way Māori express their cultural identity depending on their class positions in society, which may contribute to the phenomena of being of Māori decent but not identifying as Māori. Someone of Māori decent may identify as Pākehā based on living in a predominantly Pākehā reality. Sawicka et al. (2003) found in their study of young New Zealanders of Indian, Pākehā, Māori and Greek ancestry that their participant's expressions of cultural identity varied depending on the situations they were in. There were differences between what participants believed warranted an 'ethnic label'; and the way culture was experienced in daily life; and that there was variation in terms of how rangatahi aligned themselves with conventional aspects of Māori identity (Sawicka et al., 2003). Increasing numbers of people who belong to diverse cultural ancestries claimed "New Zealander" as their ethnic category (Statistics New Zealand 2007) which is reflective of the forces that influence culture – multiculturalism, globalisation, assimilation and colonisation.

Cultural identity is not singular – how can it be with the inevitable growing population of children and young people who identify with more than one cultural group? In 2013, over 30% of Aotearoa's population was born in Asia (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The 2013 New Zealand census indicated that people identified with a total of approximately 200 different ethnicities and spoke a total of 160 languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Aotearoa is becoming increasingly diverse, with young people more likely than older people to identify with more than one ethnicity – particularly young Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The rapid emergence of multi-cultural identities in Aotearoa/New Zealand (and the world) has been influenced heavily by continuing globalisation and migration, and has surely

led to the expression of new cultural ways of thinking and being. We can't predict or know about someone's multi-cultural identity based on their ethnic ancestries because identity is subject to multiple cultural influences – and ethnicity is only one of those (Fook, 2001; Modood & Werbner, 1997). Rather than a race-based social categorisation of people, this study will focus on identity as a person's set of values, beliefs and practices. These aspects of culture may very well reflect connections to whakapapa because the participants are Māori, but this research does not make that prior assumption.

One's cultural identity is not an expected way of being based on a static ideology of the past, waiting there to be recovered; or an answer to all Māori health issues (Hall, 1996; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Rather, cultural identity is a social process based around limits. Māori might find it a challenge to nurture a 'secure' tuakiri Māori if they experienced whānau breakdown; have fragmented or no knowledge of their whakapapa; limited access to te reo Māori; or have never visited their ancestral lands. This idea of having equal agency to embrace, or be part of the culture that you so desire is popular in predominantly Western, individualistic societies like Aotearoa (Rosebail & Seymour, 1999). However, the Western ideology of 'being who you want to be' acknowledges culture as a social construct, which is a step up from previous generalised, more race-based categorisations (Anzaldua, 1987; Root, 1992); and places emphasis on individual choice as a human right (Niezen, 2004). Yet, the choice to freely and easily engage in culture might be a challenge to some Māori who can't access aspects of tuakiri Māori and wellbeing. Promoting a Western ideology of the 'right to choose culture' assumes we all have equal choice to enjoy a full, respected, and relevant Māori culture, whilst ignoring barriers that perpetuate inequality. These ideals can be effective in promoting 'anti-race' understandings about culture, however, without critical consideration of 'choice' they can become universalist ideals that serve a similar purpose to racial categorisation (Daniel & Castenada-Liles, 2006). This research is cautious of framing Māori culture as something lost, acknowledging culture as living, moving and flexible – and centred on tino rangatiratanga.

Identity in Relation to Wellbeing: Tino Rangatiratanga, Wairua, Tūrangawaewae, Whanaungatanga

Over the last three decades, due to Māori asserting their tino rangatiratanga, there has been an increasing commitment by the New Zealand Government to consider Māori values and knowledge perspectives within health research and mainstream health services (c.f. Durie, 2004). Acknowledging the above-mentioned shortfalls in gathering statistical data for a non-Māori agenda, Te Kupenga, the 2013 survey of Māori wellbeing by New Zealand Statistics is a contemporary example of a shift in the way information regarding Māori health is retrieved (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Te Kupenga asked participants about Te Reo Māori, whanaungatanga, and tikanga to get a more accurate picture of collective social, cultural, and economic well-being of Māori, to better assist policy makers in understanding how to address health disparities. Measures of mental health outcomes have also been developed from Māori health models. Being able to measure the holistic, person-centred wellbeing of Māori with an assessment tool like Hua Oranga means clinical treatment services can measure progress in a culturally appropriate way (Kingi, & Durie, 2002). Māori models of health are based on holistic, Māori understandings of hauora that are lacking in Western, individualistic conceptualisation of illness (Durie, 2006). Health services that adhere to a bio-medical, reductionist view do not consider vital aspects of Māori health.   One of the most widely used models of hauora, Te Whare Tapa Wha incorporates four dimensions of hauora; Taha Tinana (physical health), Taha Hinengaro (mental health), Taha Whānau (social health) and Taha Wairua (spiritual health), (Durie, 2006). All four aspects need to be in balance for a person, or the collective to be in good health.

Te Wheke, another widely utilised model, was developed by Rose Pere to encompass holistic family health and spirituality, emotional expression and the cosmological 'life force' within everything (Pere, 1991). Ngā Pou Mana model is different from Western knowledge, encouraging oral tradition over written; and has a focus on the external environment of ancestral land (Henare, 1988; Durie, 1994). Like Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model, Ngā Pou Mana model relies on four main interrelated dimensions of wellbeing including Whānaungatanga (the importance of the family); Taonga Tuku Iho (cultural heritage); Te Ao Tūroa (the natural environment) and Turangawaewae (a geographical place one feels they belong to). Controversially, Moeau (1997) and Hokowhitu (2001) both unsuccessfully advocated for the explicit recognition of whenua papatipu into mainstream services that use

a hauora model. However, although sometimes not explicitly stated, all accepted models of hauora emphasise taha wairua, which is generally felt by Māori to be the most integral part of hauora and for which land connection is vital. As Durie (1994) explains with the Te Whare Tapa Wha model, being unable to connect spiritually to the natural environment, such as awa, maunga, and moana means a person is more likely to be unwell. The inability to access whenua papatipu can result in illness because this connection is essential feelings of belonging and therefore is attached to wairua, hauora and identity (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013).

A common theme in Māori perspectives of hauora is that a secure Māori tuakiri is a contributor to wellbeing, as it is attached to all aspects of a Māori ecology (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Durie, 1995; Houkamau & Sibley, 2015); particularly reliant on connections to whakapapa, iwi, hapū, whānau (Rangihau, 1975); and the related sense of identity that comes from the whanaungatanga involved in social participation (Pere, 1979, 1988). A secure tuakiri Māori is dependent on having a turangawaewae, where one feels strong, safe and supported by their iwi, hapū and whānau; and the rangatiratanga to engage with these important aspects of their holistic wellbeing (Bennett, 1979; Walker, 1989; Durie, 1997). Māori need to be able to access *all* relational, physical, and spiritual aspects of health to have balanced sense of who they are within a collective. Restricting access to one's turangawaewae for example, could exclude them from marae participation and remove collective social supports. Restricted access can fragment a holistic Māori tuakiri by contributing to a lack of self-worth, pride, security, and belonging which ultimately is damaging to wairua (Durie, 1999).

Dangers of deficit framing

How do Māori migrants in Australia connect to their turangawaewae, particularly those who may be disconnected from their whenua papatipu? The research is scarce on the topic of a collective contemporary Māori identity. As Carmichael first acknowledged in the early 1990s, few studies have interviewed New Zealanders, let alone Māori specifically, living in Australia regarding their migration experience (Carmichael, 1993). Researchers have spoken about the phenomena of geographical cultural expressions (Niezen, 2004; Borrell, 2005; Anderson, 2006). One qualitative study conducted in Auckland, New Zealand provided insight on the ways urban rangatahi experienced strong connections to their residential

locations; building on whanaugngatanga with others from Polynesian backgrounds in similar ways that Māori perhaps deemed 'more connected' in the conventional sense with their whānau, hapū and iwi (Borrell, 2005). Moreover, this study highlighted the potential for rangatahi to feel doubly marginalised when categorised as 'disconnected' from traditional indicators that don't reflect their reality or identity (Borrell, 2005). The danger of marginalising Māori who have fragmented whakapapa; are unable to speak Te Reo Māori; or are unfamiliar with tikanga Māori has also been identified in another study on Māori tuakiri, where in some cases, participants who felt culturally inadequate felt they did not belong (Houkamau, 2006). Indeed, a tuakiri Māori may marginalise some rangatahi in a predominantly Pākehā society where prejudice exists; and therefore negotiating identity positions can become a form of resilience (Webber, 2012; Te Huia, 2015). If culture is fluid and contextual, shaped by social forces, then so is a cultural identity.

Although there are ongoing political, social and cultural debates about how to conceptualise Māori identity, much of the research continues to focus on conventional aspects of Māori identity (Broughton, 1993; Fitzgerald et al, 1997; Stevenson, 2013; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Mikaere, 2010) with the assumption that more indicators provide better health outcomes. Conceptualising a 'secure' Māori identity as based only on traditional aspects of Māori culture (i.e., Te Reo Māori, tikanga, tūrangawaewae and whakapapa) exclude Māori who are not connected to their culture and assumes they experience a deficit of culture. Although conventional indicators of Māori wellbeing can be taken for granted as contributors to a secure tuakiri Māori, migrant rangatahi could provide valuable insight on the potential of other positive indicators. Acknowledging diversity among our youth means seeking better understanding of cultural identity, or we might have to start viewing rangatahi Māori as a population in need of 'fixing' – or Māori culture as 'lost'.

Many interventions targeted towards 'at-risk' Māori youth are based on ideas of Māori identity that young people may not share (Borrell, 2005). The success of an intervention usually depends on in-depth understandings of the 'target' audience's characteristics. When these interventions don't succeed because these characteristics were not accurate, rangatahi disengage and are in danger of 'falling through the gaps'. The assumption that urban youth are lacking as Māori because they don't know their ancestral tūrangawaewae, or know their traditional role on the marae does not reflect reality (Borrell,

2005). More research is needed to identify positive characterisations of Māori identity whilst acknowledging the influence of changing environments. Continued associations with Māori and poverty, domestic violence, crime and family breakdown are maintained and reinforced with deficit framing; and negatively affect a collective tuakiri Māori (Borrell, 2005). Choosing to focus on perceived deficits rather than promoting positive resilience is societal racism; it happens in the media, in national statistics, and within psychological research.

Conclusion

This research project assumes that Māori wellbeing depends on the ability to self determine a secure cultural identity, but questions what this mean for the health of the 160,000 or so Māori in Australia who are far from their whenua papatipu, whānau, hapū and iwi. Moreover, the rangatiratanga of Māori migrants to control their own development is threatened by policies that treat them as second-class citizens. This study will focus on not only traditional indicators of Māori health and wellbeing as they relate to identity; but explore participants own conceptualisations of these indicators. This research will not frame identity around mainstream views of what is 'lacking' and further perpetuate negative stereotypes of Māori. This study aims to challenge societal discourses that contribute to these stereotypes by highlighting positive aspects of young migrant Māori perspectives. Celebrating the diversity of Māori today recognises that change is inevitable, but does not have to mean taken-for-granted Māori understandings of identity need to be abandoned.   This study aims to provide a more nuanced understanding by being inclusive of all perspectives of migrant taitamariki regarding their culture and identity. The findings of this research will contribute some in-depth knowledge about the young Māori migrant experience of negotiating identity, which will have important implications for further research and practice

Methodology

In designing this research project, I was drawn to methods that had the potential to liberate Māori from ongoing colonisation processes. I have a postmodern, critical view of the world; always questioning why and how we know the taken-for-granted things we think we know. Our realities are socially constructed – in other words our social lives determine

the way we perceive and know things (our world view). A minority, disenfranchised, and colonised culture is going to have a different social experience to the thriving majority population. Moreover, indigenous, collective cultures like Māori see the world differently than individualistic Western cultures. By enabling participants to share their experiences and their world view, this research defiantly challenges the methodology of the overwhelming majority of Western, post-positivist psychological research relating to Māori oranga. A qualitative approach is necessary to accurately hear these stories, because of the variety of people's perspectives and experiences (Patton, 2002, p. 6). Quantitative statistics about mental health simply don't give us an understanding of Māori cultural identity and tino rangatiratanga for cultural expression in Australia. Using qualitative research methods has meant this research adheres to the face validity of the Kaupapa Māori principles and aims; and the results are therefore credible and trustworthy. I affectionately conceptualise qualitative research as being of sound 'quality', as opposed to being generalisable across a large 'quantity' of people. Therefore, this study uses in-depth, detailed information from a small number of participants. I am the researcher listening to these stories, so research credibility requires me to have integrity; and the ability to ensure the results privilege the participant's experiences and perspectives by being true to their voices (Patton, 2002, p. 14). My perspective and stories are apparent throughout the process. My experiences will likely affect participant responses if they identify with where I am from, or with aspects of my upbringing – but this collaboration is a positive aspect of the methodology, because shared experiences can strengthen relationships and the depth of the findings (Connor, 2006). Using Kaupapa Māori principles to guide the research methods have ensured that the research findings are relevant to the concerns of Māori.

To have control is to exercise power - so in keeping with the principle of tino rangatiratanga in Kaupapa Māori psychological research, I want to challenge Western 'cultural superiority' (Bishop, 1994) within all aspects of this project by focusing on Māori concerns and strengths. Māori must be in control of all aspects of the research (Bishop, 1994; Irwin 1994; Smith 1999). This control is not solely held by Māori researchers, but is a process of negotiation and sharing of control between everyone involved as equals; working together towards the same kaupapa of tino rangatiratanga over Māori hauora. This qualitative interview study, guided by Kaupapa Māori principles, uses interviews from nine

young Māori migrants in Melbourne, Australia. A thematic analysis of the data involves the grouping of themes arising from participant's stories that relate to the effect of migration on cultural identity. To enable an understanding of such a complex and broad topic, in-depth semi-structured interviews were necessary to get more detailed and rich stories. It is the experiences of the interviewees that guide the themes that emerge from analysis. Hopefully these themes can be used to inform subsequent research relating to the needs of rangatahi in urban Australia. The remaining sections discuss the methodologies that were utilised in this research in more detail, starting with the importance of Kaupapa Māori Research that takes for granted mātauranga Māori. Narrative inquiry and its appropriateness is discussed. Finally, this chapter ends with a summary of the ethical considerations.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Historically, research relating to Māori oranga has been damaging in some major ways. Firstly, most existing research has typically made generalisations which are not applicable or relevant to the entire Māori population (Pihama, 2001). It has been acknowledged that the primary influence in the social sciences has been a post-positivist methodology; a view that prioritises scientific realism and objectivity (Hooker, 1987). Much of this accepted research is either useless to Māori, and even 'exploitative and damaging', continuing to theorise Māori culture and history in ways that 'objectify and/or essentialise' (Smith, 2012, p.1). Prioritising colonial science is another way of discrediting indigenous ways of knowing/histories (Smith, 2012, p.20-40). This research aims at taking some space back within the discipline by allowing Māori to research their own culture. Empowering Māori to determine the direction and agenda for this study also sets an example for non-Māori research relating to the hauora of young Māori in the future. Social science research continues to colonise today because it ignores the social structures preventing Māori from living full healthy lives; assumes mātauranga Māori is a deviation to the norm; and does not accept Māori experience into the discipline as valid and accepted knowledge (Smith, 2012, p. 44). This results in Māori realities being misrepresented, giving those who work within an 'evidence-based-practice' framework a false indication of wellbeing and needs (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2003). Moreover, it continues to give the impression to society that Māori culture is undervalued and not considered legitimate (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Experiences of

exploitation involve Western researchers claiming mātauranga Māori as theirs; acting as experts of a culture they continue to discuss in ways that dishonour Māori lived experience, and writing in ways that don't resonate with Māori understandings (Henare, 2016; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; Pihama, 2001; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006; Mahuika, 2008). As a researcher, I believe that Māori have a right to present their own culture; in a way that benefits Māori; based on their own perspectives and issues; and influenced by the concerns and world views of Māori as a collective. Thus, this study aims to enhance understanding of the health and wellbeing of Māori; and direct further research by promoting a Māori agenda.

'E hoki koe ki ō maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea'-

Return to your mountains to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.

The word 'kaupapa' means a philosophy or set of guiding principles; an agenda, strategy or plan. The whole idea of Kaupapa Māori research is that is purposeful (Smith, 2012). The purpose is reclaiming space for theories to emerge from a Te Ao Māori worldview (Berryman, 2008). Kaupapa Māori research prioritises mātauranga Māori as legitimate, accepted, and taken for granted (Smith, 1997). Although the philosophy of Kaupapa Māori has been around for hundreds of years, it's now used as a modern psychological theory, involving frameworks and guidelines for practice which can liberate, or transform Māori (Penehira, Cram, and Pipi, 2003). Due to this transformative dimension Kaupapa Māori research is not limited to just conventional, or traditional Māori worldviews. This is because research and practice is bi-directional – that is, Kaupapa Māori research continues to be guided by the resulting action or practice when it is used as a guide. It's important to reiterate that Kaupapa Māori theory is not born of, or influenced by Western ideas. Kaupapa Māori was born out of growing frustration in the 1970's-80s relating to the restrictions put on Māori to use their language, access their land, and prioritise their culture, especially in a social context of rapid urbanisation post World War II (Nepe, 1991; Berryman, 2008). Before then, Māori social structures where based on unique knowledge and belief systems which had been built around Māori experiences and perceptions of human interactions (Pihama, 2001, p. 77). The fact that most health and social research was framing Māori at a deficit was most likely adding to the frustration.

