TE PŪTAHITANGA O NGĀ TAI E RUA

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

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

Hēni Meretini Collins
Ngāti Raukawa/Te Arawa/Ngāti Haumia/Pākehā

2004

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

(Apirana Taylor 1981)

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Abstract

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

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Chapter One

He Kupu Whakataki

Introduction

1.1   Introduction to Topic

1.1.1   Secure Identity and Health

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1.2 Dual Māori/Pākehā Ethnicity

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

1.1.3 Statistical significance

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

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

1.1.4   Social and political context

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

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

1.1.5   Dual Māori/Pākehā Ethnicity and Identity Stress

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

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

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

1.1.6 Strengths and Advantages

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

1.2 Introducing the Researcher

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Auckland in 1984.

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

1.3   Research Aims

1.3.1   General Aim

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

1.3.2   Acknowledging Personal and Cultural Security of Identity

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

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1.3.3 Tracking Identity Development Over Time

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

1.3.4 Studying Diversity Within the Māori Ethnic Group

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

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

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

1.3.5 Providing Contextual Data

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

1.4 Theoretical Background

1.4.1 Qualitative Research Overseas/Aotearoa New Zealand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.2   Critical theory

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

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

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undertake it themselves.

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

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

1.4.3   Ethnicity theory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.4   Culture, Cultural Identity and "Race"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.5 Hybridity Theory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.6 Post-colonial theory

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

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

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

1.4.7 Bi-culturalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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enables Māori to become universal people.

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

Chapter Two

Ngā Tikanga Rangahau

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

"Methodology" is distinct from "method" as related in the following explanation: "The term methods refers more specifically to individual techniques (eg surveys, participant observation) whereas methodology can be construed broadly to suggest both the presuppositions of methods, as well as their link to theory and implications for society" (Morrow 1994: 36). After first describing the method, this chapter explains the broader philosophical basis of those methods, that is the methodology, in terms of ethics, *kaupapa Māori* and participatory research, and the researcher's understanding of some of the terms used in undertaking the research.

2.2 Method

This thesis provides an analysis of eleven life narratives recorded in 1995-1998, initially as an oral history project entitled "Being Both Māori and Pākehā". The project initially included two further life narratives, but one participant withdrew[12] and another lives in the United States and attempts to contact him have not been successful. The oral history project also included three interviews with Māori mental health professionals and a prominent political figure of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage. A very limited amount of data from these latter interviews has been included in this thesis. Participants in the initial oral history project were told that the researcher was interested in developing the material for further publication, and gave varying levels of consent (see section 2.5). This description of the rationale behind the method used in undertaking the initial oral history project was therefore written retrospectively.

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[12] For full list of initial participants, see Collins 1999a.

Both the oral history project and this thesis were undertaken with the aim of providing insights and information relating to the process of personal and cultural identity development by collecting and then studying the life narratives of a number of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individuals. It was felt that a qualitative approach, involving a small number of case studies, was appropriate. This was because of the deeply personal, sometimes painful, nature of the subject matter and because the subject matter is a relatively new field of study. "Lightly structured interviews are appropriate in the early stages of enquiries and when feelings, meanings and thinking are to be investigated" (Knight 2002: 117). Whereas quantitative or statistical methods have been the dominant form of social research in this country as elsewhere, there is increasing acceptance of the value of qualitative data in complementing other forms of research to form a well-rounded picture (Neale 1994). A qualitative approach strives towards validity by matching information across case studies, by checking interpretations with the participant group, and by comparison with other studies and literature.

A qualitative approach is one which promotes a subjective research paradigm (Stake 1995: 45). Consequently the perspective, background and research experience of the researcher has been acknowledged - "not hidden and invisible with the power to intellectualise from a distance ...but immersed in the tensions, conflicts and frustrations which are a part of this study" (Selby 1996). In a Māori cultural context, it is understood that knowledge arises from personal connection. The only way to understand the Māori world is through a passionate, subjective approach (Marsden 1975: 143). It should also be acknowledged again that the researcher's background in journalism was relevant to the method in which this work was undertaken. Journalists are trained to gather information on particular subjects in a way which provides sufficient variation of examples and perspectives, with enough background research and context, in order to "tell a story" and satisfy a general reader. Because of the personal nature of the subject matter and within tikanga Māori, approaches for interviews were mostly made face-to-face. *"He kanohi kitea"*, a face seen is appreciated... Māori have a preference for working with people they know" (Irwin 1994).

2.3   Sample Selection

For the oral history project, thirteen participants were approached, their consent obtained for recording, and interviews undertaken between October 1995 and August 1998. These interview subjects all had a Māori and a Pākehā parent[13]. The sampling method was largely opportunistic – some participants were acquaintances whom I knew well enough to approach by telephone; one volunteered after I outlined the project to him when we met at a cultural event; one after he declared his identification with the group at a hui; and one was referred by an interviewee (the snowball method). Participants (other than the person referred by another) were known to the researcher mainly through her networks as a former journalist writing on Māori issues and events (1981-3, 1987-8), her attendance at language courses at *Te Wānanga o Raukawa* in Ōtaki (1989/90), her involvement with her hapū of Ngāti Kikopiri (Ōhau, Levin) since 1990, her extended whānau (the Cook whānau, Ōtaki) and her former involvement with the Canterbury University Māori Club (1979-80). Two people were approached as a result of the researcher's awareness of their published writing, which reflected their experience of being mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā.

Because the researcher's initial aim was to work towards producing a constructive publication of general interest, there was an element of "elite interviewing" (Kirk & Miller 1986: 10). Interviewees were all data-rich and possibly "atypically good" (Knight 2002: 123) in that they were able to articulate fully on the research topic, had extensive relevant personal experience, and appeared to be relatively successful in their careers and issue resolution. The researcher's assessment of them was that they were sufficient models of success for others to learn from. Hence the selected group may not be a representative sample of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā, and may reflect the researcher's own background of relative privilege and higher education. The thirteen initially interviewed for their life history narratives were selected to include a range of ages, tribal affiliations, types of experience, and life

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[13] See footnote 6.

choices. Through intrinsic case studies of particular and unique individuals, it was hoped that commonalities of experience would become apparent to provide insights and information about the challenges and strengths of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā more generally. In this way they would form an "instrumental case study" (Stake 1994: 236).

2.4   Data Collection Method

Oral history guidelines published by the National Library of New Zealand/ *Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa*, and taught at the introductory and advanced courses (Continuing Education, Victoria University) attended by the researcher covered planning, research, selection of interviewees, how to approach a proposed interviewee, and ethical standards (Fyfe & Manson 1994). Trainees were also instructed on the use of high-quality tape recording machines. Background information on each participant was researched prior to the interview, and this was more possible for those with a previous public profile. Research was also done into the historical context of their lives, particularly for older interviewees. A series of guiding questions was drawn up prior to the interview. Primary questions asked were:

1. Can you tell me about your childhood and the sorts of cultural influences you were exposed to?
2. Did you have much involvement with marae, reo, tikanga, Māori relatives etc?
3. What was your perception of your own cultural identity at that time - were you aware of being Māori?
4. Can you tell me about how your understanding of being Māori changed or developed over time to the present day?

Other factors which affected security of identity were also included in the interviews as provided by participants, eg socio-economic conditions, childhood nurture/abuse, the social context of school and later work, and whether there were any on-going stresses and tensions experienced relating to cultural identity.

After gaining informed consent (see section 2.5) the interview (sometimes two or more) was conducted, and recorded using a high-quality audio-cassette recorder and clip-on microphones. The interview was lightly structured, in that participants were encouraged to relate their life narratives in their own words in their own time, with prompts from the researcher as appropriate for clarification or elaboration. Interviews took place in the participants' homes to facilitate the expression of life history experience which was potentially personal and sensitive. Following conventions laid down by the Oral History Centre of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), an abstract or summary of content was written up for each interview. Participants were given an opportunity to correct and approve the abstracts. Copies of the tapes and abstracts are now held at the Oral History Centre (ATL). Copies of the tapes and abstracts were also given to the interview participants.

Interviews were widely spaced, often by several weeks, as the researcher continued to investigate theoretical, historical and statistical data. This was done both to provide a productive interplay of contemporary data collection with documentary research, as in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967), and to provide periodic relief from my isolation as a sole, independent, small-scale researcher.

2.5   Ethics

Ethical principles, both in Kaupapa Māori (Te Awekotuku 1991) and participatory action research (Small 1989; Whyte 1991) state that the researcher should be primarily responsible to the people interviewed. Those people need to be fully informed and retain an absolute right over the information they have volunteered. They must have the right to withdraw from the project at any time. These principles were understood by the researcher prior to the interviews taking place. The project was described to participants as an oral history project with an expectation that the material would be used for further research and possible publication. It was either explained in an initial face-to-face situation, and followed up with a phone call to specify an interview time; or it was explained briefly in an initial phone

call, a time arranged to meet and further explanation given at that time. The researcher experienced a high level of interest in the topic and willingness to participate.

Informed consent was formalised through the signing of an "Oral History Recording Agreement Form" (see Appendix 1) by each participant prior to the recording taking place. This form includes an agreement that the recorded material be available for research, either at the Oral History Centre or elsewhere as nominated by the commissioning person (the researcher), subject to access restrictions as noted in another section of the form.

After each person consented to being interviewed, an arrangement was made for the interview to occur at a set time and place. Prior to each interview, the project was further explained to the interviewee, who also had an opportunity to ask questions at this point. Each interviewee was also informed about the rights of third parties under the Privacy Act. All interviewees completed this form before the interview proceeded. Three interviewees agreed to open access and unrestricted publication of any material from the interviews. Two agreed to open access, but required that their permission be sought for publication of any material. Nine stated that their permission was required both for access and publication of their recorded interview.

Because in most cases the researcher had shared with the interviewee in attending cultural events or seminars which indicated her involvement with and commitment to the Māori community, though she did not know them well personally, she already felt considerable empathy with the interviewees, and encountered a high level of trust and support for the project. This may also have been related to her background as a qualified and experienced journalist. Further consent has been gained from participants for the new purpose of drawing on the recorded data for a Masters thesis (see Appendix 2), and also for inclusion in the thesis of specific material selected from their recorded life histories. Further consent was sought for use of name, and in some cases, photographs (see Appendix 3).

2.6   Kaupapa Māori Research

Because the research focus is on identity issues for people of Māori and Pākehā descent, and all of my interviewees identify as either "Māori and Pākehā", or solely Māori it was important that the researcher had a knowledge of kaupapa Māori research principles, and acted in accordance with them (Te Awekotuku 1991; Smith 1996). Much research by non-Māori on Māori in the past has given insufficient weight to Māori knowledge and values, and hence there is a need to correct this imbalance with research by Māori for Māori. In the initial stages of the research I was uncertain of my right to claim to be Māori, (since my father was not culturally confident as Māori) and hence to undertake the study. But the positive response received from participants affirmed what I had hoped - that my whakapapa and the extent of my involvement in *te ao Māori* previous to that time, were sufficient qualifications. As well as having considerable exposure to Māori language and tikanga, and contemporary issues facing Māori, I was also committed to further developing a critical viewpoint of our history as Māori or Māori/Pākehā, challenging our oppression as *tangata whenua*, and contributing to Māori development.

Under tikanga Māori also, recognition of the gift these interviewees were giving to me in sharing their life narratives was acknowledged by the custom of taking food when I visited, and the sharing of any knowledge I had of myself and my journey, or anything else of interest to them. In other words, the interviews were not a clinical process in which information was merely extracted from the interviewees, but took a more personal form involving an exchange of information and the provision of hospitality. Several relationships formed during the process became close and are expected to be on-going, involving reciprocal support and friendship.

In accordance with tikanga Māori again, undertaking this project has resulted in my forming a close relationship with a respected *kuia* in our Wellington community, Mihipeka Edwards, under whose instruction I have learnt much about the formal, ritual and spiritual aspects of tikanga, particularly for

women. Aunty Mihi has been involved in and consulted about this research project. Through my respect and admiration for this kuia, I have taken part in editing her third book for publication entitled "Mihipeka: *Karanga a te Kuia,* Call of an Elder" (2002). Also appropriately, my discussions with a publisher about this research led to him requesting that I undertake extensive research about the history of our three associated iwi, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa, toward eventual publication. To first honour my *tupuna* and my elders, before discussing more personal and sensitive issues of contemporary identity as Māori/ Pākehā, seemed very appropriate under tikanga Māori. I have enjoyed informal support from whānau, hapū and iwi for my involvement in this project.

While a small grant (approx. $5,000) was received by the researcher from the Australian Sesquicentennial Gift Trust Award in Oral History in 1997 for equipment, travel expenses etc needed for the initial oral history recording phase of the project, entitled "*Nga Tangata Awarua: Being Both Māori and Pākehā*", the researcher was the commissioning agent. My position was that of a sole researcher, working on a voluntary basis from home. Hence, in terms of power relationships, the researcher was as vulnerable as those interviewed and as a sole mother on minimal income, experienced some hardship in remaining committed to the project. However, once the interviews had been recorded, I felt an on-going responsibility to those interviewed, a personal interest in maintaining relationships with them and a passion for exploring the topic in further depth because of its perceived importance to society. Participants are all people for whom I feel *aroha* and respect, and from whom I can learn. I honour their courage and trust in consenting to the recorded interviews. But after having done the interviews and becoming aware of the vulnerabilities and sensitivities of the participants, I was very aware of the principle of "*kia tūpato*", the need to proceed cautiously and not to harm the participants in any way (Smith 1996: 27).

In kaupapa Māori research (Smith 1996: 29), as with participatory action research (Small 1989; Whyte 1991) there is a commitment to report back to the people concerned, both for reciprocity and accountability. Initial findings

have been brought back to participants for discussion. In November 1998 a small hui was held at Tapu Te Ranga Marae to bring participants and others together to discuss common issues and experiences. This was attended by fifteen people and received positive feedback.

Preliminary analysis of data has also been returned to participants and also, with their permission, made more widely available - in an article for the National Oral History Association journal (Collins 1999a), in a talk given on the topic at an oral history conference (at Te Putahi-a-Toi, Palmerston North, 1999) and again in a talk given at the National Library (August 2000). Participants' permission was gained for all quotations from their recorded interviews. Participants were invited to attend and some did so.

Some researchers, including myself, believe that positive change should result from their research. "Action researchers and critical theorists are committed to change, as are co-operative or feminist inquirers, but others too see it as a moral duty" (Knight 2002: 142). Hence with the support of other Māori researchers, a broadly-advertised hui was organised on the subject in May 2001. Under the title "*Half-caste, half-pie, half-baked? Exploring dual and multiple identities as Māori*", the full-day *hui* attracted about 40 people. There, the issues were discussed in general and political aspects raised. Some of the participants in this project attended. The hui was recorded by National Radio and a half-hour programme made (Diamond & Leonard 2001). A feature article for the Weekend Herald also resulted (Collins 2001). I was also asked to give a talk on the subject in general terms (alongside Paul Meredith) at a hui for Māori council workers in November 2001.

While aspects of the project have been discussed and approved by participants, attempts to involve them in greater decision-making within the project as an ideal, as in participatory research (Small 1989) have generally not been productive. Participants have many other commitments, and limited time available, but their willingness to continue to participate as interviewees indicates their support for the concept and general direction of the project. Information gained from two preliminary interviews (17/10/95; 26/5/96) was

used as a means to affirm the research aims, and refine interview questions in a process which can be labelled "progressive focussing" (Stake 1995: 9).

2.7   Data Analysis

Qualitative research involves not just the collection of data but also the analysis and interpretation of that data (Knight 2002: 20). Data will be organised for meaning under themes relating to: the cultural markers for Māori cultural identity as listed in section 1.1.1 (Durie et al 2002: 46) including knowledge of language, tribal history, whakapapa and tikanga ; aspects of ethnic identity considered relevant for bi-racial or mixed heritage individuals such as acceptance and appearance (Stephan 1992: 54-5); and the processes by which change occurs over time (Durie et al 1995a; Helms 1995; Cross 1994; Gibson 1999). Both positive and negative experiences are included in order to more fully describe the complexity of life for these individuals. Identification of challenges and issues is not a fixation on failure, "rather a belief that the nature of people and systems becomes more transparent during their struggles" (Stake 1995: 16-17). Issues are complex and interwoven with social, political, historical and personal contexts. The analysis will be checked with participants in order to ensure that it is accurate and matches their perceptions.

2.8   Terminology

Some terms commonly used in this thesis are described below. Others such as **ethnicity, culture, hybridity** and **post-colonial** have already been discussed in section 1.4. Described below are the terms: identity, crisis, bi-racial, mixed heritage, dual ethnicity, "half-castes", Māori-and-Pākehā, part-Māori, Māori/Pākehā, *ngā tangata awarua*, Māori, and Pākehā.

Identity and crisis - Identity is a dynamic social product, residing in psychological process, which cannot be understood except in relation to its social context and historical perspective (Breakwell 1986: 9). It includes all things a person might legitimately and reliably say about themselves – their status, name, personality, past life and their ethnicity. If people are confident about their abilities, can take criticism, and do not depend on others for their

belief in themselves, they are said to have a strong sense of identity. They know who they are. If they are unconfident, unsure of who they are and where they are heading, they lack a sense of identity. If the situation is extreme, they are said to be undergoing an "identity crisis" (Winn 1980: 132). Crisis can also refer to periods of active examination of ethnicity, ideology or occupational identity prior to commitment (Chapman & Nicholls 1976); and to normative periods of transition, associated with vulnerability but not necessarily ill-health (Barrow 1988). "Identity is a global self-awareness achieved through crisis and sequential identifications in social relations"(Erikson 1968; Breakwell 1986: 10).

Bi-racial, mixed heritage or dual ethnicity - The term bi-racial is widely used in the United States and refers to a person whose parents are of two different *socially* designated racial groups (see section 1.4.4), often to those people with one black and one white parent, or people whose parents are of the same socially designated race, but one or both parents are bi-racial or there is racial mixing in the family history that is important to the individual (Root 1996: ix). Stephan (Root 1992: 50) prefers the term mixed heritage to bi-racial. "While race suggests a strict biological division of groups, one that is certainly fictional in our society, heritage suggests a combination of biological and cultural factors that are the actual components of our designations of "race" and "ethnicity". Dual or multiple ethnicity options have been allowed in New Zealand censes since 1986 and have also been listed in published data (Allan 2001). This means being allowed to tick more than one box when asked about either ethnic origin or ethnic group.

"Half-caste", Māori and Pākehā, Māori-and-Pākehā, ngā tangata awarua - McDonald's (1976: 45) research indicates that many people saw themselves as "half-caste" or " Māori and Pākehā" and the 2001 census data indicates that 36.7 percent of all those of Māori ethnicity identify as both Māori and New Zealand European. In the Te Hoe Nuku Roa survey of 1574 individuals from 655 Māori households (households with at least one Māori occupant), 51 percent accepted the identity descriptor "Māori" for themselves, and 10.7 percent accepted the descriptor "Māori and Pākehā". Nearly 4 percent said

they were "part-Māori" and nearly 26 percent said they were either a 'kiwi" or a "New Zealander" (THNR 1999). The term "half-caste", which has been commonly used in our past to refer to children of mixed parentage, has sometimes carried a stigma (Meredith 2000; Gibson 1999: 79). Comments that have been made about it are that it suggests that "half-castes" are less than whole, and that it originates in a narrow biological concept of inheritance, as opposed to a dual cultural and spiritual heritage (Collins 1999). Meredith (2000) however, has adopted the label "half-caste" - "quite consciously as part of a project of defiance and resistance to those who would seek to reduce me to one or the other" and has publicly claimed it as a positive identity. Though the term "half-caste" is used in this thesis when referring to past categorisation or attitudes, it remains in quotation marks to indicate the researcher's non-preference for the term.

For contemporary use this researcher prefers the more neutral term "Māori and Pākehā" as used by McDonald, with the addition of hyphenation (Māori-and-Pākehā) in order to stress the unity of the person. "Māori/Pākehā" is an acceptable alternative. "*Nga tangata awarua*" is also a term suggested by the researcher for people of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage. Tangata means person or people, and awarua can mean either the flowing of two rivers, or a corridor/passage. Hence the term includes meanings of dual cultural and spiritual heritage, possible discomfort/alienation of being or passing in-between, and the concept of transition. The term has been discussed with and accepted by research participants in this project (Collins 1999a).

Māori - Before the arrival of Europeans and since, Māori defined themselves by whānau, hapū and iwi membership. The word Māori means "normal, ordinary" and the earliest recorded evidence of the term *"tangata Māori"* for "ordinary people" was in 1801. By 1840 it had become so widely used that it was included in the Treaty (King 2003: 168). It relates closely to tangata whenua (people of the land), and has connotations of those who were here first, and host people (King 1985: 109).

Pākehā/European - The meaning of the word Pākehā has evolved over time –

initially it meant someone from England who had settled and worked in Aotearoa New Zealand; then it meant a fair-skinned person who was born in New Zealand; and later it was applied more generally to all fair-skinned people in New Zealand, no matter what their place of birth or ancestry (Department of Labour 1985). King (1985), however, broadened the definition even further by suggesting it meant any non-Māori person, regardless of race, colour or ethnicity, again in contrast to Māori. There is no evidence from early literature or oral sources that the term is derogatory. Its most likely source is *pakepakeha*, which means mythical light-skinned beings (King 2003). Because many New Zealanders of European descent are not comfortable with the term Pākehā, it is combined with the term European in this thesis. The term European/Pākehā is commonly used in formal reports, and was also used in the 1996 census (Blakey 2003; Robson, Reid 2001). The word Pākehā is also used in combination with the term Māori (Māori-and-Pākehā), as there is evidence that many Māori of mixed heritage are comfortable with describing themselves this way (McDonald 1976; THNR 1999).

2.9 Literature Review

When this project was first undertaken, there appeared to be very little research specifically focussing on the experience and issues associated with being both Māori and Pākehā. In a foreword to a book by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, "Some Modern Māoris", Te Rangihiroa (1946) had written sympathetically of those who called themselves "mongrels", and argued that by hard work and self-discipline, it was possible to stand tall in both Māori and Pākehā societies. Winiata (1967: 94, 180) also described a type of Māori leader, educated in the European system, who performed "the major role of mediation between the two societies, interpreting the Māori to the European, the European to the Māori. Generally these leaders attempt to live in two worlds." Harre (1966) in "Mixed Marriages" had focussed specifically on Māori/Pākehā marriage with some inclusion of the offspring, whom he described as being of varied character, interests and ethnicity, but generally well socially-adjusted and accepted.

There were also numerous brief references in various sources from which an historical picture relating to attitudes to children and adults of mixed heritage could be gleaned. It was possible to research the ways in which people of dual heritage had been categorised, and to provide indications of population trends. There was considerable material on Māori health, well-being and identity by researchers including Walker (1989), Durie (1985a; 1995; 2001), and Te Whāiti et al (1997) which presented the view that a strong cultural and social identity as Māori is important for Māori well-being, apparently without distinguishing between sole ethnicity Māori and dual or multiple ethnicity Māori. A quantitative survey of Māori youth identification undertaken for a Masters of Social Science in Psychology by A. L. King (1974) called *"Māori Nor Pākehā"* compared Māori, Pākehā/European and Māori/Pākehā youths but was worded in such a way that it did not allow the expression of a positive dual Māori/Pākehā identity. Contrary to his expectation, he found that while Māori/Pākehā children were more likely to be "ambiguous" about their ethnicity they were no more likely than others to experience social alienation.

O'Regan (1975) wrote that while he recognized that others have difficulty reconciling the two ethnicities, he felt he had done so and that being of mixed descent meant a doubling of cultural potential and an increase in options. Ramsden (1993) in "Border-crossings and Re-crossings" described some of the stresses associated with traversing contrasting cultural/ethnic groups and her choice to identify as Māori. Since my oral history project was undertaken, a growing body of research about dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity has emerged (Gibson 1999; Meredith 1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2001; Moeke-Maxwell 2003). These theses and articles have provided a strong body of information about the subjective experience of ethnicity, including the identity development process, and the social and political context, of dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā. Bevan (2000) argued that it was not possible for "white Māori" women to maintain dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity and hence she supported a singular tangata whenua identity for such people. Overseas literature relating to general, mixed race and indigenous identity, and the position and history of selected mixed descent indigenous and ethnic minority populations was also surveyed.

Hence this thesis draws on a combination of historical and contemporary, Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas literature relating to: historical and more recent public attitudes towards being of mixed heritage; changes and notable trends in statistical data collection relating to dual Māori/Pākehā heritage or ethnicity and the social psychology of mixed heritage or dual ethnicity identity.

Chapter Three

He Tirohanga Ki Muri[14]

Historical and Statistical Background

3.1 The "Half-Caste" and Māori/Pākehā Marriage in History

3.1.1 Early Pākehā-Māori Assimilated

Māori/Pākehā sexual liaisons began in the late 18th century and "half-caste"[15] children were noted in the early 19th century (Salmond 1991; Meredith 2000). Sealers and whalers took season wives, but as the advantages of trade with Pākehā/European were recognized, Māori encouraged Europeans to live permanently amongst them to mutual advantage (Druett 1991: 130). These early European settlers adopted the customs and language of their host communities and many had large, healthy families (Bentley 1999: 204). Thompson (1859: 301) estimated that by 1840 there were 150 Pākehā men (known as Pākehā-Māori) living with Māori women, mostly in the Bay of Islands, the Hokianga, the Cook Strait and South Island shore whaling establishments (Sorrenson 1992:142). At Te Awaiti in Westland in 1839 there were 40 European whalers, all of whom lived with Māori women. "Dieffenbach counted 21 half-caste children whose appearance struck him very favourably" (McNab 1975: 297). Walker (1990:79), too, commented that children of mixed unions were much admired for their fair skin and generally handsome appearance. Missionary views on such relationships were mixed, with Protestants more disapproving than Catholics (Butterworth 1998). Prostitution also resulted in mixed heritage offspring and concern was sometimes expressed about their care (Sorrenson 1992:143).

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[14] Ihimaera, W. (Ed.). (2000). *Mataora*. Wellington: Te Waka Toi/ Creative New Zealand, David Bateman: 56

[15] See Terminology section 2.7 for a discussion of this term.

3.1.2 European Thought on "Race Mixing"

Miscegenation (interbreeding between races, particularly white and non-white) was a topic much discussed in England and America in the late 18th century (Wilson 1987). Some of the hysterical language included that of Edward Long who wrote in England in 1772 that miscegenation was: "a venomous and dangerous ulcer that threatens to disperse its malignancy far and wide until every family catches infection from it" (Wilson 1987). More serious-thinking Europeans and Americans wanted to fit miscegenation into their understanding of "racial" differences and take a moral stance on it. There were two distinct schools of thought. The monogenetic argument was that the different human races were descended from a single source, ie the white male, and that all other forms were a deterioration from this ideal. The polygenetic argument, however, was that the different races were in fact different species and hence any product of a union between them would be infertile - if not initially, then after a generation or two (Young 1995: 9; Meredith 2000: 7). Miscegenation was seen as unnatural, and temporary in its effects ie the descendants would eventually relapse to one of the original races. Either way, a sense of stigma and social shame was associated with it (Meredith 2000).

The idea of the mixed race person as a social problem and as biologically inferior was particularly strong at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in England (Wilson 1987). Terms used for the offspring were "hybrid" which meant crosses between species, and "mongrel" meaning crosses between races, and neither had positive connotations (Young 1995: 10). The English distaste for inter-racial marriage was often expressed by relatives "back home" to early New Zealand settlers eg the parents of the researcher's great-great-grandfather, Foxton trader Thomas Uppadine Cook, were said to be "horrified" by his marriage to Meretini Te Akau, of Ngāti Raukawa/Te Arawa/Ngāti Haumia descent (Edwards 1996: 8).

However, the health of mixed race populations such as that of the Creole/Negro relationships in the West Indies could not be ignored and in the 1840's a number of more approving views on miscegenation were heard. Pritchard (1843) was an ethnologist who argued that the term "hybrid" was

inappropriate because different peoples were "varieties" rather than different species. All were capable of propagating, and probably the more different, the better (Young 1995: 10).

3.1.3 Official Sympathy in Aotearoa New Zealand

In Aotearoa New Zealand, colonial leaders in the 19th and early 20th centuries saw intermarriage as a means of amalgamating and assimilating the native population, saving Māori from extinction (Metge 1976: 303; Sorrenson 1975: 103; Anon 1850). It was thought that the "half-caste" was part of natural progress towards Māori abandoning the ways of their ancestors and adopting Pākehā/European norms and values, becoming more and more like Pākehā/European until they merged completely (Metge 1976: 303; Meredith 2000: 6). While the native population "melted away", intermarriage was expected to result in "a new race of civilised, mixed people" (Anon 1850). Official Government sympathy towards mixed heritage children was shown by the 1860 Half-Caste Removal Disability Act, which gave legitimacy to children of unmarried Māori/Pākehā couples (Meredith 2000). Half-caste or fair Māori were also favoured by the Native Land Court, because they were seen as more civilised or less likely to engage in "barbarous practices" (Hemara 2004: 229).

3.1.4 Relations Sour, Māori/Pākehā Marriages Affected

From the 1840's onwards, however, race relations and attitudes to Māori/Pākehā intermarriage were soured - both by conflict over land and by Darwin's theories that groups of people could be classified in a hierarchy with Europeans at the top and indigenous peoples at the bottom (Meredith 2000). Because of European attitudes of racial or cultural superiority, Māori were denied real participation in European political institutions, except at a menial level (Ward 1995: 39). The New Zealand Company encouraged the immigration of European women, and the growing political dominance and material wealth of Pākehā/Europeans in this country meant they were no longer dependent on Māori for security or survival. Māori became a sub-class, and social divisions between the two ethnic or social groups became more firmly entrenched (Olssen & Stenson 1989: 37-8; Sorrenson 1975:103). Many

Pākehā/European husbands (legal or de facto) deserted their Māori wives and families to find European ones; some perhaps returned to the European wives they already had (Edwards 1990: 97). The decline of the whaling industry at this time also resulted in Pākehā/European men moving elsewhere to find work, many going to Australia. Thomson (1859: 301) estimated that by 1853, only ten remained of the 150 or so "Pākehā-Māori" men who had been living with Māori women in 1840.

The Māori/ Pākehā offspring of European fathers who took no responsibility for them or their mothers suffered the shame and hardship of that situation (Baucke 1928: 289). Gorst (1864: 51) expressed this in extreme and offensive terms: "In every village in Waikato these abandoned little half-castes are to be seen running about wild, like dogs or pigs, growing up in filth and barbarism, inheriting the vices of both races and enjoying the care of neither". He said the mother's relatives usually provided minimal food and clothing for the children, "but they feel the wrong and dishonour done them by the white man". Rape and sexual assault of Māori women occurred with some frequency, justice was often not obtained and offspring sometimes resulted (Scott 1975: 127; Edwards 1990: 97). Half-castes suffered discrimination in accommodation and employment similarly to other Māori (Baucke 1928: 290-1; Meredith 2000: 9) and in most cases mixed heritage Māori continued to associate with their Māori whānau/family and community (Harre 1965: 65).

The declining Māori population was seen to confirm Darwin's theory that the Māori were inferior and therefore doomed to extinction, and theories about the biological inferiority of mixed heritage offspring emerged again. Theories published by Wellington medical practitioner and conservative politician A.K. Newman (1882: 459-77) were especially negative. He not only believed that the Māori would die out "and leave no trace of their union with whites," but also that the mixed descent offspring were "unproductive" and while "often handsome and well-made, they all die young". He put this down to an inferior chest capacity. "Their chests are usually of the shallow type seen in the consumptives of our own race...The half-castes are a delicate race and succumb early in life to phthisis" (progressive wasting diseases such as

pulmonary tuberculosis). And he stated that the off-spring of half-castes by either race were no better - "a feeble race and (which) rapidly tend to extinction". The health and fertility of existing Māori/Pākehā families had already proved him wrong, and Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) clearly emphasized this fact in a publication some years later (1924: 373-375).

3.1.5 Increased Social distance, but Intermarriage continues

Despite these unfavourable and inaccurate predictions from a prominent Wellington settler, many dual heritage Māori/Pākehā continued to thrive and were accepted amongst Europeans, particularly if they conformed to European norms and values (Meredith 2000: 7). As there continued to be a shortage of women (in 1911 there were still only 90 women to 100 men), "half-caste" women were highly sought after and often accepted European husbands. "Half-caste" men occasionally found European wives. Government policies of assimilation and amalgamation were reflected in some questionable theories circulating in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that Māori had Aryan ancestry, and could be seen as "honorary whites", "more advanced" and "easier to civilize" than other indigenous peoples (Belich 2001: 189; Tregear 1885). Some 76 people chose to legally Europeanize themselves under the Native Land Amendment Act 1912[16], a law which made it easier to sell land (Meredith 2000: 6-7). The "half-caste" population continued to increase as a proportion of the total Māori population (Butterworth & Mako 1989: 24).

3.1.6 Most Dual Heritage Māori/Pākehā Not Assimilating

Conflict and growing inequalities between Māori and Pākehā/European meant greater pressure to choose a single ethnicity, with a strong likelihood that a Māori identity was chosen. "In periods of constraint and social upheaval, ethnic ties are often more visible and cohesive...A sense of community arises out of conflict and perception of outward threat" (Pearson 1990: 16). Those whose European fathers had married into their mother's Māori communities,

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[16] Criteria were ability to speak English, standard four education, and sufficient means of income.

Description: Sir Peter Henry Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa)
1880-1951
Anthropologist and director, Bernice P
Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Reference Number: F- 23071-1/2 -

Creator: Photographer Unknown

NEW ZEALAND GIRL WITH HER HALF-CASTE NEPHEW AND NIECE.
From a Photograph.

particularly in the North Island, often enjoyed high status and attained leadership positions in those communities – through both their mother's lineage and the new skills acquired from their fathers (Butterworth 1988). Mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā in the South Island however were more likely to be described as "living as European" (Pool 1991). Most immigrants in the 1860's and 1870's settled in the South Island where there were few Māori. Social distance between Māori and Pākehā, encouraged by the mission stations, was now maintained in the colony at large and the rate of miscegenation slowed (Sorrenson, 1975:103). Yet there was no formal segregation and no significant demand for it: colonial New Zealand remained committed to the amalgamation of the races. Non-English Europeans such as French and Jews were less closely associated with the wars than the English at this time and therefore more acceptable to Māori as marriage partners eg the French families of Bidois and Hetet (Sorrenson, 1992:143).

In the 1920's statisticians recognized that living in European-style housing did not preclude continued Māori ethnicity and they stopped counting "half-castes" in two separate groups (those living as Europeans, and those living as Māori). They also realized that many of those defining themselves as predominantly Māori had less than 50 percent biological inheritance (Pool 1991:16). Hence the Europeans' predictions that mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā would assimilate and thereby encourage other Māori to also do so, were not borne out in reality.

3.1.7   Harre's Māori/Pākehā Intermarriage Data

It is relevant to note early data on mixed Māori/Pākehā marriages from 1895 to 1960 collected by anthropologist Dr John Harre (1968). Harre compared mixed marriages as a proportion of all marriages conducted by the Auckland Registrar for the years 1895, 1910, 1925, 1935, 1950 and 1960. He found that for those years, the lowest proportion of Māori/Pākehā intermarriage occurred in 1910, and the rate increased steadily after that date. Some concern became evident amongst Māori that cultural strength and political claims might be weakened by such marriages eg in 1907 the Editor of the Māori newspaper *Te*

Pipiwharauroa advocated against Māori-Pākehā intermarriage, writing, *"kia ū, kia mau, ki a rātou anō"*, that Māori should hold steadfast to themselves, lest they be lost amongst the Pākehā (Meredith 2000: 9[17]).

3.1.8 Rise of the Young Māori Party

By the early 20th century Māori were predominantly rural, but most tribal land had been lost (confiscated or sold), so Māori could not subsist independently and were forced into menial work for Pākehā/Europeans (Metge 1976: 35). Their domestic living conditions were much lower than that of Pākehā/Europeans and they had virtually no political power in Government, with only four members who could easily be outvoted (Pearson 1990: 108). Mixed heritage Māori leaders attempted to improve conditions for Māori by working through the political system, but were often frustrated by a lack of commitment from the European-dominated Government (Butterworth 1988; King 1992: 287). Some (eg Sir Maui Pomare) argued that Māori should abandon their customs and distinctiveness and become like Pākehā/Europeans, but Sir Apirana Ngata, in contrast, argued for the retention of language and customs at the same time as integration into Pākehā/European society (King 1992: 295). King (1992: 296) describes the Young Māori Party leaders as being effective in bringing about improvements at this time, lifting the profile of Māori in Pākehā eyes and increasing understanding of Māori needs. Other mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā assumed leadership roles within other tribal and cultural contexts eg Princess Te Puea and Pei Te Hurinui Jones. A movement called Kotahitanga called for Māori partnership and sovereignty rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, but met with so little response from Government that it dwindled and lost heart.

3.1.9 Post-War Urbanisation, Increased Intermarriage

Māori involvement in World War II and the social welfare policies of M. J. Savage led to reduced inequalities and social division between Māori and Pākehā/European in the 1940's and 1950's. Pākehā/European respect for Māori grew, as did a degree of acceptance of Māori values and desire to retain

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[17] The Editor, *"Mo te Māori, mo te pākehā rānei?"* Te Pipiwharauroa, no 112, July p1-2.

cultural distinctiveness. While discrimination in employment, accommodation and hotel bars remained, urbanisation of Māori meant increased social mixing and higher levels of Māori/Pākehā inter-marriage (King 1992: 305-6). The civil rights movement, the strong youth culture and the sexual liberation movements of the 1960's also facilitated increased Māori/Pākehā intermarriage. Harre (1966) found that 42 percent of the Māori who married in Auckland in 1960, married Pākehā/European. The proportion of mixed marriages to all marriages was increasing, and in particular those marriages between Māori men and (mainly young) Pākehā/European women. In 1956, 13 percent of children of Māori descent in Auckland were from a mixed Māori/Pākehā marriage. By 1966 that figure had grown to 25 percent.

But disapproval in both Māori and Pākehā/European communities against such relationships continued into this period (Beaglehole & Beaglehole 1946). A belief that mixed heritage offspring would inherit the worst of both races was still commonly held amongst Pākehā/European, and Māori preferred their children to marry people of status within the Māori world or with useful whakapapa links (Harre 1966:115). Some saw Māori/Pākehā marriages as weakening Māori cultural and political strength. Hence there was a degree of stigma sometimes experienced by mixed heritage children. Racist taunts sometimes referred specifically to being "half-caste"(Gibson 1999: 79; Ashton 1998: 42). But while parents often opposed the Māori/Pākehā marriages that took place, most adjusted and accepted them over time - for example, if the Māori spouse had achieved sufficient status (for the Pākehā/European parents); or if the non-Māori spouse had shown sufficient sympathy and understanding of Māori issues (for the Māori parents) (Harre 1966:112). Many Pākehā/European women marrying Māori did not know how culturally different their husbands were when they married them and found certain customs hard to accept eg open-door hospitality. While some mixed couples felt socially isolated, most shared a common integrated social group. Some mixed heritage couples were acculturated as Pākehā/European. They were affected by anti-Māori discrimination at work, but found fewer social barriers in the voluntary and recreational groups. Mixed heritage children were seen as Māori unless they were very fair-skinned and behaved

appropriately. They did not appear to suffer from social or psychological problems and there was considerable choice and variation within families.

Secretary of Māori Affairs Jack Hunn (Hunn 1962) saw Māori/Pākehā marriage as a positive measure of integration. He supported the retention of cultural elements and worked to improve living conditions for Māori, but failed to recognize the importance of social cohesion for the spiritual and political strength of Māori. Hunn argued that so much merging had already taken place that it would be impossible for the two groups to retain separate identities (Hunn & Booth 1962: 3). His theories were assimilationist in effect eg the "pepper-potting" system of housing Māori; and hence damaging to Māori spiritual and mental health (Kingi 2003 :33). Growth in Māori/Pākehā intermarriage appears to have continued through the 1970's. A 1976 study (Graves 1984) suggested that by this time there had been a significant shift towards greater acceptance of Māori/Pākehā marriage. Figures that were taken out of later censes for the whole of New Zealand show that the proportion of children of Māori descent who had one non-Māori parent rose from 34 percent in 1971 to 45 percent in 1981 (Butterworth 1988).

Māori living rurally or in provincial urban centres within their tribal areas appear to have had a lower rate of exogamous marriage (outside their ethnic group). Data from the Māori Women's Welfare League health study Rapuora undertaken in the early 1980's (Murchie 1984) relates to nearly 1180 Maorī women who were interviewed from South Auckland to Bay of Plenty, including Manukau City, Rotorua, Hamilton and Tauranga. Forty percent of all Māori lived in the area sampled. Out of every ten partnered women surveyed, eight had Māori partners (Murchie 1984: 82, 126), fairly consistently across the population groups - "young mother", "partnered mother" (older), and "whaea o te marae". Urban young, who lived outside their tribal areas, however, were less likely to have a Māori partner (41 percent).

3.1.10 The Māori Renaissance and its Effects
The 1970's and 80's saw strong growth in Māori cultural and social

organisations in the cities, and official recognition of the need for Māori language and cultural content in schools and universities. Protests about land issues got extensive media coverage and forced Governments to consider Māori political and social concerns more seriously. The result has been a growth in Treaty rights, and a growth in the confidence, morale and political power wielded by Māori (Walker 1990:507-9). This has continued into the 1990's, but remains vulnerable to the evolving thinking of the two major political parties and their response to public opinion. The ideological basis of the Māori political and cultural renaissance was to emphasize cultural difference, social division and political differentiation between Māori and Pākehā/European which was to some extent an artificial polarisation and an over-simplification (Greenland 1984: 89; Meredith 1999). Cultural politics were expressed in terms of binary opposition between coloniser/colonised, and within this context hybridity and overlapping membership of cultural and ethnic groups were rarely acknowledged (Meredith 1999; Thomas 1986). Neither dual Māori/Pākehā identification nor Māori/Pākehā intermarriage were encouraged within this political climate. Some leaders (eg Donna Awatere) argued that the best way to rebuild cultural strength was for Māori to marry Māori. While specific data on Māori/Pākehā marriage or de facto relationships has not been consistently available over time, it has been suggested by Butterworth (1988) that the rate of Māori/Pākehā marriage (the proportion of Māori/Pākehā marriages to all marriages) is likely to have declined during the height of the cultural renaissance (1970's to 80's). In 1986, two parent families which had a Māori parent and a European/Pākehā parent made up 11.9 percent of the total number of two parent families with dependent children in private dwellings (1996 Census, Families and Households: 45). Those which had two Māori parents made up 8.9 percent of the total.

Another effect of the Māori cultural and political renaissance of the 1970's and 1980's, however, was that it created a strong social current with associated new initiatives, excitement and enthusiasm, which had appeal to many people. Māori were seen to have distinctiveness, power and influence. The number of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā identifying as Māori is likely to

have increased as a result.

3.1.11 Increased Acknowledgement of Māori Diversity in the 1990's

By the mid-1990's, after considerable political and cultural gains had been made, Māori health researchers then moved beyond the rhetoric of the renaissance activists to acknowledge diversity, and the fact that Māori have a range of social and cultural affiliations (Durie 1995a, 1995b). Statisticians also acknowledged the reality of dual and multiple ethnicity and allowed people to define themselves this way in the census (more in next chapter). Hence, the 1990's appear to have been a climate of greater acceptance of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity and cultural overlap and a number of prominent politicians and artists have expressed their own subjective experience and views on the subject (eg John Tamihere; Ihimaera 2000). In the 2001 census, nearly 37 percent of the Māori ethnicity population (5.2 percent of the total population) identified themselves as both Māori and Pākehā/European.

But despite increased acknowledgement by Māori leaders and government officials, the issue of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity remains controversial, particularly within the Māori community. Those who have attempted to raise awareness of it have met with some opposition as a result of its political implications. Moeke-Maxwell (2003: 233) describes how, in trying to raise awareness of the experience of Māori women's cultural hybridity, she has encountered fear and criticism, particularly from Māori, that she will "make the idea of a quintessential Māori essence invisible", "usurp the mana of all Māori", and cause fracturing or division which will undermine or weaken the Māori community. "There is a real fear that post-modern/post-colonial narratives will challenge the temporal advantage that Māori have achieved in strategically aligning themselves as unchanged over time, untouched by the discourses of assimilation, integration and colonialism" (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 234). The existence of the physical body of the bi/multi racial woman, often evident in fairness of skin, testifies to the intimate border crossings that have existed since Māori and Pākehā first met. In addition, "her ability to move across cultures at will destabilises the idea of fixed cultural boundaries and spaces."

A nationally-advertised hui organised by Moeke-Maxwell, the researcher (myself), and others (Wellington, May 2001) aimed at raising awareness of dual and multiple identity issues for Māori was successful in that speakers were heard sympathetically, issues discussed calmly, and wider radio and newspaper coverage achieved (Diamond & Leonard 2001; Collins 2001). But similar concerns about the issue or the way it was presented potentially dividing Māori were, however, raised prior to the hui, and resulted in the late withdrawal of an invited speaker.

3.2 Counting Māori-and-Pākehā: Recognition and Growth

3.2.1 Introduction

Data collection in Aotearoa New Zealand has tended to reflect European/Pākehā concepts of "race" as having a predominantly biological basis, rather than Māori concepts of group belonging or ethnicity which also emphasize cultural and social factors (Mako 1999: 40). Significant change towards collecting data on ethnicity rather than "race" occurred only in the 1980's.

3.2.2 Early Counts, "Half-Castes" Divided by Mode of Living

Estimates of Māori population numbers in the 1840's were 110,000-120,000 but only 15 years later that number had been halved due to the impact of colonization (Census results 1921: 59; Brown 1984: 159). "Half-castes"[18] were counted for the first time in 1874. At that time, 1,860 "half-castes" were counted living "in the European manner" (Butterworth & Mako 1989: 24), while those who "lived with the tribes or in Māori fashion generally" were classed with the Māori population and not identified separately (Census results 1921: 65). Brown (1984) states that the reasons for making a distinction on mode of living were not clear, but could have been related to convenience (since Māori were counted on a separate census up until 1916),

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[18] Use of the term "half-caste" is explained in the previous chapter. It used in this thesis when referring to past categorisation or attitudes, but for contemporary use this researcher prefers the more neutral terms "Māori and Pākehā" (McDonald 1976), Maori-and-Pākehā, or Maori/Pākehā.

or the assimilation policies of Governors George Grey and Thomas Gore Browne (which meant assumptions were made, often false, that mode of living reflected identification). Everyone who was more than half Māori was counted as Māori regardless of the mode of living.

As noted in section 3.1, Government leaders were sympathetic to mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā, due to attitudes amongst officials that such people would become role models to other Māori in terms of assimilating Pākehā norms and values (Metge 1976: 303; Meredith 2000: 6). Legislation in 1860 and 1877, relating to legitimizing illegitimate children and their rights to inherit land, reflected this sympathy. Legislation supported the Europeanization of mixed heritage Māori, but denied the Māori ethnicity of anyone of "less than half" biological descent. In 1867 the Māori Representation Act defined Māori as including "half-castes but not those of any lesser degree of descent". Only those of half or more descent were allowed to vote on the Māori electoral roll and this remained the case for over 100 years. Māori representation was already limited by the fact that the qualification to vote in New Zealand was based on property ownership (Butcher 2003: 37).

3.2.3 Dual Heritage Māori/Pākehā Thrive

While the general Māori population fell in numbers between 1877-1896 as a result of disease, war and land confiscation, the dual heritage Māori/ Pākehā population continued to increase. Reasons for the continued population growth amongst this group could have included a higher standard of living, *rangatira* birth (as European men often married Māori women of rangatira or chiefly status) and resistance to disease (Butterworth 1988). But predictions that these mixed heritage offspring would identify themselves as Pākehā/European were not borne out as proven by the evidence of Buck (1924). He found that around 50 percent of Pioneer Battalion members and Native School pupils (1919-20) had mixed Māori/Pākehā heritage, suggesting that many people of mixed heritage nevertheless identified themselves as sole Māori in the census (answering in relation to primary ethnicity rather than descent).

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3.2.4   Blurred Boundaries Challenge Statisticians

European perspectives of Māori as a racial or biological, rather than a socio-cultural, category predominated in the censes through most of last century. In 1916 people of more than one ethnic origin were asked to describe themselves in biological fractions and classified according to the predominant fraction (Brown 1984: 162). If they were less than half Māori in terms of biological inheritance, they were counted as non-Māori regardless of commitment, cultural values or social association. But cultural and ethnic boundaries between Māori and Pākehā were becoming increasingly blurred, due to the "extremely high" rates of intermarriage (Pool 1991: 14) and by Government legislation (eg legal ability to Europeanise) causing on-going challenges in the collection of ethnic statistics. It had also become evident both that the Māori population was going to survive and increase, and also that most Māori retained an identity as Māori (Meredith 2000: 9; Harre 1965: 65). Ethnic data collection is political and controversial, with some Pākehā/Europeans arguing that collecting ethnic data is divisive and unnecessary, and Māori seeing them as important for establishing political claims (or alternatively a tool of the Pākehā for Pākehā ends). Some Māori have not wanted to acknowledge the extent of intermarriage for fear of weakening political claims (Brown 1984: 162). The reluctance of many Māori (eg in the Waikato) to co-operate with the system by filling in census forms has added to their inaccuracy (Pool 1991:16).

Fig 1: Half-castes as a proportion of total Maori 1891-1916
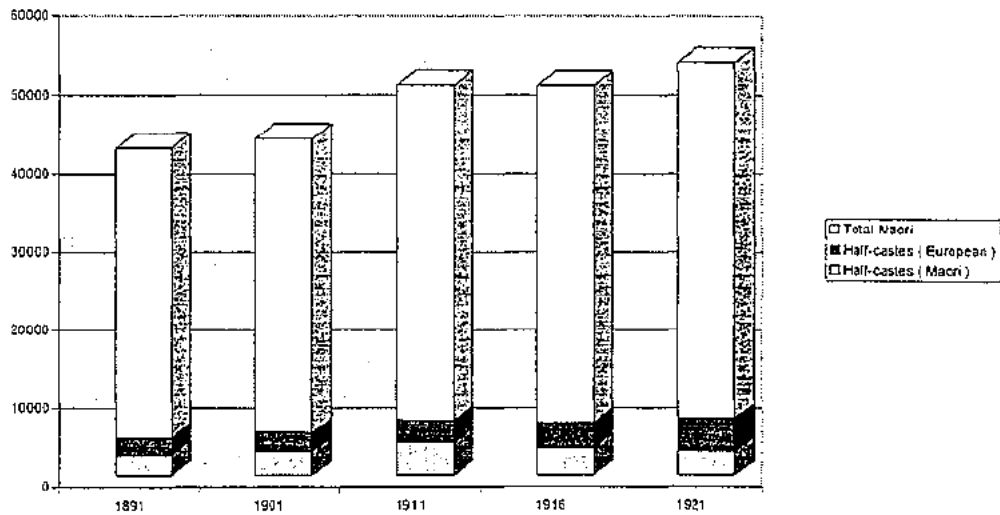
Source: 1921 Census (Part 1 Population: 60; also Section IV, Māori population: 65).

In 1921 the Government counted 4,236 "half-castes living as Europeans" and 3,116 "half-castes living as Māori", a total of 12.9 percent of the total Māori population in that year[19] (Census results 1921: 65). The distinction made between "half-castes" living as Europeans and those living as Māori was also found in other legal definitions of Māori in the early 20th century eg the 1904 Education Act (Part 1, no 8)[20] which permitted Māori to send their children to a public school. This act defined Māori as "any person of the Aboriginal race of New Zealand, and every person one of whose parents was deemed to be an active member of such a race". It continued, "but no half-caste shall be deemed to be a Māori ...unless he be living as a member of some tribe or community" (Stewart 1994: 28). But as more Māori adopted a European mode of living, the ability of Māori communities to remain isolated diminished and the extent of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā identifying as Māori became evident. Statisticians realized the futility of this distinction and dropped it in 1926 (Brown 1984: 161).

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[19] In reaching this figure, "half-castes living as Europeans" were added to the Māori total (which already included "half-castes living as Māori"), and then the number of all "half-castes" was calculated as a proportion of that total.

[20] Statutes of the Dominion of New Zealand Session IV 1904, p116

3.2.5   1926-1986: "Census Māori" and "Part-Māori"

Officials now wanted to identify groups which could potentially cause problems ie Asians and Māori. They saw the Māori "problem" as how to facilitate integration, whereas they saw Asians as less likely to integrate and so wanted to restrict their entry (Brown 1984: 161). Between 1926-86 those of half or more descent (by self-report and therefore likely to include those answering more by ethnicity than biology) were classified as "census Māori" (Stewart 1993: 28). Nevertheless, there was also a desire to collect "ethnic" statistics, which were needed to help in reviewing and determining electoral boundaries (Brown 1984: 162). So those who did not include themselves as "census Māori" but indicated they were of the Māori "race", without specifying a "degree of origin", were also included in a count of people of "New Zealand Māori descent"(Butterworth & Mako 1989: 24). Hence a "part-Māori" category was identified. This group increased faster than the census Māori population with "census Māori" having an average annual rate of increase of 2.65 percent over that sixty year period, and part-Māori having an average annual rate of increase of 4.86 percent.[21]. By 1986 the part-Māori group made up 27 percent of the total "New Zealand Māori descent" population, which by then made up 12.5 percent of the total Aotearoa New Zealand population.

3.2.6   Other Legislation re "Race" Classification

How did other legislation reflect the changing trends in official perception and classification of race or ethnicity? The Hunn Report of 1961 noted ten separate statutory formulae relating to Māori, but stated that "in essence, the definitions denote either a) half-blood (or more) or b) a descendant. Significant legislation such as the Māori Affairs Act 1953 had used a "half or more" definition of Māori. But it was becoming clear to statisticians and law-makers that for inheritance and other purposes, such a definition could be discriminatory (Pool 1991: 17) and legislation began to reflect the view that

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[21] Butterworth and Mako (1989: 24) comment, however, that because of changes in definitions of Māori and methods of measurement over this period, the numbers are not strictly comparable and hence annual growth rates should be considered as indicative only.

ethnicity, particularly " Māoriness" is not based on arbitrary genetic composition (half or more Māori) (Tauiwi 1984). While whakapapa remains a key factor of identity for Māori (Reid, Robson 2003), factors other than biological inheritance were also acknowledged as important in determining ethnicity eg family background, up-bringing and commitment (Mulgan 1989: 14; Pool 1991: 14).

Hence a 1974 amendment to the Māori Affairs Act included a broader definition of Māori ie any descendant of a Māori. The Electoral Amendment Act 1975 went even further by introducing the option of self-identification: "a Māori means a person of the Māori race of New Zealand; and includes any descendant of such a person who elects to be considered as a Māori for the purposes of the Act". The fluidity and mobility of self-identification were also recognized (Thompson 1963: 54-6; Pool 1991: 17). The State-Owned Enterprises Act of 1986 was also significant in affirming the 1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act's broad definition of Māori as legally binding (Pool 1991: 17). While it is considered desirable from a point of view of social dynamics not to have rigid boundaries between groups, it has been considered a challenge for statisticians and legal drafts-people to formulate definitions which accommodate this complexity (Pool 1991: 13).

3.2.7   Dual Māori/Pākehā Belonging Recognized

It was also in the 1970's that officials began to realize that many people legitimately identified themselves as belonging equally to both major ethnic groups, Māori and European/ Pākehā (Pool 1991; McDonald 1976; Metge 1976). Closer social contact between Māori and Pākehā as a result of post-World War II urbanisation had led to an increase in Māori/Pākehā intermarriage with 42 percent of Māori marrying in Auckland in 1960 marrying Pākehā (Harre 1968: 118). Improved race relations, more Māori entering tertiary institutions, people marrying younger and lower rates of prejudice amongst new immigrants were some suggested factors. The extent of dual Māori/ Pākehā identification was again affirmed in a 1988 enumeration of in-patients at Waikato Hospital. When those people who had reported both Māori and European/ Pākehā ethnicity in the 1986 census were

asked their primary identification, 65 percent stated no preference for either group, while the remainder split evenly into Māori and Pākehā preference (Sceats 1988a; Pool 1991: 15). While it is likely that some of those who refused to state a preference had equal biological inheritance from both, it is also likely that, even if their biological inheritance was unequal, many chose to express a justified sense of belonging (equally) to both. Overseas research on bi-racial people points to the stress associated with being asked to choose one over the other (often associated with being asked to favour one parent over the other), and urges greater understanding of this issue (Bradshaw 1992: 77).

The 1981 census was the last in which people were asked to supply bio-metric fractions. Many Māori people had made it clear to Government that they were not comfortable with doing so, either because they did not know, or felt to do so was incompatible with Māori concepts of ethnicity (Department of Statistics 1988b: 50). Pool (1991) makes a distinction between those Māori who identify socially and culturally as Māori and those who do not but have Māori descent and rights to claim those whakapapa links for purposes such as the Electoral Act or tribal claims.

3.2.8 Growth in Māori Population Strong, but Eases in 1980's

Between 1926 and 1984 the survival of a distinctive Māori population appeared assured as the sole Māori population had grown at a rate twice that of non-Māori. Hence Māori concern that Māori/Pākehā intermarriage would threaten cultural distinctiveness and political claims may have eased somewhat over the decades. According to Pool and Pole (1987: 9) the loss due to "inter-ethnic mobility", or people of Māori descent choosing to identify as Pākehā, was about four percent every five years up to 1981. Inter-ethnic mobility can also occur in the opposite (Pākehā-to-Māori) direction resulting in growth in ethnic group populations as a result of activism and change in political climate (Nagel 1995; Bevan 2000). This point will be explored further later in this chapter.

Through the 1980's, however, the Māori population growth rate slowed - due

to lower fertility rates, and external migration as well as Māori-to-Pākehā inter-ethnic mobility. The Māori political and cultural renaissance of the 1970's and 80's may have resulted in a degree of Pākehā-to-Māori ethnic switching (Nagel 1995; Bevan 2000), but also resulted in renewed advocacy for Māori to marry Māori (Awatere 1984). This may have resulted in an easing of the rates of Māori/ Pākehā intermarriage (Butterworth 1988). Rapuora, which studied the health of Māori women from South Auckland to Bay of Plenty, found that eight out of ten partnered Māori women interviewed had Māori partners, without significant difference across age groups. This data suggests lower rates of Māori woman/Pākehā man intermarriage, or lower rates of Māori/Pākehā intermarriage occurring in provincial urban centres (Murchie 1984), than in Auckland in 1960 (Harre 1968: 118). Quantitative census data on Māori/Pākehā marriage or de facto relationships is published so rarely that it has not been possible to examine trends over time. Snapshots only are available, for example, in 1986, two parent families which had a Māori parent and a European/Pākehā parent made up 11.9 percent of the total number of two parent families with dependent children in private dwellings, while those which had two Māori parents made up 8.9 percent of that total (Statistics New Zealand 1998: 45). While this may appear to contrast with the Rapuora data, this could be explained by the Rapuora study including a number of Māori women with partners but no dependent children at home, and the census data including Māori men/Pākehā women partnerships.

Fig2: Part-Maori and census Maori as proportions of total Maori 1926-1986
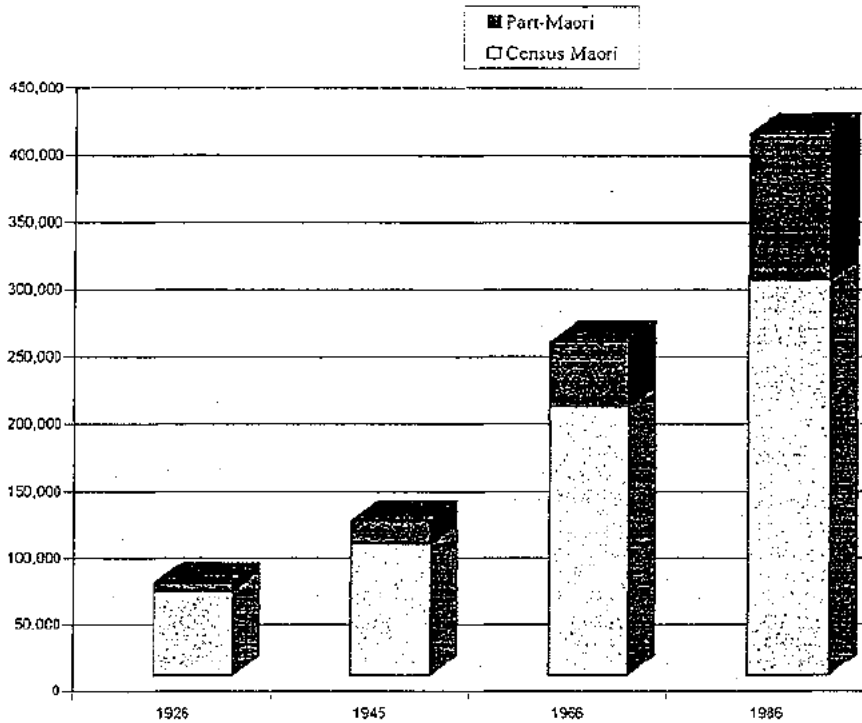
Source: Butterworth & Mako (1989: 24).

3.2.9 Self-Identification and Dual Ethnicity Recognized in Censes 1986-91

In 1986 the census reflected a move away from emphasizing biological inheritance towards ethnic self-identification, with dual or multiple options being allowed. Asking people their "ethnic origin" was a move towards emphasising socio-cultural belonging, but was thought to have prompted answers relating more to historical or ancestral ethnicity than current or personal ethnicity (Allan 2001). It also meant the results were no longer directly comparable with previous census data (New Zealand Statistics Review 1995).

In the 1991 census, the trend away from biological type to a wider cultural or social group classification was further emphasized when the term "ethnic origin" was replaced with "ethnic group" (New Zealand Statistics Review 1995). The definition of ethnic group currently most favoured in New Zealand is that adopted in the report of the review committee on ethnic statistics (Department of Statistics 1988) which defined ethnic group as "a social group

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whose members have the following three characteristics a) share a sense of common origins b) claim a common and distinctive history and destiny and c) feel a unique collective solidarity (New Zealand Statistics Review 1994). The numbers of people stating a dual Māori/ Pākehā ethnic group in 1991 was slightly lower than those who had stated a dual Māori/ Pākehā "ethnic origin" in 1986 (from 94,896 in 1986 to 93,987 in 1991). This could have been affected by the different wording of the question placing a greater emphasis on current, rather than historical, socio-cultural affiliation. There was also a significant increase (over 10 percent) in the numbers self-identifying as "sole Māori" ethnic group between 1986 and 1991 (from 295,317 in 1986 to 323,493 in 1991).

Changes between these two censes may have indicated the possibility of a closer association between ethnicity and indigenous minority group membership, rather than socially predominant Pākehā/European membership, in people's minds (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 172; Lyon in Modood 1997:12) and the fluidity of ethnic self-identification (Wereta 1995: 79). There was also extensive overseas migration by Māori from 1980 to 1986 resulting in a loss of about 8,000 people, many of them in their prime reproductive years, mainly to the United Kingdom and Australia. Hence older Māori (aged 45-59) were making up an increasingly significant proportion of the Māori population in Aotearoa New Zealand at this time (Wereta 1995).

A question on ancestry was also included, physically separate in the questionnaire. As a result of this, it became clear that ancestry and ethnicity were regarded very differently by individuals in Aotearoa New Zealand society. Many ticked Māori ancestry without ticking Māori ethnicity (116,907) and others ticked Māori ethnicity without Māori ancestry (9,324) (Statistics New Zealand 1994). Hence the correlation between Māori ancestry and Māori ethnicity is imperfect. As well as over 100,000 people stating that their Māori descent does not mean they belong to the Māori socio-cultural group, it appears that thousands of New Zealanders also believe that Māori whakapapa is not a requirement for Māori ethnicity. They may feel that their sense of belonging (and presumably acceptance) within a tribal or pan-Māori

socio/cultural group is sufficient requirement for Māori ethnicity. Further research and discussion is needed on this topic.

3.2.10 Doubling in Number of Dual Ethnicity Māori/Pākehā, 1996

Hence the Māori-and- Pākehā group as a percentage of the total Māori ethnic group declined from 23.4 percent to 21.6 percent from 1986-1991. Those stating Māori ancestry were also asked for their iwi in the 1991 census and 72 percent gave at least one iwi. The 1996 census, however, saw a significant fall in the numbers identifying as sole Māori and a doubling in the number of people identifying as dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā. The wording of the question was again thought to have influenced responses – "Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group (s) you belong to". There is evidence of people responding on the basis of ancestry because they misunderstood the question (Allan 2001: 20). Some of the increase in multiple response also appeared to be due to processing problems. Hence in 1996 the dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā group made up 36.9 percent of the Māori ethnic group, and 5.35 percent of the total New Zealand population.

3.2.11 Dual Ethnicity Māori/Pākehā Intermediate in Advantage

One of the reasons for the collection of ethnicity data is the need to address the association between ethnicity and social disadvantage (Pool 1981; in Pool 1991: 15). Some social and socio-economic data was made available in the mid 1990's comparing the sole Māori, with " Māori plus other" and "non-Māori with Māori descent (Douglas 1995). Younger age groups were more likely to identify (or be identified) as Māori plus other, hence the sole Māori ethnic group has an older age structure than the "Māori plus other" group (Reid, Robson 2001). On both income and education the "Māori plus other" ethnic group was in an intermediate position between sole Māori and "non-Māori with Māori descent" (Douglas 1995). Labour force and ethnicity data shows that two-parent families with one Māori and one non-Māori parent are less likely to be unemployed than two-Māori-parent families (Callister 1996). Given the high rates of Māori/ Pākehā intermarriage in urban centres since the 1950's (Harre 1968; Murchie 1984), as well as the high proportion of Māori living in cities, a higher percentage of dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā than sole

Māori are likely to be urban-born. Hence, due to their relative advantage in relation to sole Māori, programmes are unlikely to be targetted specifically at dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā. However, the fact that they are disadvantaged relative to Pākehā justifies their inclusion with sole Māori in targetted programmes.

3.2.12 Proportions Maintained in 2001 Census

The 2001 census, though it returned to a question similar to that asked in 1991, showed some change from the 1996 census, but proportions remained largely the same. There was a drop of about 20,000 (roughly 9 percent) in those identifying themselves as belonging to both Māori and Pākehā ethnic groups, and a corresponding rise of a similar size in the sole Māori ethnic group (7 percent). But the dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā group remained at over 36 percent of the Māori ethnic group. The extent of dual Māori/ Pākehā ethnicity evident in the last two censes surprised statisticians and health researchers, and affirms McDonald (1976) and Metge (1976) in their reports that a satisfactory sense of belonging to both has been commonly experienced both historically and in contemporary society. Recent theses (Moeke-Maxwell 2003; Gibson 1999) and articles (Meredith 1999) also confirm the validity of dual Māori/ Pākehā ethnicity.

The sensitivity of people's response to the wording of different questions and the difficulty in making comparisons across various censes have been pointed out by Māori health researchers (Reid, Robson 2001). But the figures indicate clearly that the dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā population has grown more rapidly than the sole Māori population throughout last century and into the 21st century, and has made up an increasingly large proportion of the total Māori ethnicity group (now over 36 percent) (see Figs. 1,2,3). High rates of Māori/Pākehā intermarriage; relative socio-economic advantage and associated health benefits; a climate of greater acceptance of diversity amongst Māori; a degree of "ethnic switching"(Nagel 1995) or fluidity of self-identification (Wereta 1995); and a demographic shift towards a younger Māori population (more likely to have dual or multiple ethnicity) could all provide explanations for this growth. Another factor which could also be

relevant is the level of inter-ethnic conflict in society ie the lower the level of conflict, the higher the ability of mixed heritage people to claim their dual ethnicity. While the level of conflict has been relatively low during the 1990's, the recent policies of the Labour and National parties in relation to Māori may heighten conflict and division.

In relation to Pākehā-to-Māori ethnic switching, preliminary work done in the mid-1980's on a very small sample suggested that over an inter-censal (between two censes) period there was about an 11 percent loss to Māori and 7 percent gain to Māori. This data should be read cautiously as it was between two data sets using significantly different questions at a time of rapid change. But it does indicate that the magnitude of exchange of people is far more significant than a mere net figure implies (Statistics New Zealand 23/9/03). Research on the increasing American Indian population between 1960 and 1990 (during the civil rights movement era and later) found that growth was particularly significant among urban Indians, likely to be married to non-Indians, who were more "blended" into the American mainstream and had a high degree of ethnic choice (Nagel 1995).

Fig 3: Dual Maori/Pakeha as proportion of Maori ethnicity
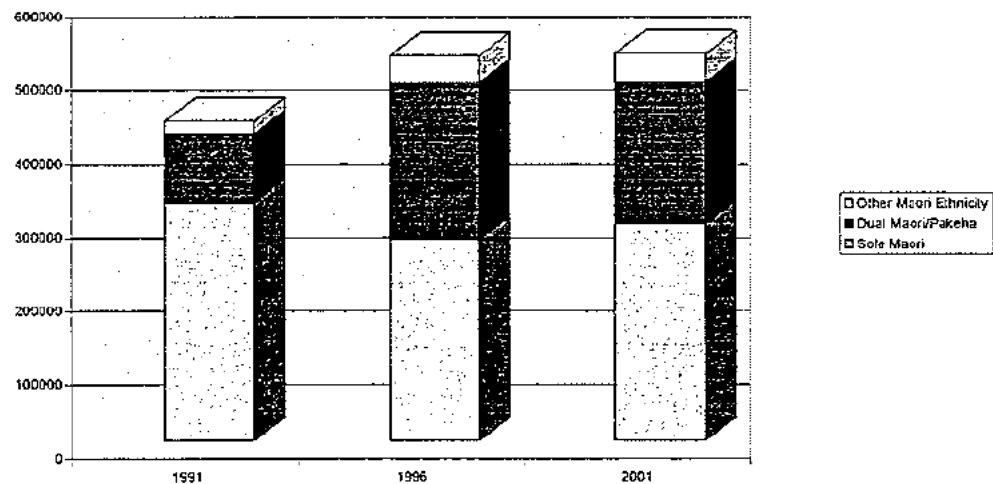
Source: 2001 Census: Ethnic Groups, Table 2b

3.2.13   Conclusion

In conclusion, the Māori descent population has increased by more than ten times over the last century, with a slow rise until the 1930's followed by increasingly rapid growth, particularly from the 1960's (Durie 1998: 85). The Pākehā population had increased only by 3.6 times during the century to 1991 (Pool 1991: 231). Urbanisation and the consequent high rates of Māori/ Pākehā intermarriage since World War II, were significant contributing factors to Māori population growth (Harre 1968). While the rate of increase in the Māori population fell after 1981, it remained higher than the rate of increase in the non-Māori population in Aotearoa New Zealand (Wereta 1995). Mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā identify variously as sole Māori, dual Māori/Pākehā, multiple ethnicity or sole Pākehā/European ethnicity. There is no data available on the extent to which people who identify as sole Māori ethnicity are also of non-Māori heritage. But it can be noted that the rate of increase for dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā has been consistently higher than the rate of increase for the sole Māori population throughout last century. It showed a dramatic increase between the 1991 and 1996 censes, modified but largely maintained in the 2001 census. In that census 193,533 people were counted as dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā.

Pool (1991: 216) predicts the future will involve a growing "interdependence of Māori and Pākehā culture, and inter-penetration of two different sets of demographic changes." The Māori population is expected to make up about 21 percent of the New Zealand population in 2051, up from 15 percent in 1996 (www.statistics.govt.nz Māori Population Projections, 1996 base). While predictions relating to dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā numbers are not available, it appears likely (unless the level of conflict and division increases significantly) that this section of the Māori ethnicity population will continue to increase as a proportion of the total Māori ethnicity population and hence also as a proportion of the total Aotearoa New Zealand population.

3.3 Mental Health Data and Dual Ethnicity Māori/Pākehā

3.3.1 Māori Mental Health

Māori generally experience lower health status (including mental/emotional/spiritual) than non-Māori or Pākehā/European. Severe mental health problems are experienced by three percent of the total population and six percent of the Māori population (Mental Health Commission 2002). Māori women are more likely than Māori men to experience poverty, to be sole parents, and to suffer poor mental health (Te Puni Kokiri 2000). A Māori Women's Welfare League study of Māori women's health (Murchie 1984) found varying rates of depression of 3.1 percent to 8 percent amongst Māori women of different age groups and lifestyles. Mature women involved with whānau and marae, who usually lived within their tribal region and were partnered, experienced the lowest rate of depression. Urban young with pre-schoolers at home experienced the highest rates. Māori health researchers believe that cultural knowledge, involvement and hence security of cultural/ethnic identity is an important aspect of health for Māori, particularly mental/emotional/spiritual health (Durie 1998: 58; Durie et al 2002: 46). A Ministry of Social Development study (2001) found that kaumātua rated cultural and social/whānau factors highly in relation to their well-being. A positive relationship between cultural/ethnic participation and physical health, however, has not been proven (Stevenson 2001). A stronger identification as Māori may result in a health profile closer to the average of that ethnic group.

Data relating to Māori use of psychiatric services indicates a dramatic increase over the 30 years from 1963 to 1993. Māori use of these services more than doubled while Pākehā/European rates have remained stable (Te Puni Kokiri 1993: 6, 10). Contributing factors were thought to be the impact of urbanisation and the consequent breakdown in cultural traditions and whānau/hapū/iwi support networks, and a reduction in home care of the mentally ill by Māori communities (Kingi 2002; Parker 1986). Alcohol and drug dependence and abuse are common causes of first admission for Māori men, affective psychoses a common cause of first admission for Māori women. High readmission rates for Māori suggest more serious illness at the

time of first admission, failure to provide effective or culturally appropriate treatment on first admission, premature discharge, or failure to provide effective or culturally appropriate community support on discharge (Te Puni Kokiri 1993: 6). Te Puni Kokiri's report on Māori mental health trends (1993), also noted a lack of culturally appropriate early detection and support systems in schools, and a lack of community agencies working under kaupapa Māori in mental health for early treatment and detection. Again, cultural alienation, poverty, unemployment, the breakdown of cultural traditions and the failure of the education system for Māori were noted as possible contributing factors.