Towards the end of the 1980's and through the 90's, the social sciences experienced an increased awareness and focus on Māori ways of doing things. This meant privileging Māori worldviews; acknowledging the hopes and dreams Māori have for their people; and changing the way health professionals practice (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Mahuika, 2008). During this time, Kaupapa Māori became the methodology most Māori academic researchers chose to use because it encapsulated a Māori philosophy whilst also adhering to validity and credibility requirements (Mahuika, 2008). Indeed, the key to Kaupapa Māori research is not to accept Western knowledge as taken-for-granted and instead prioritise mātauranga Māori and Māori experiences (Mahuika, 2008). To define Kaupapa Māori is challenging because there isn't an exact definition (Powick, 2002). Moreover, Kaupapa Māori is used in a variety of contexts, and in versatile ways, and many of the issues associated with Kaupapa Māori are interrelated (Mahuika, 2008). For example, Kaupapa Māori stretches across multiple disciplines (like psychology, education, our judicial system and medicine); using both qualitative and quantitative methods. This research uses Kaupapa Māori as its underlying philosophy; which guided the exploration of the literature, the methodologies, methods and ethics to make sure every part of the research process is culturally appropriate. Using a Kaupapa Māori methodology also ensures that this study can be used by future Kaupapa Māori researchers and practitioners in Australia.

There was a collaboration of Māori involved in the development the Kaupapa Māori methodology, including Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990) Linda Smith (1999), Taina Pohatu (2005), Russell Bishop (2005), Leonie Pihama (2001) and Kuni Jenkins (2001). These people helped develop six main aspects, or guiding 'principles' of Kaupapa Māori research. Within this study's context, 'Tino Rangatiratanga', the principle of self-determination, relates to migrant Māori in Australia being able to control their own oranga and hauora. 'Taonga Tuku Iho' is the principle of cultural aspiration, which this study adheres to by assuming all aspects of Te Ao Māori, such as Te Reo Māori, Wairua, Mātauranga Māori, and Tīkanga are legitimate and valid. The reality of Māori living in Australia can only be known by listening to the experiences of Māori – which this study privileges. The third principle, 'Ako Māori', is the Māori-preferred way to teach and learn which can be based on both traditional Māori cultural practices and also those that are more contemporary – the key is Māori preference. Māori culture is orally transmitted, so this study allows participants to tell their stories in

their preferred ways. 'Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga', the fourth Kaupapa Māori

principle is about socio-economic negotiation or intervention to address the disparities and

inequalities Māori face. This study is guided by this principle, because the overarching aim

is to provide some research that will positively benefit young Māori in Australia. Relatedly,

this study acknowledges that Māori initiatives and interventions addressing socioeconomic

disadvantage in the past have worked. There has been continuous development of the

management of Te Tiriti o Waitangi assets by whānau, hapū and iwi. For example, my own

hapū, Ngāti Hineuru, manage and develop over 4000 hectares of forestry that assists them

with social, cultural and environmental aspirations. In 2017, Ngāti Hineuru were able to

provide $25, 000 worth of education grants to their members.   Arguably, the centre of

Kaupapa Māori is the 'Whānau' principle. This study acknowledges that Māori whānau

structures and the relationship between whānau and the environment differ from that of a

Western view of family. Whānau and whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) are

social systems that are central to Māori society and culture, therefore the relationships I

build with Māori in this research process are an obligation and responsibility I have to

adhere to this important principle. The way I conceptualise the final principle 'Kaupapa' is

as a similar way of thinking, or being on a similar pathway to other Māori with similar

experiences, who desire well-being for their people. I read an interview recently where two

young wahine Māori were talking about "being down with the kaupapa", or having similar

hopes for Māori. The kaupapa, or goal is overall Māori hauora, as understood by Māori, and

therefore is much bigger than this research project alone. All members of this research

collaboration are by default 'down with the kaupapa' just by being interested in Māori

culture, hauora and tuariki, and are acknowledged within this research as making an

important contribution to the 'kaupapa' of all Māori.

E kore te pātiki e hoki ki tōna puehu –

The flounder does not go back to the mud it has stirred.

Another principle identified by Pihama (2001) is based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, (1840),

an official agreement between the crown and Māori which outlines the equal citizenship

rights of Māori, but also tangata whenua status of Māori in Aotearoa. This official

document can be used to hold those in power accountable for honouring these rights;

challenge taken-for-granted power inequalities; and re-assert Māori rights. Kaupapa Māori

research has been described as a way in which space for Māori voices and perspectives can be retrieved from the mainstream (Pihama, Cram, and Walker, 2002). This study is an attempt to retrieve some of that mainstream space and thus re-assert Māori rights to create research. In a sense, Kaupapa Māori theory is a critical theory. Critical theory challenges oppressive structures with the aim of transformation, or liberation of these structures (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001). In the case of Kaupapa Māori, those structures are Western perspectives of knowledge. Critical theory is about exposing unfair power differentials, for example, between those who are excluded from accessing wellbeing or culture, and those with every opportunity. I'm obligated to critically investigate why existing disparities, injustices and inequalities that Māori experience today persist. Unequal power relations require social, economic and political change, therefore I see Kaupapa Māori theory as a way to empower Māori to remove themselves from mainstream comparisons, and proudly privilege being uniquely Māori. Critical theory assumes that our realities are created for us by social forces, and therefore humans have agency to effectively change their realities by mixing up the social context (Pihama, 1993, p. 39). However, Kaupapa Māori is more than a general, Western theory of social change – it is specific in that it refers to a Māori philosophy as well as challenging mainstream Western ideas about knowledge (Eketone, 2008, p. 1).

'Tūwhitia te hopo, mairangatia te angitū'
Eliminate the negative, accentuate the positive

Kaupapa Māori does not have to be critical in a negative sense either. Kaupapa Māori stands on its own as a theory because of its base in the land, history and rich culture of Māori (Mahuika, 2008). Kaupapa Māori theory comes from uniquely Māori understandings, issues, concerns, and strengths – not like more generic, Western critical theories which have no use or benefit to Māori at all (Pihama, 2002, p. 103). What appeals to me about Kaupapa Māori is its specificity. It's not about being critical of general injustice (which is mammoth in scope) and offering Western solutions. Kaupapa Māori is more about what is already there and strengthening Māori potential (Eketone, 2008, p. 8). Kaupapa Māori is about encouraging Māori to reconcile their cultural identities by embracing Māoritanga (Awatere, 1984). Kaupapa Māori was born from Māori communities who were raising consciousness and empowering change, with the ultimate goal of increasing Māori

social and cultural capital in society (G. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Māori encourages Māori to stop negatively responding or reacting to injustice, and instead be proactive in following a more positive pathway (G.Smith, 2003, p.2). In this sense, Kaupapa Māori is a way of thinking that can create change, just by Māori being proud of their culture and leading by example. If the power dynamics in Aotearoa changed, and mātauranga Māori and Pākehā knowledge were treated with equal value, the 'common sense' beliefs and taken-for-granted systems that colonise Māori (such as the secondary use of Te Reo Māori; individual property ownership; patriarchal social structures) would be would be no more, and Māori would have the rangatira to live proud, strong and healthy lives the way our tūpuna intended. What is exciting about Kaupapa Māori theory is the more Māori that "get down with kaupapa" the more transformative it will become (G. Smith (1997) - no matter how big or small the commitment, it all contributes.

In order to retrieve some space for Māori voices, this study utilises a qualitative, Kaupapa Māori research methodology to collect and analyse the data. A crucial part of this research process was ensuring time was spent on whakawhanaungatanga, as strong relationships influence the level of participation and depth of findings (Edwards, McManus & McCreanor, 2005). I began with interviewing Māori I personally knew. Additionally, the participant age range is pretty similar to my own which avoided the potential for an intergenerational lack of understanding and communication. Building a rapport with the youngest participant (17 years) was not a challenge for me as a youth-worker. Moreover, I have can relate to the experience of being a young Māori migrant in Melbourne. Many of the participants got involved through a connected web of people close to me or the research in some way – an example of whakawhanaungatanga. Relationships between interviewers and the research whānau (people who have generously given tautoko and awhina) have been developed organically, and in this respect, bringing participants into the project is in line with the way our tūpuna viewed whanaungatanga, where shared experiences brought Māori closer together – often overriding traditional kinship structures (Mead, 2003).

'Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi' - *With your contribution, with my contribution, we will sustain the people.*

In relation to the Kaupapa Māori aim of helping Māori determine their own legitimate ways of gaining social capital, qualitative methods of data gathering have been viewed to be the most empowering, therefore recommended as the most appropriate (Moewaka Barnes, 2000). This research is not gathering quantitative data to compare Māori with the majority population or other migrant groups; but rather in-depth data in the form of prompted korerorero. I prefer 'korerorero' instead of semi-structured interviews as they did not feel like interviews - more like the sharing of stories and experiences. Where statistics will show us that disparities exist, qualitative methods are useful in determining 'why' disparities exist without having to refer or compare data to pre-existing, Western theories about how things are and should be. In this study, understanding emerges from experience, which according to Bishop (1996), is an act of empowering rangatiratanga among participants. There are many ways of collecting meaningful, rich data which respectfully portray the everyday lives of people, including visual material such as art or photos; or listening to someone's life story (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.2). In this study, narrative inquiry was used to collect deep, reflexive thoughts and feelings; as well as collaborative stories and perspectives from the in-depth conversations had (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994, p.3).

Narrative inquiry

I chose to use narrative inquiry for this study because I wanted to hear about biographical experiences of particular people, from a small population, which requires some quality, in depth discussions (Connor, 2006). Typically, this method elicits more contextual, rich data from participants than quantitative methods do (Clandinin, 2013, Wang and Geale, 2015). Narrative inquiry requires commitment from participants (and readers) not expected in quantitative research like statistical surveys (Connor, 2006). In this study, the participants wanted to volunteer their time and energy; a commitment perhaps indicative of the potential interest of other young Māori migrants – which is positive because this research aims to be of relevance and benefit to this group. All participants interviewed expressed a love for Māori culture, so I am hopeful that interest in the overall kaupapa of this research will span to participants' like-minded whānau and friends - both in Aotearoa and Australia. Interest could also extend to Māori residents and former residents of Australia; Māori in Aotearoa with whānau/friends living overseas; those interested in Māori history, or

contemporary narrative research. This research needed to capture the local Melbourne context; yet also Māori understandings and individual experience. Narrative inquiry has that capability, because both researcher and participants can relate to a shared location; and experiences based on that location (Bishop, 2008). For this reason, participants had to be living in Melbourne, not elsewhere in Australia.

This research is about documenting and understanding Māori experience as the best reflection of how things are. Narrative inquiry is a way of hearing those stories and thus understanding those experiences (Andrews, Sclater, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2004). Without this knowledge, how is anyone to know if the systems affecting Māori in Melbourne are fair, relevant, or effective? Narrative data provides knowledge that is not just necessary for Australian policy makers, health professionals and organisations to make informed decisions about what is best for Māori hauora and oranga. This knowledge, or 'record of lived stories' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 20) is especially important to Māori, in both Australia and Aotearoa, so they can make informed decisions regarding migration. Māori need to be able to access this research, so therefore it needs to be understood by Māori (Bishop, 1996). Narrative inquiry allowed both myself and participants to tell our stories in way that was representative of our understanding and communication; and encompasses the context of the current situation and environment. Thus, narrative inquiry as a method does not restrict access to research results, because the research methods are not centred around a language or context decided on by academics - but Māori themselves (Bishop, 1996, p.24). Traditionally, Māori passed on knowledge orally (commonly through storytelling), not in written form. Therefore, in keeping with Kaupapa Māori theory, narrative inquiry is an appropriate method of communication (Bishop, 1996; Roberts et al., 2004).

Methods

Ethical Considerations

  In light of the overall kaupapa, the following research considerations for best practice were addressed (Hudson, 2010). First, I ensured that multiple Māori had meaningful input in influencing the shape this study. I have the tautoko of Rawiri Wharemate, an experienced cultural advisor for the Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand, who has an invested interested in me and this research because he is my Uncle. Dr Hukarere Valentine at Massey University has been updated throughout various points in the research progress; and provided her perspective on my writing. My Aunty Bub is well connected to the Melbourne Māori community in the Western Suburbs of Melbourne, and I see her as a strong matriarch in our whānau. She has been involved in this study through her connections to the Māori church service in Altona and linking me in with that community. Aunty Bub and my cousin Angela have also assisted me in putting together my whakapapa, locating myself as Māori within the research. Jeremy Nikora was mentioned to me by a few different people at the Māori church service I went to, and has been an inspiration in terms of showing me the incredible pride, strength and resilience of the Melbourne Māori community. Jeremy also connected me to participants. Liam and Rawiri, my Te Reo tutors expressed interest in this study's kaupapa; helping with grammar and proverbs included in this research. Although not active participants, these Māori are part of what I call my 'research whānau' and are 'down with the kaupapa' in big ways.

Mā, whero mā pango, ka oti te mahi.
If everyone works together the work will be done more easily.   The colours are about the traditional kowhaiwhai patterns on the inside of the whare tūpuna

  Māori participants (including myself) and their iwi, hapū and whānau in both Australia and Aotearoa are all contributors and recipients of this research and its findings. This research benefits participants in that it's their own voices that are heard, respectfully, as they are representative of today's significant population of Māori migrants in Australia (Hudson, 2010). It benefits iwi, hapū and whānau to know the ways their culture is being maintained overseas by the younger generation. Various mechanisms were put in place to make sure participants benefited (based on a Kaupapa Māori idea of benefit) from being

involved. Participants were given a resource list at the end of their interviews with links to local Māori orgs/groups, such as kapa haka groups and Te Reo classes. Participant concerns and experiences were validated by linking these to experiences of my own; and my knowledge of previous research where applicable (Hudson, 2010). In terms of the general kaupapa, Māori will benefit, or make a small win, by retrieving space for Māori perspectives in the body of research pertaining to Māori hauora.

Hudson (2010) advises that research state how the goals and expectations of iwi and hapū were considered. Based on hearing my own uncle and aunties' enthusiasm on the topic of 'young families moving home' to Te Haroto, participants were asked how they would like to see their iwi/marae thrive (when relevant); and what situations, if any, might make them consider coming 'home'. Members of the research whānau have received updates/reports throughout the research process and were welcome and encouraged to give feedback. Thus it is not just the Western institution of University that I am reporting back to and receiving suggestions from. This project has relevance for Māori migrant hauora and the survival of Te Ao Māori and so implicates Māori everywhere. Additionally, professionals working with Māori in Australia; and those interested in research in the areas of Māori hauora may find this research insightful.

This project ensured manaakitanga specifically and practically, by offering participants kai; and more generally throughout the research more generally by making sure the focus was on Māori hauora as a whole; and that tapu and tikanga are adhered to (Hudson, 2010). Being able to recite my pepeha, mihi and a kai karakia was relevant because I was able to start a conversation about my distance learning of Te Reo; and then provide a link to the course I had completed from Melbourne. Being aware of everyday tikanga based on my upbringing was also relevant to cultural sensitivity when entering participant's kāinga, and when greeting whānau.

This study adheres to all ethical considerations as outlined in Massey University guidelines as "General Principles for Research Involving Human Participants" and the code of ethics of the New Zealand Association. To respect participants' privacy and confidentiality, no identifying information was transcribed or used in reports. Recordings were destroyed after transcription, and transcripts were destroyed on completion of the project. Participants were able to choose to provide their iwi/hapū and other identifying

details. All electronic documents were password protected and consent forms stored in a secure office in the School of Psychology. Participation was voluntary. Access to participant transcripts were limited to myself and my supervisors. The participants were advised that this research will be submitted for examination and might be published. Participants were under no obligation to accept the invitation. Participants had the right to decline to answer any particular question; withdraw from the study any time until consent was given for extracts of transcripts to be used in the report; ask any questions about the study at any time before or during participation; access their transcribed interview; ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview; and be given access to a summary of the project findings when the project concluded. Current clients of the Department of Health and Human Services were not permitted to participate, due to a conflict of interest with the place of my employment. To ensure researcher safety during interviews my whereabouts were made known, and my personal information remained private from participants. Participants were known to the researcher personally; or connected through contacts of the 'research whānau'. An information sheet (Appendix A) outlining the research, the contributions of participants, their rights and research contact details were given to those interested. An informed consent form (Appendix B) was given to willing participants.

There were nine participants, ranging from 17-27 years of age. Awhina was born and raised in Melbourne, and was the only participant who had children, also born in Australia. The other eight participants had migrated. Most migrated as young adults, except Aroha who migrated with her parents and went to school in Melbourne from about the age of nine. All participants had lived in Australia longer than three years except Manawa who had arrived less than a month before the interview. Six of the participants had parents residing in Australia. Each participant, apart from one couple, participated in separate audio recorded conversations in English (apart from the karakia and pepeha at the beginning of the interviews). Interviews where held at the participants own houses and began with kai provided by myself. Participants were prompted with the same schedule of questions (Appendix C). Participants were informed they would receive a summary of the findings once the research was completed. A guide to Māori cultural resources in Melbourne was created by the researcher and given to participants at the end of the interviews, which

included links to Te Reo Māori courses and kapa haka groups (Appendix D). This was in case the conversations prompted participants to want to connect to their culture in Melbourne.

In depth, open-ended interviews were transcribed word for word by myself afterwards. Participants had the opportunity to check the transcripts and amend them if they wanted to. Once participants had signed the transcript release form (Appendix E) Thematic Analysis was conducted using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six stages as a guide. This process involved using my own judgement to identify interesting or relevant themes in the data that related to the research aims. The first stage involved getting familiar with the data. Interviews were converted into hand written bullet points for each participant. I then grouped these bullet points into topics based on the research questions/prompts participants were asked (Appendix?). Once I was sure these bullet points were reflective of the participants voices, I started the second stage, which was coding these now anonymous bullet points into sematic themes. As a result of coding, six sub-themes emerged. With the intention of looking for themes that emerged organically, I was cautious not to let the research questions influence my judgment. To try and avoid this searching bias, I printed and cut each bullet point into individual cue-card sized pieces, and used a rather messy method of organising these into colour coded piles on the floor. After a joint review of the sub-themes with my research supervisor Professor Mandy Morgan, I grouped the subthemes into three main themes, which we named together. After a final review to make sure all themes were reflective of the participants views, I was able to write the results section that follows. The three central themes are represented by a number of sub-themes, and presented in Table 1, below.