De-institutionalization of the mentally ill in the early 1990's aimed at involving clients more closely in communities, but Durie (1998) points out that they remain at risk of isolation. Developing closer links with whānau, culture and Māori institutions; as well as developing Māori health programmes with mental health expertise, are seen as some possible solutions. Māori-centred health programmes have been developing since the early 1990's but as yet are being used by only a small percentage of clients (New Zealand Health Information Service[22] 2001). Services should be capable of measuring the degree to which cultural and spiritual factors are associated with the problem and take into account the views of whānau, clients and clinicians (Durie, Kingi 1997). Durie points to the lack of Māori staff in the mental health professions - fewer than 1 percent of clinical psychologists, nurses and occupational therapists and only 1.6 percent of doctors are Māori. A number of principles derived from the Treaty of Waitangi are relevant to Māori mental health ie partnership, protection and participation in mainstream society. Durie describes poor mental health as the most serious health problem facing Māori, particularly the rates of suicide and acute mental disorders (Durie 1998). High rates of mental disorders are also found in prison populations in Aotearoa New Zealand, where a disproportionate number of inmates are Māori (Brinded, Simpson, Laidlaw, Fairley, Malcolm 2001).

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[22] Hereinafter referred to as the NZHIS

3.3.2 Dual Ethnicity Māori/Pākehā & Mental Health Data

Dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā are affected by similar issues in the mental health sector as Māori generally, as related above. Data relating to use of mental health services (psychiatric hospitals and psychiatric wards in general hospitals) generally does not allow comparisons between dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā and sole Māori or Pākehā groups. Common perceptions that dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā experience identity stresses or "crises" (Awatere 1984; Reid 1998/99), though supported by small-scale qualitative data (Gibson 1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2003), cannot be proven or disproven in terms of their use of primary mental health services in this country. There is no evidence that dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā attend mental health services any more than any other group. It is relevant to note that links between poorer socio-economic status and poorer mental health have been proven (Hislop, Dowland, Hickling 1983). This suggests that dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā, being in an intermediate socio-economic position between sole Māori (most disadvantaged) and non-Māori (most advantaged) (Douglas 1995: 97), may also be in an intermediate position in terms of mental health.

Until the late 1980's, data relating to "race" on hospital admission/readmission and discharge forms was blunt, inconsistently collected and inaccurate. The policy was to count only 'half-or-more" Māori as Māori, and staff sometimes made an assessment of this on the basis of appearance and name without consulting the patient concerned. The only three options were Māori, Pacific Island, and Other (New Zealand Health Information Service 1998). A study on ethnic classification in hospitals by Smith et al (1980) found that a number of people who identified themselves as Māori and were less than half Māori descent (and one who was more than half Māori descent) were classified on hospital admission as "other". Some of those who self-defined as Māori and were less than half Māori were nevertheless classified on admission as Māori. Hence errors occurred at various points of the collection of data, there was confusion over ethnic classification policy, and a high level of non-completion of the "race" question.

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Since the late 1980's there has been improvement in the collection of ethnicity data by hospital staff, in that staff have been encouraged to ask patients to self-identify. In 1996 the admission/readmission and discharge forms were changed to allow multiple ethnicity in line with the 1996 census. This data on dual and multiple ethnicity is stored by the NZHIS but only published in aggregated form ie the NZHIS has a system of prioritizing so that anyone who ticks Māori plus other is counted only as Māori (NZHIS 1995; NZHIS 2002). Hence there is still no specific data made freely available on dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā and their use of the primary mental health services. Thomas (2001) found that health research reports generally did not distinguish dual and multiple ethnicity Māori from sole Māori. They were either grouped with sole Māori or excluded from the data. Only a fifth of the 98 articles surveyed described the criteria used in categorizing ethnicity, and only three noted how dual and multiple ethnicity people were classified. This made comparison between data sets problematic.

3.3.3   Conclusion

Blakely, Robson & Woodward (2002) argue for consistent and complete ethnicity data in the health sector – using a standard ethnicity question consistent with the census, allowing for identification with more than one ethnic group, and ensuring each person is asked. This thesis also recommends that specific data on dual and multiple ethnicity Māori and their use of the mental health services is made available for public access. "Not only do aggregated data make it difficult to distinguish ethnicity from socio-economic class, but, at odds with field observations, they lend weight to a presumption that Māori are a homogenous group" (Durie 1995). They obscure rather than enlighten the current situation, in which "the significance and actual meaning of being Māori at a personal level is not well understood" (Durie 1995).

Chapter Four

He Tirohanga ki Tāwāhi

Commonalities with other mixed heritage indigenous and other

ethnic minorities internationally

4.1   Introduction

Māori share many issues and experiences in common with indigenous people

and ethnic minorities in different parts of the world, including

colonisation/assimilation, resource alienation, socio-economic

marginalisation, twentieth century population growth, cultural revitalisation,

and desires for greater autonomy within - or sometimes outside - the state

(Durie et al 2002; Fleras & Elliot 1992). Most indigenous peoples and ethnic

minorities also face issues relating to the fact that increasing proportions of

their members can claim dual or multiple ethnicity (Nagel 1995).

Dual/multiple ethnicity has socio-psychological, historical, political and

statistical implications which have been considered by researchers

internationally (eg American, British) since the 1930's. Because of their

numerical significance and visibility, much of the socio-psychological

material written overseas appears to relate to people of mixed African and

European descent in the United States and Britain. The socio-psychological

material is examined in Chapter 5 . Hence the material considered for this

chapter focusses more on political and statistical issues in relation to selected

mixed heritage indigenous people and ethnic minorities. These issues include

how they have been categorized, population trends and the impact of policies

and political trends on personal identification.

The position of African/European Americans is considered first, due to their

numerical and political significance, followed by some insights into the

position of American Indians and Hawaiians. An aspect of Canadian history

of particular relevance to the topic of mixed heritage is noted. The position of

two further mixed heritage groups - Coloureds of South Africa and Aboriginal

people of Australia - are then briefly examined. Comparisons are made

between the identity issues which mixed heritage indigenous and ethnic

minority people have faced overseas, and those experienced or noted relating to mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4.2 Mixed Heritage African Americans: Multi-Ethnicity in the U.S.A.

Laws prohibiting marriage between different "racial groups", eg African Americans and whites/Europeans, were enacted in most American states from 1661 (Maryland) onwards (Fernandez 1996: 19). Neither American Indians or Africans had any rights of citizenship. Liaisons outside marriage occurred frequently anyway but the products of these relationships were almost always raised in the community of the non-white parent (Fernandez 1996: 19). They were classified as black and suffered the racism and discrimination associated with being a member of that group. Scientific theories suggested racial mixture resulted in debilitation and regression, and there was fear that mixed descent people would support, or even lead, rebellion against white domination, as had occurred in Haiti and Latin America. Mixed descent offspring were noted in the United States census from 1850, in terms such as *mulatto* (referring to people of half-caste descent, actually and offensively meaning mule in Spanish), *quadroon* and *octoroon*. These terms were used to refer to types of black ("Negro" or "coloured") and never as a type of white, although biologically they were as much white as they were black. A "one-drop" rule applied, ie people with any African American ancestry were classified as black. In some states, discriminatory laws considered any non-white ancestry as proof of non-white status. By 1920, there were already estimated to be over 1.6 million people described as mulattoes (Park 1939: 39).

In 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the 16 remaining state laws against interracial marriages (Loving v. Virginia). After that date American society became progressively desegregated and, with African Americans making up about 10 percent of the population, black/white marriages became increasingly frequent. Multi-racial people at this time were either acculturated in the African American community and/or politically identifying with their minority parent's ethnic group. Since the 1970's the number of multi-racial

babies has increased more than 260 percent, while the number of mono-racial babies has increased only 15 percent. More than a million more first-generation bi-racial individuals have been born in the United States since 1989 (Root 1996: xv). In the late 1970's and 80's, local groups of parents, multi-racial adults and others became concerned about the limited classification choices in the census and a federal policy for school officials to visually inspect (the so-called "eyeball test") and choose a category for students who refused to choose a single category themselves (Fernandez 1996: 25). Groups began to promote the rights of the mixed heritage offspring. In late 1988, representatives of local interracial groups formed the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA), to advance awareness of the emerging population of multi-racial, multi-ethnic people in America. The group was instrumental in achieving dual and multi-ethnic options in the census, introduced in 2000.

While critics of the multi-racial category have questioned whether multi-racial Americans constitute or can constitute a community, members of the AMEA acknowledge they are not bound by race or culture, but state that what binds them is the experience of their ambiguous status. Being multi-racial is not therefore an ethnic or racial group, but a reference group in which one will be recognized and understood (Weisman 1996: 157). While social scientists have long considered primordial identities (based on elements considered to be "in the blood" and/or unchangeable such as race, ethnicity or place of birth) to be the only viable identity choices, Weisman argues that it is possible to hold a viable identity that is not only not primordially based, but is not based on any previously recognized community. "The continued adherence to such an identity by a steady or increasing number of individuals can in fact lead to the societal recognition of such new forms of identification." (Weisman 1996: 158).

4.3   American Indians: Ethnic Renewal and Blood Quantum Issues
Between 1960 and 1990 the number of people identifying as American Indian in the United States tripled from just over 500,000 to nearly 1.9 million people (still less than 1.7 percent of the United States population). The

population growth could not be explained by increased births or decreased deaths, so researchers concluded that much of it must have resulted from "ethnic switching", where individuals who identified their race as non-Indian in an earlier census switched to "Indian" race in later censes.

Nagel (1995) argues that the increase in numbers identifying as American Indian is a result of "ethnic renewal", which refers to both individual and collective processes. For individuals, ethnic renewal can mean either reclaiming a discarded identity, replacing or amending an identity in an existing ethnic repertoire, or filling a personal ethnic void. Collective ethnic renewal involves the reconstruction of an ethnic community by current or new community members who build or rebuild institutions, culture, history and traditions (Nagel 1995: 948). She argues that changes in American political culture brought about by the civil rights movement resulted in increased ethnic consciousness, ethnic pride and ethnic mobilization amongst all ethnic groups, including American Indians. The change also resulted in the development of a supra-tribal, pan-Indian identity, used when interacting with non-Indians. Nagel also cited studies which found that the population growth was particularly significant in urban areas, in states with historically small Indian populations, and in those regions with high rates of Indian-to-non-Indian intermarriage. The "new" Indians were also found to be likely to assign a non-Indian race to their mixed offspring and to speak only English. The mixed heritage offspring were more "blended" into the American mainstream than their reservation counterparts, had more flexible conceptions of self, and resided in parts of the country that permitted a wide range of ethnic options. By 1990, the percentage of American Indians living on reservations had dropped to one third.

Similarly, the Māori cultural and political renaissance of the 1980's and 1990's saw a growth in Māori ethnicity overall and there appears to have been a degree of "ethnic switching" from Pākehā/European to Māori-and-Pākehā during the 10 years from 1991 to 2001 (see section 3.2).

Historically, exogamy (in this case, marriage into other neighbouring tribes)

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was common among many American Indian tribes, and marriage to non-Indians has been prevalent amongst American Indians for most of last century (Gould 2001: 765). By 2000, more than 80 percent of American Indians were multi-racial, a far higher percentage than other racial/ethnic groups. While American Indian tribes were traditionally inclusive of marriage partners from other tribes, the off-spring of slaves, and captured Europeans, European concepts of blood quantum have impacted harshly on mixed heritage American Indians since colonisation. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1991, of the 155 federally recognized tribes in the contiguous 48 states, (excluding Oklahoma and California), more than 80 percent condition membership on proof of tribal blood. Of these 129 tribes (who required proof of blood quantum), the vast majority (75 percent of all enrolled Indians) required one-quarter blood quantum to qualify for membership (Gould 2001: 722). Sixteen tribes required half-degree of blood, eleven required one-eighth degree of blood, three required one-sixteenth and one required one-sixty fourth. The requirement that tribal members have a particular blood quantum has resulted both in exclusion of many mixed heritage American Indians from tribal membership and also in the denial of their land rights. Federal recognition of tribal members also includes a racial aspect. Section 19 of the Indian Reorganization Act 1994 states that "the term Indian includes all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe now under Federal jurisdiction, all persons who are descendants of such people who were living on an Indian reservation in June 1934, and all other persons of half or more Indian blood."

Narrowly defined tribal membership requirements have contributed to the ability of state and federal governments to weaken the authority of American Indian tribes over the last two decades (Gould 2001). More than a third of those living on reservations are not tribal members, but since the 1970's, the Supreme Court has made several decisions which have limited the authority of tribes to their members only. Groups and even families within reservations have become divided along member/non-member lines Tribes lost their immunity from state taxes, and even some land within reservations was taxed. American society recognizes some congressional responsibilities towards

Indians organised as tribes, but has difficulty balancing this against its "disdain for groups as racially based (common ancestry) instead of based on merit and essential qualities". Hence American courts are reluctant to find in favour of positive discrimination towards American Indians because they are racially-based groups - general human rights of individuals tend to take precedence. Therefore, Gould (2001) presents an argument for a lesser emphasis on race, and a higher emphasis on culture and tribal loyalty, which may be more consistent with the inclusiveness of traditional American Indian communities.

Similarly, strong political groupings in Aotearoa New Zealand, including the National Party, have argued against race-based positive discrimination, despite the clear social and economic inequities between Māori and non-Māori. Gould's suggestion that such positive discrimination should be based less on race and more on factors such as culture and commitment may be close to Māori traditional attitudes to ethnicity. Māori have tended to be inclusive beyond "race" - measuring Māori ethnicity on a combination of blood, culture and social association factors (McDonald 1976). While whakapapa (ie descent from a recognised tribal ancestor) is required for tribal membership and consequent benefits, the researcher is not aware of any iwi which have imposed blood quantum requirements. The issue of inclusion within tribal membership or the Māori ethnic group of those without whakapapa who nevertheless self-identify (through adoption, marriage, social association or political commitment) is controversial and is discussed further in Chapter 9.

4.4   Hawaii: Admixture Widely Accepted

The state of Hawaii has a long history of being multi-racial with no single group constituting a majority of the island's population. Intergroup marriage has a long history of community-wide acceptance in Hawaii, from the early 1800's when the first two European arrivals both married *alii* (members of the nobility) and a descendant of one of them became queen (Johnson & Nagoshi 1986). Early relationships were mutually beneficial with the Hawaiians gaining guns, manufactured goods and technical skills and the Europeans

benefiting from the Hawaiians' resources, land, women and political power. Plantation owners later played a major role in determining the timing and composition of immigration. Workers were recruited from a range of countries (China, Portugal, Japan, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and others) to ensure control could be more readily exercised over them than over a single ethnic group (Labov & Jacobs 1986: 80; Lind 1982).

As a result Europeans are out-numbered by the combined other ethnic groups in Hawaii, but have become the single biggest ethnic group. In 1984 the ethnic/racial make-up of Hawaii was Caucasian/European 24.5 percent, Japanese 23.2 percent, Filipino 11.3 percent, Chinese 4.7 percent, Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian 19.9 percent, and mixed (non-Hawaiian) 10.6 percent with numerous other small groups. The proportion of people marrying across racial/ethnic groups in Hawaii has increased across the decades (Glick 1970) with out-marriages constituting 39.5 percent of all marriages in 1983 (State of Hawaii Department of Health 1984: 52). While parents and significant others may exert pressure towards marrying homogamously (within one's own group), historical and demographic factors have resulted in little community-wide opprobrium toward mixed marriages in Hawaii (Johnson & Nagoshi 1986). Studies have found the offspring to be generally well-adjusted with good self-esteem (eg Duffy 1978). Johnson & Nagoshi (1986: 282) also found that while most of the Hawaiians included in the study were of mixed ancestry, they viewed themselves, and were regarded by others in the community as being Hawaiians and followed a Hawaiian lifestyle. Similarly, most Māori with mixed ancestry regard themselves as Māori, or Māori-and-Pākehā, and reflect that identification in their political and social affiliations.

Johnson & Nagoshi (1986: 282) state that while the Hawaii state government considers Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians to be at greater risk for adjustment problems, there are significant factors for this group apart from cross-ethnic marriage. Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians have the lowest median group income of the major racial/ethnic groups, and many feel alienated and do not strongly identify with mainstream American values for historical and cultural reasons.

Similarly mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā experience disadvantage and alienation from mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, commensurate with their level of identification as Māori.

4.5   Canada: The Metis or "Half-Breeds"

An aspect of Canadian history worth noting is that a distinct community of people of mixed American Indian and European descent was formed there in the 19th century, independently of its descent groups. This group was economically self-sufficient and even entered into battle in an attempt to retain its autonomy. French and English traders in 18th and 19th century Canada often took Native American Indian wives, cementing the trading alliances between white and native. "Many mixed blood people grew up divided between the ways of the Indians and the Scots Presbyterian or Canadian Catholic heritage of a trader or *voyageur* (Morton 1994: 76). Those of French-Indian origin were called *meti*, those of English/Scottish-Indian origin were called "country-born" or "half-breeds". In the early 19th century many traders, their Indian wives and offspring had settled in a sheltered valley called Red River. "Half-breeds and metis also settled there, the half-breeds turning to farming, and the metis to buffalo hunting." The mixed descent people saw themselves as "true inheritors" of the land, and their culture revolved around the annual buffalo slaughter.

This group fought off both European and Native Americans in defending its territory. Under the leadership of a man called Louis Reil, the group was granted 11,000 square miles in Manitoba. Reil suffered a major defeat in 1877, and the independence of the mixed descent community was undermined. Reil's death in 1885 marked the end of the metis and Indian resistance (Morton 1994). While there has never been a distinct community of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand, those of mixed descent have made up an increasing percentage of both Māori and total populations. Unlike this independent community, the affiliation of most mixed heritage with their minority ethnic communities continues in descent generations.

4.6 South Africa: The "Coloured" Population

South Africa and Aotearoa New Zealand have historically had relatively close ties, associated with sport, trade and more recently immigration. A brief study of the position of "coloured" or mixed heritage people within the brutally-imposed apartheid system in that country may provide some salutary lessons. The history of mixed descent people in South Africa dates back to 1652 when the first Dutch explorers and traders arrived. The Dutch and later the British brought in groups of slaves from Mozambique, East Africa, Madagascar, India and Asia. As a result of illicit unions with port sailors and Dutch farmers, it is estimated that about 75 percent of children born to slave mothers in the first years of settlement were "half-breeds". The early history of slavery resulted in the loss of tribal customs and culture within a generation, and second generation "coloureds" became mainly Afrikaans-speaking Christians.

It was in the twentieth century that the apartheid system became more and more severely imposed. South Africa became "bedevilled by race consciousness and pigmentocracy, human beings categorized and classified under the law into sub-tribal and sub-human units" (Matterra 1987: 22). "Coloured" or mixed heritage people were defined as a separate social/legal group in 1928 (by a law which defined them by what they were not); forbidden from marrying whites in 1949; and segregated into housing separate from both blacks and whites in 1950. Classification was made on physical attributes such as skin colour and hair, was not consistent within families or across generations, and deeply affected a person's life chances. Whites were eligible for wages nine times higher than "coloureds", superior public and social services, better education, housing, and entertainment. To be declared an African would result in a "coloured" person losing their home, job, freedom of movement and right to freehold land.

The "coloured" people became divided from their black relations by the law and by their relative privilege historically. They came to believe what

Matterra calls the "white myth"[23] that they were a separate racial category, with its own culture, civilisation and destiny. Some formed "coloureds-only" political parties and campaigned for "coloured" nationhood under the apartheid policy (Matterra 1987: 6). "Coloureds" were given a separate voting roll in 1956, but in 1968 their representatives were removed from Parliament. Until the 1950's and 60's, "coloureds" had been more advantaged than blacks, but the apartheid system was more harshly imposed across all non-white groups at that time. Matterra recalls his grandfather, a successful Italian businessman who had married an African woman, being forced into poverty and sub-standard housing as a result of this change of policy. By the early 1970's only about 3 percent of "coloureds" were middle-class, and the rest lived in mental and material subjugation.

Until the mid 1960's, when riots and protest led to a new sense of pride amongst "coloureds", most believed the "white man's" assessment of themselves as inferior. In seeing whites as their reference group, many had disassociated from their own group, leading to social disintegration, loss of self-esteem, alienation and anomie. It took group action to begin changing the identity of the group, and hence the individual (O'Toole 1973: 2-3). Similar problems caused by disassociation from one's ethnic group are referred to in section 5.2 of this thesis, in relation to native Aleuts (Berreman 1964) and Māori and Māori/Pākehā in New Zealand (King 1975). A similar process of group action by Māori activists in the 1970's and 80's was also instrumental in re-generating Māori pride. By the 1970's, "coloureds" were the third largest group in South Africa, with just under ten percent of the population, compared to Africans (68 percent) and whites (19 percent). In Cape Town municipality, however, "coloureds" were the largest ethnic group, making up 54 percent of the population. Twenty five percent of all "coloureds" lived in Cape Town (O'Toole 1973: 13). Comparisons can be made with African Americans in North America, who also have mixed racial backgrounds, represent about 10 percent of the population, are separated from the majority

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[23] Dual and multiple ethnicity people do arguably have issues in common which distinguish them and can make separate social or political groups feasible or valid See AMEA above.

population by a colour bar. Most live in relative poverty.

In the late 1980's Matterra (1987: 21) described the four million "coloured" people in South Africa as "twilight children who live in political, social and economic oblivion... cut off from the mainstream of direct interaction with both black and white people." He wrote that while many "coloured" people had looked to whites for their survival and security, there had been a move by the younger, more radical people towards political and social integration with blacks, "because of the success of the black consciousness movement in South Africa." Except for this, the situation in South Africa changed little until the fall of apartheid and the rise of black majority rule in 1994.

South Africa's apartheid system was brutal, extremely oppressive and caused a huge amount of human anguish. Though such strict barriers between "racial" groups were never imposed in Aotearoa New Zealand society, comparisons can be made with some aspects of our history and society. Similar anti-miscegenation arguments were propounded in 19th century New Zealand, though they were revised some decades earlier than they were in South Africa (Butterworth 1988; Matterra 1987: 19). In the 19th century, wealthy and powerful Pākehā/European men treated Māori women almost as poorly as the slave women of South Africa, caring nothing for their illegitimate offspring, and bringing shame on them and their families (Baucke 1928). Significantly also, the particular pressures applied to the mixed heritage population to assimilate as "white"/European were comparable in both countries. New Zealand Government attitudes and legislation gave extra encouragement to mixed descent Māori/Pākehā (more than sole Māori) to strive towards becoming members of European society. "Half-castes" were expected to abandon the ways of their ancestors and adopt Pākehā/European norms and values, becoming role models for their darker-skinned relations (Metge 1976: 303; Meredith 2000: 6). Blood quantum definitions of Māori set "half-or-more" requirements, discouraging or disbelieving Māori ethnic identification for anyone "less than half".

But despite their efforts to adopt European ways and values, many mixed

heritage Māori/Pākehā found that their acceptance as Pākehā/Europeans was limited and that they were still discriminated against (Meredith 2000: 7). Similarly "coloured" people in South Africa were encouraged to strive towards becoming white, and promised eventual acceptance, but it never came (O'Toole 1973: 29). In South Africa, the legal system was used to enforce the separation of "coloured" people from their African communities. Once broken, those family connections would have been difficult to rebuild. In Aotearoa New Zealand, such laws were not introduced and hence most mixed descent people retained their ethnic/whakapapa links over generations. But blood quantum attitudes towards Māori ethnicity remain prevalent[24].

4.7 Mixed Heritage Aboriginal Australians and Assimilation

As well as suffering land loss, and the breakdown of traditional community structures and means of livelihood, mixed heritage Aborigines were (similarly to other groups noted) targeted by Government policies which aimed to divide them from their indigenous ethnicity and assimilate them into the general population (Grimshaw 2002). In some Australian states in the 1880's mixed heritage Aborigines were banned from living at mission stations or on reserves, and they were also more likely than sole Aboriginal couples to have their children taken away to orphanages. The state also interfered in their choice of marriage partner, disallowing the marriage of Aborigines to mixed heritage Aborigines. The Government wanted mixed heritage Aborigines to marry Europeans and hence reduce the numbers of "dependent" Aborigines at missions. The Aborigines had been made dependent on the missions by farmers taking over the land and water sources, and by the violence and sexual abuse or exploitation of Aborigines by white settlers. For mixed heritage Aborigines, having to leave the mission and reserves was not only heart-breaking, but often resulted in unemployment, social isolation, illness

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[24] By disbelieving Māori ethnicity for those of less-than-half descent, the size of the Māori population is questioned, and an argument for less consideration of the needs of the Māori ethnic group is made (McCreanor 1989: 92)

and early death (Grimshaw 2002; Grimshaw & Nelson 2001).[25]

Linguist TGH Strehlow and anthropologist AP Elkin, writing in Australia in the 1940's and 1950's, were ahead of their time in advocating the preservation of both Aboriginal culture and social cohesion. Elkin argued for the inclusion of Aborigines as equal citizens, harmoniously integrated in terms of intersecting social groups rather than as individuals (McGregor 2002). Strehlow and Elkin recognized the importance of culture and social cohesion for all Aborigines, even those of "half and even lesser caste" (McGregor 2002). These ideas received considerable public support in the 1960's but Governments continued to implement individualistic assimilationist policies. Hence there was little upward social mobility for Aborigines by the 1960's or later. In the mid-1990's, the life expectancy of indigenous people was 20 years behind the non-Aboriginal white population of Australia, which remains a matter of great concern (Hetzel 2000).

4.8   Conclusion

This chapter has focussed particularly on the issues that mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā share with mixed heritage indigenous/ethnic-minority/European peoples in other parts of the world. Dividing mixed heritage people from their minority ethnic group and applying pressure on them to assimilate through Government policies and legal and statistical ethnic group definitions has been experienced not just in Aotearoa New Zealand, but also by American Indians in the United States, by the Coloured

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[25] Grimshaw describes a family of two mission-educated parents - Bessy, of full Aboriginal descent, and Donald Cameron of mixed Aboriginal/white descent who married in 1868. Because Donald becomes classified as "white" they are banned from the mission where they had been living with Donald's relations, and forced to live in dire poverty on the edge of a settler town. While Donald travelled trying to find work, Bessy was refused help by both the missions and Board of Protection of Aborigines. The state continued to interfere eg in the marriage of their daughters, and in taking a grandchild to an orphanage. With no relief in sight from the oppressive, paternalistic and inhumane government policies which must have been difficult or impossible to reconcile with the Christian faith in which the couple was raised, Bessy's health collapsed in 1895 and she died, aged 43. The Women's Christian Temperance Union had begun providing meagre assistance to mixed descent Aboriginal families at this time, but failed to realize how Government policies had caused the problem until the 1920's and 30's. Their consequent attempts to bring about change were almost futile.

people in South Africa (for a period) and by Aboriginal people in Australia. Offers of assimilation are a "two-edged sword" because while the enticement of certain advantages may be present, they may be conditional on alienation and disassociation from one's ethnic group, with consequent damage to mental/emotional/spiritual health. The underlying philosophy behind such policies is a belief in the inferiority of the indigenous culture and ethnicity. Whether Governments are blatant about their intention being to reduce indigenous populations (as in Australia), or not (as in Aotearoa New Zealand), the effect is the same in causing suffering and stress to both mixed heritage populations and their indigenous/minority ethnic parent groups. Increased freedom for mixed heritage people to acknowledge and build their indigenous/minority ethnic identity in recent years in these countries, however, has strengthened the health and well-being of both mixed heritage individuals and their indigenous/minority ethnic parent groups.

Contrasting with policies of encouraging mixed descent people to assimilate into the white population, are policies of clearly delineating them from that population. African Americans of mixed heritage in the United States and mixed descent people in South Africa (at other times) have suffered from a "one drop rule" where any African ancestry has resulted in a person being subjected to the racism and discrimination afforded that group in that country. South Africa's apartheid system was exceptionally harsh and resulted in the geographical and social segregation of "coloured" people from both blacks and whites for some decades. Denying this group their membership in not only the dominant European ethnic group, but also the oppressed but often spiritually strong ethnic group was cruel and damaging. Similarly the frequently-experienced need and desire for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand to belong to both Māori and Pākehā ethnic groups could be better recognized in this country. The example of Hawaii, with its high level of inter-ethnic marriage, suggests that greater numbers and visibility can affect the level of acceptance of dual and multiple ethnicity in society. Higher rates of inter-ethnic marriage result in mixed heritage people being seen as more normative in a community, (Wilson 1987) and a positive mixed race identity is therefore easier to achieve within such communities.

Chapter Five

Whāia te Mauri Ora

Identity Development for Mixed Heritage Māori/Pākehā

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents theory and research on personal and cultural identity development which are considered relevant to the mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā person. It incorporates aspects of theory relating to Māori, Māori/Pākehā, bi-racial American or English, and European/American theories about identity development which claim some universality. Identity development occurs throughout life, and the differing contexts of childhood, adolescence and adulthood are discussed in separate sections. Identity development and identity conflict are complex phenomenon, dependent on many factors. Racial and cultural identity are part of a more global personal identity, which begins in infancy, or even pre-birth, before any awareness of social categories (Katz 1996: 28). Identity formation involves the establishment and elaboration of internal structures which enable the individual to develop an increasingly complex ability to make meaningful the internal and external world (Katz 1996: 43). Some structures are innate, some learned; some may be common to all, some to particular cultures. Breakwell (1986: 23) describes two main processes of identity development – assimilation and accommodation, which relate to the absorption of new components into the identity structure and the adjustment required to fit them into the identity structure; and evaluation which is the allocation of meaning and value to identity content both old and new. She identifies three principles guiding identity development processes – the need for *continuity* of self-definition, the vitalising effects of *distinctiveness*, and the crucial role of *self-esteem* (Breakwell 1986: 7).

As Māori, elements important in the creation of the first human, Hineahuone, were said to be the *mauri* (life force), *wairua* (spirit or soul), the *manawa* (breath of life), the *ate* (seat of emotions, liver or heart), and *toto* (blood) (Walker 1996:18; Best 1954: 32). Hineahuone was said to contain both human and godly elements (Walker 1996:18). While identity as Māori or Māori-and-

Pākehā is seen as a function of relationships with the environment and the group, the importance of individuation is also acknowledged and respected (Durie 2001: 89). Pere (1984) cited uniqueness or *mana ake* as a key component of health. Individuals cannot be simply understood as the sum total of external forces acting on an inherited sub-strate. All individuals travel on unique personal journeys, (and) have temperamental and personality characteristics that are not exact replicas of their parents (Durie 2001:59). Within social constraints, individuals have agency and choices about who they are and how they live (Karlsen & Nazroo: 3-4).

5.2   Tamarikitanga/ Childhood

5.2.1   Introduction: Early Years and Primary Socialisation

The Māori child develops in positive ways when surrounded by *aroha* (Pere 1994: Tangaere 1997). The development of trust in the infant's first relationships is crucial to personality development and to achieving an early sense of ontological (metaphysical) security, affording a feeling of protection against threats, dangers, and existential anxieties. It also encourages stronger exploratory behaviour, problem-solving ability and motivation to learn (Giddens 1991: 37). Berger and Luckmann (1985: 130) state that "primary socialisation", or "the induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it" begins at birth and is first presented by close family members. The child internalises the parents' reality cognitively and emotionally, and identifies with it. Language, gender roles, and the roles and attitudes of various family members are all absorbed as the norm. Attitudes and beliefs about in-group(s) and out-groups are also conveyed to children by parents, often unconsciously (Katz 1996: 10). Stereotyping is an inevitable consequence of socialisation (Katz 1996: 32).

Being aware of more than one set of cultural norms and values can give children a sense of choice, but if they are conflicting this can lead to confusion and vulnerability (Berger & Luckmann, 1985: 170; Katz 1996: 31-2). Social and historical contexts affect to what extent children are exposed to both Māori and Pākehā societies, and to what extent Māori and Pākehā

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identities and value systems are internally reconcilable, eg an extreme example is the wars of the 1860's-80's when Pākehā fathers were forced to leave tribal communities, mostly leaving their mixed descent children behind (Gorst 1859: 233). Children become aware of skin colour differences and the emotional responses to those labels between the ages of three to seven (Wardle 1991). Children are active participants in identity formation and their social world (Berger & Luckmann 1985; Katz 1996: 33). Some degree of internal conflict is inevitable for all individuals because of discrepancies between subjective and objective realities.

5.2.2   Secondary Socialisaton

Secondary socialisation is overlaid on an existing self and more consciously acquired. It involves the "internalisation of institutional or institution-based (knowledge)...(or) the acquisition of role-specific knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann 1985: 138). Conflict between primary and secondary socialisation can be problematic, resulting in tension and social alienation for children (Katz 1996: 32; King 1974: 91). Identity is formed both by identification with significant others, and by the internalisation or controlled practice of roles and identities. Berger and Luckman (Katz 1996: 32) state that identity is not static, constant and unified, but a collection of different selves made up of different roles used in different social contexts and the subjective response to those roles. They are sometimes in harmony, sometimes in conflict. But identity is also more than a series of roles played in different contexts (Erikson 1968: 61) "Identity is a very complex whole, which represents the multi-dimensional, integrated human personality" (Mach 1993: 3). Ethnic identity has been shown to be subjective and unstable for many people, but particularly for people of mixed ancestry (Stephan 1992).

5.2.3   Cultural Identity

Aspects of culture, which are one or more systems of meaning and customs, values, attitudes, goals, laws, beliefs, morals and material objects, are all passed on to children through their experience in social environments (Birch 1997: 7). This can be called either acculturation (Williams 1960) or cultural identification (Durie et al 2002). Cultural identification is seen as a vital

component of health for Māori), particularly spiritual well-being (Durie et al 2002: 46; Murchie 1984: 18). Cultural practice, tribal structures and descent are all significant in the development of a Māori identity (Broughton 1993; Rangihau 1975; Moeke-Pickering 1996). European colonisation has impacted on Māori in many ways, including socially, spiritually and psychologically (McCarthy 1997: 32). It resulted in an undermining of the continuity of cultural transmission from generation to generation and the cultural continuity between home and society (McCarthy 1997: 25). It has also resulted in extensive Māori/Pākehā intermarriage which has meant that the two ethnic groups now overlap each other significantly and hence boundaries cannot be clearly drawn between them.

5.2.4 Assimilation

Assimilation suggests cultural conformity and absorption into the structures of the predominant society (Taft 1985). "Through both overt and covert processes the colonised are inculcated with the belief that their culture and all that it offers is inferior to that offered by the colonising culture" (McCarthy 1997:32). As a result, many Māori have distanced themselves from their cultural origins, particularly during the urbanisation period of the 1940's to the 1960's (eg Edwards 1990). Awatere's (1974) study of 149 Māori primary school children in Auckland indicated to what extent Māori children had become "Pākehāfied", colonised or assimilated. Few understood the Māori language and 13 percent scored zero on her scale of "Māoriness"; ie they had a Māori parent but no other indicators such as skin colour, a Māori name, or a parent who spoke any Māori)[26]. Light-skinned children, most of whom had a Māori and a Pākehā/European parent, made up about a third of Awatere's Māori sample. Some urban Māori, however, transferred many of the values and ideals of *whanaungatanga* to new communities of interest (Durie 1997: 8). Traditional Māori values which have survived in whānau to varying degrees, are extended whānau ties (involving commitment and responsibility) and respect for the spiritual dimension (Metge 1995).

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[26] This fact perhaps also raises questions about definitions of Māori .

5.2.5 Māori Renaissance

Despite early good intentions of politicians, both Māori and Pākehā, the Europeanization of Māori did not result in the achievement of equality - as evidenced in the continuing poor comparison between Māori and non-Māori health, educational, and socio-economic statistics. Awareness of continuing inequalities was a factor in a resurgence of ethnic consciousness, pride, mobilization and hence identification as Māori 1970's and 1980's (Nagel 1995; Bevan 2000: 92). Urbanisation led to the growth of inter-tribal organisations and a strengthening of pan-tribal, " Māori" identity, which was needed to pursue political change at a national level (Nagel 1995; Greenland 1984; Walker 1989). The development of more opportunities for Māori acculturation and cultural identification have resulted from this renaissance or ethnic renewal movement, including Māori language immersion pre-schools (*kohanga reo*) and schools (*kura kaupapa Māori*), and initiatives for adults to learn the Māori language (such as Te Ataarangi). These developments which have meant many parents, whose own upbringing was often predominantly culturally Pākehā/European, have been able to raise their children with a primary and secondary socialisation as Māori over the last two decades. Positive self-esteem and stronger ethnic identification for young Māori are likely to be constructive outcomes of this development.

5.2.6 Assimilation Pressures Remain

Difficulty in forming and retaining a strong identity as Māori and as citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand has been commonly experienced by Māori throughout the history of colonisation, and remains the case in the current "post-renaissance" period. Because the Māori ethnic group is still a disadvantaged minority, it requires "extra fortitude" to develop a strong personal and social identity as Māori (Durie 1997: 156). Forces in society interrupt and de-value Māori-determined identities in a myriad of subtle and direct ways. A clear example is the imposition of an education system which has historically de-valued the Māori language. Hence the experience of first starting primary school has often been one of identity confusion for Māori, particularly during the first wave of urbanisation post World War II (Schwimmer 1973; Ranby 1979: 69). The values and social practices of home

and school were contrasting and in conflict (Schwimmer 1973; Edwards 1990); and even in recent decades racist (anti- Māori) taunts at school have not been uncommon (Parata 1990:74; Gibson 1999: 79; Moeke-Maxwell 2001: 168). These can be experienced by fairer-skinned or Māori-and- Pākehā children (Bevan 2000) as well as darker or sole Māori children. Fair-skinned Māori particularly face strong pressure to assimilate with Pākehā/Europeans as a result of experiencing disbelief, questioning and direct challenges relating to their identity as Māori (McDonald 1976; Bevan 2000).