Table 1
Themes and Sub-themes

Mauri (being Māori)	Tūrangawaewae (home)	Oranga (livelihood)
Āhua o te tangata (Appearance)	Whānau	"A better life"
Connection to culture	Place I was raised	Stigma and Discrimination
Social difference	Whānaungatanga	Wairua

Analysis

This section comprises of three chapters discussing the findings from the nine participant interviews. Across the data, three main themes emerged that portrayed how participant identities were characterised. The three central themes are represented by a number of sub-themes.

All three general themes interrelate, as do the sub-themes. This is not because the interview questions related directly to accepted aspects of Māori identity and wellbeing, such as oranga, tūrangawaewae, wairua, whanaungatanga and whānau. The strategy of using indirect questioning allowed the participants to tell their own stories. Common, overlapping themes likely emerged due to the holistic nature of Māori identity and wellbeing. The findings also show common aspects of identity that mark the influences of context and shared experiences - that is living in Melbourne and being rangatahi - and shed light on the impact migration has on those more accepted indicators of Māori identity and wellbeing. The analysis that follows will unpack how the themes interrelate from a Te Ao Māori lens. In keeping with the kaupapa of the research, the analysis will discuss the broader implications of these identity markers on the wellbeing of Māori in general.

Mauri

Nā, he mauri tō ngā pakake, he mauri tō ngā tāngata, he mauri tō ngā tuna, he mauri tō ngā manu, he mauri tō ngā ika, nā reira i mate ai ēnei mea katoa i te mākutu; *Now, whales have a mauri, people have a mauri, eels have a mauri, birds have a mauri, fish have a mauri, therefore everything can be destroyed by mākutu.* (Benton, Frame, & Meredith, 2013, p. 248).

The first key theme relates to being Māori, or the mauri of participants. Although every individual thing has a mauri, as highlighted in the whakatauki above, this analysis uses the concept of mauri to uniquely represent Māori as tangata whenua collectively. Mauri is a fundamental internal essence, but also the special quality of Māori in general. In Māoridom, a 'makutu', as mentioned above, is somewhat like a curse, that causes physical and psychological harm through the power of the inflictor. In the past, my mauri has been impacted by negative stereotypes; harm which I consider to be a form 'makutu', inflicted by a powerful dominant society.   The participants' korero on āhua o te tangata; cultural

connection; and social difference indicated that the security of their mauri too, was impacted by others' negative judgement. However, the experiences participants shared also highlighted the strength and resilience of their mauri, which is consistent with the existing discourse on the complexities of an adapting rangatahi identity in relation to ongoing colonisation processes (Te Huia, 2015; Borrell, 2005); and the historical social construction of Māori as racially different, by Pākehā with a settler agenda (Baum, 2006, p.6; Harding, 2006).

Āhua o te tangata – Appearance.

There is much research showing that negative attitudes held by Pākehā towards Māori have been longstanding (Holmes, Murachver, & Bayard, 2001); create an environment where Māori are vulnerable to discrimination (Houkamau, & Sibley 2015); and are predominantly based around stereotypical assumptions and perceptions associated with knowledge, behaviour and appearance (Houkamau, & Sibley 2010). These perceptions are not limited to pākehā, but also have resulted in false 'authenticity' beliefs among Māori (Houkamau, & Sibley 2010). For example, skin colour and hair were not associated with Māori identity in pre-colonial Aotearoa, but are sometimes perceived as such by Māori due to the social construction of identity over time (Walker, 1996, p.26). Today, it is not uncommon to hear simplistic physical descriptions of offenders within the justice system and the media as 'Caucasian' or as having a 'dark complexion' which can help in the construction of stereotypical judgements about ethnic groups in our society (Callister, 2008). As mentioned, Aotearoa's colonial history of describing and measuring individuals on perceived racial characteristics, rather than their cultural affiliation was not accidental. Up until 1986, an individual's race, or biological genetic make-up was measured to determine national population statistics (Waikerepuru, 1986). Although stereotypical perceptions about how a Māori should typically look were felt by the majority of participants, the findings suggest they were also self-aware that having mauri was about internal qualities, such as having a collective agenda; whenua connection; mātauranga Māori and wairua.

Participants told stories about significant events, specific on-going settings, and experiences within the whānau where stereotypical judgement of appearance, particularly skin colour, was felt and how this impacted their sense of belonging and acceptance; and related participation in Māori society whilst living in Aotearoa.

> *HINEMOA: It's sad that our skin colour dictates how people think about that (acceptance) though. Like, just because you're a white Māori, people don't think your Māori enough or whatever … I'm by far the whitest out of my sisters…my sisters and I are a lot more light skinned than a lot of my cousins. At my papa's tangi, there were much more dark skinned Māori that were there. So, when I turned up from work, I was wearing like, corporate clothes and make up … I felt like people were looking at me going who the f**k is this? And that's my papa! I actually knew him! I just felt like people were looking at me like, "who is that white girl?".*

> *KAHURANGI: Yeah, so I'm white. And I didn't really fit in there (Māori school). That's why I only lasted six months…*

> *ERANA: My father, because he's white … he just felt always on the outside…he never really embraced the (Māori) culture, and he never really carried it on to teach me.*

In the following examples, participants describe general situations in Melbourne where judgment of their appearance had impacted their sense of belonging and acceptance, challenging their Māori identity. Yet, these challenges do not undermine their strong sense of Māori identity and connectedness to their culture.

> *AROHA: With my (competitive sports team), there was no other Pacific Islanders there, I was the darkest coloured kid there … I would go to their houses and I would try and adapt…I've had to move clubs…I couldn't connect with any of my mates…*

> *TANE: I get a lot of negative responses (from non-Māori in Melbourne) … I think people are worried about what they don't know. Like I think I frighten a lot of people … because of my appearance, I'm judged really quickly here. But I'm the nicest guy out, you know!*

Participants were often confronted with stereotypical assumptions of what Māori look like; and spoke about the inaccuracy and disconnect of these assumptions; and the complexities of being of mixed ethnicities.

> *AROHA: People, they do that guessing one – are you Samoan? I'm like no. It doesn't offend me … nah yeah it kinda does, haha … it's kinda like, if you go up to a Japanese person, oh are you Chinese? I been getting the crazy ones … are you Mexican, are you*

Puerto Rican? ... and when I say I'm Māori - they say what's that? I've kinda adapted it to "I'm indigenous to New Zealand" and they're like "oh OK!"

MANAWA: I've got strait dark hair and blue eyes so ... they (customers in Melbourne) go "What are you? What's your background? What's your lineage?" I make everyone guess and no one ever guesses I'm Māori. Well I'm not really, I'm Tahitian! My dad was very dark - he was full Tahitian. I get Egyptian, Greek, African. If I don't go in the sun, then my skin is quite fair too. So ... it can be hard to tell - but I have big lips and a big nose. So "what am I?" When I say I'm from New Zealand, people are like "oh your Māori, sure". So, I don't think there's anything particularly Māori about me, except for the feeling that I have inside and the knowledge that I am me.

AWHINA: I've always been asked "where are you from" just because of the way I look, 'coz no can figure it out. I don't look Māori ... some (think I) do ... but then others are like "where are you from?" and I tell them and they are like, "really? you don't look Māori at all!" But it's mixed.

WIREMU: I am a throwback, so like all my first cousins and brothers and sisters are white. I always   get that I look South American, and they're like "so what were you doing in New Zealand?". And I'm like, "I'm from there, I'm actually from there". My heritage is Māori and Scottish, and they're like "so what is Māori?" I'm like "the native people". And then you have to break it down for them!

In these examples, the confusion, curiosity and ignorance around appearance and indigenous New Zealand were the assumptions of non-Māori in Australia – not Pākehā in Aotearoa, which reflects the different social context where being Māori is not taken-for-granted. The following participants spoke explicitly of their experiences with variables that socially constructed their cultural identity, namely, being raised outside of Aotearoa and the process of whangai.

AWHINA: I've always felt not Māori enough, ... but I was very aware it was because I just didn't know. I always knew I could do something about it, or somehow it's out there ... yeah I've always felt that way, I mean how do you not feel that way when like, I mean, we're first cousins but you know everything and I don't know anything ...

I had younger cousins that are fluent (reo speakers). So … it was just the fact … I grew up here (Australia) was the reason why

MERE: … 'coz I'm adopted, I found out actually this year, that I'm not biologically Māori. I'm Tahitian, Rarotongan and Samoan. But listen, spiritually, I'm Māori to the bone … People can be whāgai from another culture...you don't have to 'be' Māori to 'be Māori'… and you don't have to discard one aspect of yourself to be more Māori. What you should be doing is embracing all aspects of yourself, and Māori, you know? … you don't have to prove it to people.

These participants concluded that being Māori was more about 'nature' over 'nurture'. Awhina argued that her cousins may have had privileged access to Te Ao Māori in Aotearoa, but living in Melbourne had not removed her mauri. Mere argued that biological appearance had nothing to do with internal mauri, evident in the realisation she had been adopted from non-Māori birth parents.

In the following examples, participants describe general situations in which their appearance elicited a specific response which challenged their Māori identity. Yet, these challenges do not undermine their strong sense of mauri.

MERE: I definitely own blackness in my music, but not Māori specifically. For people of colour right now. I don't wanna exclude any race … I describe myself as black. The first nations here describe themselves as black … people say I'm not black, but I'm like, yes I f**king am.

ERANA: I've had aunties and stuff and come up to me and they're like "because you're white, do you feel like you're not Māori?" and like "do people give you sh*t for being white?" Well yeah. But then I also just speak true from the heart about what's important … and that's reflected in my connection with the land … and you know, knowledge of all the philosophical meanings of Māori culture …

HINEMOA: Well I am Māori, but going somewhere like that (a predominantly Māori neighbourhood), they (Māori girls) would look at me as a white girl and wanna beat me up … just because they think I'm white. And I'm like "I am Māori!"… They think I have white privilege.

Common experiences of being on the receiving end of others' stereotypical assumptions implied that young Māori have to learn to be self-aware; resilient; patient and tolerant of ignorance. Without these qualities, young Māori migrants are at risk of detaching from their culture. Although participants faced similar struggles living in both Australia and Aotearoa, the next set of findings highlight unique challenges for rangatahi living in Melbourne; and their strength in maintaining culture through adversity.

Connection to Culture

Young Māori in Melbourne face additional challenges in accessing their culture than rangatahi in Aotearoa. For example, Māori in urban Aotearoa living away from their ancestral tūrangawaewae or whānau might have still have access to tikanga and reo within their workplace, education setting and peer groups. In Aotearoa, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is the founding document that guides relationships between Māori and pākehā. Because of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori participate in the legislation, policy, research, decisions and issues that affect their wellbeing to perhaps a greater extent than other colonised indigenous peoples in societies like Australia, where relationships are not guided by such a document. Being bound by Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles of partnership, participation, protection aims to enable cultural safety for tangata whenua, by making space for Māori involvement in a predominantly Pākehā Aotearoa society (Harmsworth, 2005). Psychologists and other health professionals in Aotearoa have an obligation to understand Māori identity collectively in order to implement interventions that foster Māori development as a whole. When Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed, the Māori population in Aotearoa were dominant, so the population demographics would have been far less bi-cultural. Today, most Māori also have a Pākehā side to their identity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013); and many are scattered globally. The findings of this research suggest that young Māori migrants have a strong cultural identity that has endured the dominance of Pākehā culture. Most participants had an established relationship to an ancestral geographical location in Aotearoa (or environmental characteristics of that location) and unique set of values, beliefs and knowledge that stemmed from a Māori world view. Those that felt less connected than others expressed a desire to connect more to their culture. Participants were mostly united in the kaupapa of Māori advancement, evident in their acknowledgment or concern regarding generational loss of cultural aspects of life.

The following excerpts show what being connected to culture means to these participants. Most participants spoke about the importance of returning 'home' to Aotearoa regularly in order to re-connect.

> *AWHINA: I guess here (Melbourne) it's just spaced out a lot … growing up, it's not Te Ao Māori. But we go there (Aotearoa) and that's all we do. Especially coz we have travelled, they look after us, and it's always like, a big thing. And the cousins come and then we all stay over…everyone just stays in one house - and that is what I don't wanna leave. And even now, especially with my son, we take him and I can see him running around no shoes on, and being so free with his whānau … And now that I'm more involved … it's a must - we have to go back at some point … but, definitely, I need to because there's a part of us that … need to (go back) just to experience being on the marae. Having roles.*

> *HINEMOA: … I can see your (interviewer) Dad is really connected, from the amount of times he goes back to New Zealand … he's (Māori) partner the same.*

Some participants spoke about connecting to their culture through maintaining tikanga in Melbourne.

> *AROHA: I think mum you know, making us do karakia before we eat … I'm reading Māori myths mum's grandmother left …*

> *AWHINA: I pretty much live everyday as kaupapa Māori. Um so we run out Mau raku group. We run kapa haka … learning Te Reo on Saturdays … there is kid's kapa haka every fortnight, there is kohanga … there's a lot of work to be done, so 90% majority of my time is spent doing that.*

> *WIREMU: here in this (Melbourne) house, we almost share everything, just because it's easier - it's just the way I've always grown up, like, food … it's not so precious, its more about sharing … Or like … the first thing that's offered to you is whether you want a cup of tea.*

One participant spoke about how living in Aotearoa, within a Māori social context, had given her a lens to see that world that had shaped her professional career in Melbourne.

> *MERE: It's (going to a Māori school) changed my life and like, even shapes my art today … and my music as well … You know I think without waiata, I would not have learned as much Māori as I did.*

Most participants mentioned Māori-specific kai as an important way they connected to their culture in Melbourne, or as something they miss about life in Aotearoa.

> *ERANA: The foods definitely it (cause of being homesick)! We made boil up the other night, it was yum as.*

> *AROHA: … my papa used to pull the weeds out and put it in (the boil up).*

> *WIREMU: Um, our boss asked us if we could make a hāngi dish at work the other day…I don't think he understands the idea of what a hāngi is … it needs to be steamed in the earth!*

> *MANAWA: … man, back home we do it (pudding) in a coffee tin and bury it in the ground with the food bro… he (Australian chef) was like "that sounds epic". And I was like "yeah".*

> *WIREMU: … you've got no idea … doh boys, kūmara, puha, I miss all these things.*

> *MERE: … we will go to (Melbourne market) and get some watercress and have a boil up.*

Whilst regular visits to Aotearoa; Māori kai; and tikanga within the home and community helped participants maintain established cultural connections, not all aspects of a Māori identity were established in Aotearoa. Some participants' spoke of their desire to connect to Te Reo Māori, both in Aotearoa and Australia. They considered Te Reo Māori a critically important aspect of cultural identity, but self-identified this dimension of culture as lacking in their lives.

> *ERANA: I think it's important to feel connected to your culture by speaking the language, um it's (Te Reo Māori) also really beautiful langue, you can say a lot in that langue you can't say in English…it was also nice for us mokos to come on through (to the marae) … Unfortunately, I had to do my speech in English, coz my Te Reo skills are not up to date!*

MERE: I like telling people the idioms I remember - like 'ka mau te wehi' means awesome and stuff like that. But yeah, if I had someone to speak with in my everyday life I would be so grateful…that's why it's (reo survival) important! There are words in this language that describe only a sentence in English can describe…like 'mana'… there is a word that describes what the last glimmer of light is on a surface of water just before the sunsets - one word! Why would you wana loose a word that describes that!

MANAWA: … at the front line at a powhiri, someone pointed at me to mihi … and I was like nope, nope, not me, not me! And it's just a bit shame I reckon.

TANE: I really do wanna learn Te Reo Māori. I know a little bit, but If I leant fluent Te Reo Māori, I'd blow my dad away eh.

WIREMU: …he (Uber driver) was talking to me in Māori…wishing me the best…I could make out what it was but I couldn't do the same, and I was like really embarrassed…

Those participants who had a base knowledge, or were learning Te Reo Māori were significantly impacted by the difficulty of finding a social context in which Te Reo Māori was relevant in Melbourne - a hurdle to everyday language use which enables or maintains fluency.

AROHA: I used to be fluent in Māori when I came here (Melbourne) eight years ago…I remember for like a year or two I was really conflicted because I almost wasn't able to recite my pepeha and I had almost lost it … I had to kinda rethink it, and I found some old newspapers in Māori … I was like oh I remember this word … and then mum was like "we need to take you home".

ERANA: It's harder (to learn) coz you're not surrounded by people who can speak it (Te Reo Māori).

KAHURANGI: Yeah (Te Reo Māori is important) … but I mean, not here (Melbourne). Because like, I wouldn't have anyone to talk to … I think I would like to teach (my children) the simple stuff… like even when we had New Zealand kids come into the (workplace), I'd be like "where's your puku?" and all that kind of stuff - just to keep it.

Living in Melbourne offered a range of difficulties that challenged cultural connections. For Aroha, it was not just the chance to use Te Reo Māori with others that she felt as a loss in Melbourne. She found it difficult not being among familiar, more tangible aspects that come with living in a Māori community. Being surrounded by whānau was critically important.

> *AROHA: … I kinda have lost my Māori, or … the life of being a Māori … you have to go back home, you gotta be in the community … in the situation … in a town where there's heaps of bakeries, heaps of nannies, heaps of aunties, uncles - and there's gotta be that communication…*

Mere spoke about the tangible aspect of shared resources; the norm when living with people who share a Māori world view. She acknowledged more infrequent collective resource distribution in Pākehā communities.