Policies of assimilation and negative prejudices towards Māori ethnicity in the wider community also appear to have affected children's willingness to identify themselves as Māori, at least in the past. The phenomenon of Māori children identifying as Pākehā until the age of 9-10, assessed by their preference for racially differentiated dolls and pictures, was noted by Vaughan (1962), Hills (1964) and confirmed by Awatere (1974). Vaughan found an association between lighter skin colour and identification as Pākehā, but Awatere found the medium skin colour group to be more likely to identify as Pākehā than either the lighter or darker skinned children. Awatere also found that most Māori children who were pro-Pākehā until the ages of nine or ten, however, switched to an even more strongly pro-Māori attitude at that age. Racial identification and awareness studies using dolls and pictures, such as those undertaken by Vaughan (1964a) and Awatere (1974), have been criticized as "blunt" quantitative instruments, and a better measure of group response to various social forces than a reflection of the meaning of race to the individual (Katz 1996: 17). Nevertheless they are consistent with overseas studies (Goodman 1946; Clark & Clark 1947; Morland 1966 etc) in social contexts where the groups were clearly differentiated and/or there was a fairly high degree of inter-group tension, in which children from underprivileged groups show much less preference for their own group than do the members of the majority, privileged group (Tajfel 1981: 197-8). Neither Awatere (1974), Vaughan (1964a) or Hills (1964) included an intermediate mixed heritage category in their assessment of ethnic self-identification in children, and this was noted by American critics of these and other similar studies. Research in the United States which did include an intermediate doll and

picture found that this option attracted a significant percentage of mixed heritage black/white children away from white to an intermediate identification (Vaughan 1986: Greenwald & Oppenheim 1968; Asher & Allen 1969). The researcher is not aware of any studies of the ethnic identification of primary school children which have been undertaken since the 1970's.

5.2.7   Turning a Negative Into a Positive

A firm sense of group identification is needed for individuals to have a sense of well-being (Lewin 1948). But if the dominant group in society holds the traits or characteristics of an ethnic group in low esteem, then ethnic group members are potentially faced with a negative social identity or low self-regard (Phinney 1990). Racial stereotypes shown to exist amongst New Zealand school children in the 1970's (Archer 1975) included Pākehā/European perceptions of Māori as less socially desirable, and both Māori and Pākehā perceptions of Pākehā/European as more likely to achieve academically and materially. Identification with the majority group is possible for some Māori or Māori-and-Pākehā children, particularly those less racially distinct who are not categorized by others as ethnic group members. This could be described by some as "passing" but may reflect the child's predominant or significant genetic inheritance. Alternative solutions are to develop pride in one's ethnic minority group (Cross 1978), reinterpret characteristics deemed inferior (Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel 1973), and to stress the distinctiveness of one's own group (Phinney 1990).

The development of kaupapa Māori education initiatives and a stronger commitment to Māori content in mainstream schools since the 1980's is likely to have resulted in Māori children identifying earlier and more positively as Māori (Breakwell 1986: 84). While little research has yet been completed on their outcomes[27], these initiatives are expected to strengthen children's early

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[27]   See J.Pereira, Exploring Validity and Fairness: The Assessment of Māori Immersion Students in NEMP, paper presented at the annual conference of the NZ Association for Research in Education (NZARE), 6-9 Dec 2001, Christchurch, for information on the difficulties of assessing schools with different learning foci.

identification as Māori, self-esteem, and scholastic performance. Some initial research (cited in Else 1997) is positive. Whānau/hapū/iwi support for both culture and education is expected to be an important factor in the success of Māori immersion initiatives (Kerr 1987:96; McCarthy 1997). Overseas research points to advantages of being bilingual, such as the richness of cultural and verbal knowledge (Moorfield 1987: 40), increased cognitive flexibility and less dogmatism, and more favourable intergroup attitudes (Stephan 1992). Further research will be needed on the strengths and weaknesses of these initiatives, eg whether the children develop stronger and more positive identity as Māori, whether their overall education is enhanced, and how they then integrate into the broader society of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, the majority of Māori children still attend mainstream schools and pre-schools in which Māori medium teaching is less than 30 percent of the total, Māori students and staff are in a minority, and the dominant philosophy is Pākehā/European oriented. Hence many will still be influenced by negative stereotypes towards being Māori.

5.2.8 Distinctiveness and Integration Possible

Studies of the children of migrants to Australia (Taft 1985) show that a positive ethnic identity strengthens the well-being of ethnic minority individuals, and can be combined with a (sometimes secondary) identification with the majority culture. Those who identified most strongly with their minority ethnic group, as well as the dominant culture, had a comparatively positive self-identity. They were also well-anchored in both cultures; selected aspects from each which suited them; and reported high levels of satisfaction with their identity choices (Phinney & Alipuria 1990; Peterson 1996: 407). Personality factors facilitating acculturation have been identified, for example it was found that acculturation was easier for people who had higher intelligence, greater trust in people and less dogmatism. The distance between the prior culture and the new one, incentives, social pressures, and the availability of cultural mediators and teachers are also factors (Taft 1985). The point is also made that cultural exposure or knowledge is not necessarily required for ethnic identification, and that social relatedness and symbolic ties are also important (King 1974: 43; Durie 2001:54).

5.2.9 Positives and Negatives of Dual/Multiple Heritage

Being of mixed heritage can be described as both a positive and a negative. People who are of mixed heritage can be said to have a broader perspective, which cuts across ethnic boundaries, and hence they have lower levels of prejudice towards other groups (Stephan 1992 : 59). There is evidence that their self-esteem is equivalent or higher than that of their non-mixed peers (Chang 1974; Jacobs 1978). But American theorists such as Stonequist (1937), Park (1928, 1939), and Brown (1990) have also argued that mixed heritage can result in confusion, internal conflict and social isolation. Empirical studies such as Ijama-Hall (1992) of Black-Japanese Americans and Wilson (1987) of mixed heritage black/white children in Britain, indicate that while these problems are experienced by some mixed heritage children and adults, most develop ways of coping with them and learn to value their mixed heritage positively over time. Wilson (1987: 195) found that 60 percent of the 51 mixed heritage black/white children in her sample had achieved a positive black or mixed-race identity, and 40 percent experienced identity conflict, though she states that her sample may have over-represented mixed race children with a positive mixed race identity. These children were more likely to develop a positive identity if their parents acknowledged and explained race issues to them, and if they were raised in a multi-racial community in which different cultural groups were acknowledged and valued (Wilson 1987: 178). Those who were raised mainly amongst "whites" were more likely to think of themselves as "almost white" rather than be a sole representative of a negatively defined category. Feelings of longing for the other group were commonly experienced by those children who had chosen one group or the other.

5.2.10 "Neither Māori Nor Pākehā": a thesis by A.L.King

In a quantitative study of 13-14 year olds in Aotearoa New Zealand, A.L.King (1974) found that Māori/Pākehā were more likely to be "ethnically ambiguous" then either sole Māori or Pākehā, but he found no higher rate of social alienation amongst this group than others. As discussed, one factor causing social alienation is home/school culture conflict. This is less likely to

affect children of mixed Māori/Pākehā heritage because of the Pākehā influence in the home environment. It was also interesting to note that "part-Māori" scored as highly on pro-Māori "militancy" tests as did sole Māori, suggesting both identification and political commitment. King's methodology was lacking in that he did not give his participants an opportunity to express a positive dual Māori/ Pākehā identity. His assertion, though supported by Brown (1990) and Gibbs (1987), that children and adolescents do not have the strength or ego-identity development required to achieve "cultural ambidexterity", therefore could not be confirmed by his research. Phinney (1989) also suggests that cultural identification is often weaker in younger stages of life. The research of McDonald (1976), as described further below, and Wilson (1987), however, indicates that many children can and do have a satisfactory sense of belonging to two ethnic groups. The researcher suggests that it is possible that children can have a sense of belonging to both groups (dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity) without having extensive cultural knowledge or understanding.

In further discussing King's work, his finding that Māori and children of mixed Māori/ Pākehā heritage who want to be less Māori than they are experience higher degrees of alienation than other groups (King 1974: 91) was interesting and may have some validity. In King's study there were 22 children who wanted to be less Māori than they were, and six of these were in the most confused category (King 1974: 71-2). This is supported by Taft's (1985) research on children of migrants in West Australia, in that those who identified solely with mainstream Australian culture had a less positive self-identity than those who identified most strongly with their minority ethnic group, and secondarily with the dominant culture. King referred to Berreman's (1964) research on native Aleuts in Alaska where acceptance as Aleut depended on hostility towards whites. Those who aspired to be white (whites were their "reference group") were therefore alienated from the Aleut, and likely to also be alienated from the whites and become socially isolated. Phinney (1990) also notes that finding strength in a minority ethnicity, for some people, may involve rejecting the values of the dominant culture. Cultural identification is seen as vital for the well-being of Māori (Durie et al

2002), but King suggested that a strong "sense of identity" could be either personal, cultural or both, but without either an individual was at risk of social alienation (King 1974:10-14).

5.2.11 The Categories Māori and Pākehā: Definitions by Self and Others
Geraldine McDonald, who worked for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, published a significant study in 1976 on how mothers and grandmothers described their children's/grandchildren's ethnicity. This study indicated that " Māori-and-Pākehā" was a commonly understood, accepted and accurate way of describing a large number of people in her study. She wrote that hypotheses about being of mixed Māori and Pākehā/European descent as a "problem" (as per Stonequist's 1939 theory on "the marginal man") resulted from researchers' failure to distinguish between cognitive categorization (recognizing the Māori and Pākehā groups) and how people are treated within both groups. "The persons themselves...think of themselves as being both Māori and Pākehā" (1976: 46). Whereas Pākehā see the two categories as discrete (eg Schwimmer 1966: 100), many Māori believe that being Māori does not exclude a person from the Pākehā/European category (despite the tendency of Māori to define them/ourselves in contrast to Pākehā – Greenland 1984; Berreman 1964). Categorizations by Māori-and-Pākehā of themselves often relate as much to claims to affiliation to two cultures as to actual "degrees of blood".

While McDonald (1976) found that Māori/ Pākehā often experience disbelief, other people's confusion or pressure to put them into a single box or category, she also found that many experience satisfactory feelings of belonging to both ethnic categories. Her research indicated that acceptance and understanding of dual Māori/ Pākehā ethnicity was higher in the Māori than the Pākehā/European community. Because of our history of assimilation and the social acceptance of Māori by Pākehā/Europeans (albeit on Pākehā/European terms), and a high rate of intermarriage, the acceptance of dual Māori/ Pākehā ethnicity is also likely to be higher in Aotearoa New Zealand than it is in the United States or Britain. There have been even stronger divisions historically between the racial/ethnic groups in those countries.

5.2.12 Identity Difficulties Commonly Understood

The suggestion that people of mixed Māori and Pākehā/European descent have difficulty in resolving identity issues has been made not just by Pākehā researchers (King 1974), but also by Māori (Awatere 1984; O'Regan 1975; Reid 1998/99). While some individuals grow up comfortably with a dual ethnicity identity (Meredith 2001b; Bevan 2000: 67), others experience the process of finding security and strength in a dual identity complex and difficult, and these difficulties are exacerbated by the fact that many people do not accept or understand dual ethnicity. Along with overseas research (Brown 1990: 324; Bradshaw 1992) these Māori/Pākehā researchers point to particular external stresses experienced by the bi-racial or Māori/Pākehā child such as: pressure to choose one or other identity; questions about racial or ethnic background making children feel that they are "not normal" resulting in status anxiety; ambiguous racial belonging resulting in fear of rejection; absence of external validation; and feelings of social discomfort due to inadequate socialisation in one or other cultural/ethnic group (McDonald 1976; Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000; Moeke-Maxwell 2001). Internal confusion can be experienced due to awareness of contrasting values and social norms. These symptoms indicate the social distance between the two groups, and the tendency of Māori and Pākehā ethnic groups to define themselves in contrast to the other (Greenland 1984; McCreanor 1989). While Pākehā/Europeans have tended to suggest that tension is experienced by mixed heritage children because they can not belong fully to either group, Māori have seen the issue from a different perspective. Māori have understood that these children legitimately belong to both groups, but that belonging to both is made more difficult when injustice and racism result in the two groups being in conflict, unequal, contrasting, and in competition.

5.2.13 Lack of Research on Dual Māori/Pākehā Ethnicity in Children

While previous theses (eg Gibbs 1999; Bevan 2000) provide retrospective insights from an adult perspective, there is a lack of qualitative research in Aotearoa New Zealand focussed on the extent to which children and adolescents in New Zealand are able to integrate a dual Māori/Pākehā

identity. Harre's (1965,1966) extensive research on mixed Māori/Pākehā families indicated the importance of social up-bringing, and the involvement and attitude of each parent as important factors affecting children's identification. Many of the Māori parents he studied at that time had a dual cultural affiliation, and others he described as culturally Pākehā. Hence they often brought their children up to believe that their Māori ancestry was relevant to the past, not the present. He found a high level of acceptance of mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā children in their communities, but noted that discrimination was sometimes experienced as they reached adolescence. These children did not appear to experience significant social tension or alienation. There was considerable variation within families ie cultural identification was to a large degree an *individual choice*. It depended on the influence of parents, peers, community and temperament. Some children made choices contrary to the cultural affiliation of the parents and this caused some tension[28] (Harre 1966: 141). Katz (1996:47) states that mixed race people are categorized in various ways by society, and their reaction to how they are categorized is also varied. While individuals are influenced by predominant social orders and their institutions and ideologies, they also have the potential to avoid, resist and dissent (Breakwell 1986: 33). Recent censes show a higher percentage of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity amongst younger age groups, in comparison with older age groups (Robson 1997).

5.2.14 Identity Transition a Period of Vulnerability for Young Māori?

Awatere's (1974) research suggested that many Māori children in mainstream schools underwent a shift from a Pākehā to a Māori identity at the age of 9-10. Because these studies lacked a subjective component, no data was revealed on how children felt about this transition, which appears to be a significant emotional and social process and is likely to be associated with some vulnerability. Fair-skinned Māori who made this shift tended to make a more extreme shift, from a strongly pro-Pākehā position to a strongly pro-Māori position and may therefore have experienced greater vulnerability. They may

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[28] Recently formed multi-ethnic rights groups in the United States advocate the rights of individuals to identify differently from how their parents identify them, differently from their siblings, differently from how strangers expect them to identify, and differently in different situations (Root 1996: 7).

continue to experience anxiety about the possibility of rejection by Māori. Due to a lack of longer-term life history studies which include childhood, it is also not clear whether this change from pro-Pākehā to pro-Māori in children is exploratory only or achieved, ie permanent and long-term (Phinney 1990: 503). Reasons for the shift from a Pākehā to a Māori identification are poorly researched but suggestions are external "disconfirmation", such as regular messages from people that the child is Māori, not Pākehā (Breakwell 1986); an inability to acculturate or "fit" with Pākehā peers or within Pākehā systems (Vaughan 1964a) or a realization that society is wrong in its derogatory perception of Māori (Awatere 1974).

5.2.15 Extent of Continuing Identification as non-Māori

It is also interesting to note that Awatere's (1974) study showed that a significant number of Māori children (a third of her sample) continued to identify as Pākehā/European at the study's upper age level of 12. Some possible factors in explaining this could be: that they were raised in a predominantly Pākehā socio-cultural environment; they related to Pākehā family members or other significant identification figures; their appearance did not "mark"[29] them as Māori; they were Pākehā/European by predominant genetic inheritance; they felt accepted and comfortable with a Pākehā/European identity; they saw greater benefit for themselves educationally, socially or materially in a Pākehā identification; and/or had absorbed prejudices and myths presenting a Māori identity as inferior or irrelevant. Light-skinned Māori may also find the difficulties of identifying as Māori or Māori-and-Pākehā too hard to overcome, ie rejection due to appearance (Moeke-Pickering 1996).

A decision to identify as a minority group member will also be made difficult if the child feels he/she has to give up membership of the dominant, more advantaged group in order to belong (Brown 1990:327). Although identifying themselves as predominantly Pākehā/European, they may also experience feelings of longing towards the Māori ethnic group, guilt about rejecting part

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[29] Vaughan (1964) and McDonald (1976) both described Māori as a "marked" category.

of their heritage, or insecurity about their sense of belonging as
Pākehā/European (Wilson 1987), or they may not have been interested in
ethnicity and may not have given it much thought ie their ethnic identity is
"unexamined" (Phinney 1990). Again, it should be emphasised that no
intermediate identification options were allowed or supported in this research.
The researcher is aware of no further research focussing specifically on the
socio-psychological ethnic identity development of mixed heritage Māori/
Pākehā children and adolescents since Awatere and King.

5.2.16 Physical Appearance Affects Ethnic Identification

Physical appearance, including aspects such as skin colour and shape of facial
features, is a major factor in the formation of ethnic identification (Stephan
1992). But the racial self-identity of the bi-racial person is seldom apparent
from physical characteristics alone, and it may not fit easily into others'
familiar categories (Bradshaw 1992: 82). An individual's sense of self is
emotionally mediated rather than defined merely by identification with his or
her physical attributes. Choosing an ethnicity which is not supported by the
popularly perceived phenotypical expectation for that ethnicity is particularly
difficult (Bevan 2000; Gibson 2001). "If racial marks are obvious, then the
consistency of treatment is greater and is probably a factor in promoting
personal adjustment" (Brown 1990: 324). If they are obscure, then finding a
sense of belonging can be harder. Discrimination experienced by young
children can be shockingly unexpected, indicating that others see them ·
differently from how they see themselves. It can also be a critical experience
in determining life course and self-concept.

5.2.17 "Trying On" Identities a Form of Exploration

Pressure to choose one identity over the other is a commonly experienced
stress for dual ethnicity children and adults, particularly if they have not learnt
to define themselves as "both". In exploring their identity, it is common for
children to accept and reject various aspects of both cultures or ethnic groups,
and to want to "try on" each ethnic identification in turn (Wardle 1991;
Hershel 1995: 171; Poston 1990; Kich 1990). But this should not lead to
assumptions that the child is totally rejecting another side of his or her

heritage. The research of Vaughan (1964a) and Awatere (1974), in which young Māori and Māori/ Pākehā children attempted to "try on" a Pākehā identification, could be considered in this light. That is, it may not have indicated a rejection of a Māori identification, but merely an attempt to acculturate into the wider society, particularly at school. This could be considered neutrally or even positively.

5.2.18 Choice versus Integration

If a dual ethnic and cultural focus is developed, children may possess more insight and sensitivity to both racial groups, but also face a wider set of choices, aspirations and attitudes. Whereas some might see "choice", as an advantage, the act of choosing either racial heritage over the other necessarily evokes feelings of disloyalty and incongruity (Bradshaw 1992). Social and historical factors influence the kinds of pressures experienced by mixed heritage children. Pressures to assimilate into Pākehā norms and values were experienced at school and home during the first half of the century. But the political and cultural renaissance of the 1970's and 1980's placed the emphasis on rebuilding Māori identity and distinctiveness, representing Pākehā and Māori as ideologically polarised (Greenland 1984), and hence this was a time when asserting a dual Māori/ Pākehā identity within a Māori context was perhaps more difficult.

The critical development task for the bi-racial person is to embrace the right to define and conceptualize his or her own experience, as an insider, and to construct a racial identity defined as a whole, rather than by its parts (Bradshaw 1992: 82). The term "edgewalkers" has begun to be used in the United States in reference to people of mixed racial and ethnic heritage. "Edgewalkers do not shed one skin when they move from their cultures of origin to the mainstream and back. Edgewalkers maintain continuity wherever they go, walking the edge between two cultures in the same persona" (Krebs 1999: 75). If there is pressure to accept social identity over self-identity, or to choose between white and non-white, feelings of confusion, isolation and loss of orientation can result (Brown 1990: 325).

5.2.19 Conclusion

Overseas and New Zealand studies (eg McDonald 1976) suggest that bi-racial children (and adults) are frequently challenged about their racial categorization, which can contribute to a sense of vulnerability and being an outsider in some situations (Bradshaw 1992: 77). Vulnerability to rejection must be reconciled with temporary acceptance, whether based on deep or superficial characteristics of the self. Bi-racial people have to cope with social and institutionalized racism, false assumptions about racial purity (eg "you're not full-blooded, so you're not Māori"), and intra-personal and familial factors that affect resolution of self-identity and racial identity. Hence it is this lack of understanding and acceptance, or "the marginal status imposed by society rather than the objective mixed race of bi-racial individuals" which poses a severe stress to positive identity development (Bradshaw 1992:78; Root, 1992:188). Māori are more likely than Pākehā to understand the tensions of genetically straddling two unequal societies, and therefore be more sympathetic, but have differing expectations of mixed heritage individuals, according to the circumstances of their birth and upbringing.

Young bi-racials have fewer problems with racial identity if they live in a community of mixed marriage families, or if they can find peer support from racially diverse groups or networks. Wardle (1991) recommends that parents of mixed heritage children expose them to both sides of their heritage; talk with their children to give them words to explain and define themselves to others; provide them with books and materials reflecting their dual heritage; and help the child understand that not everyone will understand or accept their dual heritage. A positive dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity can be encouraged by positive experiences in both socio-cultural communities. Children are particularly open to different languages and cultures, and hence extensive exposure to Māori language and cultural traditions is beneficial to their understanding, and their identification as Māori. But if a Māori or Māori/ Pākehā child does not have extensive cultural exposure or identify as Māori in his/her early years, but nevertheless has positive self-esteem, linked to early positive nurturing, social success and scholastic achievement (Ranby 1979, Chapman 1984), it can be expected that this child will continue to thrive.

5.3   Ngā Rangatahi – Identity Development in Adolescence

5.3.1   Introduction

Adolescence is a critical time in the formation of identity. Erikson (1980) lists the main tasks associated with adolescence as the development of personal identity (sense of uniqueness and self-esteem), the establishment of a sense of autonomy and independence from parents, the ability to relate to same-sex and opposite-sex peers, and commitment to a vocational choice. Hence a sense of belonging to a peer group becomes particularly important for the adolescent's sense of security (Erikson 1980: 94-5). This can be a defence against identity confusion, but it can result in stereotyping of others and consequent intolerance (Erikson 1980: 97). Group boundaries can become strictly defined, as in-group and out-group members are differentiated. Those who do not belong fully to any group can experience feelings of insecurity and heightened self-consciousness. Periods of potential identity stress, experienced across cultures, are said to be entry into secondary school (Overmier 1990), adolescence and early adulthood (Stonequist 1937; Erikson 1977).

5.3.2   Research Suggests Earlier Transition for Māori

The research of Vaughan (1964a), Hills (1964) and Awatere (1974), however, indicates that many Māori children have already undergone a major identity transition or crisis by the age of ten, by which time most have moved from a pro-Pākehā to a pro-Māori identity. This may not be a permanent, or committed identity achievement position, but may instead be part of a process of exploration or "trying on" (Hershel 1995) one ethnic identification for a period, and if a good fit is not found, another may be tried on later. About a third of children with Māori whakapapa in Awatere's study, however, had not chosen Māori ethnicity by that age. These children may not have been exposed to ethnic identity issues (the first or unexamined stage), or they may not have given it much thought (their ethnic identity is diffuse) (Phinney 1990: 502).

5.3.3 Coping with the Negative Views of the Majority

Disparaging views of Māori by the majority group may make identity formation more difficult for adolescents of ethnic minorities within a majority school context. Critical issues include the degree and quality of involvement that is maintained with one's own culture and heritage, ways of responding to and dealing with the dominant group's often disparaging views of their group; and the impact of these factors on psychological well-being (Phinney 1990). Awatere (1974: 1) cites a number of studies (eg Sutherland 1973; Minogue 1960; Harre 1963; Walker 1970) which indicate that discrimination and racism by Pākehā towards Māori existed in Aotearoa New Zealand at that time. Since then, however, studies of ethnic awareness and identification (Awatere 1974; Vaughan 1986) and of inter-group perceptions and stereotypes (Graves and Graves 1974; Wetherell, Vaughan, McDowell, Todd and van Rij Jeyligers 1985; Vaughan and Oliver 1991), suggest that there has been an improvement in the self or group perception of Māori and a shift towards more complex inter-ethnic attitudes. This is a result of the positive assertion of Māori cultural and political rights and improved Māori access to power and resources (Walker 1989). Māori and non-Māori children who have attended kohanga reo and kura in recent years will also have quite different experiences relating to identity development and ethnic awareness and attitudes, which warrant further research.

5.3.4 Again, Distinctiveness & Integration Possible

Two theories of multi-cultural identity development have been put forward (Peterson 1996: 407; Phinney and Alipuria 1990). The "culture-conflict" theory depicts cultural identification as an either/or dichotomy, in which strong identification with one culture necessarily weakens identification with the other. But an opposing theory views ethnic identification as an *additive* process in which "pride in one's cultural heritage appears functional as an integrative technique for reducing adolescent identity and role conflict" (Derbyshire 1968:108). According to this theory, strong identification with the traditional culture promotes strong identification with the adopted culture as well. This theory was supported by Taft's (1985) study of adolescents with

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European-migrant parents in Australia, as quoted previously. Racism, however, is less likely to be a factor for European immigrants than it is for darker-skinned indigenous peoples such as Aborigines and Māori. Phinney & Alipuria (1990) however, also found that for more physically-differentiated minority teenagers, ethnic commitment was also positively related to self-esteem. Teenagers who viewed their Asian, black or Mexican heritage as important and valuable were more self-confident and self-satisfied than those who identified exclusively with mainstream Anglo-American culture (Peterson 1996: 406).

5.3.5 Importance of Individual Identity Achievement

People who have actively explored ethnic identity issues for themselves will have made a stronger commitment to their ethnicity than those who have absorbed their ethnicity less consciously from their parents. Marcia (1966) developed a system of classifying people according to four identity statuses:

i) foreclosure: those who have made a firm commitment, usually in accord with the expectations of others, without having personally explored the issues for themselves

ii) moratorium: those who have made no firm commitment but are experiencing a period of crisis or identity exploration;

iii) identity achievers: those who had made commitment after a period of crisis;

iv) diffusion or confusion: those who show no evidence of either crisis or commitment .

Identity achievement, involving commitment after a period of crisis or exploration/transition, is associated with more ability to handle stress, higher scholastic achievement, and higher career aspirations (Marcia 1966; Chapman & Nicholls 1976). It appears to be more important for Māori to develop strength in their ethnic identity than their occupational identity (Awatere 1974; Chapman & Nicholls 1976).

5.3.6 Challenge for Mixed Heritage Adolescents

Additionally, the task of identity achievement may be harder for mixed heritage individuals than for sole heritage individuals. "If identity formation is

more problematic for black than for white adolescents, then one can hypothesize that it would be even more difficult for adolescents with a bi-racial background" (Gibbs 1987). While negotiating their social status within their peer group, learning how to deal with their sexuality, and making a commitment to school or work, they also need to integrate identifications with parents from two racial backgrounds into a separate integrated identity (Gibbs 1987; Overmier 1990). Though Bevan (2000) argues that a dual Māori/Pākehā identity is not possible due to the inequality and conflict between the two ethnic groups, and supports "white Māori" in having a singular Māori identity, Overmier (1990:170) states that bi-racial teens are most likely to develop a healthy and positive identity if they can integrate dual racial identifications into a single identity that affirms the positive aspects of each heritage, acknowledge the reality of societal ambivalence, and reject the limitations of racial stereotypes or behaviours. This makes the development of healthy self-esteem and an integrated sense of self more complicated for the bi-racial than the mono-racial person (Bradshaw 1992: 82).

Hence supportive families and social networks are particularly important, and the process may take longer than it does for sole heritage adolescents. Many parents are themselves struggling with conflict and identity issues, and are limited in their ability to support their children (Gibbs 1987: 267). There is evidence of disproportionate and increasing numbers of bi-racial adolescents in the United States presenting to social service, mental health and probation agencies with identity problems. In her survey of 50 social service, mental health, special education and probation agencies in the San Francisco Bay area, Gibbs (1987) found that 60 percent of those agencies reported an over-representation of bi-racial adolescents. Victimization is commonly experienced by these young people. She found that in most of these cases bi-racial adolescents had failed to achieve an integrated identity at that stage of their lives. Many expressed ambivalence about the racial background of both parents, alternately denigrating and praising the perceived attributes of both.

5.3.7   Mixed Heritage Adolescents and Dating
Social acceptance is particularly important for adolescents as they begin to

participate in hetero-sexual social and extra-curricular activities. In America some bi-racial children, particularly girls, who have satisfactory social relationships at primary school find that at secondary school their colour becomes more significant and they get excluded from certain cliques or from dating white boys. Hence they can become very anxious and have to reassess their social identity. They can experience rejection from both minority and majority groups. The same situation has been described in Aotearoa New Zealand by Harre (1966) and O'Regan (1975) when mixed heritage adolescents find apparently full acceptance by Pākehā/Europeans, except when it comes to dating. Identity confusion in general can result in confusion around sexuality, particularly if the relationship with the same sex, minority parent is not good (Gibbs 1987).

5.3.8   Effects of Vulnerability

Because of the particular vulnerabilities of mixed heritage adolescents, some parents become over-protective, which can result in adolescents becoming either over-dependent on their parents or prematurely independent of them. Sometimes mixed heritage adolescents from a middle-class background "over-identify" with a black social group which is anti-achievement and negative in its identity, causing parents concern and affecting the adolescent's attitude to education etc. Choosing to associate with "whites" or people of European descent can be justified educationally and socially, and can be a realistic option, though it can also be associated with a degree of confusion, inhibition, dependence on family and over-achievement. Withdrawing socially, or overly conforming to group norms, such as vulnerability to drugs and alcohol use, are other options. Those with a negative identity have more maladaptive coping mechanisms, including promiscuity and low school achievement. Those who suffer parental rejection or neglect face further challenges to their identity development (Gibbs 1997).

5.3.9   Political Aspects

With strong ethnic and racial division between black and white people in the United States, and the loss of language and culture for most blacks, political attitudes are particularly important in determining identity (Phinney 1990:

505). While this may add to the challenge of forming a strong dual ethnicity identity, nevertheless, studies have shown that many, particularly the most advantaged such as Harvard students, have been able to resolve these issues and develop a healthy, positive dual ethnicity identity (Poussaint 1984; Phinney & Alipuria 1990). In Aotearoa New Zealand there has been a high level of intermarriage and assimilation, and a consequent blurring of cultural and ethnic boundaries (Meredith 2001: 9). Relationships between Māori and Pākehā are affected by the unequal balance of power and resources between the two ethnic groups, as well as by political and social movements such as the urbanisation of the 1940's and 1950's, followed by the cultural and political renaissance of the 1970's and 1980's. Variation in the social and political context will affect the ability of Māori/Pākehā adolescents to integrate a dual Māori/Pākehā identity internally. Māori/Pākehā children have had a high degree of choice of cultural identity, and there can be considerable variation within whānau/families.

5.3.10 Burden of Choice

Māori and Māori/Pākehā teenagers are faced with a set of choices about how to integrate ethnicity with other identity decisions, including choices about career, sex-roles, relationships, religion and a philosophy of life. "There is added richness in having multiple cultural identifications to choose from, but resolving the identity crisis can be made more difficult by this additional burden of choice"(Peterson 1996: 406). Māori/ Pākehā children are generally accepted amongst Pākehā, except sometimes when it comes to dating; and are usually accepted amongst Māori, though if they have previously identified as Pākehā they may face challenges and need to acknowledge their Māori ancestry (Harre 1966:131). Parental influence, peer group attitudes, and temperament were all important factors in forming cultural orientation. Appearance was also important, as young people were aware of how they were perceived by the community and often identified themselves accordingly (Harre 1966: 139).

5.3.11 Importance of Positive Acceptance

As Erikson states (1963; Overmier 1990), the central task of adolescence is to form a stable identity, and crucial to this task is the definition of self offered by other people, including peers and teachers. If those definitions are affirming, a positive identity is likely to develop. If they are disparaging or mixed - as Overmier (1990: 162,169) suggests they can be for bi-racial adolescents - a less healthy identity can result. This can leave the bi-racial adolescent in a precarious position for healthy development in later adult stages. Bi-racial teens need to find peers who will accept their uniqueness, validate their identity, not be uncomfortable or fascinated by their bi-racial identity, and be supportive in interpersonal and social situations. Parental and family support and affirmation are also important in fostering positive self-image and acceptance of self (Motoyoshi 1990). If satisfactory feelings of belonging are not achieved, ambivalence and social alienation can result. Belonging does not become an issue until exclusion (lack of acceptance) is communicated (Hershel 1995: 170).

While the research by Vaughan (1964) and Awatere (1974) indicates that both dark and lighter-skinned Māori may experience rejection in their aspiration to identify as/with Pākehā, recent research by Moeke-Maxwell (2001) and Bevan (2000) indicates that the bi-racial Māori/ Pākehā can also experience rejection from Māori, particularly if they are perceived as Pākehā. The legacy of Darwin's theory of hierarchy of the races continues to mark and place Māori and Pākehā according to phenotypes (Moeke-Maxwell 2001; 164).[30] Those who fail to find a sense of belonging to a group, or who retain a degree of identity confusion within a group may experience a degree of ambivalence about social or cultural identity which can be debilitating. Giddens (1991: 52-4) emphasizes the importance of self-understanding in developing a positive identity, which he says involves the capacity to "keep a particular narrative going" and to integrate external events into the story of one's self.

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[30] Hence there may be some who relate this statement about black/white Americans - "mixed race people can feel doubly oppressed and experience a "squeeze of oppression as people of colour and by people of colour" (Root 1992)

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5.3.12 Association Between Self-concept and Scholastic Achievement

An extensive study of Māori and Pākehā secondary school students, including Māori/Pākehā (Ranby 1979) provided further insights into the adolescent age group in Aotearoa New Zealand. Ranby examined self-concept in relation to factors including ethnicity, socio-economic status, and academic status in a large sample of secondary school students in Aotearoa New Zealand. He found that Māori had a slightly lower self-concept than Pākehā, which was more closely associated with scholastic achievement than with lower socio-economic backgrounds. This has also been found in other research (Leviton 1975). Reasons suggested for lower scholastic achievement were: entering school with less English than Pākehā; identity confusion between home and school, and teacher insensitivity to the needs of Māori children (Schwimmer 1973; Walker 1973). It has also been associated with larger family size (Ranby 1979) and poorer financial and education resources in the home (Else 1997). The gap in academic achievement between Māori and non-Māori children is getting narrower over time, but slowly and unevenly (Else 1997). While average income has risen, and family size has fallen, there has been a major increase in one-parent families - in 1991, 37 percent of Māori families were one-parent only.

In Ranby's study, dual heritage Māori/Pākehā children were found to have a level of self-esteem which was higher than sole Māori, and lower than Pākehā. Ranby, like Awatere (1974), found that a significant number of secondary school students of Māori descent identified primarily as Pākehā. While Ranby comments on the difficulty in "rebelling" against being in the "marked" category, he also quotes Benton (1978; in Ranby 1987: 72) as saying that children should not be forced to identify with their supposed ethnic group. Positive identity as Māori needs to be based on access to Māori culture and heritage, access to the physical and non-physical resources of tribal structures, and opportunity for expression of culture and endorsement within the wider society (Durie 2001: 54-5; McCarthy, Tangaere 1997). Many Māori face barriers in these matters.

5.3.13 Conclusion

Māori researchers in recent years have acknowledged the complexity and diversity of identity issues for Māori, including multiple affiliations, and the need to incorporate identities other than those which are based on Māori traditions and tribal affiliations (Durie 1995; Durie 2001: 59). Lawson Te Aho (1998) suggests a five-fold plan to prevent negative identity, depression and suicide amongst Māori youth. This involves strengthening Māori communities and encouraging their responsibility toward Māori youth; enhancing cultural strength and youth access to it; enhancing mainstream services' sensitivity to the needs of young Māori; and improving understanding of the rates and causes of such problems. Phinney (1989) points out that cultural identification of members of minority groups tends to vary over the life cycle, and that it tends to be relatively weak in adolescence and young adulthood. "It seems likely that for young adults, involvement in youth culture may divert them from participation in their culture of origin" (Broughton et al 2000: 28).

5.4   Te Haerenga Roa: Identity Development in Adulthood

5.4.1   Introduction

"We say of the spiral that at the same time it is going forward, it is also returning" (Jahnke and Ihimaera 2000: 30). This is a *whakataukī* or proverb which it is suggested can refer to the fact that the process of identity exploration and achievement for Māori, in that the development of a secure identity as Māori, usually involves returning to and incorporating traditional knowledge such as language, whakapapa and tikanga or customary social practices. Security of ethnic identity then facilitates personal development, which includes self-esteem, confidence and ability to contribute to the wider society.