> *MERE: if you are living in a community with people who don't share those values...then you can't share your kai. Because they don't understand! That is not a set of values that is common … If you are lucky enough to live in a share house where everyone respects each other's needs, and what they can bring - like everyone is on a different wage… that manakitanga is something that can exist outside of Māori culture as well … it can exist in some Pākehā communities … but it's not a common Pākehā thing.*

Awhina felt the alienation of not being able to take 'being Māori' for granted in the way that would be possible in the kind of Māori households or communities that Aroha and Mere spoke about.

> *AWHINA: … my perception (of Māori culture) has definitely changed, my understanding growing older … I always knew I was Māori and I never had a problem with it...but it very quickly became a tense thing because I didn't understand what it meant to be Māori. I mean … people start asking you where you're from, or "so speak your language then!" … but no one (in Melbourne) is ever satisfied with "I'm Māori".*

Mere missed the social acceptance of Māori customs in Aotearoa.

> *MERE: I'm homesick for the customs and stuff sometimes. I'm homesick for the waiata. I put on waiata all the time … Nō te Hōhonutanga is probably my go to.*

Manawa spoke about their perception of Melbourne as a 'cosmopolitan' city, where the specificities of culture felt irrelevant; and realised that being a young Māori is not as significant, or taken-for-granted as perhaps the city in Aotearoa where he came from.

> *MANAWA: Melbourne being a big city, there is like a lack of any kinda culture … the buzz that I've got, we haven't been here long … but I haven't seen much of a Melbourne culture yet … it feels really neutral … even like telling people I'm from New Zealand, let alone Māori, they're just sorta like "oh yip"…*

Seeing whānau regularly was mentioned as another taken-for-granted aspect of living in Aotearoa. A challenge of living in Melbourne was travel distance to whānau. Mere migrated with her whānau from a smaller town in Aotearoa, and could not keep up the same, regular contact.

> *MERE: now they (migrant parents) live far way, and I don't have a car!… it's like a two-hour train ride!*

Tane also spoke about the difficulties of keeping contact with whānau, specifically around getting work leave granted to return to Aotearoa. Tane spoke about returning to Aotearoa more often than Pākehā peers who had also migrated to Melbourne, for whānau obligations and to remedy homesickness.

> TANE: *Christmas, any holidays. Anytime I can, I go…any excuse. Once, like for a holiday - but if a tangi comes up, then I'm going for that as well… I lost my last job going back… he (employer) even said "you kiwi c***s are all the f***ing same. Take, take, take everything…"*

Not all participants flew back to Aotearoa as often as Tane for whānau obligations. Most participants spoke about online contact with the wider whānau. Manawa found this a challenge with some of his older whānau members in Aotearoa who lacked online social etiquette.

> *MANAWA: because some of them, the whānau back home, suck at using Facebook as well. I got one uncle constantly sending me like, chain letters … "make sure you don't*

use this person, they're a fake hacker", and it's like "Uncle I'm not doing any of those things, you don't need to keep messaging me, man" ... like "post this thing on your wall so I know that you support this". Bro!

Generational culture differences among Māori were spoken about by almost all participants. Elders were perceived as experts on Tikanga Māori or 'the old ways'; and viewed as kaitiaki or tohunga.

KAHURANGI: because she (nan) grew up more in it (Te Ao Māori), she's more Māori …

ERANA: … they (older Māori) know the old ways a lot more…it's bred into them because of their environment…they've constantly had it around… everything that they do is, like the Māori cultural way of doing things…

MERE: they (elders) are preserving culture… you gotta listen and then go 'I'm doing it wrong'… like, to get it right …

MANAWA: … they (elders) just got it more directly passed down to them and whereas I would have just got bits and pieces thru going to tangis and having to try and fit in at the marae … and without it actually being a permanent part of my culture, you know? ...

Participants spoke about a necessity to be fully immersed in Māori culture. Being culturally competent was perceived to be dependent on living in Aotearoa; but specifically connected to one's ancestral tūrangawewae and whānau so that cultural knowledge could be learned from elders.

TANE: now days it's harder to come across Māori stuff, like learning it. But back in the old days, it was passed on. You know, it was kind of like a rule, to wake up and learn a bit of Māori culture … now days, they (kids) will wake up … he's off to his bros, then they'll go have a session (substance use). The parents aren't pushing it (Māori culture) on. It's just been lost slowly. But not all Māori...my family back home (ancestral tūrangawaewae), they are still keeping it Māori 100%.

WIREMU: he (cousin) grew up there (ancestral tūrangawaewae), he's younger than me, but he is more ingrained and he knows more than any of us - because he grew up

> *in that kind of lifestyle… you have to be involved to some extent… it needs to be part of your everyday life, to be really carried on, so to speak.*

> *MERE: I grew up in a very Westernised kinda setting … like we didn't speak Māori, and we didn't really even talk much about it … the extended family didn't really live close by … we didn't have whānau around as much as you know, a lot of Māori families do … so when we did go to the marae, and when there was a tangi or when I started (Māori school name), there was a lot of customs I wasn't familiar with …*

The perceived generational gap in culture, and relatedly, being able to live by a kaupapa Māori philosophy were of concern to participants. Erana felt the responsibility to make positive cultural change in Aotearoa, but acknowledged the need for this change to occur in Australia also.

> *ERANA: it's (loss of culture) like a generation gap. I really wish it wasn't, it may hopefully take a flip and come back again…when I see people who have stayed at home (Aotearoa), and they're doing something important, for like, the system or the country…changing it up, it makes me really homesick, and like "ugh, I need to go home and contribute" … but … you could definitely help others (Māori) here … coz there is a lot of 'Mossies' being created now.*

Worry about the generational gap was enough motivation for Hinemoa and Tane to want to return to Aotearoa.

> *TANE: another reason to why I wanna go home, because like, my Dad and them, they're still doing everything now, but I'm worried about our generation.*

> *HINEMOA: … they (older Māori) are just more connected … back in the day, it was the normal thing to have that (tikanga) passed on….I have the same concern… I'm lucky, I've got staunch, really intense Māori leadership on both sides of my family … I know I have all these strong elders around me, but I think living over here, we are not around them much … that's why we wanna go home …*

Aroha concern around the generational loss of Te Reo Māori, and the responsibility for its survival was specifically mentioned as a priority to Awhina, Manawa and Wiremu.

AWHINA: I was already robbed of it (Te Reo Māori), so why would I do it to him (son)?

MANAWA: full immersion (kura kaupapa) needs to happen and needs to open up, coz I know in some places if it's not getting taught at home then there's no point kids being at kohunga - like Pākehā kids getting turned away just because their parents can't korero and it's just like f**k nah, it needs to be everybody!

WIREMU: It (Te Reo Māori) was very much lost for myself and people of the same age group around me. I went to kohunga as a little kid until about the age of 5-6, and then I went to primary school and then the language was lost, as they didn't teach it… the only sort of acknowledgement to the language growing up through primary and high school was kapa haka… Um, and it sucks that it dies out, coz if it's useful and relevant, then cool you gunna wanna learn it. If you're gunna get a job, then cool awesome. But I felt like that the relevancy wasn't there, or being proud of it wasn't there. if we don't use it, it will be lost, and like what a culture without a language… I don't want mine (future children) to go to school and have to learn one thing, and then come home and have to speak English… yeah, I have to learn, I've been looking at it, yeah (reo courses).

The responsibility felt was not only at an individual level. Participants felt Te Reo Māori had been 'robbed', 'lost' or excluded from Māori at the hand of social processes. Kahurangi and Hinemoa spoke about the Australian socio-cultural context in regard to the first nations peoples, and how the political climate made them feel less inclined to express their own indigenous Māori culture, including Te Reo Māori.

KAHURANGI: … in school (Aotearoa), it's kinda compulsory learning Māori, but over here there's no language that you can learn! So, growing up you kinda have another language to get into that culture… you don't learn aboriginal over here - or anything

HINEMOA: … I think that's why we don't feel connected to our people here, because there is no culture - well I don't find there to be any culture in Australia, and the culture they DO have, the indigenous culture, they completely oppress it! …. yeah like "get out of my country", kinda thing.

Overall, participants embraced their unique Māori world view, despite the majority being of mixed ethnic decent; and residing in predominantly Pākehā societies for most of their lives. All participants acknowledged they were united in the kaupapa of retaining connections to Māori culture for the benefit of all Māori. The implications of retaining a Māori identity in the social context of Melbourne is discussed further in the next subtheme.

Social difference

The meaning of tangata whenua is 'people of the land'. Māori are separated from all other peoples by the fact that they are the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Tikanga commands that Māori behave and think in ways that ensure our land is respected (Harmsworth, & Awatere, 2013). Because of this connection to land, Māori act in ways that are culturally unique. This last sub-theme emerged as a branch from the main theme 'mauri' as many participants felt their internal essence was expressed in ways that were 'socially different' to non-Māori. In addition to kaitiakitanga as part of their identity; participants mentioned exhibiting respectful social behaviour; emphasizing whānau roles; and possessing māoritanga as collectively characteristic of 'Māori'. Despite having multiple ethnicities, and behaving in ways that adhere to dominant non-Māori societal norms a lot of the time, a strong pride in Māori identity was consistent in the findings. This is a common phenomenon among other cultural minority groups; and pride has been a catalyst for revitalisation movements against inequality (Phinney, 1990). Māoritanga is relevant to this sub-theme, as personal pride, and other self-conscious emotions, affect social behaviour (Lewis, 2008). Participants spoke about social respect, which they considered to be Māori specific. Indeed, traditional Māori social structures revolved around having roles and strong relationships with each other, something that is lacking in a patriarchal, Pākehā culture that maintains a nuclear family norm (Mikaere, 1994). The following excerpt perhaps sums up this subtheme best:

> ERANA: I think all of us, anyone that kinda comes from a traditional culture…that understands that their gods come from the land, skies and all natural elements as opposed to a book…they kind of have that ingrained sense of family and community … 'coz we are all going for that common goal.

The 'ingrained sense of family and community' that Erana mentions was for some participants, centred around traditional roles that were most apparent on the marae.

> MANAWA: that sense of whānau…like at a tangi you know, everyone's got their roles, and everyone works together so that everyone has kai on the dinner table…then when that's all done, everybody gets in the kitchen and does the dishes, and there's no talking about it, you just do it. Those sorts of things don't really happen here (among non-Māori) you know?

> TANE: if your whānau is really Māori orientated like mine … everything was at the marae. Every second week for something…tangi or a meeting … Like, I don't know the language, but I know everything else…what I shouldn't do. And that's not even (explicitly) taught though, that's just growing up.

For Aroha, her sense of whānau and the traditional community roles she had been raised amongst dictated her social behaviour outside of the marae in Melbourne.

> AROHA: … that I'm able to connect with (peer's) parents, or like their aunties and uncles. Whenever I go to someone's house…people are outside partying or something, but I go straight to the mums, aunties or uncles and go "hi, my name is … thank you for having me…." um and if there's dishes…No offence, but if I were to grow up here I don't think I would be able to understand how to be humble, or to respect the older generation.

Erana spoke about a sense of whānau keeping her 'grounded' and focused on the 'important' aspects of life, and 'correct' ways of living. She mentions taken-for-granted social etiquette around kai, to prioritising 'simplicity' in guiding her focus on the important aspects of life.

> ERANA: it's like um a grounded-ness of knowing who you are and having morals in values set in place and just being taught what's important and what's right in life. I feel like there is a lot of Australian people - like friends and co-workers and stuff - that haven't had that instilled… like even eating, just waiting, instead of just jumping in... being respectful… common decencies…I just also think it's the simplicity of things.

I think we get over-worked here. In general, I think in Western society, people overthink everything.

Like Erana, who compared Māori 'simplicity' to 'Western society', the following participants were guided by kaitiakitanga in their actions; and compared their social behaviour with non-Māori.

HINEMOA: Yeah, it (land) takes care of us. And we take care of it … when we take kai moana from the sea, the first bit we catch we throw back, because we respect our land and the earth … like it (tikanga) is really sophisticated in that sense … and there is no point arguing (with pākehā) about respect for our land … for instance, our water, it's sacred to us. But they come in and they sell our water, like it's nothing, you know.

TANE: We always say a prayer before we go out diving, and thank Tangaroa … that is what separates us (Māori) from everyone else. I get angry, like, we (Māori) are different, and I dunno, there is not that much respect from more Pākehā people. Like they'll go to the seas and raid everything and take everything … and sell it …

Social difference is how some participants compared those they deemed to be 'real' or 'actual' Māori; in other words, how they differentiated between Māori who live closely to conventional cultural values and those who do not.

AROHA: I think it's sad, it's all I see on the news … and especially where I work, I see all these Pacific Islander kids, you know, doing some stupid stuff, and you know, you can't call yourself a 'real' Māori, 'coz Māoris wouldn't do that.

TANE: so, it's hard to answer for all Māori because there are two different types. Scumbags and the real ones who have mana. I call those ones 'Māoris' (Pākehā accent) and real ones Māori. I hate those ones, they are giving us a bad name. You are making the Pākehā think we all like that! … They don't have anything to be proud of and represent.

AWHINA: …we'd travel to someone's tangi or wedding or something and everyone's speaking Māori and just being 'actual' Māori - what I would call 'real' Māoris. And I couldn't ever participate … I felt really disconnected. So, when I was old enough, a

> *few opportunities came about ... I slowly started to make my own decisions and go to kapa haka; or ring my aunty and go "hey so, um say some Māori things to me".*

Tane felt that physical discipline contributed to the positive characteristics of a 'real' Māori. However, as Tane spoke, he reflected on the 'bad stuff' that he viewed as influencing Māori being more 'violence prone' in Aotearoa than in Australia.

> *TANE: … It's the discipline you get growing up as Māori too. It's much more strict. If you lie - it's a hiding. Over here, say a 'Mozzie', I don't think it's like that. You can tell the ones who are from New Zealand, like a 'real' Māori, to the ones that are raised here. Ones back home are much more violence prone … but it's all the bad shit you do as a young Māori boy too. Like, when I came to Australia, it was like I knew street sh*t. And violence. And those 'Mozzies' would be like "why is this dude like that"? … Wherever there's other Māoris from back home, I know the ones where something could kick off really fast with. It's an eye contact sort of thing … it's a look they will give back, and it means like, I'm keen (to fight). And the Māoris over here (Melbourne), they just keep their heads down... It's hard to explain, but that's just how Māori back home are from day one. Like really violence prone...*

Erana also felt that being in Australia changes the social behaviour of Māori, but spoke about the change that occurs to adults once they migrate.

> *ERANA: …because we go away from our family and our community, to go find the mahi and the money, we kinda forget how important that (whānau connection) is, and that is quite confronting… now are putting money and possessions first…we choose to be away from them (whānau) and they can't share their knowledge with us.*

Despite making observations and inferences about the authenticity of Māori behaviour, a pride in being Māori was apparent among all participants. The following examples show a sense of pride in the differences that they saw as unique to Māori.

> *MANAWA: … coming here, I just feel proud. You know … like a little low-key secret. I got a culture back home that's like me, you know.*
>
> *WIREMU: I was actually awarded Māori boy of the year at my final year at college.*

> *WIREMU: F**k, I come from this place! This is what they (ancestors) were up to! I stand by that! These c**s were awesome! I'm grateful and proud that I come from these people, you know?*

Relevant to Māoritanga, participants made direct comparisons between Pākehā and Māori ways of doing things, highlighting the later in a more positive light.

> *MERE: … when my mum passed away, I sat beside her open casket at night. And my grandma too. And the catharsis within those processes … you know, at night, you are taken by sadness, and you have to cry and f**king let it go, and people wake up and they hold you, and you move through it together. You have three days where you can really feel it, and there's no shame in looking bad … in crying with snot running down your face. And everyone cooks for each other and does the dishes for each other - this beautiful manaakitanga and the ability to be emotionally free. And then you've got a Pākehā funeral where someone's put in a f**king draw! A refrigerator draw! And then taken out and put make-up on … you look in the coffin and then they put the lid on and you go and eat f**king club sandwiches. Like, Māori, you go to the grave and the men bury it while the women sing…to the last shovel of dirt, everyone's there. It's not like "oh I'll shove a handful of dirt and then walk away and a digger will finish it" - it's like really embracing the opportunity to say goodbye.*

> *MANAWA: those small things, like sharing food … like, I notice some of my Pākehā friends are real stingy …*

> *WIREMU: I don't really feel like there's an English culture at all … I mean we are all very common and do the same things, but what sets us apart? Being Māori, and having that language and being able to distinguish ourselves like that.*

Cultural ceremonies, naturally sharing resources like kai, and speaking a unique language were social differences that Mere, Manawa and Wiremu considered distinguishing factors of a positive Māori identity. Participants shed light on the reactions of non-Māori Australian to these social behavioural differences.

> *AWHINA: … most of what they see is different … the language, our preforming...positive (reactions) most of it, "I wish I had a culture like that"… when*

my mum passed away, we obviously had a tangi … for a lot of my friends, it was their first experience at a tangi. Just even the simple things, like staying the night, the fact that we hold them … at first of course they were like "that's weird", which is cool, I was like "I know! Fair enough". But then they stuck round for our family, and by the end of it they were like, "that is just mind blowing". They felt they wanted to do it that way.

AROHA: I'll say "oh, I'll just leave my shoes here"... and they're like "oh no, no, no what's wrong?"

Participants often made bi-cultural comparisons between their own Pākehā families and Māori whānau to explain differences in social behaviour.

HINEMOA: I distinctly remember us (whānau) having Māori church at families' houses once a month, and all of my mum's family getting together … and also whenever there was a tangi or anything like that, all the family where around. It was important because all my life, I've always known no matter what happens to me, I've always got my family…they would take care of me even if they had nothing…I feel that's a real Māori thing, because my dad's white family are not like that … they're still really loving and great, but not in the same way that my Māori family is.