5.4.2   Identity Development Continues in Adulthood

Development of identity structures is a process occupying a person's whole life span (Breakwell 1996: 11). While Erikson's ideas are limited in their understanding of indigenous identity issues and the particular experience of the bi-racial individual (Miller 1992), they may provide a general

understanding of psycho-social human development through adulthood. "What a person is varies across cultures, although there are elements of such a notion that are common to all cultures" (Giddens 1991: 48). Erikson (1980) outlines three major stages of development experienced through adulthood: intimacy versus isolation (aged 21-35), when intimate relationships and careers are usually established; generativity versus self-absorption (aged 35-55), when people feel the need to produce things which carry beyond the finite limits of their lives, and learn to accept their limitations; and integrity versus despair (aged 55 on) when people look back over their lives, integrate their life narratives into a complete picture, and recognise the imminence of death. Like Piaget, Erikson recognizes commonly-experienced internal conflicts or tensions and sees them as impetus for growth (Erikson 1980: 125).

Identity grows across time, with an expanding content or value definition (Breakwell 1986: 19, 26). The structure of identity is accreted around the biological organism, but over time the biological organism comes to be smaller proportion of identity. The process of evaluation may shift from concern with largely concrete manifestations of value to a focus on non-material or ideologically dictated values. The social world in which identity evolves is an ever-changing product of a history of interpersonal and intergroup interactions and their relationship with the physical properties of the world. It is the individual's subjective knowledge of the social world which matters, not the remnant which is unknown. Maturity of self can only be achieved where both active involvement with the social world, and personal reflection are feasible (Breakwell 1986: 29: Hegel 1807).

Over time people become more able to make moral decisions independently and set their own standards (Kohlberg 1964; Psychology Today 1976: 137-9). Kohlberg's theories have been proven to apply cross-culturally. Our earliest moral decisions are based on a desire to avoid punishment. Gradually we learn to consider our effect on others; desire the approval of parents and a wider society; begin to make moral decisions for ourselves, become aware of wider social views; and finally learn to govern ourselves solely by self-

determined standards of justice and equality. These phases could help explain the increasing ability over time of members of minority ethnic groups such as Māori to resist majority values and pressures in order to both attain a stronger identity as a minority group member and/or forge their own identity as Māori-and-Pākehā with ties to both groups. While it may be less common for children to integrate two or more different schemas simultaneously, these skills can develop over time (Brown 1990: 323). Hence minority members may learn to resist assimilation pressures from the predominant culture, and affirm their ethnic identity as a positive over time (Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999). Parents, older children and teachers can all be socializing agents from which moral behaviour is learned. A study by Kohlberg (1964) indicated that ability to develop moral behaviour was related to ego functions such as intelligence, strength of will, the ability to wait for a bigger reward rather than accept a small one now, a capacity for sustained attention and fantasy-control, and high self-esteem. Social learning theorists recognize the importance of both cognition and emotion (Peterson 1996: 145; Aronfreed 1968). The individual from an ethnic minority group is (ideally) instructed in the values, perceptions and normative behaviours of two (sometimes opposing) cultural systems, that is, those of the minority and majority groups (Brown 1990: 325).

Maslow (1954) also acknowledged the importance of adulthood as a period of potential change and growth (Peterson 1996: 60). He stated that the need to grow towards the higher limits of human capacity is inherent in everyone, but saw obstacles to growth as including the desire for familiarity, fear, and the lack of encouragement or examples. Similarly, fear and anxiety are often experienced by "Pākehāfied" Māori as they begin to explore their Māori identity and ethnicity (1999a). Maslow described how identity growth can involve loss, risk, and associated fear and anxiety; but the benefits of identity achievement are clear in terms of strength of character which is associated with ability to cope with stress, and educational and career success (Phinney 1990). Once basic needs such as food and security are met, people will then seek to gain self-respect and the respect of others, and finally self-actualisation, which means freedom for the fullest development of one's

capacities and talents. Satisfaction of basic needs is followed by a striving towards higher or metaneeds, including justice, beauty and unity. If these metaneeds are not fulfilled, people can become psychologically sick, and fall into states such as alienation, anguish, apathy and cynicism (Maslow 1968; Psychology Today 1972: 446). Kierkegaard (166-7; in Becker 1973: 79) also describes a form of depression which can be caused by not daring to stand up for your own meanings because they pose too much danger or exposure. Self-actualized people, on the other hand, are: realistic, spontaneous, independent, appreciative of individuals while identifying with mankind, creative, philosophical, and non-conforming to culture. They often have profound mystical or spiritual experiences (Maslow 1968).

In the early 20th century, the Western psychiatrist Carl Jung developed his theory of *individuation* ie people are continually trying to develop themselves, and achieve unity within themselves (Psychology Today 1972: 424). As opposed to materialism, which views the psyche as nothing but a product of bio-chemical processes, Jung postulates the existence of an autonomous spiritual principle (1972: 338-357). The importance of spirituality is also emphasized by experts on the well-being of Māori and mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individuals (eg Pere 1984: Durie 1985a; Moeke-Maxwell 2001). A feeling of personal security needs to feed on symbols and dreams, not merely the material and mundane (Becker 1973: 81). An increasing sense of identity is experienced as a sense of psycho-social well-being (Erikson 1980: 127). One feels at home in one's body and knows where one is going and is confident of attaining recognition from those who count. It can be lost and regained fairly frequently.

5.4.3   Cultural Identity and Belonging for Māori and Māori/Pākehā
For indigenous and racially mixed people, identity development is also affected by factors such as cultural identity, feelings of belonging, relations between groups, and the level of contact and social mobility between them. Values transmitted by institutions, and the historical position of different groups will also have an impact (Miller 1992: 32). The complexity of the on-going process of retaining a healthy identity as a Māori or Māori/ Pākehā

adult is acknowledged by Māori health researchers. Psychological well-being is related to personal encounters, developmental experiences, societal values and equity, stress, genetics, culture, standards of living, physical health and political influence (Ministry of Health 1997a). While historical factors such as colonisation and the resulting conditions for Māori have had a major impact, other factors too, unique to individuals, also need to be understood (Durie 2001: 37, 59).

Māori need not only access to culture and heritage, but also a chance to participate and for their participation to be endorsed by others. The marae is often the forum for such encounters. It is on the marae that Māori cultural norms and values relating to time, place, people and spirituality are affirmed by being paramount. "Marae-based attitudes, values, practices and guiding philosophies....are important for the maintenance of a healthy mauri" (Durie 2001: 54,70,89). Models of positive Māori identity and health have included that of Pere (1984), concerning the health of the whānau or family; Durie (1985a), who outlines dimensions of spirituality (*taha wairua*), thoughts and feelings (*taha hinengaro*), physical health *(taha tinana)* as well as family *(taha whānau)*; Durie (1985b), who includes the importance of land, family and the Māori language; and the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) which includes economic factors as well as culture, family and the environment.

Tribal identity is important for a sense of security for many Māori (Rangihau 1981). Murchie (1984: 82) suggested a scale of escalating social risk, with those respondents who live within the tribal region of both themselves and their partners most likely to be secure, and those who live outside the tribal region of both themselves and their partner, least likely to be socially secure. Threats to Māori well-being and identity come from many quarters, often traceable to the process of colonisation and its ...accompaniments: depopulation, violence, dislocation, poverty and cultural repression (Durie 2001: 35). Racism on three levels (institutionalised, personally mediated, and internalised – see footnote 10, p26) also continues to affect the physical and mental health of Māori and Māori/ Pākehā (Cram 1999). It is experienced personally by dark-skinned more than light-skinned Māori. Racism has been

shown to have direct physical consequences, and such oppression can become internalised, damaging self-esteem and potentially compromising available social support, which will also have consequences for health (Karlsen & Nazroo 2002: 2).

As in earlier stages of life, those identifying as Māori have to cope with the problems of cultural differences between their own group and the dominant group, and the lower or disparaged status of their group in society (Phinney 1990. Phinney Lochner & Murphy 1990). Means of countering racism and negativity towards one's ethnic group include developing pride in the distinctiveness of the group, and reinterpreting difference as positive (Cross 1978; Christian, Gadfield, Giles & Taylor 1976). It is because "extra fortitude" is required to develop a strong personal identity as Māori (Durie 1997: 156) within a Pākehā-dominated society, that a sense of belonging and social support within a Māori social and cultural context are especially important. This may be particularly so for fair or light-skinned Māori, who experience strong pressures to assimilate and whose identity as Māori is frequently challenged by others.

The ability of a minority individual to simultaneously identify with both cultures will depend on the degree of overlap and common values held by both cultural/ethnic groups; the availability of cultural translators, mediators and models; the individual's conceptual and problem-solving approach; their bi-lingualism; and the degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance, such as skin colour, facial features, from each group (De Anda 1984: 107). The level of permeability of the boundaries between the ethnic groups will also be a factor (Stonequist 1937: 30; Kerchoff and McCormick 1955).

In Aotearoa New Zealand in recent years a number of Māori health researchers have acknowledged the complexity and diversity of Māori lifestyles and forms of identity (Durie 1995; Ramsden 1993; Reid 1995). Māori (including Māori/ Pākehā) often have a range of social and cultural affiliations, and these may undergo considerable change during their lifetimes. Breakwell (1986: 23) describes the intra-psychic process involved in identity

change as assimilation (the absorption of new components into the identity structure); accommodation (the adjustment required to "find a place into which to fit the new elements"; and evaluation (the allocation of meaning and value to identity content, both new and old). The process of evaluation will influence what is assimilated and the form of accommodation. A sense of active choice is essential to a sense of past coupled with anticipated future, and cultural assimilation into one or other ethno-cultural groups can represent a serious dilemma if it means sacrificing one or other of the bi-racial individual's cultural frames of reference (Brown 1990). Continuity is a critical guiding principle in identity formation, along with self-esteem and distinctiveness (Breakwell 1986). But the salience given to these principles can be re-arranged.

5.4.4   Sole or Primary Māori, or Sole Pākehā Identity Options

People who are of mixed Māori/ Pākehā heritage, even those who are fair-skinned and non-phenotypically Māori, can choose a sole identity as Māori. This will occur more easily if both parents are acculturated as Māori (Stephan 1992; Bevan 2000), but can also be chosen by an individual who has either one or neither parent who identify as Māori. Bevan presents the argument that a dual or multiple identification can be seen as part of the colonising process which disempowers the already disadvantaged tangata whenua identity. Other Māori/ Pākehā describe their "primary identity" as Māori but also incorporate one or more cultural identities that are non-Māori (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 121). Individuals can also change from one single identity to another as a response to life changes (Stephan 1992). Many will also choose a sole or primary identity as Pākehā, which may have benefits educationally and materially, be consistent with up-bringing and parental ethnicity, and satisfy identity principles of consistency, distinctiveness and self-esteem (Breakwell 1986). In the 1991 census, nearly 117,000 people claimed Māori ancestry without claiming Māori ethnicity (Statistic New Zealand 1994). Pool (1991) points out that while these people might not claim to be culturally or socially Māori, they still have rights to make tribal claims and to enrol as Māori under the Electoral Act. Social mobility is legitimate in Aotearoa New Zealand, and a primarily Pākehā/European identity does not necessarily involve deception

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or betrayal of Māori whakapapa links.

5.4.5 Identity Achievement Can Still Occur in Adulthood

Ethnic identity may or may not have been achieved on entering adulthood (Phinney 1990). If it is achieved, the person has examined their ethnicity for themselves and made a firm commitment to it. If it is not achieved, people may have adopted the identity promoted by their parents without thinking it through themselves (foreclosed), they may not have engaged in exploration or made a commitment (diffuse), or they may still be exploring their ethnicity without having made a commitment (moratorium). They may have absorbed their parents' ethnicity, or not prioritized ethnicity to the point of fully exploring it. The relaxation of group boundaries in adulthood, as compared to adolescence, provides enhanced opportunity for exploring or "trying on" unexplored ethnicities without having to give up other current group loyalties (Erikson 1980: 97). Some researchers (King 1974; Brown 1990) suggest that the greater ego strength and self-esteem usually developed by adulthood can be a factor in encouraging further ethnic identity exploration. Erikson notes that adulthood is a time of establishing career and intimate relationships (Peterson 1996). A committed ethnic identity is likely to be advantageous in making long-term decisions relating to both career and intimate relationships[31].

5.4.6 Change, Commitment, Compartmentalization & Continuity

Turner (1978; Breakwell 1996: 87) describes the subjective sense of self as context-specific: situational variables highlighting the salience and continuity of some rather than other elements in the self-concept. Commitment can also determine salience (Stryker 1980: Breakwell 1986: 30). Breakwell (1986: 14, 94) describes how people differ with respect to the level of contradictions between components of their self-definition they can tolerate, and how some people can "compartmentalize" components of identity in such a way that they can remain static for years, though they may eventually make demands

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[31] Neither sexuality/intimate relationships or spirituality are explored in any depth in this thesis. This may be a topic for further research.

for recognition. "People can hold completely mutually exclusive self-definitions simultaneously". Moeke-Maxwell (2001: 163) describes bi-racial Māori women as "successfully vacillating between contradictory subject positions". While these women felt pressure to conform to cultural polarities, their "wealth of plurality" combined with spiritual narratives gave them flexibility and resilience. Krebs (1999) describes bi or multi-ethnic people as "edgewalkers" who maintain continuity wherever they go, "walking the edge between two cultures in the same persona."

5.4.7 Reasons for Exploring Māori Identity

Some of the reasons people might need to further explore their Māori identity, whether accepted and successful in the Pākehā world or not (Collins 1999a), are: continuity needs to re-establish early experiences of belonging; awareness of both sets of cultural norms and values (Brown 1990); emotional prompts such as guilt, anxiety (Aronfreed 1968; Bevan 2000); the need to seek meaning and depth, perhaps in response to symbols and dreams (Becker 1973); development towards more ideological, less materialistic values (Breakwell 1986); the need to fulfil higher needs for justice, beauty and unity (Maslow 1954); and awareness of greater need in the Māori community. Amongst participants in this study, material rewards were not usually expected, the journey was often described as spiritual, and the process sometimes involved overcoming considerable fear, and/or the confrontation of painful personal issues (Collins 1999a).

5.4.8 Process Often Gradual, and Sometimes Fraught

For fair Māori, for those who have not been brought up with Māori cultural input or involvement with their whānau/hapū/iwi or marae, or for whom there is an association with abuse, the initial stages of the process of gaining acceptance can be particularly full of trepidation (Collins 1999a). Both the *encounter* and *transition/immersion* phases of identity development are associated with heightened emotion, risk and vulnerability in relation to mental/emotional/spiritual health (see Chapters 6-8). Increased level of personal exposure and personal investment are occurring at this time, involving a sense of "letting go" of a previous identity. Depending on the

level of partnership or inequality between the two groups, "the whole process...is self-consciously one which annihilates any allegiance to or militancy for the erstwhile group membership". The early phases of socialisation and enculturation as Māori often involve gaining acceptance by an incremental process, in which the individual has contact with Māori (relatives or other social contacts) in a number of different roles, and if accepted, a process of accretion and internalisation of the new identity can occur (Breakwell 1986: 116). Hence a stronger commitment to a Māori identity (political, social, cultural) will facilitate greater acceptance.

5.4.9 Stabilizing a Dual Identity Difficult

Experiencing two conflicting and equally coherent informational structures relating to the same phenomenon can result in anxiety, insecurity and disorientation. This results in a strong drive to stabilize and identify with one group or the other (Brown 1990: 330). Stabilizing an ambivalent position is difficult, particularly if the two ethnic groups are contrasting or conflicting. Pressure to fully assimilate with one or other group is also experienced within those groups, due to both conflict and a lack of understanding of a dual ethnicity option. People trying to stabilize a dual ethnicity position can experience a lack of understanding, a lack of acceptance, a lack of external validation, exclusion and even violence (Gibson 1999: 122; Moeke-Maxwell 2001). Hence a dual Māori/Pākehā identity can be experienced as a "threatened identity", a poorly understood "third space" between the contrasting stereotypes of the traditional/authentic Māori identity, and an assimilated/colonized/" Pākehāfied" or (less judgementally) a Pākehā/European identity (Moeke-Maxwell 2003). Breakwell (1986) outlines some strategies for coping with "threatened" identities which include: changing the current social context, moving to a different social context, or internally revising content or value dimensions of identity. The strategies used to engender such changes are intra-psychic (thinking and feeling), interpersonal (affecting relationships) and intergroup (affecting relations between groups).

5.4.10 Stabilization of Dual Identity More Achieveable in Adulthood

Overseas studies of bi-racial adults indicate that many of those who have not found a stable dual identification in adolescence succeed in doing so in adulthood (Ijama-Hall 1980; Kich 1982 in Motoyoshi 1990). Iijama-Hall's study of Black-Japanese Americans (1992), for example, found that many described negative experiences such as name-calling, social isolation, conflict between cultures, and self-hatred during their adolescence; but that most had overcome these problems by adulthood and developed a positive self-identity. While half the group felt they were in a marginal status position - not totally accepted by either group - yet they commented about the cultural richness of their lives, their ability to be multi-cultural, and the benefits of their up-bringing. One researcher has argued that these "at-risk survivors" emerge stronger than the average individual (Hall 1992: 264). The research of Gibson (1999) and Moeke-Maxwell (2001) shows that Māori/Pākehā can successfully negotiate a dual ethnicity identity, and outlines some means of doing so, including cultural activities, supportive social networks and spiritual narratives.

5.4.11 Resilience of Mixed Heritage Māori/Pākehā

Mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā may experience particular stresses relating to cultural and ethnic identity (Awatere 1984: 86; Reid 1998/99; Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000), but most are well-equipped to cope with the challenges they face (Harre 1966; Gibson 1999). Many have positive self-esteem and resilience related to stimulating and nurturing childhood experiences, relative success in the school system, strong social support systems and spirituality (Ranby 1979; Moeke-Maxwell 2001; Howard & Johnson 2000). They tend to be more advantaged than sole Māori in the school environment, in an intermediate category between sole Māori and sole Pākehā in terms of school and tertiary qualifications, but closer to Māori than Pākehā when it comes to employment/unemployment (Else 2001). Hence they feel they have a number of options and are often confident of their ability to contribute to society. Overseas studies of bi-racial people also found they usually had sufficient coping strategies, and experienced no greater rates of psychological instability or criminality than mono-racial people (Antonovsky 1956; Goldberg 1941;

Breakwell 1986: 107).

5.4.12 Acknowledging Complexity of Process and Issues

It is also true, however, that recent theses in Aotearoa New Zealand (Gibson 1999, Moeke-Maxwell 2003) have supported overseas evidence that bi-racial people can have difficulty integrating their dual heritage into a stable identity (Gibbs 1987), and can undergo periods of vulnerability, transition or identity crisis (Helms 1995; Cross 1994; Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999). The development of healthy self-esteem and an integrated sense of self is more complicated for the bi-racial than the mono-racial person (Bradshaw 1992: 82). But the severity of these experiences in terms of causing ill-health should not be over-estimated. As a result of being aware of two cultural frames of reference they may experience "non-linear" as opposed to "linear" development in that they need to reconstruct their self-image, role and status several times during their lives (Brown 1990). Periods of reassessment can vary in intensity from experimentation or exploration, through making modifications to an identity that remains significantly the same; through to fundamental revision of identity structures (Breakwell 1986). Fundamental change may result in a loss of continuity, distinctiveness or self-esteem which can be tolerated only for a short period of time, leading to further reassessment. This pattern of frequent reassessment may also be true to some degree for many other people of sole or multiple ethnicity who seek to find role and status within a broad multi-ethnic society in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bevan 2000), and globally within a climate of increased change in both work and relationship situations (Giddens 1991).

5.4.13 Elaborating on "Marginality"

Many people argue that what is best for the well-being of the dual ethnicity individual is to embrace, understand and acknowledge both sides of their heritage and acknowledge any societal ambivalence or racism associated with "being both" (Overmier 1990:170). Whereas early theorists (eg Stonequist 1937) thought that having a simultaneous sense of belonging to two ethnic groups resulted in "marginality", and hence psychological and social vulnerability, this view has been modified by other sociologists and

psychologists (Hall 1992; Antonovsky 1956; Gist 1967). They argue that Stonequist did not distinguish between marginal person (biologically or culturally from two or more races or cultures), marginal status (when an individual occupies a position somewhere between cultures) and marginal personality (the person has trouble dealing with their marginal status and develops psychological problems). Being a marginal person does not lead to a marginal personality, and in fact there is a growing belief that marginal people may be multi-cultural, with the ability to identify with more than one culture and acquire a wide range of competencies and sensitivities (Hall 1992; Ramirez, Castaneda & Cox 1977). As noted (section 5.4.6), the term "edgewalkers" has been developed in the United States in reference to dual and multiple ethnicity individuals (Krebs 1999).

5.4.14 Physical Appearance, Racism and Pressure to Assimilate

Skin colour, and the prejudices people have in relation to physical appearance (racism) are significant factors in the ethnic identity experience of mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā people. Because of deeply ingrained historical attitudes amongst Europeans about the superiority of the "white" races (Meredith 2000), darker skinned Māori are more likely than fair-skinned Māori to experience racism, particularly personally mediated and internalised racism. Examples of personally mediated racism are lower teacher expectations, police harassment, problems finding accommodation and jobs, and physician disrespect. Internalised racism is when people internalise the limitations and negative images about being Māori which are perpetuated by the broader society. These issues can have a seriously negative impact on their lives in many ways, eg poorer health and education outcomes (Jones, in Collins 1999b). While fair-skinned mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā are advantaged in that they are less likely than darker-skinned Māori to experience personally mediated racism directed at themselves, they are nevertheless affected by the institutionalised or historically-embedded racism which has impacted on their Māori whānau (such as land loss, higher unemployment, poorer health and education), and are exposed to negative attitudes about Māori as a social group which affect their well-being and sense of belonging in a non-Māori or predominantly Pākehā social context (Bevan

2000: 107).

Fair-skinned Māori may also experience stronger pressure to assimilate as
Pākehā, particularly as Pākehā tend to emphasize "blood" over other factors
signifying ethnicity such as socialisation and commitment (McDonald 1976).
They will encounter more disbelief from both Māori and Pākehā (Bevan
2000); and more suspicion, distrust and negativity from Māori for their
apparent association with the problems Māori have experienced as a result of
Pākehā colonisation (O'Regan 1975; Moeke-Maxwell 2001). Hence they can
be described as being "caught in the cross-fire of racial conflicts" (Wilson
1987). While it is acknowledged that racism involves both prejudice and
power (Nairn 1996: 57), the researcher believes there are some circumstances
in which Māori cultural norms and values are predominant and in which
Māori have a degree of power and tino rangatiratanga. Moeke-Maxwell
(2001) uses the word "racism" to describe incidents of hatred and violence
directed by Māori towards mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā within such Māori-
predominant contexts. Psycho-social theories indicate that the potential for
racist behaviour exists in any social situation in which groups are
differentiated from each other (Katz 1996: 9). In this way, the Māori/ Pākehā
can experience a "squeeze of oppression" (Root 1992) from both Māori and
Pākehā individuals or groups and feel like a "minority within a minority"
(Stephan 1992).

While mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā may be perceived as having more
choice, choice can be associated with ambivalence and confusion (Stephan
1992). Stress and tension is experienced by Māori/Pākehā both from internal
pressure to assimilate or fully belong to one group or the other (Brown 1990:
330) and the desire of others to put them into single categories. The pressure
to assimilate can be experienced in both predominantly Māori and
predominantly Pākehā social contexts. But as in adolescence, the most healthy
and positive identity for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā may be to integrate
both Māori and Pākehā aspects of culture and belonging into a single identity
(Overmier 1990:170). As stated, this may involve affirming the positive
aspects of each heritage, acknowledging the reality of societal ambivalence,

and rejecting the limitations of racial stereotypes or behaviours. Hence the likelihood that Māori/Pākehā will want to associate at times with others in a similar "limbo" position (Walker 1965), or those with similar dual or multi-cultural sensitivities. Bi-racial or dual ethnicity people encounter others who have varying degrees of sophistication in terms of recognition of different categories and their complexity (Brown 1990:322). A number of strategies for coping with the stresses and tensions of a dual ethnic identification, or a frequently challenged sole identity as Māori if fair-skinned, are outlined in the next chapter.

5.4.15 Conclusion

The level of racism and social division in various societies will determine whether it is possible to maintain a dual allegiance to both groups. Research in Britain (Wilson 1987: 9) and Aotearoa New Zealand (Bevan 2000) suggests that in societies where black people or Māori are severely politically and socially oppressed and disadvantaged, mixed heritage people must make a primary commitment to one or other ethnic group. Bevan (2000: 68) argues that this is the case in Aotearoa New Zealand. In a context of division and conflict, mixed heritage people will suffer from being seen by whites as threatening the system of white domination and the "culture of white". They will be seen by blacks as undermining black political strength, by signalling the possibility of gradual, harmonious integration (Wilson 1987).

Identity development processes continue into adulthood, and for many this development includes the exploration and achievement of a committed ethnic identity. This can be associated with growing moral independence (Kohlberg 1964), the pursuance of "higher needs" (Maslow 1954), and a shift in focus from material to non-material or ideological values over time (Breakwell 1986: 19, 26). Development of a secure sense of Māori ethnicity involves not just acquisition of cultural knowledge such as language and whakapapa, but also socialisation within the norms and values of Māori society, and the practice of roles and responsibilities within that context. Mixed heritage or dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā individuals can achieve a positive or secure identity as Māori, but both local and overseas research (Iijama-Hall 1992;

Moeke-Maxwell 2003) suggests they may also sometimes accept a degree of marginality within both Māori and broader social contexts. Such marginality is associated with particular stresses, but also has many positive aspects.

Chapter Six

Analysis of Life Narratives – I

Te Taiohinga - Childhood/Adolescence

6.1   Introduction – General Data

Between October 1995 and August 1998, life narrative interviews were recorded with thirteen people of mixed Māori/Pākehā descent, most of whom were the offspring of a Māori and a Pākehā parent. Some variations were noted (in section 1.3.3), in that while both of Jacquie's birth parents were Māori, she was raised by foster-parents, only one of whom was of Māori descent. It should also be noted that while Kamiria's father was Pākehā by ancestry and her mother Māori, her father was culturally Māori (brought up as Māori) because his mother (Kamiria's grandmother) was adopted by Ngāti Toa as an infant. Eleven of these life narrative interviews are included in this analysis (see section 2.1 for reasons for omitting the other two). Of those interviews included, five are men, and six are women. The two youngest interviewees were aged 20, and the oldest was aged 71. All but two of the others (who are aged 56 and 61) were within the age range of 30-42. While this may indicate a bias towards the researcher's age group, nevertheless a variety of ages were included.

Interviewees had a range of iwi affiliations including Tainui, Taranaki, Ngāti Kuri and Te Rarawa. But again it should be acknowledged that the sample is weighted towards the researcher's own tribal affiliation and involvement with Ngāti Raukawa - five of those interviewed are members of Ngāti Raukawa, some of whom also had other affiliations. By chance there was a fairly equal balance between those with a Māori father and Pākehā mother (5), and those with a Māori mother and a Pākehā father (6). Jacquie is included in the former group on the basis of her foster parents. Those who grew up in a larger provincial centre or city (6) slightly out-numbered those coming from a rural or outlying district (5). Numbers of siblings of participants ranged from thirteen to none, with an average of 4.5.

Analysis of the data is organised under themes relating to: the cultural markers for Māori cultural identity as listed in Chapter 1.1 (Durie et al 2002: 46) including knowledge of language, tribal history, *whakapapa* and *tikanga* ; aspects of ethnic identity considered relevant for bi-racial or mixed heritage individuals such as acceptance and appearance (Stephan 1992: 54-5); and the processes by which change occurs over time (Durie et al 1995a; Helms 1995; Cross 1994; Gibson 1999). Both positive and negative experiences are included. All participants whose names are included in this analysis have approved both the use of the data, and use of their names, with the exception of one participant, who approved use of the data but not her name. Consequently she has been given the pseudonym "Rona".

6.2. Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho: Access to Māori Cultural Resources

6.2.1 Cultural exposure, marae and whānau involvement

As stated in Chapter 5, cultural identification is seen as a vital component of health for Māori, particularly spiritual well-being (Durie et al 2002: 46; Murchie 1984: 18). Cultural practice, tribal structures and descent are all significant in the development of a Māori identity (Broughton 1993; Rangihau 1975; Moeke-Pickering 1996). But European colonisation has impacted on Māori in many ways (McCarthy 1997: 32). Parents were influenced by assimilationist policies in the first half of last century to raise their Māori/Pākehā children in a Pākehā cultural environment for assumed educational and economic benefits (Harre 1966: 131). Only since the tide of ethnic renewal which affected the Western world in the 1960's and 70's, has the importance of cultural identification been recognized in Government policies relating to education and other areas (Murchie 1984: 18; Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988).

Participants in this study had varying levels of involvement with extended whānau, hapū and marae traditions in childhood, but most had enough involvement to have some understanding of their tribal roots and what it meant to be Māori. They therefore had a sense of belonging, even if only

occasionally, on marae and within whānau/hapū/iwi. Three, however, had very little exposure or opportunity to gain understanding during their childhood years[32]. In explaining this, one participant (Jacquie) was distanced from her birth whānau at the age of three through adoption by an unrelated local couple. By this time her mother had died, her father had gone elsewhere and her grandmother had become too ill to look after her. For two other participants (Rawiri, Bruce), the process of inherited acculturation was disrupted by their mothers' experience of abuse within their whānau or hapū which led to them distancing both themselves and their children from their tribal *rohe* and connections. Consequently Rawiri and Bruce were brought up at a distance from their tribal rohe, with almost no knowledge of language and cultural traditions. Their situations are described in more detail later in this section. As noted, a negative association with an individual's heritage group as a result of a negative experience can weaken identification with that group (Stephan 1992:57). This issue is dealt with further in Chapters 7 and 8.

Marae have particular significance for the transmission of cultural knowledge and feelings of tribal belonging and it is there that the "deepest cultural elements of spirituality, mythology, tradition and kinship are expressed" (Walker 1989: 47). While children are limited in their understanding of complex matters, attendance at marae is important in terms of feelings of belonging to a vital, culturally distinctive, socially cohesive, tribal or multi-tribal Māori community. Charles and Kamiria frequently attended marae gatherings with a parent as children; and Kiri, Marama and Perena would occasionally do so - Perena and Marama travelling several hours to their home marae. Jessica was unusually well-educated as Māori from early childhood, learning whakapapa, history and kapahaka (cultural performance) from age four; learning Māori language and staying frequently on marae from age six.

For some participants, relationships with older whānau members were significant in the transmission of cultural knowledge. Piripi's grandmother

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[32] Jacquie's first three years were spent with her grandmother in a predominantly Māori community. These early experiences were probably formative, but her memories of them are limited.

was a crucial link to his heritage; Rona's father's older brother-in-law was a strong influence; Marama's Nanna was warm and loving, an expert in *rongoā*. The frequent importance of grandmothers in the learning and lives of successful Māori women was noted by Selby (1992, 1996: 94). One participant, however, noted difficulties in her relationship with her grandmother [33].

As a result of exposure to wider whānau/hapū and marae traditions, most participants knew they were Māori, but few developed much understanding of language and tikanga. Further description of the situations of the three participants who were raised almost completely disconnected or alienated from their tribal roots may also provide valuable insights. The mothers of both Bruce and Rawiri had suffered physical and emotional abuse in their whānau and hapū and hence chose to live at a distance from them. They did not speak the Māori language to their children and conveyed almost no information about cultural traditions or tribal links (except some tikanga practices, in Bruce's case). Jacquie's adoptive parents, though compassionate, were predominantly Pākehā in cultural orientation and struggling to survive through the Depression years of the 1930's and 40's. Hence their ability or desire to nurture Jacquie's understanding of herself as Māori was limited. As a consequence these three participants knew almost nothing about what being Māori meant in their early years, hence their ability to identify themselves personally as Māori was also limited. In two cases they realized they were Māori only after experiencing racist taunts or abuse at school. Another participant, Rawiri, knew he was "brown" and therefore Māori, but his only exposure was simple waiata taught at primary school. Jacquie, however, was fortunate to have a period of over two years when she was 10-12, when she and her family lived in a multi-ethnic community in Pukerua Bay, with other Māori and Pacific Island children. She said this period was significant for her in gaining a sense of joy and belonging as Māori: "It felt wonderful".

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[33] Kiri felt her grandmother would punish her unfairly because she associated Kiri with her Pākehā father, whom she disliked.

While people can identify socially and ethnically as Māori or Māori-and-Pākehā without having extensive cultural knowledge (King: 43; Durie 2001:54; Durie 1997: 58), recent Māori health research projects have also sought to measure degree of identification (Stevenson 2001: 39). They suggest that without knowledge of the Māori language, whakapapa, extended whānau, ancestral land and participation in Māori institutions and society, there will be a lesser degree of identification as Māori. This was the case with the three participants above, who faced barriers in developing enculturation and a strong sense of belonging as Māori in later life. Williams (1960) has described two types of cultural knowledge - firstly "by acculturation", being that absorbed by being brought up amongst it, and "by enculturation", being knowledge deliberately sought after and learned. As evidenced in other theses (Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000), mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā who are not brought up with cultural knowledge can nevertheless choose to deliberately "enculturate" themselves in later life.

6.2.2   Te Reo

The Māori language can be described as the core or the life force of Māori culture and mana. It expresses the values, beliefs and ideologies of the people and is a focus for identity (Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988: 26). While ideally there is continuity in the transmission of an ancestral language from one generation to the next, most of the participants in this study did not receive it that way. Seven participants had a parent or frequently-seen grandparent who was fluent in the reo, but only one of the youngest interviewees (Jessica) was deliberately taught the language by family members as they were learning it, largely through institutions. The lack of generational transmission of the reo can be explained by the policies of cultural and social assimilation which predominated in Aotearoa New Zealand until the Māori renaissance of the 1970's (Walker 1990). The Māori language was rarely or never heard in the homes of most participants. Kiri's mother could speak the reo, but Kiri seldom heard her speak it. Rawiri never heard his mother speak the reo, though she was brought up with it. Even in homes where the father was Māori (Charles, Rona) or both parents were Māori in orientation, if not by ancestry (Kamiria), the Māori language was rarely used.

In the homes of most participants, te reo was under-valued, neglected, and considered impractical for contemporary life It was even, in the community of one participant, regarded as life-threatening[34].

6.2.3   Tikanga

While Māori language and customs were not predominant in the homes of most participants, there were several examples of tikanga Māori being practiced and reinforced domestically. The following seven examples are mostly from homes with Māori mothers, with varying levels of Māori language and marae involvement: not being allowed to put hair brushes or combs on tables, not washing tea towels with sheets (Bruce); providing generous hospitality (Perena); not washing nappies in bowls used for making bread (Kiri); not whistling at night, taking shoes off before entering a home (Marama); *karakia* before *kai* (Jessica). In Bruce's case, tikanga was maintained in a home environment in which his fathers' negative views toward Māori cultural norms and values predominated and there was very little other Māori cultural exposure.

6.2.4   Residence

The Rapuora study of Māori women's health (Murchie 1984: 82) suggested a strong link between feelings of personal security, such as confidence and self-esteem, with living within one's tribal region and having a strong sense of tribal identity. Consequently, the study suggested that Māori living outside their tribal region, and particularly those who did not know their tribal roots, were at greatest risk of social and cultural insecurity as Māori. Bevan (2000:85) too suggests an association between urbanisation and lower access to cultural knowledge. The three participants (Bruce, Rawiri, Jacquie) who lived at the greatest distance from their home marae, and whose parents did not maintain regular contact, did have a lower level of identification as Māori as children and adolescents.

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[34] One of Kamiria's relatives had died of an asthma attack experienced during punishment for using the Māori language at school and as a result elders forbade their children from speaking te reo.

In this study, however, several participants (eg Charles, Perena, Marama) who lived at a distance from their home marae, had a parent who was prepared to travel long distances from their urban residence to visit tūrangawaewae or other marae. These participants knew their tribal connections and had regular (if infrequent) experiences of belonging with their hapū and/or iwi. Other participants (Piripi, Rona) had visits from members of their Māori extended whānau or were able to visit hapū members who were significant in affirming their identity as Māori. The two participants who experienced their childhood within their tribal rohe, with a parent who was involved with their home marae (Kamiria, Kiri), both developed secure Māori identities, though Kamiria did not do so until middle-age. Hence regular contact and involvement within the tribal rohe was most significant for tribal identification, whether the child resided within the tribal rohe or beyond.

6.3 Emotional Security in Home Environment

The importance of the whānau or family for well-being is emphasised in various frameworks for understanding Māori identity and health - *Te Whare Tapa Wha* (Durie 1985a), *Te Wheke* (Pere 1984), *Nga Pou Mana* (Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988), and *Nga Putake* (Durie 1985b). The Māori child develops in positive ways when surrounded by aroha (Pere 1994). Traditional Māori whānau/hapū/iwi networks have been damaged by land loss and colonisation and Māori nuclear families in urban contexts have often experienced stress, with inadequate support (Durie 1985b). This thesis focusses on the individual within his/her social environment, which begins with the whānau or family. As stated in section 5.1, individuation and the uniqueness of individuals are key components of health (Durie 2001: 89; Pere 1984). Identity as Māori or Māori-and-Pākehā is seen as a function of relationships between the individual, the group, and the environment (Durie 2001: 89).

A feeling of belonging is fundamental to identity formation (Hershel 1995: 170; Maslow 1968). Emotively charged bonds, with caretakers and others, expressed through gesture, physical care and touch, are integral elements of

developing social bonds (Giddens 1991: 63). A family that provides consistent quality of care and supports the individual through infancy, childhood and adolescence will provide protective factors that make the child resilient to stress (Howard & Johnson 2000). Any form of abuse, either in the upbringing of the child or in a parent's background, can have long-lasting ill-effects. "The psychic, emotional and spiritual make-up of the individual is severely damaged as a result of physical, emotional and sexual battering. This battering deeply affects our hinengaro and wairua to the extent that they become the most difficult areas to heal" (Te Whaiti 1997: 62). In pre-European Māori society, any form of abuse against women or children was regarded as extremely serious and action would be taken against the perpetrator (Mikaere 1999: 38; Pere 1982: 57).

Most participants in this study enjoyed secure, nurturing home environments. Piripi, Charles, Jacquie, Rawiri, and Perena all lived in loving, two-parent homes with sufficient or plentiful enjoyment, stimulation and financial security, though not all of these homes provided access to cultural knowledge. Two participants (Kiri, Rona) lived, for some years at least, with fathers who were violent towards their mothers, though it impacted on them in different ways. Kiri knew little of her (Pākehā) father's abusive behaviour and knew only (until later) that he died when she was three. Her childhood memories of living with her mother and grandmother as an extended whānau are predominantly positive. The family experienced financial constraint, but were close-knit, sociable, educationally supported and well-nurtured. Rona's (Māori) father was also violently abusive towards her mother, and her parents separated. Living at a distance from her father through her teenage years contributed to Rona's emotional difficulties, but she had a strong relationship with her mother and enjoyed academic success. Jessica and Marama also experienced the break-up of their parents' marriages, and also lived with nurturing mothers, but had regular positive and affirming (both culturally and

emotionally) contact with their fathers, and these participants were relatively stable during their teenage years.[35]

Two participants, however, described feeling unhappy, marginalized and lonely in their home environment. Kamiria was living in the damaging and dysfunctional family situation of being regularly sexually abused by her father and also experienced conflict with her siblings. The importance of her mother and grandmother to her sense of security, however, is indicated by her emotional decline after their deaths (see Chapter 8). Lapsley, Nikora & Black (2002: 27) refer to the importance of a kuia as protector, source of warmth, wisdom and uncomplicated love. Bruce also experienced emotional insecurity in his childhood. Because of his father's negativity towards Māori, he did not experience a sense of full acceptance by his adoptive father or his father's family. While his mother was nurturing and caring, she was often sick and his father's influence was predominant in the family. Exposure to the negative attitudes of significant family members towards an ethnic group can weaken identification with that group (Stephan 1992:57). The effect was that Bruce disassociated himself from a Māori identity at school and in the wider community, and maintained a positive sense of being Māori only privately. As well as the close and nurturing relationships with their mothers, reading books and achieving at school became significant for both Kamiria and Bruce in that it enabled them to build resilience and identity strength (Howard & Johnson 2000). This topic is dealt with more fully later in section 6.4.2.

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[35] While three out of twelve of my research participants' parents had separated, and one participant's parents' marriage was dysfunctional (ie Kamiria's), Harre (1966) in his study of 104 Auckland couples noted that mixed Māori/Pākehā marriages were no more likely to break down than other marriages. In many cases couples were more "racially" mixed than culturally mixed, and within those marriages that were culturally mixed, most couples were able to adapt and face the challenges posed with relative sophistication. My data does not include detailed information about the ethnic identification of participants' parents. Some studies undertaken in Hawaii however did find a higher divorce rate amongst inter-ethnic couples than same-ethnicity couples (Schmitt 1969; Schwertfeger 1982).

6.4   Secondary School Years

6.4.1   School and Ethnicity

Formal education could be seen as a form of secondary socialisation which is overlaid on an already existing self, and is taught or "brought home" rather than being presented as *the world*. It involves the "internalisation of institutional or institution-based (knowledge)…(or) the acquisition of role-specific knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann 1985: 138). School, for most participants, extended and built on the Pākehā/European aspects of early childhood socialisation, and did not extend or build on the aspects of socialisation which were Māori. While all participants knew they were Māori to some degree, for most that identity remained personal, private, and not seen to be relevant to the mainstream, predominantly Pākehā/European world of education. New Zealand's "education system is predicated on the reproduction of Pākehā culture… Clearly, the price of success in Pākehā terms is cultural surrender and assimilation" (Walker 1989: 44-45). While several participants had had some exposure to Māori culture and traditions, most could nevertheless be described as being in a "pre-encounter phase" in which their ethnic group was of low significance in their everyday lives"(Cross 1994; Gibson 1999: 22). Within Phinney's (1989,1990) model of ethnic identity development it could be described as unexplored, diffuse or uncommitted. Younger participants who attended school in the 1980's and 1990's, however, had improved access to cultural knowledge. Jessica experienced exceptional support and extension of her cultural identity and knowledge as Māori at secondary school, due to a committed and enthusiastic teacher and well-established cultural facilities there.

Prior to the 1970's, most mainstream state schools provided no Māori language or cultural affirmation, based on assimilationist assumptions that Māori language and culture were more relevant to the past than the future (Stewart-Harawira 1993: 29). This included a perspective on history which was Euro-centric. Bruce commented that during all his years at Wairarapa College (during the 1940's) he "never once heard a word of Māori or saw any

Māori action song or haka, except for the football haka of course. The only Māori history I learnt was that Te Kooti and Hone Heke were sneaky, Te Rauparaha bad." But in schools where there are a number of Māori children, particularly those who are obviously Māori in appearance, social cohesion can develop amongst them (whether they have understanding of Māori culture and a positive identity or not). Durie (2001: 54) pointed out that cultural exposure or knowledge is not necessarily required for ethnic identification, and that social relatedness and symbolic ties are also important. Most of the participants in this study, however, were not members of such Māori social/ethnic groups at school. Kamiria was, but says she did not realize they were Māori at the time: "they were just my cousins". Both Bruce and Jacquie (attending primary school in the 1930's), who have light skin colour, socialised only with Pākehā children and did not assert a Māori identity. Jacquie says she can remember no other Māori children at the primary schools she attended.

Socializing mainly with Pākehā/Europeans was not perceived negatively by participants, as academic success and integration into the broader community were valued by themselves and their families. Kamiria says she loved school because it was a place where she could escape from the misery of an abusive home. Light-skinned, Kamiria found she was socially and educationally advantaged by not identifying herself as Māori at school, and felt encouraged when a teacher took an interest in her and supported her development by lending her books etc. Howard & Johnson (2000: 323) describe how schools with caring attentive teachers and good academic records can become a source of resilience for children, even if they come from discordant and disadvantaged homes. But because of her abusive background Kamiria was not socially confident, and had only one close friend (a Polynesian girl from the Pitcairn Islands).

The middle-aged participants, except those who attended Māori boarding schools, similarly identified themselves as Pākehā at school. Piripi was rejected in an attempt to identify himself as Māori, because of his non-phenotypically-Māori appearance, but was confident enough socially to

"blend in" with Pākehā social groups at primary and secondary school. Perena describes only gradually becoming aware that he was different as Māori, that "other people didn't have marae or have relatives who spoke another language". He did not have the confidence to assert a Māori identity in the school context, again because his appearance was not obviously Māori. Charles says he "consciously rejected" his taha Māori at St Patricks College, Silverstream: "I was in a school where the only other Māori were my brothers and the whole context of the school was dominated by Anglo Saxon, Irish Catholic academia". He and his brothers were aware that people from various ethnic backgrounds were teased about it and did not want to invite such comments. Any association between being Māori and being inferior (McCarthy 1997: 32) appears to have been either alleviated or erased by academic and social success for the participants in this study. Identifying as Pākehā as well as Māori can offset the chance of being patronized as Māori (McDonald 1976).

The two participants (Kiri, Rawiri) who attended Māori (Christian) boarding schools experienced school environments in which being Māori was supported and affirmed. But they found that many other pupils at those schools were stronger in their Māori language, culture and sense of belonging than they were themselves. Many pupils had come from rural marae where the language and customs were still strong, and had been sent to boarding school with an expectation that they would continue to contribute to their home communities.[36] While Kiri and Rawiri had more exposure to te reo, kapahaka, and Māori cultural values at school than most other participants in this study, they found their ability to access these resources was limited because the level of reo taught was so advanced. Rawiri also had difficulty fitting in socially, but commented that the strength and *whanaungatanga* amongst the other boys had a positive long-term influence on him as he later sought to develop that aspect of his own life. Kiri also found the culture of whanaungatanga important, and she experienced the other girls as supportive and inclusive. She

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[36] Eg Selby's (1992, 1996) study of success factors for six Queen Victoria Māori Girls College students enrolled in 1961, states: "The worlds from which the women in this study came are worlds of the past."

formed close relationships with older girls who were to remain on-going role models and mentors. Kiri also felt that the school taught her good work habits, supported academic achievement, and exposed her to a level of middle-class society and culture which helped build her confidence.

Charles was fortunate in that his father Turoa was involved with the Ngāti Raukawa/Ngāti Toa/Te Atiawa tribal renaissance movement centred in Ōtaki, called *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* - Generation 2000, which began in 1975 (Raukawa Trustees 1988: 1-2). This movement aimed at promoting the development of the three iwi by enhancing the education and awareness of its tribal members. In the early days of Te Wananga o Raukawa, a number of educational hui or seminars of up to ten days duration were organised. Charles remembers he and his brother being taken to their first rangatahi (youth) hui at Raukawa marae in Ōtaki in 1980, at the age of 15 while they were still attending St Patricks College. "All the way to the hui we resisted. We got into the hui and our resistance melted somewhat and then after the hui the resistance went straight back up again." He says he valued meeting with some of the talented people who are prominent in Ngāti Raukawa today, but felt resentful that they were so much more comfortable and knowledgeable in that setting than he was.

In the 1960's and early 1970's, attitudes towards Māori cultural content in schools had begun to change. Organisations such as the New Zealand Māori Council, the Māori Women's Welfare League and Nga Tamatoa began to succeed in their attempts to have more Māori language and culture taught in schools (Walker 1990: 208,238). By 1973 all teachers' colleges had established courses in Māori studies, itinerant teachers of Māori were appointed and many schools began offering Māori language and Māori studies courses. The experiences of younger participants reflect this change. Rona was able to learn the Māori language at a state secondary school in Whakatane in the 1980's, though it was not available (as far as she knew) at the college she later attended in Nelson. Marama took part in kapahaka at both primary and intermediate schools in Rotorua in the late 1980's/early 1990's, but lost interest when she attended high school (partly in reaction to pressure

from her mother that she should attend). At Wellington High School she was put in a "whānau" class, which incorporated Māori values of looking after one another, but did not promote the Māori language extensively.

Jessica was unusual amongst her peers in that she was taught a significant level of Māori language and culture by her family before she began school, and when Māori "enrichment" classes were introduced in her Form Two, she was already too advanced to be extended by this class. She became an assistant teacher at the age of 12, accepting this role as part of the responsibility of *matauranga* Māori. At college Jessica remained advanced in Māori subjects, and helped others as she had at primary school, but also extended her own knowledge and skills, including karanga and oratory skills. Her teacher, from the same tribal area as her, assisted her in her quest for ancestral knowledge. She excelled and achieved recognition in Māori studies at her school.

6.4.2 Academic Success and Self-Concept

Though Māori students generally spend less time in the education system and do less well in it than non-Māori (Else 1997), all the participants in this study have been relatively successful academically, all but one leaving school with a qualification and having reasonable opportunities for career development. Most of those who attended predominantly Pākehā/European schools were advantaged in that the level of Pākehā/European culture/socialisation in their home environment prepared them for the norms and values of those schools. (As well as having a Pākehā/European parent, their Māori parent was often of mixed heritage, bi-cultural or of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity also). Those who attended Māori boarding schools were able to incorporate improved socialisation and enculturation as Māori as part of their scholastic success. Another participant received a comparatively rich Māori social and cultural education, which was extended at her local secondary school and also reflected in her qualifications (she achieved in other subjects as well). While Kamiria left secondary school without a qualification, she was fortunate in that her mother had the confidence and networks to ask Māori social welfare officers to help her daughter find a job. Their advice and support was crucial

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in enabling Kamiria to attain a job she enjoyed in the library of the Dominion newspaper, enhancing her development and confidence.

Two participants attended teachers' training college after leaving school, and seven attended university. The other two both undertook some form of tertiary training later in life. Hence nearly all participants had relatively positive self-esteem and feelings of personal security, though their levels of cultural/ethnic identification varied. The researcher's aim in choosing participants for this study was to choose respectable role models whom appeared successful in their chosen fields. They were articulate, "atypically good" (Knight 2002: 123) and "information-rich" individuals (Patton 1990: 169). In that sense they are a particularly high-achieving group, but in general, mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā children enjoy greater success rates in mainstream schools compared to sole Māori children but lower than non-Māori. Ranby (1979) and Awatere (1974) found that mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā children were more likely to identify as/with Pākehā and feel competent academically than sole-Māori children. This was confirmed in Ministry of Education statistics in a summary by Else (1997: 13) which showed a smaller gap in educational achievement levels between Māori/Pākehā and Pākehā, compared with the gap in achievement levels between sole Māori and Pākehā. There is also an association between academic achievement and improved self-concept for secondary school pupils (Ranby 1979).

6.5   Ethnic Identity Factors

As noted, a feeling of "belonging" is fundamental to identity formation (Hershel 1995: 170; Maslow 1968). Anthropological studies of ethnic identity suggest that it is a joint process, in which both the individual and the members of an ethnic group agree on the individual's membership (Stephan 1992). Hence physical appearance can be a factor, as can acceptance or non-acceptance by the group. Non-acceptance and difference can be emphasized by social exclusion, taunts or abuse, from both Pākehā/European and Māori ethnic groups (see sections 6.5.4-6). Discomfort within certain social/ethnic groups can also be experienced internally as a result of inadequate

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socialisation or awareness of physical difference within that group. Many participants described having a sense of choice about ethnicity, and while some considered this a privilege, several described their early journey towards security of identity as mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā, even during childhood years, as difficult and complex. Acceptance by the group is important in identifying with the group (Stephan 1992), and if acceptance is not consistent with self-identification, confusion can result (Hershel 1995).

6.5.1 Appearance

In general, Māori have tended to place less emphasis than Pākehā on genetic inheritance in assessing the ethnicity of others (McDonald 1976). Winiata (1967) wrote that Māori physical features were less important than Māori interests, ideals, sympathies and values[37]. Māori assess ethnicity by a more complex process than appearance including consideration of social association and cultural factors (McDonald 1976). Despite the above, colour as a measure of ethnicity or phenotypical belief systems (Spoonley 1984: 15) is commonly held across society and being fair or non-phenotypically[38] Māori in appearance is noted by many people as an inhibiting factor in developing an identity as Māori and in gaining social acceptance by Māori. Māori intermarriage with Pākehā/Europeans over generations sometimes results in few or no Māori phenotypical indicators in a person's appearance, and (often false) assumptions are made that the person is not Māori or is not very culturally knowledgeable or committed to being Māori. Looking like the "other" culture, the dominant culture, like those who have the power, means that initial and often lingering negative reactions to "white" Māori frequently occur (Bevan 2000: 101-2).

Two participants in this thesis (Piripi, Jessica) experienced barriers in developing a secure social/ethnic identity as Māori during their childhoods as a result of their fair or " Pākehā" appearance. Jessica suffered many experiences of social exclusion from her Māori peers at school and beyond,

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[37] He wrote that a common remark at that time was "ko waho he mā, ko roto he Māori" (the outside may be white, but the inside is Māori).
[38] Note that fair skin is more typical within some iwi, such as Ngāi Tahu, than others.

due largely to her fair appearance, despite being confident in the Māori language and her own Māori identity. Māori "racism" towards Pākehā has been discussed in section 5.4.14 and is discussed at more length in section 6.5.5. Piripi experienced disbelief from a teacher on reciting his Māori whakapapa, and thereafter felt "side-lined" and left out of Māori groups. The event was formative and served to discourage further attempts to identify himself socially as Māori for many years. Rona, also light-skinned, was frequently challenged and disbelieved about her self-identification as Māori during her school years and later but maintained it nevertheless, particularly through learning the language. Perena, too, remembers an incident in which he did not publicly identify himself as Māori (when Māori children were asked to identify themselves by a teacher) for fear of being disbelieved due to his fair-skinned appearance, and because he had not identified socially with the other Māori children at school. Bevan states that when the tangata whenua identity is not visible, it becomes very important to <u>declare</u> a Māori identity, both to be true to yourself and to avoid having racist comments made in your presence (Bevan 2000: 97)

6.5.2   Belonging/Not-Belonging

Ethnic identity relates to both self-perception and sense of belonging to a particular group, which often involves distinguishing oneself from members of other ethnic groups (McRoy & Hall 1992: 70; McRoy 1990). As stated, acceptance by the group is important in identifying with the group (Stephan 1992), and if acceptance is not consistent with self-identification, confusion can result (Hershel 1995). Participants in this study had experiences of belonging and not-belonging, acceptance and non/acceptance with both Pākehā and Māori ethnic groups. While acceptance amongst Pākehā was not problematic for some of the fairer-skinned participants (as per Gibson 1999:3[39]), others, more obviously Māori in appearance, were made to feel different, at least on occasion, from their Pākehā peers during childhood. Jacquie, Bruce and Kiri all experienced racist (anti-Māori) taunts or abuse of

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[39] Gibson wrote (1999: 3) "Being Pākehā is not a difficult issue for me. It is being Māori that presents all the issues...sometimes comfortable, sometimes painful."

varying effect (described further below) and Marama experienced the loss of a Pākehā friendship due to her friend's parents' negative stereotyping of Māori sole-parent families. The issue of Pākehā racism towards Māori is discussed more fully in section 6.5.4, following. Such events are experienced in the moment as hurtful and detrimental ie they have an impact on mental/emotional/spiritual health by emphasizing difference (Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2002). As Māori are still a minority in Aotearoa/New Zealand, developing a strong personal and social identity as Māori demands extra fortitude (Durie 1997: 156). Wilson (1986: 179), however, comments that such racial labelling, while experienced negatively at the time, can also promote stronger ethnic identification. "The child learns immediately where he or she stands in relation to the white group and moves on to learn more abstract and positive terminology."

Awareness of being different from or not belonging to particular ethnic groups can also come from within the individual, often as a result of predominant Pākehā/European socialisation and inadequate socialisation as Māori. While most participants knew they were Māori, and therefore had some feelings of affinity and commonality, some participants were also aware of being "different" from or shy of other Māori, relations or peers at times. Rawiri felt different from other Māori in his community and school because he perceived them as having cultural strength and social cohesion which he lacked. Charles expressed feelings of discomfort relating to his first *rangatahi* hui, because he felt inadequate compared to others in a Māori cultural setting. Perena described feelings of belonging with his whānau in the Bay of Plenty, but also felt different from them in some ways, for example, because he achieved at school and learnt piano. Jessica, however, commented that her understanding and practice of being Māori was different from other Māori in her community, because it involved reo, karakia and tikanga, whereas many of her local peers did not use reo and tikanga, but had a sense of belonging socially (ethnically) as Māori in a way which involved, for example, "eating boil-up and having all the uncles round".

Occasional feelings of not belonging or non-acceptance are commonly

experienced by young people across the ethnic groups (King 1972). Feeling "socially awkward" in one cultural milieu or the other is something many people experience as they "try on" the process of joining different social or ethnic groups. This discomfort is a result of being poorly socialized as a member of that group, or not having been properly trained as a performer in it (Becker 1973: 137). For those who have valid claims to belong to two ethnic groups, the task of finding a secure identity can be complex and difficult (Bradshaw 1992: 82) as it requires moving from one socio-cultural context to another (Hershel 1995), negotiating ethnic group boundaries and coping with pressures to identify with only one ethnic group (Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995). Feeling "different" for one reason or another as a child is recognized by mental health professionals as one of several stresses (such as abuse and abandonment) which can contribute to later mental health problems (Lapsley, Nikora, Black 2002: 25). Consistent family support and positive school experiences are factors which build resilience to stress (Howard & Johnson 2000). Wilson's (1986) research indicated that factors facilitating a positive mixed heritage identity for children included having parents who discussed and explained issues of identity and race, and living in mixed race communities where there were many other mixed heritage people.

6.5.3   Choice

Having the choice of two identities is a privileged but difficult position to be in (Bevan 2000: 92). Living outside their traditional geographic and cultural regions as Māori, being socialized as Pākehā or Māori-and- Pākehā, and in many cases being light-skinned, all but two participants in this study felt they had some choice relating to the degree to which they would personally or publicly identify as Māori. But only one participant made that choice during childhood, so this theme will be dealt with at more length in the next chapter. Kiri chose a Māori identity at the beginning of her adolescence: "I got to an age where I chose what I wanted to be and that's the privilege (of being both Māori and Pākehā). I could have been Pākehā all the way. But I chose to be Māori. I was 12. My mother sent me to boarding school and one of her reasons was that I would get te reo, because I already had a liking or a feeling of being Māori and wanting more, wanting to be Māori". Kiri noted that some

of her siblings did not work on developing their Māori identity as much as she did, and consequently identified primarily as Pākehā/European.

Rawiri, who is dark-skinned, believed he had no choice about being Māori - he would be identified by others as Māori anyway. Hence he sought a stronger personal and cultural identification as Māori by attending a Māori boarding school, but found he needed greater involvement with his hapū and tribal area to develop more security in his Māori identity. Another participant (Jessica) was so strongly socialized as Māori during childhood that she had no sense of choice about being Māori. While most participants identified primarily as either Pākehā or Māori during their childhoods, those who chose a mainly Pākehā social identity nevertheless included some who reported learning the reo, wanting to learn the reo, attempting to identify publicly as Māori and experiencing disbelief, and feeling a sense of frustrated desire to be part of the Māori group.

Choosing to be both Māori and Pākehā is a valid and positive option spoken about by some participants in this thesis and others (Gibson 1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2003). Social work and health experts argue that integration of both sides of an individual's heritage is a natural and healthy option for mixed heritage individuals, because it usually involves identification with both parents (Gibbs 1987; Hershel 1995). While inequalities and political tensions make a dual ethnic identity difficult for some adults (Bevan 2000), children probably only gradually become aware of such tensions and are more aware of how they are treated by specific individuals with whom they come into contact. Several participants were fortunate in having many inclusive, culturally-enriching experiences with both their Māori and their Pākehā/European whānau/families (Rona, Jessica, Kiri, Marama, Charles, Perena, Kamiria) and hence received some (mostly limited) socialisation from an early age in both communities. Children readily learn and internalise appropriate behaviour and values associated with each cultural context they find themselves in (Tangaere 1997: 54). But it is also possible to compartmentalize distinctly different identities and segregate them in such a way that one or more can remain static or undeveloped for years (Breakwell

1996: 95), and this was the case for several participants whose Māori identity remained of low significance until adulthood.

6.5.4 Pākehā Racism Towards Māori

Māori were given the rights of British subjects in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the principle of non-discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds has been affirmed in the signing of a number of United Nations declarations, conventions, and in New Zealand statutes passed since then. Freedom from discrimination on grounds of colour, race, or ethnic origins (among other grounds) was recently affirmed by the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 and the Human Rights Act 1993 (Lexus Nexus Publications 2003). The Human Rights Act 1993 (www.hrc.co.nz) states that it is unlawful to use language, visual material or physical behaviour that expresses hostility against, or brings into contempt or ridicule, any person because of their race, color, ethnic or national origin and is hurtful or offensive to that person and is either repeated or of such a significant nature that it has a detrimental effect on that person. Wetherell & Potter (1993: 70; Hatch 1994: 199) state that racism is rooted not so much in psychology as in uneven power relations, describing racism as any action that serves, even unintentionally, to sustain and reinforce oppressive power relations. As noted in the section entitled "Belonging/Not-belonging", racist beliefs in European superiority over Māori which have helped justify colonial exploitation and assimilation (Spoonley 1984: 2) have negatively impacted on the lives of some participants in this study through exclusion, taunts, and even abuse. While Wilson (1986: 197) describes childhood taunts as "racial labelling" which can help build ethnic or "racial" identity awareness, they were experienced by participants at the time as hurtful and of detrimental effect. Disassociation from being of Māori descent, at least publicly, is one coping response to such taunts (Gibson 1999: 133).

As noted briefly in section 6.5.2, the mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā participants in this study reported several incidents of Pākehā/European hostility or "racial harassment" towards them, from other children and adults. These incidents emphasized difference and exclusion, factors which can affect

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mental/emotional/spiritual health (Lapsley, Nikora, Black 2002: 25). For those who had little contact with their Māori whānau or hapū, encountering racist attitudes in their early days at school was shocking and bewildering, for example Jacquie was insultingly called a "nigger" and repeatedly physically assaulted by older children at an Auckland primary school. Hence she absorbed an association between being seen as a person of colour with physical assault. She did not know until later what the term "nigger" meant, and nor did she know that she herself was Māori. Jacquie was so traumatised by this abuse that she refused to go to school for some months, until the family had shifted to a new town and she was assisted back to school by a sympathetic principal. The incident also had a long-term effect in that she remained deeply wary of racism arising again[40]. Bruce was similarly unaware that he was Māori when he started school, and shocked by teasing he encountered as a "Māori". Returning home and asking his mother, she confirmed that she was Māori and that he was too. He became determined to prove himself equal or better in Pākehā terms, disassociating himself from being Māori (Gibson 1999: 133) and in doing so he felt he could not publicly acknowledge his mother at secondary school. He suffered strong feelings of guilt and shame about this fact when she died soon afterwards.

Kiri and her siblings, growing up in their tribal rohe of Ōtaki in the 1950's and early 60's, were more involved with their Māori whānau and hapū than the participants above. The proportion of Māori children at her primary school was significant, she was confident in her identity as Māori-and- Pākehā, and hence she was relatively unaffected by racist attitudes when she encountered them. "We dealt with them and that was it, it was over." In one story Kiri relates, she describes how she and a friend gained revenge for racist comments made by a boy, by throwing stones at him on his bike. The incident caused some concern in the boy's family, but when explained, did not result in punishment for Kiri and her friend.

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[40] For example, at university she asked for a room on her own because she was afraid a Pākehā/European would not want to share a room with someone who was Māori.

The cultural and political renaissance of the 1970's and 1980's resulted in greater accessibility of the Māori language and culture in schools, and a new climate of official respect for Māori culture and rights. Māori experienced renewed confidence and morale (Walker, 1992: 507-9). But a superficially positive attitude by Pākehā towards Māori may not reflect any true depth of understanding of the culture or acceptance of Māori political and Treaty rights. Puketapu-Andrews (Te Whaiti, McCarthy & Durie 1997: 71) comments: "Political oppression continues to be very much a part of our daily lives. Māori culture has always been, and still is, judged negatively by the dominant culture." Younger interviewees also experienced prejudice, indicating that negativity towards Māori remains an issue. Marama was attending school in Rotorua in the 1980's when one of her friends, whom she said was from a "stereotypical Pākehā family", was told to stop seeing her because her parents were divorced and her Māori mother the primary caregiver. In its Muriwhenua Fishing Report, the Waitangi Tribunal (1988) outlined the principle in the Treaty of Waitangi which gives Māori individuals options ie to join the culture and lifestyles of the mainstream or continue to live according to tikanga Māori, or to "walk in two worlds". Principles of the Treaty include participation, as well as partnership and consultation (Smith 2003: 237).

6.5.5   Māori "Racism"

Acceptance within the Māori ethnic group has been difficult to achieve for some thesis participants, perhaps particularly during the Māori cultural and political renaissance of the 1970's and 80's, when differences between Māori and Pākehā/Europeans were highlighted. Greenland (1984: 88) describes how Māori were influenced by Black Power leaders in the United States who worked to change the thinking of blacks from seeing whites as a reference group to seeing them as a target for hostility, creating cohesion and solidarity through conflict. Though it is often seen as unhealthy, conflict can also generate social change (O'Toole 1973: 125). Rules of belonging or establishing legitimate membership as Māori became more rigid during this time. People of colour who have internalized the vehicle of oppression in turn apply rigid rules of belonging or establishing legitimate membership (Root

1992: 5). Stereotyping is an inevitable consequence of socialisation (Katz 1996: 32), and as stated, our definition of ourselves as Māori has been made, particularly in recent decades, in contrast to the "other" ie Pākehā (Greenland 1984). Hence Pākehā/Europeans have sometimes complained that the debate has swung too far in that direction and their sensitivities have been offended[41].

Moeke-Maxwell (2001, 2003) is, however, perhaps the first (Māori) academic in this country to seriously consider the racial hatred of Māori towards Pākehā, describe it as "racism", and consider its impact on Māori/Pākehā who are fair-skinned and perceived as Pākehā. One definition of racism is "prejudice plus power" (Nairn 1996: 57). While under this definition some argue that Māori are not usually powerful enough to be described as racist, it could also be argued that in some circumstances, such as within Māori organisations and social contexts, Māori are powerful enough to cause hurt and detrimental effect to individuals. Moeke-Maxwell wrote that violent attacks by Māori towards Māori/Pākehā women occur with some regularity (2001: 161) and that Māori/Pākehā women are being "caught in the crossfire between Māori and Pākehā racisms", "their various bodies uncannily triggered the repressed fears and internalised hatred of the Māori and Pākehā racist". Spirituality was one of the mechanisms used to counter damage from such attacks but they clearly impact on both physical and mental/emotional/spiritual health. Similar, but not as severe, experiences have been reported in other theses (Bevan 2000: 101; Gibson 1999). As stated, when social group acceptance does not match self-identification, feelings of rejection and identity confusion can result (Hershel 1995: 169-70).

As noted briefly in section 6.5.1, a participant in this thesis (Jessica) experienced a period of social exclusion from her Māori peers at college, which she attributes at least partially to being fair-skinned. The extent of her cultural knowledge was resented by her peers because she was perceived by

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[41] For example, Hana Jackson's comments at Auckland University in 1988 that mistreated Paremoremo inmates should perhaps take a Pākehā/European with them if they were planning suicide, to draw attention to their conditions - the well-publicized "kill a white" comment (Murupaenga 1988: 188)

some as Pākehā. "I was made to feel quite left out by the people of my own age group. They were obviously Māori-looking, whereas I had pale skin and blue eyes." She had been previously challenged about her attendance of Māori enrichment at primary school, and was then shunned socially by her Māori peers at third form level at college. She was fortunate in having the support of her teacher who was fair-skinned and like her, from Taranaki. Rather than reacting negatively she waited and persisted in her work, and says that over time her classmates became aware that her grandmother and other relatives were more obviously Māori in appearance and that her family was known by local kaumatua. Slowly their attitudes changed and she now counts those Māori peers amongst her best friends. Another participant (Rona) described an experience of being socially excluded at a *kapahaka* club at secondary school, because of her fair-skinned appearance. But, while she decided not to attend the club, she continued to learn the reo and retain a Māori identity. The existence of Māori "hatred" towards Pākehā was also discussed by a male fair-skinned participant (Piripi) in this study, who said that by acknowledging it publicly with humour in *te reo*, he was able to defuse it and undermine its power to hurt him. An enquiry to the Human Rights Commission (9/10/03) indicates that complaints by light-skinned or dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā about their treatment by other Māori are "very rare" (only 1-2 in recent years).

6.5.6 Racial harassment of dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā

There is a particular form of race or ethnicity-related harassment (involving hostility, contempt or ridicule) in social relations experienced by the mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individual, which relates to a lack of acceptance of a dual ethnicity identity. Individuals experience: pressure to choose one or other identity; disbelief of one of their ethnicities; and excessive questioning about their racial or ethnic background (McDonald 1976; Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000; Moeke-Maxwell 2001; Brown 1990: 324; Bradshaw 1992). Results are feelings of being "not normal", ambiguous ethnic belonging, status anxiety, fear of rejection and an absence of external validation. These pressures can be experienced from both Māori and Pākehā, and were perhaps exacerbated during the cultural and political renaissance, when Māori and Pākehā were strongly contrasted or artificially polarised. Rona: "No-one's ever come up to

me and said, "right, you have to decide right now", what I get instead is an incomprehending…a kind of lack of space, you feel like there's a lack of space for you to step into… to be (both)." Other writers and researchers have indicated that racial taunts can also relate specifically to being of mixed heritage (Gibson 1999; Rickard 1998: 42; Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 236) and can come from groups which match one of a person's ethnicities.

6.5.7   Fair Skin Equals Advantage

Colonial domination and policies of assimilation, including forced acculturation in the English language in schools, applied early last century, had on-going impact throughout last century (McCarthy 1997: 32; Shuker 1987). High rates of Māori/Pākehā intermarriage (Pool 1991), urbanisation and consequent distance from tribal systems, and both Government and parental support of assimilation policies (Harre 1966: 131) have all resulted in disrupted transmission of cultural knowledge; and initial, primary or on-going Pākehā/European identification for many Māori/Pākehā children. This identification could have reflected their primary socialisation, their predominant geneaology, or their desire to achieve in a Pākehā-dominated school system and society. It could have reflected predominant attitudes about Māori as inferior, or a lack of understanding, confidence, or ability to develop a stronger Māori identity. While Vaughan (1964a) found that fairer-skinned Māori were more likely than darker-skinned Māori to identify as Pākehā, Awatere (1974) found that an intermediate group was most likely to identify as Pākehā, while both dark and fair-skinned Māori identified positively as Māori.

Colour is a biological measure of ethnicity central to phenotypical belief systems (Spoonley 1984: 15). Being fair-skinned is linked to majority group status and power (Bevan 2000; Ware 1992) and having a Pākehā appearance improves the ability of dual ethnicity people to "pass" from one ethnic group to another (Gibson 1999: 120). Unlike apartheid South Africa (O'Toole 1973: 21), there have never been any laws placing restrictions on relationships, place of residence or work on racial grounds in Aotearoa New Zealand ie "passing" is not illegal here. Government has actively supported the

Europeanization of Māori (by legislation such as the Native Land Amendment Act) and discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity has been illegal by statute since 1971[42]. But while racism and discrimination are not often overt in this country, they are arguably still present to some degree. Institutional racism permeates the very structures of which Western society is constituted. Unconscious attitudes are conveyed by Pākehā-dominated systems no matter how egalitarian and anti-racist they try to be (Katz 1996: 10). Gibson (1999: 134) describes how some of her participants did not identify themselves as Māori in some contexts, which enabled them to receive a higher standard of service within government departments and to be privy to more information. Bevan (2000: 100) states that unless "white Māori" declare themselves as Māori, it will be assumed they are from the dominant group, which may result in people being openly racist about Māori in your presence. "This places white Māori in the position of having to choose whether to address the racism or not."

Fair-skinned participants in this study also commented that they understood that darker skinned Māori experienced worse treatment from Pākehā than they did and they recognized the advantage afforded by their own fair skin, for example they received better treatment from shopkeepers and police. Fair or light-brown skin is likely to also be a factor in the academic success enjoyed by most participants in this study, as it is likely to have meant higher teacher expectations and better quality of teaching received (New Zealand Educational Gazette 2002: 1). Having a Pākehā parent also facilitates Pākehā or Māori/Pākehā identification and hence privileges mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā children in the Pākehā-dominated school system (Ranby 1979; Awatere 1974). However, data on socio-economic position, education and employment indicates that dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā are more advantaged than sole Māori, but still disadvantaged in comparison with the sole Pākehā/European group (Douglas 1995; Else 1997).

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[42] When the Race Relations Act 1971 was passed.

6.6   Conclusion

Participants in this thesis were brought up with a range of levels of cultural exposure and involvement and even periodic or occasional exposure was significant in promoting understanding and a sense of belonging. Relationships with whanaunga were an important means of transmission of cultural knowledge and ethnic identity for most participants. For some, cultural and ethnic disconnection and dislocation had occurred as a result of particular adverse circumstances, such as negative experiences resulting in themselves or the Māori parent distancing themselves from their hapū/iwi. A Māori identity could, however, remain significant despite minimal early knowledge. Most mainstream primary and secondary schools attended by participants did not support or extend their Māori identities. Anti-Māori abuse and taunts affected participants' confidence in identifying publicly as Māori but also strengthened their awareness of being Māori. Racial taunts appeared to be less damaging in a multi-racial context where there was stronger support for varied and multiple ethnicities. Some participants also experienced difficulties in finding membership in Māori social groups for reasons including disbelief of their Māori ethnicity and discomfort due to poor socialisation. But mixed heritage students were relatively advantaged in mainstream school contexts. Scholastic achievement and social acceptance amongst peers of various ethnicities were factors in enhancing positive self-esteem and resilience.

Both dark and fair-skinned Māori children have experienced the impact of colonisation, assimilation and disrupted cultural transmission. Having fair skin and a less phenotypically Māori appearance is associated with advantage in a Pākehā/European context and in education, but also with particular challenges in terms of asserting or developing a Māori identity. Challenges in developing a Māori identity are also experienced as a result of dislocation and disconnection from cultural knowledge and whānau/hapū/iwi; the absence of experiences of belonging with a Māori social/ethnic context during childhood; and negative early experiences associated with being Māori.