TANE: … my Dad's family is full Māori, everything to the bone. And then I've got my mum's side, which is Rarotongan and pākehā, but they're more Pākehā than Rarotongan … And as a kid, going to (ancestral tūrangawaewae) where all my Māori family are, we kick back, relax…it felt much more welcoming, crash at aunties on the couch - sweet as! Have a feed and help yourself. Whereas, the other side (of the family) … it was very confusing as a kid. Like, why is it like that at this auntie's house, but so different at that aunties house? And it just makes me really appreciate, f**k I'm glad I've got a Māori side to me.

Participants who grew up in Aotearoa felt they were socially different to those who were raised, or spent a long time in Australia. The following examples highlight how the influence of Māori social relationships can shape one's world view and influence lifestyle priorities, socialising, and whānau support.

ERANA: I think we had a lot of influence, fortunately, from our grandparents which taught us a lot of the old ways and kinda of connected us to the land… I don't think they (Australian raised Māori) would necessarily have that influence here, their grandparents might be like "you need to become a doc or a lawyer"- just different perspectives and priorities. In New Zealand, you go back home (ancestral tūrangawaewae) and you go back to those old ways … but in the modern world, away from there, you can forget to use your culture in every-day life.

HINEMOA: back home, it's (socialising) similar, sharing the same music etc. But it's f**king cooler though, 'coz you know these people. You feel like you're surrounded by your people.

TANE: We were like best cousins. So, when I came over here (Aussie) it was like me, and him and all his mates … And then I learnt he wasn't the same boy I grew up with. He was 'Aussiefied' in a way. Aussiefied - like lost all his … mana - all the things that made him Māori that he used to have. And was on the piss, no respect for women, just slept with everything. That lifestyle … I hated it. Seriously. I was learning like a whole new type of life. I copped shit for how different I was. My accent. Just the way I was. I didn't click with them … in New Zealand, I had a totally different life.

The one participant who was born in Australia did not feel that she was lacking in strong cultural guidance, mana, cultural familiarity, or whānau support. In fact, she made a critical reflection on the potentially harder struggles faced by Māori in Aotearoa who were disconnected from their culture. She also noted the potential for culturally connected Māori to feel disconnected from Te Ao pākehā.

AWHINA: though we didn't grow up there (Aotearoa) ... we went back there pretty much every year … so it's not like this foreign land. And I'm still aware of how they (Māori whānau) lived, and you know, I've always been able to tell the differences … it just wasn't necessarily better for my cousins growing up there who are Māori. So, some cousins, they are Māori, but they didn't know where they were from…You know, they didn't speak, they couldn't ... and it's kind of just as bad or worse being in the country (Aotearoa) and not knowing … similar struggles … if my son was to grow up there (Aotearoa), he'd being going straight to kura kaupapa. But I don't know

what that would mean for him … some of my cousins (that grew up in Aotearoa) they wish they had been immersed in Te Ao pākehā! Because they couldn't operate – they moved to the city and it was a culture shock … but then … you know, they also saw how disconnected we were in just simple things, like the fact that we couldn't cook half the meals they could cook.

Most participants described feelings or experiences where others had judged or responded to them in a way that was influenced by their stereotypical perceptions of a 'Māori appearance'. These responses had impacted some participants' sense of belonging, acceptance and participation in both Māori and Pākehā society whilst living in Aotearoa and Melbourne. Some participants spoke about the inaccuracy of ethnic stereotypes based on their own lived experiences of mixed heritage. Many felt that ignorance around appearance and Māori culture in general was more apparent in Australia, where being Māori was not the norm. Despite the challenges, an overall self-awareness that internal qualities constitute a Māori identity was evident. Participants spoke about the events, settings and people that had socially constructed their identities; implying a secure Māori identity can be nurtured as opposed to being dependant on living in Aotearoa or their biology. This self-awareness fostered resilience to cultural disconnection; and tolerance of ignorance to participants experiencing additional adversity to those in Aotearoa where being Māori is taken-for-granted. Challenges mentioned were the irrelevancy of Te Reo Māori; lack of whanaungatanga; distance to whānau; homesickness; and societal acceptance of tikanga and customs. Most participants felt they would have to be living in Aotearoa near their whānau (specifically the elders) and ancestral tūrangawaewae to become culturally competent in matauranga Māori; and live true to kaupapa Māori values. However, participants generally felt that their own strong sense of whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga was due to being raised around marae with traditional whānau roles; and distinguished how they behave socially. Social comparisons between pākahā and Māori also revolved around relationships primarily not geographical location. Living by a kaupapa Māori philosophy was how some participants conceptualised being a 'real' Māori. The desire to be 'real' was expressed with pride in being Māori, stories of regularly returning to Aotearoa to reconnect; and efforts to maintain their Māori world view in Melbourne. Being raised in Aotearoa was spoken about as being crucial in the construction, maintenance and reproduction of a

collective Māori identity, yet a collective Māori *migrant* identity appeared to be based on internal and relational qualities. The next subtheme that emerged relates to participant perceptions on the meaning of 'home', and also suggests that this is less about geographical location and more about relationships.

Tūrangawaewae

E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea. *I will never be lost, for I am a seed sown in Rangiātea.*

Rangiātea is considered by Māori to be ancient homeland, where all tangata whenua first migrated from. This ancient whakataukī relates to the second main theme that emerged from the findings, tūrangawaewae, and is an old proverb meant to encourage the return of tangata whenua to their ancestral rohe, so that people can flourish among their collective.   As a secure Māori identity is connected closely to a specific geographical location associated with iwi, hapu, whānau; it is also about feeling connected to the land of Aotearoa in general, as Papatūānuku (earth mother) is an ancestor to all Māori. Tūrangawaewae is more about kaitaikiatanga rather than ancestral ownership (Edwards, 2009). Also, although a person is connected to their tūrangawaewae through whakapapa, the concept also suggests a foundational place that one can positively connect to as a 'home' base. As the above whakataukī suggests, a person's tūrangawaewae is the best place for them to develop. In light of this explanation, and the context of the research, the term tūrangawaewae[10] was not strictly used in relation to participants' rohe, but rather the participant's personal idea of 'home'. This research acknowledges that young Māori migrants may have fragmented whakapapa; or little knowledge of their ancestral tūrangawaewae. A more flexible use of the term meant those who are not as connected to where their ancestors come from would not be excluded from the thematic analysis. The sub-themes that emerged, 'whānau', 'place I was raised', and 'whanaungatanga' reflected participants non-traditional sense of their tūrangawaewae. However, the hope for this research outcome is that participants will feel inspired to seek a deeper understanding of their ancestral home.

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[10] When referring to tūrangawaewae in the conventional sense, this research will explicitly state 'ancestral tūrangawaewae. If the term stands alone, the meaning of tūrangawaewae is the participant's own.

Whānau

'Home' is not a concept or component of identity that relates solely to a place. In Māori ecology, identity is also relational to other vital cultural markers. The first of the sub-themes branching off tūrangawaewae is 'whānau'. The assumption of this research is that if Māori participants don't have an idea where there tūrangawaewae is, or a secure and positive home base that empowers them, then their whānau wellbeing might need addressing. This research assumes that whānau includes hapū and iwi, because whānau is part of one's whakapapa; and whakapapa forms the basis of all relationships in Māori society; and whakapapa is the foundation of a person's tūrangawaewae (Walker). The assumptions that whakapapa and home are connected were reflected in the interview questions. However, due to colonisation processes such as urbanisation and migration; and the realisation that many rangatahi do not know where they come from, the analysis did not use a lens that only identified traditional whānau structures as themes. Instead, a wider lens was used that included adopted the metaphor of whānau to include members that participants associate with their tūrangawaewae, but not necessarily connected to one's whakapapa.

The following excerpts show how whānau ensured participants returned (or knew they could) to Aotearoa, or that whānau is what made a place feel like home.

> AROHA: I went there by myself, I just went there to see family. 'Coz I was the one that was really homesick (Melbourne whānau) ... like when I was here at first (Melbourne) ... I was crying. When I went home ... I felt I was at home. I felt I was actually at home.

> MANAWA: It's (whānau support) always something to be grateful for, and always good to be reminded it's there at home (Aotearoa), as well.

> TANE: for me whānau is everything, and that is what I've really missed out on along these five years of living away from home.

Erana and Wiremu elaborated on the connections with whānau to home, and their responsibilities to return to see the elder's before they pass on.

> ERANA: 'coz when you go back and see them (whānau) and stuff, it's still enriching to the soul, and you feel that connection, and you do feel like its home … You need to

hang out with them (elders) more coz they are all going away, and then their memory fades … I think like once he's (koro) gone, there won't be much connection there (ancestral tūrangawaewae) anymore … I'll always feel a connection to the land, but there won't be that physical connection

WIREMU: People are getting old, people are passing away. My brother has a daughter now, her first birthday is this December, and you know, I'd like to be there for it, because he's my brother, and I haven't seen her before, and that's family for me. Family is the upmost importance, and the only reason I'd go home right now …

Participants also spoke about their desire to raise their own children in Aotearoa where their self- identified tūrangawaewae was, which was either the place they were raised, and/or where their whānau was located.

WIREMU: If I have kids, then I will def be going back home (place I was raised).

MANAWA: If it was my kid, I'd want to raise it at home, so they could grow up with the family and with all their cousins as well…

HINEMOA: so obviously (place I was raised) is home. We will retire there … but I don't want to raise kids there because there is too much drugs and gang sh*t. We will raise our kids in Porirua, because that is where is Mum is.

ERANA: when I'm hapu I will return home, and that's because I think it's more important to grow up with family … these morals and values and ideas around you, that are influencing your soul, as opposed to a place that will benefit you financially.

To participants, their tūrangawaewae was more about personal connections to whānau and their teachings, rather than the conventional meaning. Likewise, the following excerpts show how participants think of whānau as not restricted to being connected to whakapapa, and therefore not restricted to whenua papatipu links.

AROHA: Her (best friend's) family is Cambodian, so her grandmother doesn't speak much - but she's like "come, come, come" I give her cuddles I'm like "hello"! … that's my nanny!

ERANA: My whānau would consist of like my home flatmates … they just get bought in like family. Having the support of people that have been around me all my life too – that's whānau …

MERE: Whānau is so many things. Whanau is all the people that you love. All the people that are in your life. Who you choose to let remain in your life.

AWHINA: (whānau is) pretty much everyone I work with every day … and I guess I'm lucky I do have actual whānau here, a huge whānau … we have a group of 60 … and another (whānau) with 40 in it.

Awhina's idea of whānau included all of her extended members, and she spoke in depth about the value of learning her whakapapa from them, and the meaning this process had in securing her Māori identity. Hinemoa and Wiremu spoke of the ancestral stories passed down to them from extended whānau when they were young.

AWHINA: I used to be like "I know my whakapapa"… Now, I know how much I don't know … And I have been so blessed over the last five years to have met just amazing people that can tell me who my whakapapa is, coz they know my mum … or my uncle, or aunt, or dad. And I'm like woah, I have so much to learn...for the rest of my life I will still be learning it … the reason that I feel so good about that, is that I have had kaumatua tell me … "man, I just learnt last year, and I'm 70!....your whakapapa is your whakapapa. It's your journey - you learn it your whole life…you'll never get to a point where you know your whole whakapapa … it's all there somewhere and I'll find it.

HINEMOA: I reckon taking kids like, diving and stuff, and learning about your heritage while you're walking to your dive spots, about you know, Tangaroa. And all the stories. 'Coz that's how I learnt. Sitting in the wharenui. Learning the stories about our ancestors and everything.

WIREMU: … I lived with my grandma until I was six, … her children had to be raised as Catholics so she really took the opportunity to get me into it (Māori culture), so that's why I went to kohunaga and stuff. It's 'cos she felt like she missed out on a

generation and she couldn't bring a part of herself to the next one, so she tried to

bring the knowledge and stories into me ... I'm thankful I got the opportunity.

All participants associated 'home' with where their self-identified whānau were living or had once lived. Often, but not always, whānau remained in the places participants were raised; an aspect of tūrangawaewae that was commonly identified.

Place I was raised

None of the participants were raised at their ancestral tūrangawaewae, yet all had visited their marae and knew where they could whakapapa back to. Only a third of the participants ahi kā (regularly returned to their marae) and expressed desire to participate fully in their marae communities one day. One participant felt she could not claim whenua papatipu as her own, due to being whāngai, and considered the place she was raised her tūrangawaewae. In fact, two thirds of the participants considered themselves on a journey of exploration, but acknowledged their roots, or home base, as being where they were raised in Aotearoa, as opposed to their ancestral tūrangawaewae. Many participants felt certain they will eventually return to the place they were raised – some to retire, to be buried, and some just to visit remaining whānau and friends. Interestingly, none would call Melbourne their home, except for the one participant who was raised there.

The following participant explains how they don't feel like they have just one home, but considered the place they were raised a 'home base'.

> *ERANA: I don't know if I have a home anymore. I think I've got different facets of home. Wellington would probably be more of a social home…Melbourne I still think is temporary. I'm kinda still just using it for new adventures and exploring different sides to me ... a stepping stone to travel … but it's still not home and it never will be. I think (Town name) will always be home, as the place I grew up … a home base.*

Others acknowledged just one 'home', stating the place feels that way because they were born and/or raised there.

> *KAHURANGI: Like when I go back to (home town) to visit friends and family, I'm like this feels like home, because it's where I grew up.*

MERE: Like (I'm) moving forwards, not back there (Aotearoa). Like I was born there, my roots are there, my feet are planted there… my tūrangawaewae, but I'm on walk abouts you know? I will be back there when I am supposed to be and I am very confident about that. I'll be back. I will be buried there. Yeah, I call (name) my home town. I love it. I love so deeply and dearly.

WIREMU: … I see similarities, but then also being up there (Victorian bush), you get the feeling like, f**k it's just not home (where I was raised) … it's just not. It's cool and all, but… when I get older I wanna retreat to the bush, in my little cabin, I wanna live there for the rest of my days … It's where I grew up, it's what I know best, it's everything to me … That's kinda what I see 'home' as …

When I asked Wiremu to elaborate on why they couldn't make Melbourne their home, he spoke about freedom, familiarity, pace of life and close proximity to whānau.

WIREMU: Accessibility to nature back home … you didn't have to drive four hours, you didn't have to spend a week of planning out how you were gunna do it. Growing up there, there's a big sense of freedom in what you could do, you know, like we all used to bike down to the river every day, like we all played rugby together, I guess because, we'd go up to the coast and camp, just as kids, you know, aunties and uncles would drop you off, alright cool well see you in two days … having that sense of freedom. It was very much about that place, and having all that there at your axis … it's (Melbourne) not the same kinda freedom, you know … you feel like when your there (place I was raised), like, time doesn't move … you've got all the time in the word to whatever you want at your own pace.

The only participant who was born and raised in Australia had very strong connections to her ancestral tūrangawaewae, which she referred to as her 'home land'.

AWHINA: But if I was to say when (I get homesick for Aoteaora) ... when I'm feeling crap ... I might feel sick. I might feel like I miss someone. There is something about being home ... and for home I mean land. Or where our marae is. There is something about being there. Being on the awa. The spot next to the fence that we were playing … Nothing clears it (being down) like being there does.

However, when asked where she felt 'home' is, Awhina replied it was the place she was raised, Melbourne.

> *AWHINA: I feel like this (Melbourne) for me coz I grew up here, I do love this country, I'm not one of those proud Māori that's like "nah, nah, nah, I'm Māori, represent!". I don't feel that way.*

Manawa identified 'home' was the urban city he was raised in; but acknowledged that his sister, who had been raised on their ancestral tūrangawaewae, had a 'stronger' connection to the land then he had.

> *MANAWA: She's got way stronger ties to the land then I do, she's actually whangaied out ... so she had a massive life in (ancestral tūrangawaewae) - riding horses!*

Mere felt like she could not claim ownership of her whenua papatipu.

> *MERE: Um, because I was adopted, I could never feel like I could really own my land - I felt proud to respect and represent that land - but it was never mine to claim. And I really connect with the land over here as well, and there is so much here to see.*

Some participants felt strong connections to whenua in Aotearoa as a whole; and Māori as kaitiaki in general, rather than to a specific place they were raised; or where their ancestors came from specifically. They spoke about the lack of kaitiakitanga in Melbourne.

> *ERANA: I feel like when I'm back home, that I'm more connected … it (the land) kinda runs through me … I'm more kind of grounded … that back bone to everything you do … being one … whereas, I feel when you come to Melbourne … there's a lot more people … and you don't have that massive connection because there's not lots of Māori around you … like your friends aren't always Māori, or even understand it (connection to land).*

> *AROHA: Oh, wherever I went in New Zealand! … I never really grew up in Auckland, but once I got into Auckland ... I guess over here (Melbourne) everything's different - the lands different. Houses that got fake grass ... I think the environment is a bi-product - like the Māoris actually took care of the land, which is what made New Zealand so beautiful … it (Melbourne) could have been just like New Zealand, but now*

> *they have to implement fake grass … the Māori people benefited the island, the*
> *Aotearoa island so much … here everything is just polluted. And people are like "look*
> *at the Yarra! It's so beautiful!" and I'm like, this is a pond.*

As in the two excerpts above, many of the participants not only felt their connection was land based, but acknowledged home was the people connected to that land too, or the whanaungatanga associated with a place, which will be discussed further now.