Ngā Pakeke: Adult Identity Development

7.1 Introduction

Identity development, both personal and cultural, continues throughout life
(Erikson 1980; Barrow 1988; Kohlberg 1964; Durie 2001:59) and is
influenced by broad social, cultural and racial attitudes (Hershel 1995).
Different aspects of identity can be presented in different contexts while
retaining a core of continuity and consistency (Katz 1996: 32; Krebs 1999:
75). A positive dual ethnicity identity can be developed in childhood and
maintained without significant transition or crisis into adulthood (Wilson
1986; Collins 2001). But those who have not fully explored their (indigenous
or minority) ethnic identity in childhood may have opportunities to do so in
adulthood. A number of identity development models have been developed
which describe this process - from conformity with the majority group,
through a period of ambivalence and confusion, to immersion in ethnic group
and appropriate socialisation, to potentially valuing collective identities
(Helms 1995; Cross 1994; Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999). This can
result in lives which are culturally rich, with creative potential for bridging
cultures, but can include periods of vulnerability, ambivalence and confusion.
Finding a stable dual identification in adulthood frequently involves accepting
and adjusting to being in a marginal status position, not fully assimilated into
either group (Hall 1980; Kich 1982 in Motoyoshi 1990). Marginality is
associated with risk (Krebs 1999: xi), but survivors may emerge stronger than
the average individual (Hall 1992: 264).

While dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity or bi-cultural ambidexterity (King 1974)
may be achieved in childhood or adolescence less often (King 1974; Gibbs
1987; Overmier 1990), it may be more often achieved in adulthood when
social and cultural boundaries are more relaxed, by moving from one socio-
cultural context to another. This process can sometimes be stressful and
difficult because of differences in language, norms and values, and modes of

behaviour (Moeke-Maxwell 2001). Inner change is also involved. Whereas whole race people find that their internalized cultural values and self-concepts are reinforced and affirmed by society (and therefore their lives develop in "linear" style), mixed heritage people experience a distinctively different process. As a result of simultaneously possessing two cultural frames of reference, mixed heritage people may need to reconstruct their self-image, their role and status in an on-going way throughout their lifetime (Cavell 1977; in Brown 1990: 320).

This thesis acknowledges a number of factors relating to cultural and ethnic identity including language, traditions, whanaungatanga (Durie 1996: 7), political commitment (Bevan 2000) and values (Reedy 1994; Tangaere 1997: 56). Acceptance/non-acceptance, appearance and identification with relatives are significant factors for mixed heritage people (Stephan 1992: 54-5), as are the effects of personal experiences such as abuse (Bevan 2000: 87, 92, 111). External factors also affect individual identity, for example the cultural and political renaissance of the 1960's onwards has resulted in ethnic renewal and the regeneration of ethnic awareness and identity (Bevan 2000; Nagel 1995: 947-8). The development of stronger Māori cultural/ethnic identities, the retention of elements of Pākehā/European identity and the valuing of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicities are all explored in this chapter. This chapter includes some analysis of change over time as experienced by participants in relation to personal and cultural identity and its affect on career. Cultural and ethnic identity change has major impacts on other aspects of life as well, such as spirituality and relationships, but these are beyond the scope of this thesis.

7.2   Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho: Culture, Language and Whanaungatanga

7.2.1   Socio-cultural exposure and involvement

Self-identification, whakapapa, marae participation, whānau, whenua tipu, contacts with Māori people and Māori language are all important characteristics of a Māori cultural identity (Durie 1996: 7). As noted in the previous section, participants had varying levels of involvement with and exposure to marae and traditions during childhood, ranging from one

participant having a predominant socialisation and identification as Māori (Jessica), to three who had almost no cultural or social exposure apart from the Māori parent (Bruce, Jacquie, Rawiri). Most had periodic exposure and feelings of belonging, either on marae or with culturally knowledgeable whānau members but they were predominantly or significantly socialized as Pākehā/European. Because of this, most participants found that secondary school and tertiary education institutions were comfortable and supportive contexts in which to learn about reo and cultural knowledge. Learning about reo and other Māori traditions through educational institutions facilitated socialisation as Māori (appropriate behaviours, values and ways of expression) and confidence in maintaining or developing relationships with significant whanaunga/relations in extended whānau or hapū. Maintaining or developing whanaungatanga links and tribal membership was important for most participants in developing and strengthening their Māori identity as adults.

Some participants had strong whanaungatanga relationships since childhood which continued into adulthood. Others decided to initiate relationships with significant whānau/hapū relatives in adulthood. Making this decision, which involved resisting pressure to assimilate as Pākehā/European and overcoming internal barriers to doing so, required considerable personal strength. These barriers were related to early Pākehā/European socialisation, devaluation of the Māori ethnic group in wider society, social distance, fear and anxiety (Moeke-Maxwell 2003; Collins 1999; Phinney 1990). Whanaungatanga relationships and consequent opportunities for immersion in tribal socio-cultural contexts facilitated the development of a positive commitment to their Māori ethnicity, which was sometimes followed by the integration of collective identities (Helms 1995; Gibson 1999). Conflict or rejection within whānau or other significant relationships in Māori social-cultural temporarily retarded positive ethnic identity development for some participants. Most participants had developed a positive personal and public Māori identity by early adulthood (except Kamiria who experienced an identity transition in her mid-40's). Developing relationships with whanaunga resulted not just in increased cultural exposure and greater depth of identification but also led to

participants taking on greater responsibilities within their tribe and within the wider Māori community ie it led to the development of *mana tangata* (Reedy 1994; Tangaere 1997). Mana tangata can be translated as self-esteem through contributing and is an important cultural value strongly associated with security of identity (Cross 1994).

7.2.2   Mana Reo: Language

Language is considered to be central to ethnic identities, facilitates socialisation within a culture and has been linked to good mental health for Māori (Durie 1985: 67). Bevan (2000) found that it was particularly important for "white" or fair Māori. It was considered important by almost all participants in this study. Three learnt it during their pre-school and school years, and nine either began learning it or continued to learn it at tertiary institutions including university, polytech, training college and wananga. Learning the language was an on-going process throughout life, reflecting commitment, socialisation and identity as Māori. Barriers to identification as Māori also created barriers to learning the language, because of the passionate, subjective nature of learning in the Māori world (Marsden 1975). One younger participant (Marama) had not studied the language extensively, but felt confident enough about pronunciation to correct others.

7.2.3   Political commitment

Political commitment was important, both in motivating participants to learn the reo and culture but also in gaining social acceptance amongst Māori, particularly for fair Māori (as per Bevan 2000: 92, 111). For two participants (Rona, Piripi) studying Māori language, history and culture at university was significant in developing ethnic identities which were more active, politicized, socially accepted and committed (as per Gibson 1999: 132). A period of immersion within a tribal social context can be associated with passionate, all-embracing political commitment to the exclusion of other identities. A wider perspective, incorporating other ethnic identities can follow. Political commitment also affected how participants educated and socialised their children, which had long-term effects on participants lives (eg can have the effect of facilitating greater involvement and belonging in later life). A survey

of Māori, European, and "Māori/European" people's attitudes on particular issues relevant to Māori showed that a lower percentage of mixed Māori/Pākehā heritage took a strong pro-Māori political stance compared to sole Māori, but the percentages tended to be closer to the sole Māori group than to the European group (Pearson 1990: 237).

7.2.4   Names

Names were important in that they affected the way others identified participants, and how they self-identified (Stephan 1992: 54-5). None of the participants in this study have Māori surnames, and only three were known by Māori first names from birth. Having an ancestral name facilitated relationships with whanaunga from childhood onwards for one participant. Several found that after learning the reo and developing whanaungatanga links, they were given a Māori name, which gave them a sense of belonging and social acceptance. It was important that social acceptance preceded public identification as Māori. Four participants have chosen to use this (given or adopted) Māori personal name more widely to publicly identify themselves as Māori. In three cases this was a transliteration of the English name they were christened with (Piripi, Perena, Rawiri). Ancestral names sometimes carried other associations in terms of their history and symbolism, and deepened responsibility and identification with iwi (eg Te Ahukaramu). Self-identification as Māori is noted as a characteristic of Māori cultural identity (Durie 1996: 7), but acceptance is also an important factor (Hershel 1995: 170).

7.2.5   Other means of affirming identity

Other ways of maintaining and strengthening a Māori identity included learning about whakapapa, identification with tupuna, attending hui or wananga, visiting tribal rohe and becoming familiar with geographical features, and forming friendships with people who supported participants in their Māori identity (Gibson 1999: 100, 123; Bevan 2000). Living outside tribal rohe did not inhibit tribal membership provided sufficient mobility was available. Living within tribal rohe sometimes resulted in heavy demands in terms of tribal responsibilities. A period of living overseas was significant in

the development of a Māori identity for Rona. She became more fully aware of racism and sexism while living in Africa and England, which influenced decisions she made on her return.

7.3 Belonging/Non-Belonging or "Edge-walking"

As noted, acceptance or non-acceptance by others (belonging/not belonging) and physical appearance are important aspects of identity for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā in adulthood (Stephan 1992: 54-5). Self-identification as Māori usually requires social/ethnic group acceptance as Māori. As noted in section 7.2, participants have experienced varying levels of acceptance and belonging within Māori cultural contexts and within their whānau/hapū/iwi during childhood. Learning the language and culture in a non-tribal context often preceded adult involvement in, and a sense of belonging and membership in, whānau/hapū/iwi. This was particularly important for fair Māori with few phenotypical indicators of Māori whakapapa (Bevan 2000: 83) and for some whose early socialisation was predominantly Pākehā/European. Fair-skinned participants have experienced disbelief and social exclusion as a result of their appearance (as per McDonald 1976), but have overcome this with persistence (eg learning the reo), tolerance and establishing support networks. Rona and Jacquie were accepted amongst whānau and friends as tribal members/Māori, but often experienced disbelief of their Māori identity on meeting strangers, and found this stressful. Self-identification through means such as declaring a Māori identity, the use of Māori forenames, use of the reo, or stating iwi affiliations supports the social acceptance of individuals as tribal member or pan-tribal Māori. So too does political commitment. Negative experiences such as abuse or conflict within significant Māori relationships (whānau or otherwise), can inhibit or retard the development of positive Māori self-identification and hence Māori cultural self-expression.

Achieving a sense of belonging and acceptance amongst whānau/hapū/iwi or in a pan-tribal Māori context (eg university, work context) was achieved by some participants through a period of immersion or transition in which positive commitment and appropriate socialisation were internalised (Helms 1995; Gibson 1999). Mentors, who can be either guides or older role models,

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were important in providing motivation and support for some participants (Selby 1992). These periods of immersion, in some cases, were followed by a period of greater distance in which collective identities were integrated and valued. Most participants, while involved in and contributing to their whānau/hapū/iwi, lived outside their tribal *rohe*, in urban centres, and enjoyed social and work lives involving a range of people – whanaunga, other Māori, Pākehā/Europeans, immigrants etc. Though two participants may have socialised primarily with Māori (Kamiria, Kiri), others lived in a social context reflecting the broader society and expressed their Māori and other identities within that broader social context. Rona described her friends as people who "know the pain of walking between two cultures, either ethnic, sexual or national"; people who similarly identify with and relate to various cultural or ethnic groups, and believe in challenging the boundaries of those groups. Such people could be described as "edgewalkers" (discussed further below, Krebs 1999). This thesis did not include any participants who belonged to *neither* society, which was another category listed by Durie (1993; in THNR 1999: appendix 4:1).

7.4   Choice, Agency and Dual Ethnicity

Most participants with relatively fair skin, non-phenotypically Māori appearance, and a Pākehā/European parent felt they had a degree of choice about whether or not they developed a Māori ethnic/cultural identity. Most had received early socialisation as Pākehā/European or both Māori and Pākehā/European, had achieved in the mainstream education system and socialised successfully with/as Pākehā/European. Yet seven of the eleven chose to identify primarily or significantly as Māori. Three made that decision as adolescents or teenagers (Kiri, Bruce, Rona), three as young adults (Jacquie, Charles, Perena, Piripi) and one in middle age (Kamiria). Three participants felt they had little choice about being Māori – Jacquie because she was told she was Māori, Rawiri because he looked Māori and hence would be identified by others as Māori anyway, and Jessica because (despite her fair appearance) she had been socialised primarily as Māori. Some participants mentioned that their siblings chose not to develop a Māori identity; and some had a Māori parent who did not identify predominantly as

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Māori. Those who identified differently from both parents and other family members needed extra personal strength (willpower, determination) and commitment (Stephan 1992; Root 1992). "There is added richness in having multiple cultural identifications to choose from, but resolving the identity crisis can be made more difficult by this additional burden of choice"(Peterson 1996: 406).

All participants acknowledged their Pākehā/European heritage as well as their Māori heritage, though two participants (Kamiria, Kiri) said their Pākehā/European heritage was of little significance in their lives. Most participants have retained a degree of continuity with their early Pākehā/European identity. Breakwell (1996: 7) identifies continuity of self-definition, along with distinctiveness and self-esteem as guiding principles in identity development. Three participants (Kiri, Piripi, Charles) find Christianity compatible with a Māori identity. Awareness of spiritual virtues or principles which are valued by all cultures and faiths in the world can also assist people in crossing cultural boundaries (Popov, Popov, & Plume 1997) Spirituality was one of the mechanisms used by the dual/multi ethnicity Māori women who participated in Moeke-Maxwell's thesis (2001).

While several had periods of immersion within the Māori socio-cultural group which sometimes involved deintegration of Pākehā/European aspects of identity and the idealization of Māori; several later integrated dual or multiple identities. Cultural assimilation into one or the other ethno-cultural group presents a serious dilemma for mixed heritage or bi-racial people because it means sacrificing one of their frames of reference (Brown 1990: 327). As noted, most participants found that they could maintain involvement with and contribute to their tribal community while enjoying a range of social contacts and work experiences. One described a need to travel and interact with other people and social contexts beyond Māoridom for his personal "nourishment". Another described her friends as people who "know the pain and joy of walking between two cultures, either ethnic, sexual or national". The stresses and difficulties in achieving and maintaining a dual ethnicity (Māori/ Pākehā) position are noted here, particularly due to contrasting power status and

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conflict/competition between ethnic groups (as follows). The personal effects are explored more fully in the next chapter. Internal conflicts and tensions are commonly experienced by many people (eg parental expectations vs internal ambitions) and can be seen as an impetus for growth (Erikson 1980).

7.5   Contrasting Power Status

Colonisers believed they were bringing benefits and advantage to Māori in imposing their culture and political systems in Aotearoa New Zealand (Said 1993). Many Māori began to think their own systems and culture were inferior (McCarthy 1997: 32). Mainstream society presents being Pākehā/European as guaranteeing status and material reward. Hence many Māori in the past have distanced themselves from their indigenous heritage and instilled in their children the ideologies of the dominant culture. As a result there is an imbalance of power contained within identity choice for the mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā (Bevan 2000: 69, 109). Despite attempts to assimilate, Māori have remained disadvantaged in health, employment and socio-economic status over the generations (Statistics New Zealand). Choosing to identify with the least powerful, less advantaged of the two ethnic groups is difficult. Re-education of the mind involves re-learning history, language and culture and working to transform and challenge dominant social systems in order to reclaim the social and political strength of the Māori ethnic group and Treaty partner (McCarthy 1997).

Some Māori researchers (Bevan 2000; Smith 1999: 97) argue that bi or multi-cultural identification therefore causes fragmentation and injures the fragile identity position of Māori; others argue that it is the most healthy choice for the mixed heritage person (Krebs 1999; Bevan 2000:111). Most participants in this study have found that their Māori identity has deepened and gained more significance over time, but their Pākehā/European heritage is also acknowledged, and several participants participate in and contribute significantly to both mainstream society and Māoridom. Provided there is sufficient support for the minority identity (eg identity maintenance strategies, a sense of belonging and social cohesion – Gibson 1999; McGregor 2002) a dual heritage identification can be maintained. In multi-ethnic and pluralistic

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societies with a high degree of intermarriage and a lower degree of power imbalance between ethnic groups, such as Hawaii, there may be less tension and greater social acceptance in relation to dual or multi-ethnic identities (Johnson & Nagoshi 1986: 282; Labov & Jacobs 1986: 80; Lind 1982).

7.6   Change Over Time

Durie (1995a) acknowledges that Māori individuals can demonstrate significant change in their ethnic and cultural identity over their lifetimes. Helms (1995) model describes a number of phases which typically occur for many mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā people – from positively identifying with the dominant group and devaluing the ethnic group; through ambivalence and confusion; immersion in ethnic group and denigration of majority culture, resulting in socialisation and positive commitment; followed by the potential for integrated, collective identities. Cross's (1994) model is similar but he describes particular experiences as triggering the change; describes the immersion period as being characterized by anxiety; and emphasizes the importance of active contribution within the new ethnic group. Kerwin & Ponterotto's (1995) model relates to the bi-racial individual learning to resist pressure to choose a single identity and develop their own integrated identity over time. Phinney (1990) describes how ethnic identity may have been achieved, or it may remain unexamined, diffuse or foreclosed on entering adulthood. Similarities are noted to Kohlberg's (1964) theory of moral development; Maslow's (1954) theory related to a hierarchy of needs; and Jung (1972) and Becker's (1973) theories on individuation and the importance of spirituality for well-being (see Chapter 5.4).

Seven participants (Jacquie, Bruce, Kamiria, Piripi, Rawiri, Charles, Rona) showed significant change in their cultural and ethnic identities through childhood, adolescence and into adulthood. The relaxation of group boundaries (Erikson 1980) and the development of greater ego strength and self-esteem as adults (King 1972) are factors facilitating exploration of ethnic identities. The models, as above, appear to fit the life stories of some individuals. Those who experienced significant transition and immersion periods usually did so in early adulthood, except for Kamiria who experienced

a similar transition in mid-life (aged 43-4). Those who had received early socialisation as Pākehā/European and then achieved socialisation/belonging as Māori, mostly then developed integrated dual Māori/Pākehā identities. The process was not always linear, but sometimes involved an on-going process of moving from one cultural/ethnic context to the other, and on-going periods of re-construction of self-image throughout life (Brown 1990). Competence and confidence usually grew as cultural knowledge and appropriate socialisation were internalized. Two participants who were more significantly socialized as Māori in childhood either maintained or returned to a predominant Māori identity. Others who were exposed to both cultures during childhood and adolescence (Perena, Marama) maintained a dual identity without reporting significant transition or immersion periods, though some reported experiencing identity-related stress and periods of emotional/mental/spiritual ill-health.

Hence, while some people report a relatively easy process in achieving and maintaining a dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā identity (Collins 2001) the stresses and difficulties in doing so, and their impact on health, for many individuals are noted and are explored more fully in the next chapter. Durie (1995a) states that Māori belong to numerous social and cultural groupings, and sometimes ethnicity will be less important than belonging to an occupational culture, a sports club, socio-economic grouping or family constellation. Similarly, the participants in this study identify themselves in a range of different ways relating to their work, their talents and their sexuality, as well as their ethnicity.

External, historical factors such as colonisation and the resulting conditions for Māori also affect change in individuals. For most participants, the cultural and political renaissance of recent decades has facilitated an increase in their understanding and awareness of themselves as Māori with whakapapa, whanaungatanga and history relating to whānau, hapū and iwi; and hence it has boosted their confidence as tribal members and Māori with rights as tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand (Walker 1990; Bevan 2000; Royal 1992: 23). But the emphasis on difference between Māori and

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Pākehā/European groups, and on expressing hostility towards Pākehā/European in order to promote unity and political strength amongst Māori, may have also made the expression of dual Māori/Pākehā identity difficult during that period. Acknowledgement of diversity, political gains and Treaty claim settlements for Māori in the 1990's, along with statistical recognition of dual and multiple ethnicity identities, may have eased the process of dual and multiple identification, as reflected in the large increase in numbers identifying that way in censes in the 1990s. These figures remain subject to factors relating to current social and political climate. For mixed heritage people, full assimilation into either ethno-cultural group can mean sacrificing one of their forms of reference; but stabilizing an ambiguous position is also difficult (Brown 1990).

7.7 Career

An analysis of the career or work histories of participants (see Appendix 4) follows. They are characterized by: variety (a range of jobs of differing status); non-linear development, as participants move in and out of various Māori and non-predominantly Māori social contexts, "trying on" different roles or identities (Hershel 1995: 171); significant change over time (with resultant identity stress); periods of transition and vulnerability (Cross 1994; Gibson 1999); upward mobility (at least for some periods); and high achievement and success levels. This high level of change and transition partly reflects national trends towards increased change in relation to both career and relationships (Davey 1993: 119). But it may also reflect a "non-linear" development process of acquiring acculturation in two contrasting cultural/ethnic groups, and on-going reconstruction of self-image (Brown 1990; Miller 1992) as participants seek ways to contribute and be active members, either in a Māori social/work context and/or in the wider context of Aotearoa/New Zealand or global society (Cross 1994; Gibson 1999:22). Most participants have invested considerable time and energy during their adult lives into learning and developing their Māori language, customs, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, and familiarity with their tribal rohe over long periods of time, and some have had intensive periods of doing so. Many have also devoted a substantial amount of time, if not a lifetime, to finding ways to

translate their personal sense of commitment and identity as Māori into a plan of transformative action (Cross 1994; Gibson 1999: 22).

Both sole/primarily Māori and dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā need to be able to express their identity at work with sufficient support and without undue stress. If they are a minority (as Māori), or a minority within a minority (as dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā) adequate support may be difficult to find. The stress of "border-crossing" (Ramsden 1993) ie being expected to act and participate in two contrasting socio-cultural contexts, has already been noted. Mediation roles between Māori and Pākehā, can also be particularly stressful because of contrasting expectations, norms and values. For example, Jacquie described her role in producing Māori language signage for a public library. Her work was seen by Māori as inadequate and "toadying to tokenism", and by Pākehā/European as unnecessary and provocative. Kamiria also experienced a cross-ethnic mediation role between management, staff and inmates at Arohata Prison and found it particularly stressful. Racism is also sometimes a factor in a work situation. Some participants have worked successfully for many years with and/or for Māori, and within Māori organisations; several participants have chosen to work independently; others work in a non-Māori context both in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas.

The independent work and social position of several participants (Jacquie, Bruce, Piripi, Charles, Rona), belonging but not fully assimilated in both cultural and social groups, is therefore noted. While such marginality is associated with risk, it can also be regarded as a positive in terms of multi-cultural awareness and sensitivity (Krebs 1999). In pursuing their individual dreams and visions, often altruistic or spiritual in motivation, these participants have contributed uniquely and significantly to both Māori and the wider Aotearoa New Zealand society. The experience of navigating the conflicting value systems and cultural worlds of Māori and Pākehā/European is common to many Māori (Selby 1992: 106), as is the experience of marginalisation from mainstream society (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 107). Some mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā may feel they are part of the unifying centre of Māori society, others may feel they are "edgewalkers" (Krebs 1999), making

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a contribution while spanning two or more ethnic groups, managing dual or multiple identities. Bi-cultural competence can mean low levels of prejudice, good self-esteem, and the potential to mediate and translate between ethnic/cultural/political groups.

7.8   Conclusion

Mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā are often less negatively affected by racism and discrimination, and more advantaged socially and educationally than sole Māori. Yet their life journeys through adulthood are often complex, affected by cross-cultural and political stress, and can involve considerable internal and external change over time. Many face significant barriers in strengthening their identity as Māori. These relate both to external issues such as social acceptance and class/power differences and to internal issues such as early negative associations, fear/anxiety, and inadequate socialisation. Historical social trends may have had an affect on the priority given to different aspects of identity by mixed heritage individuals at different times. Early socialisation and the need for continuity are significant factors in identity development (Breakwell 1996), but the change and identity development processes undertaken in adulthood are also profoundly experienced and incorporated into the psyche long-term. Māori, including mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā, draw not just on ancient traditions, but also on the recent past, and the need to adapt to survive in a complex world (Durie 2001: 4). The levels of understanding and acceptance of dual ethnicity in society, and the levels of conflict and tension between the two ethnic groups, are inter-related. Both affect the process of choosing and developing a well-integrated and healthy dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity.

Chapter Eight

Analysis of Life Narratives – III

He Pukepuke Moana[43]: Troubles, Times of Transition and Crisis

8.1   Introduction

People of mixed heritage sometimes have difficulty stabilizing a dual
ethnicity identity (Gibson 1999: 39; Moeke-Maxwell 2001; Brown 1990).
Such an identity can be described as "threatened" (Breakwell 1996), partly
because it is poorly understood and acknowledged (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 1;
Meredith 1999), and partly because it is made more difficult to maintain by
differing world views, contrasting status (power and advantage) and political
tension between the ethnic groups - Māori and Pākehā/European. While
collection of ethnicity data in the field of mental health has been very limited
(see section 3.3), particularly relating to dual or multiple ethnicity, there is no
evidence that mixed heritage people have higher rates of
mental/emotional/spiritual illness as a result of identity stress. Empirical work
overseas also found no evidence of greater likelihood of psychiatric illness
amongst mixed heritage people despite predictions that there would be (eg
Stonequist 1937). People vary in their ability to cope with identity threat and
psychiatric breakdown occurs only where the marginal position generates
such extensive threat that it overwhelms the available coping strategies
(Breakwell 1996: 107). Many mixed heritage people have positive home
backgrounds, are advantaged socially, economically and educationally,
resilient and able to cope with considerable stress. Anecdotal evidence
(Awatere 1984; Reid 1998/9) and longer personal accounts (O'Regan 1975;
Ihimaera 1998), however, have suggested that identity stresses and "crises"
amongst mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā are commonly experienced. Recent in-
depth studies have also described emotional turmoil, social exclusion,
depression and ill-health experienced by dual ethnicity Māori women (Gibson
1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2003). Hence it appears that the state and experience
of being bi-racial or of dual ethnicity can be described both positively and
negatively and this is confirmed by overseas research (Stephan 1992 : 59).

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[43] Literally, hilly or choppy seas. See full whakatauki, Chapter 9.

This research is considered along with overseas research and the life history narratives recorded for this thesis.

Mental/emotional/spiritual health is affected by a range of factors including socio-economic, employment status and education as well as cultural factors (Baxter 1998: 63-4). Ethnicity, gender and sexuality can create specific mental health vulnerabilities. Identity and views of self are important cultural factors which link an individual's mental health. Significant symptoms of mental[44] ill-health are experienced by 20-30 percent of New Zealand's population, and severe mental health problems are experienced by 3 percent of the total population and six percent of the Māori population (Mental Health Commission 2002; Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2000: 10). Māori mental health has declined since urbanisation. In association with lower socio-economic status, Māori (particularly Māori women) consistently rate their health status lower than non-Māori across all indicators, including mental health (Te Puni Kokiri 2000). Factors causing the decline include breakdown in socio-cultural systems, urban poverty, loss of language and land (Rankin 1986; Kingi 2002: 33; Baxter 1998: 65). Other on-going issues for Māori include racism, discrimination, pressure to assimilate, and the difficulties of forging career and identity in a complex, modern society (Jones 1999; Cram 1999; Giddens 1991). Mental illness was described by Durie (1998) as the most serious health issue facing Māori. He recommended strategies to (amongst other things) promote the attainment of secure identity as Māori, promote active Māori participation in society and the economy, and to promote Māori autonomy and control. Cultural and ethnic identity strength are seen as important factors contributing towards Māori mental/emotional/spiritual well-being (Durie 1998: 58; Durie et al 2002: 46).

Most Māori alive today have been brought up within a predominantly Pākehā/European social and cultural context, notwithstanding the fact that many have also received cultural exposure and socialisation as Māori.

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[44] The more limited term is used when quoting others who have used it eg the Mental Health Commission.

However, for many Māori and mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā, the process of developing identity strength and social confidence as Māori can involve risk, anxiety and overcoming obstacles. A number of identity development models developed in America in relation to African-American and other migrant ethnicities (Helms 1999; Cross 1994; Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999) are relevant to this process. These models outline a number of phases from conformity to majority cultural norms and values, through a vulnerable transition phase, to the achievement of positive commitment and socialisation in the minority ethnic group, which can then be followed by the integration of collective identities. Phinney (1989, 1990) draws on the work of Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966,1980) in suggesting a three-stage progression from an unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration to an achieved or committed ethnic identity (see section 5.4.5). Ethnic identity achievement does not necessarily involve a high degree of ethnic involvement, but requires resolution (within the individual) of cultural differences between groups and the lower or disparaged status of their ethnic group in society. Parham (1989; Phinney 1990), like Brown (1990) suggests that the process may be non-linear and involve further exploration or rethinking of the role or meaning of one's ethnicity in "cycles" over time. These models are useful in examining the life narratives of several participants in this thesis.

Stresses in adolescence include pressure to choose only one ethnic group, racism, peer group exclusion, and ethnic identity confusion (Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999: 26). These have been referred to in Chapter 6. Characteristics of personal and cultural identity development and change in adult life have been referred to in Chapter 7. Because this chapter (8), relates to mental/emotional/spiritual health issues, it focusses on issues causing on-going stress and tension ("troubles"); vulnerable periods of "transition" or reconstruction of identity (Brown 1990), not necessarily involving ill-health; and identity crises in which breakdown of health occurs (experienced by two participants). A metaphor is suggested relating to the place where two tidal or river currents meet (standing upright is challenging as different currents pull you different ways). It is acknowledged that maintaining a strong minority identity requires extra support (Bevan 2000: 67), and that the process of

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developing and maintaining a dual Māori/Pākehā identity is easy for some people and a complex and traumatic process for others (Gibson 1999: 2). A secondary metaphor may also be relevant - the creation of pearls from the ebb and flow of water and nutrients over a grain of sand (suggesting the richness of the bi-cultural experience).

Only one participant (Marama) reported no significant stresses, emotional difficulties or turmoil relating to identity. She was raised in homes which accepted and nurtured her identity as Māori, and hence had a confident sense of belonging as Māori, though she had not chosen to become significantly involved in the Māori social or cultural worlds at the time of the interview. She could be seen as being in the "pre-encounter" phase (Cross 1994; Gibson 1999: 22) in which her ethnic identity was of low salience in her life and/or had not yet been fully explored (Phinney 1990). Of the other participants, two (Jacquie, Rona) related experiences of on-going identity stress ("troubles"), three (Bruce, Piripi, Charles) experienced periods of emotional vulnerability (but not ill-health) during transition phases, and others (eg Kiri) experienced periods of emotional ill-health which were related to ethnic and social identity but were not part of a transition process. Two (Rawiri, Kamiria) had major breakdowns in their mental/emotional/spiritual health as part of a transition to a stronger ethnic and social identity as Māori. In studying mental/emotional/spiritual recovery for both Māori and Pākehā/European, Lapsley, Nikora & Black (2002: 56) wrote that turning points towards recovery often included a shift in identity, evolving from "critical incidents" and periods of mental ill-health. The "troubles" or on-going stresses can be seen as the negative aspects of a dual ethnicity status or background which also has many positive aspects, such as cultural and social "richness", the ability to bridge cultures, and resourcefulness. The times of transition (not necessarily involving ill-health) and crisis (in which there is serious breakdown of mental/emotional/spiritual health) are considered not solely as negatives, but also as normative processes which are part of positive ethnic identity development for mixed heritage people. "Ill-health is ...potentially transformative and can profoundly alter the ways in which people understand their lives (Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2002: 13).

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8.2 "Troubled": On-going stresses

8.2.1 Dual Ethnicity

While full assimilation into either group is possible for many mixed heritage people, (particularly those whose parents are both culturally Māori or Pākehā/European), others choose or express a dual ethnicity identity and live with the cultural richness as well as the stress and tension of that choice. Some examples are: the adjustments required in moving back and forth between two contrasting sets of norms and values and being constantly aware of both (Brown 1990, Miller 1992); experiencing suspicion and distrust in both groups (O'Regan 1975); pressure to fully assimilate into one group or the other; feelings of ambiguous social/cultural belonging; internal legitimacy doubts; and lack of external validation (Bradshaw 1992: 77). Some people also describe bearing the stress of mediating between two different, unequal and often conflicting socio-cultural groups (Moeke-Maxwell 2001). With less external validation, internal validation or autonomy of decision-making and assessment is particularly important in association with a dual ethnicity identity (Kohlberg 1964). Maintaining whanaungatanga relationships, knowledge of whakapapa, cultural practice, supportive friendships and the use of spiritual narratives are all ways of coping and building the confidence required to assert a dual ethnicity identity (Walker 1989: 44; Foote 1951;Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000: 95; Moeke-Maxwell 2003). Particular stresses are experienced by fair-skinned Māori and are outlined below in section 8.2.2.

At least three participants (Jacquie, Rona, Bruce) described experiencing issues similar to those listed above. They felt that while they belonged to both, they were not fully assimilated members of either ethnic group. Rona described feeling different from both Pākehā and Māori traditional/conservative groups of relatives; and feeling internal conflict about both wanting to be more fully accepted within her hapū, but feeling that as an urban, university-educated bi-sexual woman she would not be well understood. She wanted both her similarities and her differences to be

understood and accepted (Moeke-Maxwell 2003: 199). Jacquie described feeling conflicting loyalties when playing in a predominantly Pākehā/European sports team against a team of Māori girls (as a schoolgirl) and in other contexts. Internal conflicts and tensions are commonly experienced by many people (eg parental expectations versus internal ambitions) and can be seen as an impetus for growth (Erikson 1980).

Resisting pressure to assimilate is a stress on mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā, and fair-skinned and academically successful Māori experience this pressure particularly strongly (Gibson 1999: 133; O'Regan 1998). Declaring a Māori identity takes courage and can have positive benefits (Bevan 2000: 94), but does not always achieve the desired recognition or understanding (O'Regan 1998). There are also stresses associated with identifying oneself with a devalued and disadvantaged group (Phinney 1990) and identifying oneself as different (Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2002). Within a Māori social-cultural context there is also pressure to conform, and those not brought up in that context commonly experience feelings of inadequacy, alienation or discomfort within it (Baxter 1998: 64). Cultural assimilation into one or other ethno-cultural groups can represent a serious dilemma if it means sacrificing one or other of the bi-racial, or mixed heritage, individual's cultural frames of reference (Brown 1990). But choosing marginality can also be experienced as difficult and stressful. A state of feeling "stuck in-between" ethnic groups was noted by Gibson (1999: 83). She suggested that this troubled state may be more prevalent for those who identify themselves as Māori but are identified by others as being Pākehā/European (Gibson 1999: 132).

Minority group members can have either strong or weak identifications with both their own and the mainstream culture, and a strong ethnic identity does not necessarily imply a weak relationship or low involvement with the dominant culture (Phinney 1990). Dual ethnicity can be coped with, embraced and celebrated. In post-colonial discourse hybridity is "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference" (Meredith 1999; Hoogvelt 1997: 158). The potential

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of hybrids includes the ability to productively translate and mediate between one cultural/ethnic group and the other. Social support is often found amongst others in a similar "limbo" or dual/multiple ethnicity position (Walker 1965), and these may be more easily found in urban contexts due to the multi-ethnic nature of cities and the apparently higher rates of Māori/Pākehā intermarriage there (Harre 1968; Murchie 1984). Associations for dual and multi-ethnic people have been established in the United States since the 1980's (Root 1996). The significant increases in the number of people identifying themselves as dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā (193,533 people in the 2001 census, Statistics New Zealand), indicate that this identity option is likely to become more visible and positively identified over time.

Other participants did not report on-going stresses, but spoke of periods of particular stress related to similar factors (eg Kamiria's role in mediating between management and Māori staff/inmates at Arohata). Several participants appear to have achieved cultural ambidexterity in that they have achieved a high degree of comfort and competence in both socio-cultural worlds or "cultural ambidexterity" (King 1974). Strong identification with both groups is indicative of integration or bi-culturalism (Phinney 1990). These included people who received dual Māori/Pākehā socialisation in childhood, left their Māori identity unexplored during school years and identified predominantly as Pākehā/European at school, but underwent periods of immersion/emmersion (and hence vulnerability), enculturation and socialisation in a Māori socio-cultural context in adult life. They have attained a sense of belonging in both worlds, maintain social contact with both, and contribute significantly to both Māoridom and the wider community. Their health was good at the time of the interview and they did not report any particular on-going stresses or they had learnt to cope with them.

Stable self-acceptance occurs when a person's definition of themselves is no longer determined by others' definition (Gibson 1999: 135; Pinderhughes 1995). A study by Kohlberg (1964) indicated that ability to develop an identity independent of others' influence was related to ego functions such as intelligence, strength of will, the ability to delay reward, a capacity for

sustained attention, fantasy-control, and high self-esteem. These strengths are related to up-bringing and education, but can develop with time and maturity. Stabilizing a dual Māori/Pākehā ethnic identity requires considerable internal strength because of exposure to contrasting cultural norms and expectations. The difficulty in stabilizing a dual ethnicity also varies according to the extent of overlap between the ethnic groups in terms of common values and beliefs (Brown 1990: 325) and the level of conflict and inequality between the ethnic groups in the individual's social context (Bevan 2000: 110). There is little understanding, discussion or education in New Zealand society about dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity, and its challenges and strengths (Bevan 2000: 104). This makes it harder for individuals to make that choice, though they may feel it is the healthiest choice for them. Psycho-social expertise on the issue is scarce, and many people feel alone in their pain and confusion (Gibson 1999). Individuals need to assert their own meanings, even at the risk of personal vulnerability, otherwise depression and powerlessness can result (Becker 1973: 79; Kierkegaard 1849: 166).