Whakawhanuangatanga

'Ehara taku toa I te toa takitahi, Ēngari ko taku toa ko te takikotahi'
My strength does not lie in working alone. Rather my strength lies in working with others

As a branch off the traditional meaning of tūrangawaewae, the concept of whanaungatanga also has is foundations in a person's whakapapa. Like with the other subthemes, rather than focusing on genealogy for reasons already explained, the analysis lens was broadened to focus on the purpose of whanaungatanga – interpersonal connections, understanding and relationships (Mead, 2003). Whanaungatanga is a two-way stream – whānau support each other at an individual level; but individuals are expected to support the whānau at a collective level. The analysis focused on whānau relationships identified by participants (rather than the traditional description of whānau), outlined in more detail in the previous sub-theme 'whānau'. This is because traditionally, whanaungatanga embraced relationships outside of the whānau structure, allowing non-kin to become like whānau, by building strong relationships through shared experiences and goals (Durie, 2004; Mead, 2003). The underlaying values of whanaungatanga are manaaki (support), and aroha (love) – both commonly associated with family processes cross-culturally, and therefore is a relationship obligation not limited to Māori. However, what makes whanaungatanga unique to Māori is the overriding kaupapa of collective wellbeing over the individual. As mentioned, this research acknowledges that rangatahi may have become alienated from their ancestral tūrangawaewae, and hopes that participants will feel inspired to reach out and connect. However, participants may have established their own tūrangawaewae, which can be nurtured and maintained (ahi kā) wherever they may be, with whanaungatanga.

The following excerpts highlight that 'home' is about daily interactions in the community, something participants identified as lacking in Melbourne.

> *AROHA: I think the life that I had back home (Aotearoa), there was more interaction … more face to face … I notice that over here (Melbourne) … if you bump into people on the street, you do the old "oh hi!" but then back in New Zealand, you'd be like "oh hay! I haven't seen you in ages!"... I think people think it's embarrassing … When I first came here, I'd be like "hey, what up?"… but then they'd just walk off. I'd be like, what are you doing I'm trying to start a conversation with you. But now I've kinda adopted the same behaviour, and it's kinda sad, coz back in New Zealand, you just talk to everyone …*

> *ERANA: That's something that I have to do (build community) … if you see someone, same time every morning, then you've got to make a connection … in New Zealand I think that there is still that underlying community focus that runs into everywhere … in a city, the more hurried and fast the mice become in the cage.*

> *KAHURANGI: We wave and say hello if we are outside at the same time - that's the extent … people (in the neighbourhood) generally keep to themselves … we tried taking to them (neighbours) though!*

Home is also a place where the community collectively help one another.

> *AROHA: … whānau get together, and fundraise, here's our goal …*

> *ERANA: They (Māori) just go in…calm, cool, there's no drama, there is no worry, and they just do their thing, helping anyone any way they can stuff like that really reminds me of home, and like how important it is back home, just that genuine vibe and that gentle way of treating everyone, you're in unison, your one, I feel like a lot of western society, we hate each other.*

> *AWHINA: … amazing people saw the need (to connect Māori to their culture) here (in Melbourne) and they said "ok welcome to kapa haka. Say your pepeha"…"I don't know it"… "Oh OK, start with this - go ring someone and find out". You will not sing the same until you know your pepeha. Now I know that knowing where you come from is a part of who we are.*

Some participants spoke about the fluidity, and far reaching aspect of 'home', which they described whanaungatanga as being central to.

> *AWHINA: To me home is where my people are. That's it … Um, I do envy the connection that people do have to their home where they're like – "there is nothing like home". But I do have that. My home is even more unique than that. It's so strong that it stretches wherever I am in the world … I have lots of homes I think … I got heaps of places to go, that's how many mob I get to go to. that's how many nannies I get to be like "oh man, I got a job near you can I come stay, yes"*

> *MERE: I had a serious illness. I broke up with my partner and I had nowhere to live. I had no job and I had no money. And my home (Melbourne) community pulled together … and made a fundraiser for me. They sold their art …*

Participants generally identified their 'home' as dependant on self-identified, and often non-conventional ideas of tūrangawaewae and whānau. The place one was raised usually were strongly associated with these two indicators of oranga, but also the whanaungatanga of their communities. Whānau was often a driver of regularly returning to, and main dimension of, their conceptualisation of tūrangawaewae. Participants spoke about the necessity of returning home to whānau when they wanted to raise children, no matter where place that was. Mostly, the place participants were raised was where whānau continued to live, so the theme of 'place I was raised' was less about geographical location as it was whānau. Connections to ancestral tūrangawaewae were acknowledged by those who were not raised there. However, no participants called their ancestral tūrangawaewae apart from Tane who was raised there. Mere felt she could not claim her ancestral tūrangawaewae as her own, due to her recent discovery that her biological roots where not from there. All participants felt they belonged to Aotearoa, and referred to the land as 'home' in a general sense. The centrality of whānau to one's home was not restricted the conventional sense of the term (to whakapapa or whenua in Aotearoa) because home was also about the whanaungatanga associated with a place, which most considered to be lacking in Melbourne. Awhina, however, was able to call Melbourne home based on the whanaungatanga her Māori migrant community had established; as could Mere in her artistic community.

Oranga

He ōranga ngākau, he pikinga waiora: *Positive feelings in your heart will enhance your sense of self-worth.*

This whakatauki summarises the themes that arose from the third main theme, Oranga. Participants recurrently spoke about their struggle to find the balance between the two previous main themes (māuri and tūrangawaewae); and their individual Oranga.   Due to the holistic nature of a Māori identity which is located in physical, relational, and spiritual environment, the struggle of living in a predominantly individualistic society is understandable. Not surprisingly, the three subthemes that emerged, 'a better life'; 'stigma and discrimination'; and 'wairua' relate to all three elements of identity. Sir Mason Durie developed a tool to measure mental health outcomes of Māori individuals, called Hua Oranga, which is based on the four dimensions of the more well-known model of health – Te Whare Tapa Wha. According to the Hua Oranga measure, participant's taha wairua (spiritual health); taha whānau (family structure); taha hinengaro (mental health); and taha tinana (physical health) would be secure if they were to be considered well from a Māori perspective. The key focus of Hua Oranga is to assess a person's balance of the four dimensions. The findings in this last analysis section suggest balance is an issue for all participants. Although Durie states there can't be a sole measure for a person's wellbeing, he suggests that there are always three core components - individual wellbeing; whānau wellbeing; and the wellbeing of tangata whenua as a collective (2006, p. 2-3). Therefore, the analysis lens needed to capture these elements of oranga.

"A better life"

The kaupapa of this research is to strengthen the whānau, hapu and iwi of all participants involved. The interview questions were designed to provoke thoughts about the reasons for leaving Aotearoa; and the possibility, challenges and barriers of returning home. The first subtheme of 'a better life' emerged, as participants often spoke about the appeal of Melbourne's increased opportunities compared to the financial challenges and limited employment options, living in Aotearoa. The majority seemed to embrace Melbourne's opportunities to a level where the lack of social security was perceived as a non-issue. This sub-theme related to the main theme of oranga as almost all participants deemed the move to Melbourne as a sacrifice to their whānau cultural wellbeing, or the collective of Māori as a whole.

The following excerpts show how participants saw migration to Melbourne as increasing a range of exciting opportunities not accessible to them in Aotearoa, including exposure to cultural diversity, educational options, access to the arts, and a different natural environment they enjoyed.

> *ERANA: I love the diversity of culture, of the all the things to do, of the experiences, of the food. Of all the music - whatever you want, you can get here in Melbourne…like if you wanna have, and experience something, it's all here… I think that in New Zealand there is a bit of a weird form of racism, where we're like "ugh that's different, no" or like, really un-educated, not knowing about other cultures, and just presuming you know…an Asian is an Asian, which is terrible! We should be remembering the ancient-ness of their cultures as well!*

> *AROHA: If I was back home, I don't think I'd have such a large range, so many opportunities…I would just be working strait up! ... Say, I wanted to study medicine at university…I wouldn't be (competitively) playing sport…*

> *KAHURANGI: I think having the city so close. Like in (home town), you have to go to Auckland or Wellington to go to the big city. Whereas the city here is like 30 minutes away… I go to a lot of concerts and stuff… yeah, and like events and stuff. Like you don't have to book a plane ticket and accommodation like you would in New Zealand… and having a beach that you can actually swim in.*

Although Aroha acknowledged opportunity in Australia, she reflected on what that meant for Māori as a collective.

> *AROHA: I think through generations, I think we are just drawing away from our Māori culture ... which is really sad. Like you know, all of us are migrating to Australia for a better life, but we are losing our Māori back at home… some of us get carried away with education, which I think is me.*

Wiremu also acknowledged that access to 'everything' in Melbourne came at a cost. He thought that Māori would be 'better off' in Melbourne if they could access their culture in the same ways Māori growing up in Aotearoa can.

> *WIREMU: … if you can have the Māori culture here (Melbourne), then you would be much better off (growing up) here, because you'd have access to everything…*

Erana and Manawa viewed poverty in Aotearoa as a risk factor to their oranga, and a major consideration in migrating to Melbourne. Erana's desire to return to her ancestral tūrangawaewae was impacted by the lack of employment opportunities there.

> *ERANA: I'd love it (to return), but everyone's saying that there is no mahi there, that's the reason …*

> *MANAWA: Yeah Auckland's f**ked (in relation to living expenses) … but yeah, it's not Australia's fault if I break my leg and wanna go use their hospital … ACC (The Accident Compensation Corporation in Aotearoa) - there's none of that (in Australia)? … well, I think that's gunna have to be one of our first moves, just set up that safety blanket for ourselves.*

For Manawa, the financial barriers to living in urban Aotearoa outweighed the lack of social security in Melbourne because he knew he had the capacity to save income for his security. He viewed the responsibility of his taha tinana as his own, not the Australian Government's. However, as a new arrival, there was ambiguity surrounding his knowledge of social security rights for New Zealanders living in Australia. Although, participants who had been living in Melbourne long term also experienced similar uncertainty and confusion around their rights.

> *KAHURANGI: I met all the criteria - somehow (for an education loan in Australia). But it was very close to me not being able to get it. You had to be in the country for 10 years. And, it hasn't even been ten years yet so … I snuck in!*

> *AWHINA: … I was born here, but at the time at least one of your parents had to be an Australian citizen for you to be one…I've never had an Australian passport, but never had any trouble. It's not until adult stuff happens… I'm like, I've lived here my whole life - I am a citizen! Like how can I not be? … anyway, turns out the law depends on what year you were born too. If I had a been (born) a couple of years earlier, it would've all been fine … if you have lived here 10 years of your life, regardless of who you were born to, you become an Australian citizen. You just gotta do what you*

> *gotta do ... It's unfair, just get it done. I had to send thru every page of my passport,*
>
> *my school reports, to prove I was in the country for 10 years. And we weren't*
>
> *allowed to have left for a significant amount of time. There was one time we had left*
>
> *for 6 months to stay in Aotearoa …*

Erana felt less secure in Melbourne compared to being in Aotearoa, and was hopeful about the growing opportunities in Aotearoa that would allow for her eventual return. The capacity to earn more in Melbourne was a driver, but seen as a sacrifice to Hinemoa and Tane also.

> *ERANA: … it's sad but I think the reality is, for people who don't have that (social*
>
> *security) then they do fall to the waste side a bit, it could be something simple that*
>
> *puts your off your pedal stool…falling off… you just don't feel as safe and secure as*
>
> *you do when your home (Aotearoa). It's (Aotearoa) becoming a little bit more fast*
>
> *paced … which is great because there's more of a platform for us to go back and*
>
> *work and live, because it's more money …*
>
> *HINEMOA: I can tell you now, the job opportunities in Australia, I would have never*
>
> *had in New Zealand, that's the sad thing… That's what we are waiting for, for a job*
>
> *to open up in New Zealand so we can go back…otherwise I will take a $40 000 pay*
>
> *cut.*
>
> *TANE: I was doing 12 hr shifts making only 6-7 hundred a week, Mon to Sat…but*
>
> *now, if I could go home tomorrow, then I would.*

The majority of participants came to Australia for the employment opportunities, and enjoyed the cultural diversity, opportunities, and fast pace of Melbourne city life. Some were able to take care of their own social security, but for others the social security risks were more concerning. There was a general sense of sacrifice for the sake of material gain. The next subtheme that emerged, 'stigma and discrimination' interrelates with this subtheme 'a better life', because if young Māori found it easy to thrive in a way that reflected their whānau's collective oranga in Aotearoa, then they wouldn't feel the tension or sacrifice of achieving the balance of Māori wellbeing in either countries.

Stigma and Discrimination

It is well known in the growing cross-cultural literature that discrimination against ethnic minority groups negatively affects the health and wellbeing of those affiliated (Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Marmot, Friel, Bell, Houweling, & Taylor, 2008; Harrell et al., 2011; Paradies, Harris, & Anderson, 2008; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006). Racism is power inequality that stems from the idea that certain people are inferior to others; an ideology that is replicated through sometimes implicit social norms. Racism against Māori in Aotearoa, and elsewhere, occurs on a hierarchical level (Moewaka Barnes, Taiapa, Borell, & McCreanor, 2013). For example, at a societal level, there is a general culture (practices, values, belief systems), permeated by an expected way of life that was introduced with the now dominant Western population. This cultural dominance over Māori trickles down into institutions, such as educational and employment settings, forcing Māori not only to unfairly adhere, but unwittingly maintain western cultural norms. The subtheme of stigma and discrimination emerged as participants spoke about relational, more obvious manifestations of racism, caused by the two higher levels of societal and institutional racism. Participants had internalised external perceptions of Māori into personal beliefs about themselves and other Māori as a whole – often through accurate observations of others who had done the same. The findings that emerged are similar to cross-cultural studies internationally on the negative effects stereotypes can have on entire cultures, in the way that participants spoke about supressing aspects of their culture; expecting stereotypical assumptions from others; and ultimately, migrating away from their tūrangawaewae due to a perceived lack of resources (such as employment and education) that would allow them to experience individual oranga. Therefore, the excerpts that created this subtheme cannot be separated from Aotearoa's colonial past (Belich, 1996); because the negative categorisation of Māori did not stem from a Māori world view but Pākehā dominance.

Most participants felt discriminated against in various contexts throughout their lives; apparent in some of the previous excerpts from other subthemes. The following excerpts show frustration at the ignorance of Australians specifically toward Māori.

> *ERANA: I guess you get a little bit staunch about it when you come over here and you're defending yourself so much, like "I'm (surname) from the Ngāpuhi tribe" - and they don't quite get it ... "aw what, but that's only like an 8th or 16th" ... but yeah it*

doesn't matter, that's just how the melting pot happens nowadays…a lot of people have no idea, they don't even know what Māori are! Or anything, no idea about our myths and legends, and how they teach us what's important in life, and how we are meant to be, and how we are meant to structure ourselves.

WIREMU: … maybe they consider Māori like the same as aboriginal people here - not sure, but you always get this impression that like, everyone's a 'kiwi', but no one actually knows really too much about Māoris here … in a sense, you are making an umbrella, and like you're not really showing that you've learned about it at all. Like it might not mean anything to them, but the acknowledgement, I guess, would be a lot better … 'coz they (non-Māori New Zealanders) grow up around it (Māori culture) you know…they know about it. Whereas like say, Aboriginals here haven't had that same kind of treatment at all … there's not that common ground.

The one participant who was raised in Melbourne spoke about the discrimination against 'Mozzies' from Māori raised in Aotearoa. The perception that being raised in Australia somehow makes one less Māori was hurtful when she was younger.

AWHINA: I think one significant difference growing up between the two countries, is there seems to be a big difference if you are born in Australia. "Oh, where were you born?". If I was able to say "Auckland", then you're somehow more accepted as a Māori … the second you say "Aussie", you're a 'Mozzie', that's what you are. Now, it doesn't bother me at all, but growing up …

Manawa wondered if living in Melbourne would be an advantage for young Māori because he presumed there would be less Māori-specific discrimination and bi-cultural tension than they experienced living in Aotearoa.

MANAWA: I think they (Māori children) would probably have more opportunity, and less prejudice within the school system and stuff … I found it really easy to slip through the cracks in high school and stuff, they (teachers) would just let you not do anything and just focus on the kids that were way more onto it, when really, their job was to engage me and they didn't. Yeah so, I think kids would probably have a fairer chance over here to not be marginalised at all. I don't know if that's the case … but there's

not all that tension between Māori and Pākehā over here, as there would be back at home … I think it might be a bit more 'even' over here.

When asked if having a 'even' learning environment would outweigh Māori cultural access in schools, Manawa further elaborated on the discrimination he experienced.

MANAWA: But that (access to Te Ao Māori) is almost like, token anyway in the (New Zealand) school systems … like, what you don't realise growing up is all the racist comments – "why would you want to speak Māori anyway? … it's a dying language". And I heard that stuff from my peers and sh*t, growing up.

Wiremu had the reverse idea of 'evenness' to Manawa. He did not feel he was treated differently to Pākehā in Aotearoa, but rather felt being Māori was the expected norm. Being darker skinned made him feel like part of a more general minority in Melbourne.

WIREMU: Coming to big places like this (Melbourne) you are treated as a minority, whereas like, back home it's still, well, you're not really a minority, you don't feel it.

The following excerpts show that these participants believe there is a societal change happening in relation to embracing and respecting Māori culture (at individual and societal levels) in both Australia and Aotearoa.

ERANA: … I think it's become a bit of a trend ... It's become maybe fashionable to know where you come from … my nephew living in Queensland, he goes to his own kohanga! … there's a lot of Māori culture in the Gold Coast … they've taken over in some parts, in some parts it doesn't even feel Australian …

MANAWA: I think things are changing. I think people are realising, "nah hang on a minute, nah, this (Māori culture) is really important!" And I'm glad these conversations happening, like around whether or not we go full immersion (Te Reo Māori) in schools. Like, it used to be trendy to ignore it. And now it's sort of has swung the other way. And I think as long as the momentum carries through, into actually integrating systems of learning for younger children, we won't notice the difference, it will just be normal …

Awhina and Mere stressed the importance of an inclusive cultural agenda more broadly so that no-body feels left out, stigmatised or discriminated against.

> *AWHINA: To me tikanga changes … as long as the core is there, and the foundation is being respected and that we are honouring our tūpuna, and, yes, you are gunna have the staunch ones … but it's this sort of korero that I'm seeing all over again with the 12, 16, 18, 29-year old's coming thru, going – "I don't know what to do!" Just come! I don't even care if you are Chinese. And that is the kaupapa here (Melbourne) … I grew up here, I know what it's like, and the only way as Māori that we are gunna get more connected is if we learn how to share our culture. With everyone.*

> *MERE: It (Māori culture) is for everybody! We are all sharing the space and there's this shared history and we are all welcome to it.*

Even so, Mere acknowledged that Māori have been conditioned to not feel Māori enough; or to embrace Te Ao pākehā. She spoke about ongoing colonisation processes and white 'privilege', and although felt a strong political alignment towards the tino rangatiratanga of Māori, she realised it was unproductive to blame 'all pākehā'.

> *MERE: … that's that conditioning as well. No Māori ever experienced that (self-doubt) before the Pākehā came … So, there's - well you can't condemn all Pākehā - but the invaders are still having an effect today ... and I'm like ... ahhhh, to an extent, do I experience white privilege? There's like, shades of white privilege.*

Being stigmatised for being Māori on many levels, and in a variety of contexts has an impact on one's wairuatanga. How wairua understood and maintained is explained the sub-theme below.

Wairua

Wairua, and wairuatanga is used throughout this research to refer to the spirit, or spirituality of participants, respectively**.** This subtheme emerged as participants spoke about the holistic aspects of their identity (such as Te Reo Māori; whenua; and whānau) in relation to their spirit. All the interrelated aspects of wairua mentioned by participants are dimensions of identity outlined by Rose Pere (1988). Land connection was mentioned as being vital for a sense of belonging. Spirituality gave participants a sense of purpose. Ancestral connections gave participants a sense of obligation to live life in line with Māori values; and ancient knowledge.   Tikanga Māori was important to connect participants to

their unique past. Being able to contribute to kaupapa Māori agendas for the betterment of Māori as a whole was important to the spirit. Being able to form relationships with one's Māori community in order to better one's immediate and extended whānau was also said to add to participants wairuatanga in terms belonging. Māori have always held their tūpuna (ancestors) in the forefront of their daily lives (Cherrington, 1994) and the connections to tūpuna were evident in participants' stories as they pertain to their own wairua. The importance of tino rangatiratanga in manifesting aspects of their cultural identity gave participants strength. The lived experiences of participants show how Māori specific concepts of spirituality are central to the main theme, oranga, as expressed in the excerpts below, namely in emotional connections with extended whānau and tūpuna, utilising tikanga, experiences with sacred places, and connectedness with the land.

Awhina described how she felt less homesick for her ancestral tūrangawaewae when she began to address her wairua in Melbourne by living all aspects of her life in a way that represents a Māori worldview. The following excerpt perhaps best sums up wairuatanga as a holistic, essential dimension of oranga.

> AWHINA: I guess for me, I just don't (feel homesick for tikanga anymore). I've learned that I pretty much live and breathe it (Te Ao Māori). So, I wake up thinking about it, in a positive way.

Wairuatanga is attached to many aspects of a Māori identity, and therefore is unable to be compartmentalised. Manawa and Erana spoke about the holistic nature of Te Reo Māori as it relates to their wairua, as a link to whānau, land, whakapapa and self-expression.

> MANAWA: … because it (Te Reo Māori) links me to my culture, to my whānau, to my land… what's a culture without a language? … all the stories and stuff, the language needs to be there for these (stories) to be passed down.

> ERANA: It's (Te Reo Māori) a taonga! … it's something special that you can pass down - and it helps people feel connected … it's your own way of saying things, it's your own perspective.

Manawa spoke about re-connection to his distant whānau as a contributor to the strength of his wairua.

MANAWA: … there was a massive disconnect … between my mum's generation, her brothers and sisters. … they all went into foster care … all ended up in the system, coz their parents were f***ed up alcoholics and that sort of stuff, and they (grandparents) had the language beaten out of them and stuff like that, so the culture obviously went through a meltdown period … and my uncles and aunties are now trying to piece the whānau back together … I guess I get kinda like, a fright when I meet new family members … and they're like "I'm your aunties brother" I'm like, wow! I've actually got a family. And it's quite large. And it's quite humbling, coz I was raised sort of like an only child sorta buzz, and I thought that my family was only as big as my parents and me, and I had a few cousins here and there. But it's a lot bigger than that, and I dunno, it's a strange feeling to realise that …

There were some participants who thought of themselves as autonomous in relation to embracing aspects of identity attached to wairua wherever they were.

MANAWA: Yeah, I'm a little bit jealous of them (connected Māori), but it's also motivating as well. If people have already re-established those connections, they've had to face similar battles too. Like, you can do it! It's not much use complaining about it. Like, you can actually study the language, you know and get it all back.

ERANA: You can practice it (Te Reo) on your own will, and you practice it on your pets in Melbourne, I've got a lot of those kupu lists for the kitchen.

MERE: I think it how you've been raised, but also how you've chosen to live your life. So, there is some older Māori that don't know a word of Te Reo and younger Māori who are fluent … it (learning Te Reo Māori) is a decision that we all are fortunate to be able to make. So, you can choose ... I don't think that age makes you more Māori. It's what you have chosen to do, or it's what you have been forced to do.

Like learning Te Reo Māori, connecting to one's whakapapa was seen as an autonomous choice to Awhina.

AWHINA: I've never identified as being Australian, not that that is a problem … I was born here. I was always told that I am from New Zealand … not even Māori necessarily, but "we are from New Zealand; we go for the All Blacks!". As simple as

> *that. Not "this is your whakapapa" … I'm talking very generally, but let's say late teens is when it really switched. I was old enough to make my own decisions – like, you know what, I'm gunna go find out my whakapapa.*

However, for Mere, whakapapa involved focusing on the past, which was less important for her wairua.

> *MERE: … spiritually, I'm on a journey, I feel very confident that this is where I'm supposed to be and … the past is, well, I don't feel like it's my place to be digging backwards. You (researcher) feel connected to finding that out, so do it, that's what you feel is right and where your mana is guiding you. My mana is guiding me forward. I feel very strongly that I am not going to find my identity in my past.*

For Awhina, being raised in Melbourne had given her a different perspective on tūrangawaewae. She felt a strong sense of wairua was not dependant on regular participation on the marae, but rather the teachings of others. She spoke about the required effort one needs to seek their own cultural pathway.

> *AWHINA: … my story will always be a part of his (son's) story now. I never grew up there. So - I want him to feel strong in his culture no matter where he decides to live or where I chose for him to live. He's gunna have it wherever he is. So, I don't wanna live my life going "aw, all my kids have to grow up there, 'coz I want then to have what I didn't have". Well no, you can have what you want, where ever you want. And I'm gunna be there to help you have it. We're gunna live here, were doing it here. But yeah I'm tryin to change that idea of we have to be (in Aotearoa) … like if I could have chosen to grow up in New Zealand, I would've. But our people are way better than that. We are voyagers. We travelled. And that's exactly what our people did when they needed … They dealt with the situation … It's just who we are so yeah get over it… but you do have to make an effort … Don't cry "oh I didn't get to grow up there' - it's still there. Just go there.*

Like Awhina, Erana's wairua was secured by the knowledge that her culture was always with her no matter where she was; and she also acknowledged the value of whanaungatanga.

ERANA: I know deep in my soul that It's the essence and that culture is with you, where ever you go, as long as you got it in the inside … but … it's easier in New Zealand because there are more Māori around… in New Zealand you're surrounded by Māori culture… more supported, and more exposed, by default.

Mere described the value of mana in securing a Māori identity, but did not limit this value to Māori specifically. She conceptualised mana a sort of 'self-assurance' that came with consciousness of the mind, and respecting oneself and others. She spoke of the need to break through social barriers that threaten finding mana, and the wairua attached to it.

MERE: I think it's your sense of self and your place in the world, and its knowing where respect is appropriate. And knowing where to command respect and where to give it. Yeah. Mana is being aware … yeah, it's a consciousness, so it's not a specifically Māori thing… I think pakeha can have mana. There are pakeha that are awoke … People are casualties of their conditions … what conditions you grow up in and what kinda brain you have in the first place and whether or not you are gunna be able to break through that. Those barriers … those social expectations that are put on you … so yeah, some people have that mana already and some have to learn it. But any human being is capable of emanating mana …

Awhina told the story of her journey in building her Māoritanga, and the wairua attached to learning, and sharing that knowledge.

AWHINA: I am old enough and I am an adult now and no one teaches me anymore. I have to go and find out and learn… I was like aha! I grew up here, and I don't want to feel disconnected…There is a way. Join your iwi. Look up when there is a wananga there. Who cares what it is, just go to it. And your life will start to change. I used to be afraid … of doing the wrong thing, but there's people here (in Melbourne) now that are seeing past cracking the whip. They (less connected Māori migrants) don't know! How are they supposed to know? So, teach them! We teach resilience … In Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pakeha, you're gunna get people that think "nah, this is the right way!" I do think there is time and place, and there are roles. So, if a kaumatua is saying "don't do that", you listen. But you don't cry about it. Go away and practice. If you make a mistake, you own it. It's (learning) a process.

Participants described ancestral connections through their relationships with taonga,

> *AROHA: she gave me one (a taonga), and all my kapa haka, I have worn it. Whenever I see it, it's like my nannie's here …*

… relationships with their whenua and natural environment,

> *ERANA: At (ancestral) forest, there's a mad connection there … you don't even say words, well not in the language, when your experiencing it. It's not like you can physically see something, you can feel it. It's like you're from that earth, it runs through you veins and everything – it's all a part of you and that really helps me connect, um a lot of specific places up North, really connect me to my ancestors … sometimes I'll be at a particular bush or a look out or something, and waiatas will come to me. And not only places that I know, but other random places, like I walked into these falls … as soon as I jumped into the water, the water turned black, and I couldn't see - and it was just weird, you just get those feelings, like, the vibe … like the ancestral vibe is definitely Northland. We are a part of the land … but we are part of everything. It's not just spirituality! Its science!*

… relationships with their ancestral tūrangawaewae and marae,

> *ERANA: I've always felt like, goose-bumps when I hear the karanga on the marae … just transports me to a different place, like connected to the ancestors …*

> *AWHINA: I went on (my) waka, which is a waka journey on (my) river, for whakapapa only … You hoi all the way down, and you stop at different marae … I went to our marae down there for the first time ever… My nana that moved here, she's no longer here, but my nana that I know as my nana, you know, the closest nan I had, that's where she grew up. That's where she ran around with no shoes on. That's where she worked on the marae, it was like, yeah, definitely a connection there, as in spiritual connection … such an overwhelming feeling. Like her photo was on the wall. Like, knowing that this was my marae and this is where she was and this is what she built … When we all arrived ... it was like "what are you doing - you've gotta go on there to welcome us on". I was like, ahhhhhh, I've never even been here and I get to welcome you guys on!*

> *AROHA: I think the biggest thing is love … of Māori people, is that you gotta*
> *appreciate being there, and um the place you feel that most is in the marae.*

… and through their relationship to Te Reo Māori.

> *ERANA: Even just listening to a Māori elder or something helps me connect … that*
> *fuzzy warm feeling inside of being surrounded by aunties …*

The above excerpts show the holistic nature of wairua, as the components do not stand alone, but rather interrelate. Aroha's taonga connected her to her kuia who had passed; and for Awhina, it was her marae. Marae is often considered to be one's tūrangawaewae, a place to recharge one's wairua with whakawhanuangatanga and whakatewhatewha. As Erana mentions, her wairua was also attached to other aspects of 'home', such as falls and forests. This korero related to the second theme 'tūrangawaewae' as participants spoke about their idea of 'home', namely whānau; the place they were raised; and the importance of whakawhanuangatanga.

This theme emerged as participants repeatedly spoke about the 'sacrifice' of moving away from their tūrangawaewae, or Aotearoa in general; and the importance of returning to their homes in Aotearoa to reconnect. These sacrifices included access to many aspects of Te Ao Māori; social security; and being able to 'get down with the kaupapa'.   The combination of increased opportunities abroad, and challenges to tino rangatiratanga in Aotearoa were migration drivers (or considerations in returning to Aotearoa) for most participants, however risk factors to achieving holistic oranga occurred living in both countries. Generally, participants seemed hopeful that they would return to Aotearoa eventually, but only when they were financially able to; or when they wanted to raise children. Challenges to achieving the balance of a Māori wellbeing in both countries had roots in societal and institutional racism. Participants told stories of feeling discriminated against or stigmatised in Melbourne, and Aotearoa. Discussions around bi-cultural tension, and institutional racism living in Aotearoa were met with negative experiences of the ignorance of Australian's toward Māori culture; and Aotearoa-raised Māori towards 'Mozzies' as less 'real'. Participants missed the taken-for-granted aspect of Te Ao Māori in Aotearoa. There was a general sense of hope that a societal change was occurring in both Australia and Aotearoa that was focused on cultural inclusivity, and that the privileging of pākeha ways of

being would eventually have less of an impact of the wairuatanga of Māori. Connections with Te Reo Māori, whenua, and whānau were interrelated aspects of wairua that participants most identified as crucial for belonging and purpose. Maintaining wairua however was not dependant on *living* on their ancestral whenua, but rather more so on the internal and relational aspects associated with their land.   The importance of regular visits 'home' to re-connect with interrelated dimensions of wairua; and utilising tikanga in Melbourne helped minimise participant's 'homesickness'; and allowed them to nurture their wairuatanga where ever they were. Like the first and second themes 'mauri' and 'tūrangawaewae', aspects of this third theme 'oranga' can't standing alone, or be succinctly described.

Conclusion.

This research set out to hear and analyse participants' stories about life in Melbourne, with the goal of enabling a better understanding about identity and home among young Māori migrants. The previous chapters analysed and discussed three main themes emerging from the participant's stories; mauri, tūrangawaewae and oranga. As previously discussed, there is no one idea of Māori wellbeing; a united tikanga or set of goals. Whānau, hapū and iwi express their collective tuakiri uniquely, in ways that adhere to their own kaupapa tuku iho (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010). The three themes and related subthemes that emerged indicated that participants' conceptualisations of tūrangawaewae were an important part of their tuakiri Māori and oranga. As young Māori migrants, participants sometimes had non-conventional ideas of tūrangawaewae and whānau, which indicated an adaptive strength in maintaining their tuakiri Māori and kaupapa tuku iho (Māori values and beliefs) despite the challenges of living in Melbourne. All themes interconnected, which indicated the holistic nature of all things Te Ao Māori, where the relational, spiritual and physical aspects of identity and wellbeing do not stand alone.   The ways in which these themes and sub-themes overlap; and the adaptive ability of conventional dimensions of tuakiri Māori and oranga will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The implications of these findings for rangatahi in Aotearoa and abroad, particularly in relation to wairua, will also be discussed.

Participants described their mauri, or essence, as being closely related to the interrelated concepts of mana, tapu and wairua, which is consistent with conventional matauranga Māori (Huriwai & Baker, 2016). Although sometimes explicitly stating that the essence of Māori was innate – generally, participants described the ways they source their various forms of mana were not individualised or determined through their biology. Correspondingly, some participants explained how mana could be acquired or lost, indicating that mauri could be nurtured spiritually, physically and through relationships. For example, Erana explained how she sourced mana atua, which she believed guided kaupapa Māori behaviours and maintained whanaungatanga. Mana tīpuna was the source of Wiremu's pride, belonging and accountability when he told the story of learning his whakapapa. Tane, Erana and Hinemoa spoke about their respect for the land; acknowledging land as a life force to mana whenua. Hinemoa derived mana tangata from

the strong leadership qualities of the elders in her whānau. Again, all forms of mana are interrelated – that is atua, tīpuna, tangata and whenua are all attached to each other (Huriwai & Baker, 2016). Participants also spoke about the actions of Māori who possess mana; and the tapu that guides behaviour and the integrity of not only oneself, but Māori as a collective. Tane spoke about diving restrictions which serve as a reminder to be grateful to tangaroa and control resources. He also described how his Māori cousin lost his mana when he stopped respecting women and was drinking too much alcohol. Indeed, to possess mana, one first needs to restore one's tapu (Tate, 2010). Tapu restrictions allow for the respect of places, the spiritual realm, and people to ensure all Māori thrive as one.

To be well, and to nurture the wellness of others, Māori need to acknowledge and know their own sources of mana, and protect those sources with tapu (Tate, 2010). This is because mana and tapu are attached to wairua, a vital aspect of oranga and identity. Consistent with the literature, participants demonstrated their wairua through acknowledging the importance of reciprocal relationships; and connection to the natural environment (c.f. Marsden, 2003). Conversely, there was a sense of 'homesickness' from being away from whānau (and other Māori in general) and whenua. Some participants felt that they could not establish meaningful relationships with those within their family or social circles if they did not share similar Māori values of manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga. There was a general self-awareness among participants that wairua was a taken-for-granted aspect of life; and a collective realisation that a unique world view guided their social behaviour – one that did not compartmentalise aspects of relational, physical and spiritual oranga. For example, Tane explained how karakia and rituals to Tangaroa was one way to differentiate his wairua from Pākehā spirituality.

Aspects of mauri, or the subthemes that emerged from the interviews overlapped. For example, when participants spoke about the stereotypical perceptions of Māori that were potentially damaging to their mana or tapu, there was also korero regarding the protective boundaries necessary as they related to tuakiri Māori and oranga. Awhina was upholding a united kaupapa among other leaders within her Māori community. Mere's boundaries included feeling like she did not have to prove her identity to people. Erana spoke about the importance of self-reflection on her sources of mana. All participants were maintaining a Māori world view in Melbourne in some way, and were aware of external

threats to their wairua, such as the impact of stereotypical judgments from others; and generational loss of taken-for-granted aspects of te ao Māori, such as reo and tikanga. Many participants felt the need to regularly return home to Aotearoa to re-connect socially, spiritually and physically, and felt that being around kaumatua was especially important for their wairua in terms their own individual learning, and preserving matauranga Māori collectively. Having a secure connection to their cultural roots provided participants with a strong sense of whanaungatanga, whānau and māoritanga which they carried in Melbourne despite having less access to Te Ao Māori than they did in Aotearoa. This is consistent with the literature that states Māori wellbeing and health outcomes are predicated to be better when access to Te Ao Māori is available to the whānau; and a person's Māori identity is secure (Stuart & Jose, 2014; Durie 2006).

In a changing world, rangatahi are adapting like their iwi, hapū and whānau have for generations before. Understandings of the known dimensions of tuakiri, such as tūrangawaewae, and even whānau are evolving. For example, participants who had come to Melbourne without family connections were able to create new non-conventional whānau relationships with colleagues and flatmates, which made Melbourne feel like a temporary home. Conversely, Tane who had not made those social connections identified as homesick and could not wait to return to Aotearoa. Those that had established whanaungatanga in Melbourne, and regularly returned to their tūrangawaewae in Aotearoa seemed to be less homesick. However, even Awhina, who identified Melbourne as her home, missed having roles on the marae and desired to return one day. Whanaungatanga also involves the 'right' ways of behaving according to relationship roles (Tate, 2010), and like Awhina, all participants spoke of missing being among Māori where a specific type of social behaviour, less common in Melbourne, was the norm.   One's marae was generally identified as being a place that unites everyone together.

Participants realised that as well as relationships with like-minded people, being close to their familiar natural environment was crucial for wellbeing, and most could not call Australia home for this reason. Sir Mason Durie (2004) states that the significant risks to Māori wellbeing do not increase when one disconnects to their whenua physically, but the associated break down of world views that occur when Māori move away, harms Māori relationally and spiritually. Māori have generations of tīpuna buried in the urupā, which is

usually near their marae. Therefore, this is a place of wairua, belonging and acceptance for many Māori. Although participants felt they belonged and were accepted at their marae, most participants felt strongly that their identity was connected more to their self-identified tūrangawaewae – which was usually the place they were raised. This included Awhina, who was raised in Melbourne. This finding has implications for migrants raised in Australia, if returning home regularly like Awhina is not an option and cultural roots are not established in Aotearoa. Although the physical whenua papatipu itself may not be the main driver to return for young Māori migrants, the findings that emerged suggest relationships with people associated with whenua were. Ancestral land holds memories and stories of the past, which brings whānau, hapū and iwi together.

Participants were driven to migrate to Melbourne for educational opportunity, to broaden cultural experiences, and perhaps most importantly, economic wellbeing. This was a finding that was consistent with the history of Māori adapting to social change since colonial times (McIntosh & Mulholland, 2015; Durie, 2016). Employment and economic challenges in Aotearoa became a theme that emerged when participants spoke about their considerations not to return home. The thought was so much of a concern that Wiremu believed that if there was more access to Māori culture in Melbourne, then Māori would be better off migrating. Conversely, Erana would return to her ancestral marae if there was mahi for her. Overall, lack of social security in Australia was not an issue since participants did not see unemployment as a threat. Awhina had a young family, and was the only Australian citizen, therefore this theme was not applicable to her. However, she and others did speak about the ambiguity surrounding citizenship for New Zealanders, and the arbitrary immigration laws that continue to change in challenging ways. Although most participants were adamant that they would return to Aotearoa to live eventually, regular visits home appeared to be sufficient to maintain the balance of their wairua temporarily whilst they saved money for their return.

There was a general sense of frustration, anger and solidarity with the first nations people of Australia. Participants spoke about the bi-cultural tension they experienced in Aotearoa, and appreciated the lack of in Melbourne sometimes. Wiremu felt he was lumped in to the broad umbrella of 'dark skinned minority' though. Access to culture, according to the findings of this study depend of relationships with other Māori and

teachings from elders, which all participants agreed was more accessible in Aotearoa. Yet, the majority of participants also wished they had access to Te Reo and tikanga Māori, and elaborated on the inequality of space allowed for Māori to learn in Aotearoa, but more so in Melbourne.   The principle of tino rangatiratanga was spoken about as a responsibility. From the emergent themes, it seemed that rangatahi are becoming more resilient to stereotypes, stigma and discrimination living in a dominant Pākehā society.

If it is the prerogative of whānau, hapū and iwi to bring our rangatahi home, then the findings of this research should be able to assist. It is my belief that many young migrants are homesick based on the conversations had with Māori migrants that I have spoken to about my research. Throughout this kaupapa journey, I have had the opportunity to speak to many Māori – not just participants - who desired to learn Te Reo Māori, tikanga, participate among their marae community, and proactively advocate for tino rangatiratanga. Some inspiring people I met saw the need, and are establishing kaupapa initiatives for cultural development for youth in Melbourne. However, negative effects of societal racism in Aotearoa impact the identity of rangatahi and influence the roles and societal expectations they negotiate throughout their lives (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). Until there is employment and established support mechanisms in place to combat other institutional barriers, such as mainstream education, politics, the patriarchy, the justice system, and Pākehā privilege in general, there is much mahi to be done in Aotearoa, and Australia to encourage rangatahi to connect and 'get down with the kauapapa'. The responsibility to address all aspects of oranga should not be left to Māori migrants alone. It is my hope that this research encourages more korerorero about the reasons rangatahi leave Aotearoa; and the retention of Māori culture for future generations.

Limitations

Although rangatahi in this study were resilient to pervasive stereotypical judgment; and felt secure in their Māori identity, many did not feel it would be beneficial to their holistic oranga to return to their ancestral tūrangawaewae. This may have been for the reasons mentioned above; that is societal influences on participant's identity, expectations of roles, and perceptions of wellbeing. This collective view could also be an outcome of the recruiting process of 'snowballing'. Participants I spoke with were mostly 'connected' rangatahi who were introduced to me by members of my research whanau, or personally known to me via cultural

pathways. Participants often knew each other. Thus, it is impossible to make any sort of inferences about the rangatahi population in Australia based on the findings. Another potential limitation is that the research methodology sought to better understand the experience of rangatahi who were still living *in Melbourne*. In a kaupapa Māori project based in Aotearoa, I might have been able to negotiate differently with whānau, hapū and iwi about the goals and process of the research, and include their voice in addition to rangatahi migrant views.

Suggestions for future research

The findings suggest that although the participants were connected to their culture and had a strong sense of Māori identity in many respects, most did not think it would be beneficial, or possible to move 'home'. This contradiction is explained when participants elaborate on the perceived challenges and barriers they thought they would face if they did. Based on the collective responses, I believe that if it was economically sustainable, many rangatahi might return to their ancestral tūrangawaewae if they were as connected to their culture as this sample was. Future research might investigate the challenges less connected rangatahi migrants face, and their perceived barriers to add to this research topic. As a direct lead on from this research, I would like to interview members of my own hapū to hear their aspirations and goals for the future of Māori culture in our whānau; and their ideas about the role of whānau, hapū and iwi in returning our rangatahi home.

Glossary

Ahi ka	Continuous occupation
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Aroha	Love
Awa	River
Āwhina	To help, assist, support
Hapū	Subtribe, pregnant
Hauora	Wellness, health
Hinengaro	Intellect, consciousness, mindfulness, thoughts, feelings
Hōha	Impatient, fed up with.
Hui	Gathering, meeting
Iwi	Tribe
Kai	Food, meal
Kāinga	Home
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, protection, custody.
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapa haka	Māori performing group
Karakia	Prayer, incantation
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa Māori	An approach that privileges Māori ideology and principles
Kōhunga reo/kōhunga	Early childcare language centre
Kōrero	Speak, tell, talk,
Kōrerorero	Conversation
Koro	Grandfather
Kuia	Grandmother
Kupu	Word
Kura Kaupapa	Māori language immersion schools
Mahi	Work, to work

Mana	Control, prestige, spiritual power
Manaaki/manaakitanga	Care and respect for others, hospitality, generosity.
Manuhiri	Guest, visitor
Manuhiri	Visitor, guest
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori culture, of way of life.
Marae	Ancestral meeting houses
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, understanding.
Mau rākau	Māori martial art
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life force in people and objects
Mihi	Greet, thank
Moana	Sea, ocean
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren
Noa	Free from the restrains of tapu.
Oranga	Livelihood, wellbeing, welfare.
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Papakāinga	Original home, home base
Papa-tū-ā-nuku	Earth mother
Pepeha	A recitation of whakapapa and areas of significance
Pōwhiri	To welcome, invite
Puku	Stomach
Pūrākau	Ancient story or legend
Rangatahi	Youth
Rangi-nui	Sky father
Raragna	Weaving
Taha hinengaro	mental emotional wellbeing.
Taha tinana	physical wellbeing.
Taha tinana	Physical wellbeing

Taha wairua	Spiritual wellbeing.
Taha whānau	Social wellbeing.
Tamariki	Children
Tāmoko	Māori tattooing
Tāngata	Human beings
Tāngata whenua	Local people
Tangihanga (or tangi)	Funeral, grieving process
Taonga	Treasure
Tapu	Sacred, forbidden, restrictions.
Tautoko	To support
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Ao Pākehā	The Pākehā world
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Tiriti of Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi 1840, founding document of Aotearoa.
Tikanga	Custom, correct procedure.
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty
Tīpuna/Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tuakiri	Identity
Tūrangawaewae	Place to stand, right of residence.
Urupā	Burial ground
Waiata	Song
Waiora	Total wellbeing for the individual and family
Wairua	Spirit
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whakawhanaungatanga	To maintain and establish relationships, kinship

Whānau	Extended families
whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, connection, extended family
Whāngai	Adopt, foster
Whenua	Land
Whenua papatipu	Ancestral land

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Information Form

Māori migration: Home in relation to identity and wellbeing.

INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a research project to find out what being Māori in Melbourne means to young migrants.

Who is undertaking this project?

I'm Jessica Rahui-Macconnell, a youth worker and Master's student at Massey University's School of Psychology, Palmerston North. I am undertaking this research for my degree. Professor Mandy Morgan is supervising my project. Dr Hukarere Valentine is providing cultural advice. Our contact details are at the end of this information sheet. I also have the support and contribution of my expanding research whānau, who consist of Māori that are interested in the research kaupapa.

What is the project about?

This project is intended to explore how Māori migrants understand their cultural identity, and how they experience wellbeing.

How can you participate?

I am looking for participants 17-30 years of age, who are residing in the greater Melbourne region and are who are willing to volunteer for this project. Can you be a participant if you were born in Australia? Āe Mārika! Yes definitely! I wouldn't want to leave you out if you're interested. A participant just needs to be of Māori decent, living in Victoria.

You will be asked to participate in an informal, tape-recorded interview exploring what being Māori in Melbourne means to you. We'll meet at a location that suits you and any travel expenses will be reimbursed. It may take as long as an hour and a half, but that will depend on how much of your story you'd like to share with me. The interview will then be transcribed word for word. Afterwards, you will have the opportunity to read through the transcript to discuss it and make changes. This might take up to another hour if you choose to do it.

If you would like, when the study is completed I will send you a summary of my findings.

Current clients of the Department of Health and Human Services are not permitted to participate, due to a conflict of interest with the researcher's employment.

What about confidentiality?

The study is confidential. I will not attach your name to your interview transcript and all identifying information will be removed. I may include your iwi/hapu affiliation if you want me

to. The only people who have access to your transcript will be me and my supervisors. The research will be submitted for examination and might be published in an academic journal. No material will be used in any way that could identify you. Any printed interview material will be stored in a locked cupboard at my home until the end of the research project and then destroyed. All electronic files will be password protected.

Who can take part?

Self-identified Māori, who

- are 17- 30 years of age
- living in Greater Melbourne
- are willing to participate in a 90-minute informal interview and are available for a transcript review.

How can you take part?

You can phone, text or email me on:

- Jessica Rahui-Macconnell
  Email: ███████████████████████
  Mobile: ███████████

If you have any questions please contact:

- Mandy Morgan
  Email: C.A.Morgan@massey.ac.nz
  Ph: +64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 85058

Your rights as a participant

While completion and return of the confidentiality agreement implies consent, you are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to

- decline to answer any particular question
- withdraw from the study any time until you consent for extracts of your transcript to be used in my report
- ask any questions about the study at any time before or during participation
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used
- access your transcribed interview
- ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Thank you for considering participating in the research project.

Jessica Rahui-Macconnell

Massey Student ID: ██████████

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researchers named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 86015, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Appendix B: Participant Informed Consent Form

Māori migration: Home in relation to identity and wellbeing.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent 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 audio taped.

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

Signature: ....   **Date:** ....

Full Name - printed   ....

Appendix C: Template Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview Schedule

The interview is semi-structured, around a set of prompt questions that encourage participants to tell their own stories of their experiences.

Introduction

Ko Tongariro, ko Tautoro ngā maunga

Ko Taupōnui a tia, ko Hokianga ngā moana

Ko Waitahanui, ko Punakitere ngā awa

Ko Arawa, ko Ngātokimaataawhaorua ngā waka

Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa, ko Ngāpuhi ngā iwi.

Ko Ngati Hineuru, ko Ngāti Moerewa ngā hapu

Ko Teharoto, ko Mahuhukiterangi ngā marae

I tipu ake au ki Te Ahuriri.

Ko Te Kaumarua rāua ko Anne ōku mātua

Ko Jessica tōku ingoa

Thank-you for giving your time to be interviewed. I want to hear about your stories and experiences living in Melbourne as a young Māori, so I'll ask you some open-ended questions and you can tell me.

If you are not sure about anything in this interview, please feel free to ask me at any time. Before we begin, at this point do you have any questions for me?

Questions

1) To start, I am interested in learning what it means to you to be Māori.

- Can you tell me about a time when being Māori was important, or really mattered? What happened? Has there ever been a time where you didn't feel Māori enough?
- Have you ever thought that older Māori (like your grandparents, parents, aunties, uncles and elders) more 'Māori' than younger Māori?
- What is important to you as a young Māori man/woman that perhaps might not be as important to your Aussie mates? Is there anything they "don't get" about the way you do things? Anything you feel differently about?

2) How is being a young Māori in Australia different than in being a young Māori in Aotearoa?

- Where do you socialise with friends/whanau in Melbourne?
- What do you think would be/is different about growing up in Aotearoa than growing up in Melbourne (and vice versa)?
- Do you feel others respond differently to you being Māori in Melbourne?

3) Based on responses regarding the connection to Aotearoa and being Māori, can you think of a time when you wanted to go to Aotearoa?

- How was your last visit to Aotearoa? Why did you go?
- Where is home?
- What makes this place home compared with Australia/New Zealand?
- Have you ever felt 'homesick'? (if yes) What was happening for you then? (if no) Has anyone in your whānau ever talked about feeling homesick?

4) You've mentioned whānau. How do you maintain contact with whānau back home?

- Who do you consider whānau here in Melbourne?
- Can you think of a time when you felt you had whānau support here in Melbourne.
- When have you felt part of a community or group in Melbourne?

5) You mentioned Māori in New Zealand speaking reo. What opportunities are there for young Māori in Melbourne to speak reo?

- Why do you think learning Te Reo Māori is important (or not).

6) You mentioned ancestors.

- How much do you know about your whakapapa? Would you be willing to tell me some of what you know about your great grandparents/grandparents.
- Can you think of a time when you felt a connection to your ancestors? (if yes) What was happening for you then? (if no) has anyone in your whānau ever talked about feeling that kind of connection.

7) Whose better off, young Māori in Australia or Māori in New Zealand?

- How did you come about renting/owning your house here in Melbourne?
- What has your experience been like finding jobs here in Melbourne?
- What would happen if you lost your job?
- What do you enjoy most about living in Melbourne?
- Who would you call if you had an accident, say, broke your leg? How would 'business as usual' continue?
- What would make you want to live in New Zealand?

Appendix D: Participant Cultural Resources Guide

Cultural resources in MELBOURNE!

- Order groceries that remind you of home from 'kiwishoponline' and support this whānau business in Australia at the same time.
https://www.kiwishoponline.com.au/eshop/Groceries/

- Ka pai pies on Harvester Rd, Sunshine. The only place in Melbourne to get a hangi pie!

- Kiwi Pacific Stores – Samoan owners who have lived in Aotearoa, NZ. 16 - 18 Emu Parade, Jacana 3047; 110 Fitzgerald Rd, Laverton North 3029

- Free online courses such as beginner Te Reo, Iwi and Hapu studies and many more at Te Wānanga O Raukawa. The teachers are really supportive! http://www.wananga.com/

- Anglican Parish of Altona/Laverton hold a weekly service - all are welcome
https://anglicanaltlav.org.au/maori-fellowship/

- 'The Hangiboys' provide kai at events, like the 'The Aotearoa Festival' here in Melbourne. Follow them on Facebook here: https://www.facebook.com/hangiboys.com.au/

- Te Hononga o nga Iwi – (known as T'HONI). Kapahaka on the South-East side. For all ages and abilities! They perform at festivals like Rainbow Serpent; and at Waitangi and Matariki festivals. http://edgearts.com.au/organisation/www.facebook.comgroupstehononga

- Jan 26 is Survival Day – here is an awesome family friendly event that celebrates Aboriginal culture. https://www.facebook.com/events/553168944882354/

- The Frankston North Community Centre run Māori weaving, mau rākau, kapahaka, and Te Reo classes.
http://www.frankston.vic.gov.au/Things_To_Do/Community_Centres_and_Neighbourhood _Houses/Frankston_North_Community_Centre

Appendix E: Participant Transcript Release Form

Māori migration: Home in relation to identity and wellbeing.

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: _____   **Date:** _____

Full Name - printed _____