8.2.2   Fair, or non-phenotypically Māori appearance

Being fair-skinned or non-phenotypically Māori in appearance has advantages in being able to pass as Pākehā/European and experiencing lower levels of racism from Pākehā/Europeans (Gibson 1999: 119), but carries particular stresses, including disbelief, questioning, and direct challenges; social exclusion (Bevan 2000); negative prejudice from Māori (Moeke-Maxwell 2001); and (due to genealogical distance[45] or policies of assimilation) can be associated with an absence of bi-racial and bi-cultural referents from within family (Bradshaw 1992). Five participants describe related experiences (Piripi, Rona, Jessica, Jacquie, Charles). Declaring a Māori identity, using the Māori language, use of Māori forenames, and stating whakapapa are means of overcoming these barriers (Bevan 2000). But for some people the reliance on phenotypical indicators is so paramount that they will not believe other indicators or information. Acceptance by others precedes belonging and if white Māori are not accepted by those with whom they identify then feelings

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[45] Cunningham 2003

of rejection and identity confusion may arise (Hershel 1995: 169-70). Active identity maintenance strategies are therefore important, such as maintaining whanaungatanga relationships, knowledge of whakapapa, cultural practice (such as attending hui and tangi), supportive friendships and the use of spiritual narratives (Gibson 1999; Bevan 2000: 95; Moeke-Maxwell 2003). Fair Māori participants in this and other theses maintained sufficient identity strength and coped with the stresses of disbelief and suspicion.

8.3   Cultural/Ethnic Identity Transition

8.3.1   Introduction

Identity crises can be described as normal times of transition, which can be characterised by mood swings, vulnerability, stress and tiredness (Barrow (1988: 132-3). They may involve indecision and confusion, and are commonly experienced in the general population. They can be associated with a need for greater spiritual fulfilment in life (Barrow 1988: 157). They are a time when a new identity is in the process of construction, prior to achieving comfort and internalisation with that identity (Cross (1994; Gibson 1999: 22). During this time a state of "in-between-ness" may be experienced, in which the old and new identities are "at war", which can cause the person to be very anxious. Fear of losing control or moving out of safe, familiar, territory also causes anxiety (Brown 1990: 327). Identity development models which describe a series of phases from (at least public) conformity with the majority group, through a period of ambivalence and confusion, to immersion in ethnic group and appropriate socialisation; followed by possible integration of collective identities (Helms 1995; Cross 1994; Kerwin & Ponterotto 1995; Gibson 1999) match the lives of some participants and are relevant to this chapter. But it is also suggested that these models may over-simplify the complex process of identity development for many mixed heritage people, particularly those who have experienced exceptional personal circumstances such as abuse. Brown (1990) suggests that mixed heritage people, because they hold two cultural frames of reference simultaneously, may need to reconstruct their self-image, their role and status in an on-going way throughout their lifetime (Cavell 1977; in Brown 1990: 320). This suggests a

particularly high rate of change and identity stress for mixed heritage people.

The following experience of "transition", related by Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal, appears to fit within the immersion-emmersion phase of Cross' and Helms' model. He had already experienced an earlier phases described by Cross (1994), that is, "pre-encounter" in which he received early socio-cultural exposure. He acknowledged his Māori ethnicity but considered it of little significance in his everyday life, that is, his ethnicity had not been fully explored (Phinney 1990). Then followed an "encounter" or exploration phase, prior to his transition, in which he actively sought to learn about certain Māori cultural forms, symbols and ancestors, and was deeply affected by them. His earlier identity and worldview were shaken, leading to an identity change or transformation (as described below). After the transition phase came a sense of comfort or "internalization" of the new identity, and its naturalistic expression in his everyday psychology; followed by long-term commitment to his Māori identity and expression of that commitment through action (Cross 94: Gibson 1999: 22).

8.3.2 Narrative analysis: Charles

Important factors inducing ethnic/cultural identity change for Charles were the need for distinctiveness from the Pākehā/European majority he was studying and socializing with (Breakwell 1996); and the ability to find forms of artistic and cultural expression within Māoridom which met the standards of merit he had internalized during his time in the mainstream education system (Helms 1995). He described feeling anxious about not wanting to lose control, and not wanting to enter a context in which he lacked confidence. "A major anxiety accompanying a rapid reconstitution of identity elements is a sense of losing the active choosing role which is essential to a sense of identity as a continuous biography of the past coupled with the anticipated future." (Brown 1990: 327). With early experiences of cultural exposure and inclusion/belonging, and then feeling motivated by both personal and academic interest as a young adult, Charles decided to immerse himself in his tribal socio-cultural context, Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki.

The experience was intense, and involved both rapturous and painful feelings. It was a period in which his passion for his new-found Māori identity was expressed in political as well as socio-cultural terms, and subsumed his Pākehā/European identity. Hence it was consistent with the immersion/emmersion phase as described by Cross (1994) and Helms (1995) in that it involved the idealization of Māori society, and de-integration of non-Māori or Pākehā/European society. It could be described as a "born-again" phase, or rebirth, in which he underwent a revolution of the mind (Greenland 1984), which can be likened to a religious conversion (Mattoon 1991: 49; De Vos 1995: 21; Becker 1973: 7). While this transition was a period of growth it was also a period of vulnerability and heightened emotion. Gibson (1999) cites emotional turmoil as a common experience of dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā women. Maslow (1954) also describes some of the pain experienced during such transition periods: "Stepping forward frequently means a parting and a separation, even a kind of death prior to rebirth, with consequent nostalgia, fear, loneliness and mourning. It often means giving up a simpler, easier and less effortful life in exchange for a more demanding, more responsible, difficult life. ...(it) therefore requires courage, will, choice, and strength in the individual, as well as protection, permission and encouragement from the environment."

Having achieved a level of comfort and internalization of a Māori identity, and a positive commitment to it, Charles chose to travel overseas and then return to Aotearoa New Zealand to work in an urban context, including Government agencies where he applied his abilities to working for Māoridom more generally and the wider society. Hence he appears to have achieved integrative awareness status in which collective identities are valued (Helms 1995). Kohlberg (1964) describes the process of achieving an identity or moral sense independently of others. This is related to the development of individual autonomy or *tino rangatiratanga* (Durie et al 2002: 26) or internal validation (Kohlberg 1964), and of *mana atua*, which can be translated as personal well-being (Reedy 1994; Tangaere 1997: 56). Becker (1973) emphasizes the need for individuals to have spiritual meaning. The link between spiritual health and mental health is recognized in the mental health

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community, particularly Māori. The link between ethnic/cultural identity security and well-being is also recognized (Durie et al 2002). For many people with Māori whakapapa and heritage, (no matter how genealogically distant) seeking a stronger ethnic identity as Māori therefore becomes an emotional/psychological/spiritual imperative. Bevan (2000: 95) lists reasons for fair or "white Māori", who have more choice, to identify as Māori as varying from social awareness of injustices, personal desire, need, political awareness and desire to change the balance of power.

8.4   Severe Ill-Health

8.4.1   Introduction

Emotional turmoil, depression and stress-related ill-health were found to be common experiences of dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā women (Gibson 1999; Moeke-Maxwell 2001). Lapsley, Nikora & Black (2002: 30,17) list identity conflicts amongst the stresses which can lead to ill-health. They do not specifically mention cultural identity conflicts in this list, but cite cultural resources as significant in recovery. Empirical work has shown that people experiencing identity threat or marginality experience psychiatric breakdown only where the threat is so extensive that it overwhelms the available coping strategies (Breakwell 1996: 107). Research in Aotearoa New Zealand which details periods of severe mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health as part of a process of development towards security of cultural/ethnic identity is scarce.

The following two examples show how the vulnerable identity development phases of "encounter" in which a person's current identity is shattered (Cross 1994), and "dissonance" characterized by ambivalence, confusion and anxiety (Helms 1994) can become extreme and result in ill-health for mixed heritage individuals. In both these cases, the state of transition towards a secure identity as Māori was particularly fraught, as a result of abuse experienced either by the participant or a parent. While their periods of ill-health lasted for several months, these two participants found new strength through the process of identity re-construction, after which they were better able to access cultural resources to assist the development of a secure identity as Māori. A third

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example briefly describes a breakdown experienced by a participant who was not in conflict about her identity or undergoing transition, but experienced stresses common to many Māori.

8.4.2   Narrative analysis: Kamiria.

Kamiria, with a background of being sexually abused by her father in childhood (Rule 1994: 24), had been working at Arohata Prison as a prison officer for ten years. As an advocate for Māori staff and inmates, she had carried the stresses of caring for women inmates, mostly Māori (some of the most vulnerable members of society) and working to fight racism and inequity in the prison system. After her mother and grandmother both died within a two year period, her coping strategies became overwhelmed (Breakwell 1996: 107) and she resigned in January 1985. She fell into a state of serious depression which lasted about a year. She also attempted suicide, but was saved by a timely visit from her sister. Through receiving counselling, she was able to talk about her abusive past. "Recovery is a personal process...which emerges from within, rather than being imposed by mental health professionals" (Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2002: 10). Because she had associated the abuse in her home with being Māori, she had initially resisted a public identity as Māori. Stephan (1992:57) wrote that when exposure to an individual's heritage group is perceived as negative, for example unpleasant experiences involving individual family members, this type of exposure weakens, rather than strengthens, identity with that group. But she found that by others' attitudes and her own sympathies it became inevitable that she would become identified as Māori, and hence she was forced to face the reasons why she had a negative association with being Māori.

Kamiria's health breakdown could be seen as fitting an "encounter" phase (Cross 1994) in which the relevance of a person's current identity is shattered, and/or the "dissonance" phase (Helms 1995), involving the repression of ethnicity-related information as a result of extreme anxiety. It was associated with the extreme nature of abuse in her past history; and with a lack of support within her whānau (Gibson 1999: 81). The loss of her mother and grandmother and consequent depression had been the "critical incidents"

(Gibson 1999) which had triggered a profound reassessment of her life and career (Cavell 1977; in Brown 1990: 320). Kamiria began a healing process which included receiving counselling and raising the issue of abuse within her hapū/iwi and a wider community context. She received sufficient support on this issue within her tribal community to overcome her association between being Māori and being abused. She was subsequently empowered to access the cultural resources available within her hapū and iwi to further assist her recovery and the development of her personal and cultural identity strength/security. Her commitment and socialisation as a tribal/ethnic group member was successfully internalized, and she was able to translate that commitment into transformative action (Helms 1995; Cross 1994).

The effects of the abuse within her whānau were long-term, and hence supporting others in overcoming these effects remained a significant and stressful role for Kamiria. The importance of whānau, as well as hapū and iwi, as a development unit is acknowledged (Durie 2002: 23). Cultural identity is a critical component of positive Māori development and is associated with well-being for Māori. A secure identity usually relies on access to Māori language, custom, land, the marae, whānau or Māori community networks. Attaining a secure identity is positively linked to higher health status, educational achievement and emotional/social adjustment (Durie et al 2002: 25). Once Kamiria had attained sufficient personal and cultural/ethnic identity strength, she was then able to support further whānau/hapū/iwi development as well as taking on a number of responsible paid work positions. Hence Kamiria has recovered mental/emotional/spiritual health, but the on-going demands of whānau/hapū/iwi mean she has to carefully manage stress levels, exercise and diet for the sake of her physical and mental/emotional/spiritual health.

8.4.3   Narrative analysis: Rawiri.

Rawiri related a period of severe mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health which was associated with his journey towards a more secure identity as Māori. After early socialisation primarily as Pākehā/European, Rawiri had attempted to gain greater socialisation and enculturation as Māori at boarding school with limited success. He found that teacher training and practice was a more

supportive environment in which to extend his exposure and identification. Transferring to a more remote location, he entered a phase consistent with the "dissonance status" as described by Helms involving ambivalence, confusion and anxiety (1995: Gibson 1999: 29): "There were all these things going on within me that weren't resolved. I had lots of confusions about being Māori, about identity as a Māori, in terms of my sexuality, and in terms of Christianity or my *taha wairua.*" Seeking further exploration of his ethnic identity, he enrolled in a six-week Māori language immersion course. Consistent with a phase of immersion/emmersion as described by Cross (1994) this period was characterised by intense emotions and anxiety as Rawiri attempted to deconstruct an old identity and construct a new one.

The next occurrence, which led to a major breakdown in health and well-being, was that Rawiri decided to advance his ethnic identification further by seeking belonging within his tribal rohe in the Far North. He began travelling to his tribal rohe, alone, but experienced such severe fear and anxiety that he had to abandon the trip. This crisis appears to be consistent with the "encounter" phase (Cross 1994; Gibson 1999: 22) in which experiences of cultural and ethnic exposure "shatter the relevance of the person's current identity and worldview, inducing an identity change or transformation". Marijuana, homosexuality, the long-term effects of abuse experienced by his mother, and its affects on Rawiri's upbringing and home environment, were all factors. This meant he experienced a lack of support for a Māori identity within his immediate whānau and home. It was likely to also have been associated with a fear about losing control (Brown 1990) and about losing continuity of identity (Breakwell 1996), and an exaggerated perception of contrast and difference between Māori and Pākehā/European ethnic/cultural groups (see section 1.4.9 re bi-culturalism).

Rawiri's symptoms included severe anxiety attacks and delusions - "for example, I went with my brother one time to visit this person and I freaked out completely because I thought they were speaking another language. I thought they were speaking about me." Finding no assistance from local mental health services or church, Rawiri disclosed his homosexuality to his

parents and slowly recovered with the help of sympathetic friends. Rawiri said he stayed at home, "not coping" for two or three months, and then gradually began regaining self-esteem over the next six months. Rawiri returned to Christchurch and gradually began teaching again. "It was about doing things again and realising I could still do them, and that I was still the same person underneath." Overcoming a fear of failure was significant in his recovery. Lapsley, Nikora & Black (2002: 56) state that journeys toward recovery often involve coping with failure, forgiving yourself, understanding your own problems, learning to appreciate your own company, and taking time to heal. Supportive people and environments are needed to facilitate this process. Constructing an identity which is different from one's parents is particularly difficult (Erikson 1980: 78).

Rawiri gradually increased his teaching hours as he learnt to cope with teaching again. He then applied to teach within his tribal area of Te Kao in the Far North. Rawiri: "I applied to go there and this time I wasn't scared. It was really good. I'd found my strength. In a way it was quite symbolic really. The first time I just wasn't together, I didn't really know where I was going, and what I was doing. Then I broke down and built up and felt a lot stronger and clearer about my direction and about being Māori." Rawiri's stay within his tribal rohe was a more successful or advanced immersion/emmersion phase than his language immersion at Polytech (Cross 1994; Helms 1995), in that he now internalized a new identity as Māori, strengthened a positive commitment to his ethnicity, and developed more complex understandings of his hapū history and social reality. By overcoming his fear, and finding people he could relate to there, he was able to find new security of identity as a member of an extended whānau and hapū, crucial to his identity as Māori in a more pan-tribal sense. After achieving this he too (like Charles), decided to get a broader perspective, travelling elsewhere in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas. Hence he was able to value his English/European as well as Māori identities, and achieved integrative awareness status (Helms 1995).

This example indicates how ethnic/cultural identity issues can contribute to severe mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health; suggests that a lack of support for

a particular identity within the immediate whānau can be a factor (in this case related to the abuse experienced by his mother); and highlights the inadequacies of the health system and wider community in providing expert assistance and support. Again, the experience of mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health was found to be transformative and eventually contributive to positive development. Accessing cultural resources as well as a sense of belonging within a tribal context were important in developing security of identity as Māori, which could then be sustained within broader communities both in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas.

8.4.4 Narrative analysis: Kiri.

The mental/emotional/spiritual health breakdown experienced by this well-educated, hard-working, culturally and ethnically secure mixed heritage woman (aged 52) was a result of a number of stresses in her past and current life, and was not related to ethnic/cultural identity transition or development. These stresses included the loss of her husband in an accident some years previously; numerous tangihanga; conflict and land claim issues within her whānau/hapū; and working for some of the most disadvantaged Māori in society, including inmates at Arohata, and women and children in a Māori women's refuge. While she considered herself strong, confident and optimistic, she had begun to suffer from both asthma and arthritis, and the physical and emotional demands of her job prior to the interview had stretched her coping mechanisms beyond their limit (Breakwell 1996). She resigned to rest and recover for a period of months, with the support of whānau, and in this way recovered good health.

This example of emotional/spiritual health breakdown experienced by a mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā woman of middle years indicates stresses which may be experienced by many responsible and caring Māori people. These include: the high rates of early death in the Māori community taking an emotional toll on the health of those remaining; stresses associated with challenging Pākehā-dominated systems for land or Treaty rights; conflict/troubles within whanāu/hapū/iwi; stresses associated with caring for vulnerable disadvantaged Māori; and the pressures of providing for a family

as a sole parent. It relates less to dual ethnicity than to the heavy demands on educated, committed Māori in caring for their whanau/hapū/iwi and earning a living.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlines on-going stresses on identity strength and therefore mental/emotional/spiritual well-being, associated with being Māori in a predominantly non-Māori society; trying to integrate two contrasting and sometimes conflicting sets of norms and values within the individual; the prevalence of phenotypical belief systems and their impact on "non-phenotypical" Māori; vulnerabilities experienced in relation to personal or cultural identity, particularly in a phase of transition or exploration preceding attainment of a positive ethnic identity; and the possibility of mental/emotional/spiritual health breakdown occurring as a result of identity stress overwhelming coping strategies.

This analysis indicates that participants who were brought up in a sufficiently nurturing environment with positive exposure to and involvement with their tribal or local Māori community were able to successfully integrate the two cultural/ethnic aspects most easily over time. Others faced barriers in their efforts to develop a stronger Māori ethnic identity. These barriers related to social distance, and were experienced both internally (self-perceived difference) and externally ie through others' attitudes towards them. Those who had the most serious mental/emotional/spiritual health difficulties in relation to ethnic identity transition or exploration were those who had either experienced abuse themselves, or had experienced the effects of abuse on their Māori parent within their own extended whānau or hapū which resulted in social distance from that ethnic group. The process of building identity strength as Māori can also be experienced as particularly difficult or traumatic as a result of other distancing factors such as adoption, family assimilation into mainstream society over generations (ie loss of contact with whānau/hapū/iwi, disrupted transmission of cultural knowledge), and genealogical distance.

While the small number of participants in this thesis gives it very limited statistical significance, nevertheless, the number of individuals (three) experiencing periods of severe mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health within this group is a matter of concern. It suggests that further research is needed on the processes of ethnic identity development and psycho-social stress in relation to well-being for mixed heritage Māori/ Pākehā.

This thesis found that a number of the mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā participants interviewed related life narratives which reflected ethnic identity development patterns as outlined by American psychologists (Helm 1995; Cross 1994 etc), that is, they involved encounter, immersion/emmersion, internalization and internalization/commitment phases. Phinney's (1989, 1990) model of ethnic identity exploration and achievement was also applicable. It would therefore seem that these models, developed in relation to African-American and other migrant American ethnicities, are worthy of further research, and possible use in the field of mental/emotional/spiritual health, in relation to Māori and dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā identity development in Aotearoa New Zealand. Other participants, particularly those who developed either a Māori or a dual Māori/Pākehā identity early in life, did not experience such distinctive phases of transition and internalization, and were able to develop an ethnic or integrated identity with relatively little emotional turmoil over time.

Internalization of and commitment to ethnic identity was usually, but not always, achieved in early adulthood. But it should be emphasized that, for several people, ethnic identity achievement was not the end of the journey – it was only one phase in a journey towards integration of a dual ethnicity (Māori/Pākehā) identity, which involved on-going social tension, emotional turmoil and complexity. Some participants appeared to have achieved either strong ethnic identification, or strong ethnic and mainstream identification. Others (perhaps particularly those who were non-phenotypically Māori) experienced on-going identity stresses, including disbelief, social discomfort, rejection/exclusion, which at times threatened to undermine their belief/faith in themselves as Māori and their sense of belonging to the Māori ethnic

group. However, higher-level cultural knowledge, greater self-understanding, and an increasing ability to make independent judgements can be attained with maturity (Kohlberg 1964), hence the impact of these stresses on self-belief can reduce over time. Individuals develop greater understanding of their own rights and strengths as dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā as well as the limitations of others in grasping these complexities. This thesis focussed only on mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā, though similar patterns of identity development could also be experienced by sole Māori and non-Māori seeking to attain bi-culturalism.

Chapter Nine

He Kupu Whakakapinga

Final Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1   Final Conclusions

> *He pukepuke maunga, e pikitia e te tangata;*
>
> *he pukepuke moana e ekeina e te waka.*
>
> A steep mountain can be climbed;
>
> a choppy sea can be navigated.

This whakatauki, or proverb, in the context of this thesis, relates to the challenges and complexities for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā individuals in journeying towards personal and cultural identity security, and also acknowledges their resourcefulness, resilience and ability to overcome hurdles.

This thesis has focussed on two related identity development processes – the process of developing greater strength and confidence in a Māori cultural and ethnic identity, and the process of integrating within the individual two different but overlapping ethnicities – Māori and Pākehā/European. While it is very important to maintain distinctiveness and a level of social cohesion as Māori, in fact most Māori have been forced to become bi-cultural and adapt to colonization, far more than Pākehā/Europeans have had to or chosen to become bi-cultural and adapt to Māori society. Individuals who are of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage usually have increased opportunity (compared to sole Māori or sole Pākehā/European) to become socialised and enculturated in both societies. Many have experienced some degree of control over the level and quality of their involvement in each society, which may change over time. While supporting cultural distinctiveness and the particular rights of tangata whenua under the Treaty of Waitangi, this thesis acknowledges the reality of the "borderlands" – the fact that many people have rights to belong on both sides of the cultural/ethnic boundary, and that many develop and practice those boundary crossings as appropriate for them. "The development and

negotiation of identity invariably takes place back and forth across cultural boundaries"(Durie 1997: 157).

This thesis has also attempted to situate an analysis of the social psychology of contemporary individuals within an historical and statistical context, both within Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally. In undertaking this research it became apparent that there was a serious lack of statistical data relating to the interface and overlap between the two major ethnic groups, Māori and Pākehā/European, for example, relating to inter-ethnic marriage/de facto relationships, inter-ethnic mobility, and immigration/emigration. The three-yearly census has collected and published data on contemporary dual/multiple Māori ethnicity arguably only since 1991 when it asked about "ethnic group" in association with "belonging". Data on dual/multiple ethnicity in the health sector is collected but only published in aggregated form. Hence a lack of statistical data has been a limitation in the researching of background information for this thesis, and recommendations for change are detailed in the final section.

One of the reasons for this lack of data was the Pākehā/European emphasis on "race" or blood quantum definitions of Māori and their desire to draw distinct boundaries between Pākehā/European and the "other" groups who might be a problem, including Māori. Recognition of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity by statisticians came after the introduction of self-identification in the 1970's, but the broader aspects of ethnicity, beyond "blood quantum", such as social association, culture, and political commitment are still poorly understood and recognized by the wider society. Another reason for the lack of data on dual/multiple ethnicity is that Māori have not advocated for it. There has been a reluctance to acknowledge the extent of cross-ethnic marriage for fear of weakening political claims, and a concern that highlighting diversity within Māoridom may undermine social cohesion. And because the disadvantage experienced by sole Māori is relatively worse, it is reasonable that research priority has not tended to focus on dual ethnicity Māori/Pākehā specifically (though the disadvantage of Māori/Pākehā in comparison with non-Māori justifies their inclusion in programmes targetted at those of Māori ethnicity

generally). Hence dual and multiple Māori/non-Māori ethnicity has been a research topic which has slipped between both Māori and Pākehā fields of vision, and has been largely neglected until very recent years.

The subjective experience and identity development processes of a small number of dual heritage Māori/Pākehā have been outlined and analysed in this thesis, and it is believed that commonality of themes experienced within the group suggests applicability beyond the group also. The researcher is very grateful for the generosity and courage of participants in sharing their life narratives. An important factor in the development of identity strength as Māori is belief or faith in oneself as Māori, which involves the development of commitment and the practice of appropriate behaviour (Walker 1989, Foote 1951; Helms 1995; Gibson 1999). The development and assertion of a Māori identity is particularly difficult within a society in which Māori are socially, economically and politically disadvantaged in comparison to the predominant Pākehā/European ethnic group. Yet, for reasons usually related to personal/spiritual development and well-being, most dual heritage participants made a conscious decision to further explore and strengthen their identity and ethnicity as Māori. Deciding to develop or retain a Māori ethnic and/or cultural identity requires a degree of willpower and faith, generated from within the individual, which needs to be supported by other people, such as whānau, relatives, friends, and work colleagues. The minority status and assimilation pressures experienced by Māori need a counter-balance of social cohesion amongst Māori - both in validating ethnic identity, and in building cultural and political strength. This pressure towards unity amongst Māori creates another contrasting political force, current or pressure, making dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity a delicate balancing act.

Participants were brought up with varied levels of exposure and involvement in Māori social or cultural contexts. While only one was raised with a significant level of understanding of the Māori language, childhood experiences of inclusion in a Māori social and cultural context were also significant in participants' awareness of their Māori ethnicity, and their desire to access further knowledge in later life. Most had positive early nurturing

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experiences, socialised with people from a range of ethnic groups, and had a degree of choice about the degree to which their ethnic identity would be developed. For many participants, school was a context which did not support the assertion or development of a Māori or mixed heritage identity. But most participants were relatively advantaged and successful, both socially and academically, at school. Hence they maintained or developed reasonably high self-esteem and felt positive about their career and life options, despite their minority ethnic identity being of low significance in their lives at that time. Success and acceptance within a mainstream social and educational context; a lack of socialisation as Māori in early life; a non-phenotypically Māori appearance; racism and inequality between the ethnic groups – these were all factors which participants experienced as increasing social distance between themselves and their Māori relations. These factors added to the challenge of developing belief in themselves as Māori, and hence developing cultural/ethnic identity strength. Personal experiences such as adoption, emotional neglect, and abuse were also significant distancing factors for some participants.

Racism was experienced by dual heritage participants in this thesis in various forms: Pākehā/European (or other) racism towards them as Māori; Māori "racism" towards them as (perceived) Pākehā; and the suspicion or distrust of individuals towards them as dual heritage Māori/Pākehā. These attitudes tended to be based on appearance or superficial "blood quantum", biological assessments, and did not reflect the broader aspects of ethnicity traditionally understood by Māori (MacDonald 1976). Though these broader aspects may have been historically understood by Māori, many Māori today also respond initially to strangers according to narrow phenotypical belief systems. Rules of belonging or membership become more rigid within oppressed groups and during times of conflict. Hence, fair-skinned or non-phenotypical Māori participants were accepted as Māori amongst their whānau and hapū, but often continued to experience disbelief of their Māori identity on meeting strangers, particularly Pākehā/European. This was an on-going stress for some participants. On-going stresses for participants also related to non-validation of dual ethnicity, ambiguous belonging, contrasting norms and values

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between the two major ethnic groups, and tension between conservative and contemporary Māori world views (Cunningham 2000: 63).

This thesis demonstrated the ability of dual heritage Māori/Pākehā to explore and achieve a Māori ethnic identity in adolescence or adult life. This was achieved through periodically or intensively spending time with whanaunga, learning language, customs and history, and becoming involved with whānau/hapū or other Maori social organisations and cultural practices. The Pākehā/European predominance of most mainstream schooling, alongside maturity factors such as increased ego-strength, opportunity, intellectual independence, and more advanced awareness of career aspirations were possible reasons why many participants' identity development as Māori was delayed until adulthood.

The process was affected not only by intellectual and physical access to cultural and ethnic resources, but also by internal and external barriers, such as rejection, social exclusion and negative associations. Significant personal experiences, as well as access to cultural resources, need to be considered in examining the development of cultural and ethnic identity. Issues relating to abuse, either for the individual or a parent, were significant in both cases in which breakdown occurred during the identity development process. Early negative experiences make individuals more vulnerable to mental/emotional/spiritual health problems in later life, even if they apparently coped well with them initially (Lapsley, Nikora & Black 2002). Vulnerability is associated with certain phases of the ethnic identity exploration and achievement process, particularly for those with earlier negative associations. This thesis included two examples of individuals who experienced periods of mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health when their vulnerability became extreme and their coping strategies were overwhelmed. Accessing cultural resources and developing whanaungatanga links were important aspects of the recovery process. Hence while ethnic identity development can be associated with vulnerability during certain phases, it is a constructive process which ultimately leads to greater strength and well-being.

Several participants had to overcome significant social and psychological barriers, related to social distance and contrasting norms and values, in developing relationships with whanaunga as adults. As they developed, these relationships usually led to opportunities for immersion within a tribal context which affirmed a sense of belonging and identity as tribal members, and/or as Māori in a broader sense. Social acceptance as and by Māori was crucial for the development of a positive commitment to Māori ethnicity. Developing relationships with whanaunga also led to participants taking on greater responsibilities within their tribe and within the wider Māori community ie the development of mana tangata, or self-esteem through contributing (Reedy 1994; Tangaere 1997). Learning the Māori language was considered important by nearly all participants in achieving socialisation and acceptance as Māori. This was an on-going process throughout life, but could be interrupted, delayed or halted by experiences of rejection or non-acceptance. Political commitment was also important, both in motivating participants to learn the reo and customs (including norms and values) but also in gaining social acceptance amongst Māori, particularly for fair Māori.

Whether it built on Māori cultural/ethnic exposure in childhood or not, the process of developing and internalizing a Māori ethnic identity as an adolescent or adult was profound, permanently embedded in the psyche and wide-reaching in its effect on participants' lives. Several participants in this thesis found that retaining identity strength as Māori and serving the Māori community required such extensive commitment that it became their predominant identity, though they also continued to acknowledge their Pākehā/European (or in one case Celtic) heritage and identity. Most participants found ways to translate their commitment to Māori ethnicity into both their personal and working lives. In this way their sense of belonging was affirmed, their ethnic identity secured, and their self-esteem strengthened.

The on-going process of integration of dual identities, paralleling or following the achievement of identity strength as Māori, was perhaps not so likely to be associated with vulnerability or emotional turmoil, but was nonetheless significant and was referred to by several participants. Their social and

cultural affiliations were wide and varied, and included both Māori and non-Māori, as is common amongst contemporary Māori (Durie 1995a, 1995b). By exploring and strengthening their Māori ethnicity (in addition to their Pākehā/European ethnicity) participants were able to relate to and integrate the heritage of both parents; satisfy their own need for continuity/self-esteem/distinctiveness (Breakwell 1986); enrich their experience and understanding; and were better able to contribute more fully to society, drawing on the resources and strengths of both socio-cultural streams. Hence this thesis argues that attaining confident bi-cultural ambidexterity or dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity is an achievement which has been poorly understood, under-recognized, and under-valued in our society.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa and other research (Murchie 1984; Ministry of Social Development 2001: 68) suggests a link between having a strong traditionally Māori cultural identity, and spiritual and cultural well-being (2002: 46). Participants interviewed for this thesis were generally confident, articulate and successful. While this thesis did not include questions about physical health, it did provide insights into both "secure" and "positive" identity as identified in Te Hoe Nuku Roa, see section 1.1.1 (Durie 1998). It appears from the limited number of life narratives recorded for this thesis that a secure identity (extensive involvement and understanding) as Māori can be maintained at the same time as a range of other social and cultural affiliations. Full social and cultural assimilation was not necessary for a secure identity as Māori to be maintained. It would also appear that a positive identity as Māori (with a lower level of involvement and understanding) was sometimes deliberate, can be associated with a secure personal identity, and does not necessarily indicate a lack of access to Māori ethnicity or cultural resources.

The lives of participants in this study reflected a non-linear pattern of development typical of bi-racial people (Brown 1990; Miller 1992). They were characterized by: periods of working within Māori and non-Māori contexts; periods of transition and profound change in terms of cultural and ethnic identity (mostly Pākehā-to-Māori) associated with heightened emotion and vulnerability; and change in their career histories. They were also

characterized by high levels of achievement and success in their chosen fields of endeavour, and high levels of self-determination (tino rangatiratanga). Their participation in the economy of mainstream society was facilitated by their self-motivation and achievement in the education system. Through application, maintaining social networks and developing self-validation, most participants achieved a level of comfort and familiarity with both cultures. These participants were also fortunate in their access to whanaungatanga and cultural resources. Not all individuals of dual Māori/Pākehā heritage will have as many opportunities and choice about how they express their hybridity (Meredith 2000: 2).

This thesis supports the work of other researchers (Broughton et al 2000; Moeke-Maxwell 2003; Gibson 1999; Meredith 1999) in extending understanding of a "third space" between Māori and Pākehā (Meredith 1999), and between the two groups described by Durie (1993; in THNR 1999) ie the traditional, extensively culturally-involved Māori and the assimilated or mainstream Māori. It found that many participants were significantly involved with traditional or contemporary tribal or pan-Māori activities, and their ethnicity and identity as Māori was very important to them, but they also had significant non-Māori social and cultural affiliations. As well as having achieved a strong sense of Māori ethnicity and identity, they were well-integrated into mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, and comfortable in both socio-cultural contexts[46]. Some also had social links overseas which were significant to their identities (eg English relations, anti-racism networks, indigenous connections). The intermediate level of cultural participation and ethnic identification of many young dual/multiple ethnicity Māori (between sole Māori and people with Māori descent but not ethnicity) has been indicated by the research of Broughton et al (2000). Cultural identities are not fixed in the past, but undergo constant transformation as a result of the interplay of social dynamics, ethnic group politics and history. Māori and Māori/Pākehā can be culturally distinctive and loyal to their minority ethnic group, but also members of broader national and international communities.

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[46] This is also true of many who describe themselves as "sole Māori", see Broughton et al (2000: 26)

While a sole Māori ethnicity may be "threatened" in that it is a minority identity within a majority culture, a dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity position can be seen as particularly "threatened" as a minority within a minority. But those who find the strength and commitment required to maintain dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity may arguably be of particular value to society. The high numbers of people self-identifying as dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity has been indicated in the last three censes. There is a growing awareness that such "marginal" people or "edgewalkers" (Krebs 1999), being bi- or multi-cultural with the ability to identify with more than one cultural or ethnic group, have a wide range of useful competencies and sensitivities (Hall 1992; Ramirez, Castaneda & Cox 1977). They can be "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-between-ness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference" (Meredith 1999; Hoogvelt 1997: 158). Their potential includes creative integration of both cultural streams in either the arts or science, and the ability to productively translate and mediate between both cultural/ethnic groups.

A parallel is suggested in terms of customary *takawaenga* (go-betweens) in traditional Māori society. Takawaenga were the descendants of inter-tribal marriages undertaken to build peaceful relations, and were seen as the natural mediators in any dispute that arose between the two iwi at a later date (I. Nicholson, personal communication, 30/1/2000). Like these customary takawaenga, dual heritage Māori/Pākehā can have the potential to liase between, bridge and weave together the two major ethnic groups in this country. But the ability of bridges to carry strain is affected by their resilience, the distance between the two sides, and the load they are bearing. Political forces and currents emanating from both ethnic groups, or outside of both, can impact on this. Hence providing support for dual ethnicity Māori/ Pākehā, and enhancing their visibility and recognition, is particularly important for the future of race relations in this country.

In examining the history of the twentieth century, it appears that predominant

attitudes amongst Māori have evolved from acceptance of assimilationist policies encouraging identification with the dominant cultural identity (ie Pākehā/European), to a resistance identity in opposition to those policies which draws heavily on pre-European traditions and has its own heirarchy of authenticity (Myhill 2003). As with gender politics (Walker 2001), progressive identity politics can be expected to result in the emergence of subjectively constructed identities, including dual and multiple ethnic identities, beyond the limitations of both assimilation and resistance, which also seek to transform existing social structures. However, the ability to maintain and defend dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity continues to be affected by the ebb and tide of politics. Unless there is significant constitutional and government reform, based on partnerships principles as espoused by the Treaty of Waitangi and affirmed by the Waitangi Tribunal, the social and political development of Māori remains vulnerable to the opinions and mood of the majority.

A concluding whakatauki:

Whiria te kaha tuatinitini
Whiria te kaha tuamanomano

Weave together the strength of the many strands
Weave together the strength of the thousands.

Tēnā tatou katoa.

9.2 Recommendations for change and further research

The extent and experience of integration and overlap between the two major ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori and Pākehā has been under-emphasized and obscured for many decades. Hence there has been an absence of data collection and analysis on the topic, and a number of areas of need and suggested research were identified in this thesis. Some of them are as follows:

9.2.1 Data re Māori/Pākehā marriage or de facto relationships

Data relating to the numbers of marriages or de facto relationships involving a Māori and a non-Māori partner has been only rarely and sporadically collected and published. The high rates of Māori/Pākehā marriage have been noted by Pool (1991: 14), Te Rangihiroa (1924), and Butterworth & Mako (1989: 1). Some data was collected by Harre (1966), and Butterworth (1988). But data collection systems are not in place to regularly capture and publish such data. Some examples are that there is no ethnicity question on marriage registration forms, and there is no question about ethnicity of partner in census forms. Limited data on the ethnicity of parents with children in private dwellings was made available in 1998 (1996 Census, Families and Households), and some data is also available on the ethnicity of the parents of recently-born babies (R. Didham, personal communication, Statistics New Zealand, 23/9/03). However, there is no consistent publication of data on inter-ethnic marriage or de facto relationships which shows trends over time. With the heightened recognition and statistical significance of dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity over the last decade, it is apparent that the matter is of sufficient public and personal interest to warrant improved data collection and publication.

9.2.2 Data on Pākehā-to-Māori inter-ethnic mobility

While Māori-to-Pākehā inter-ethnic mobility is reasonably well documented (eg Pool & Pole 1987: 9), Pākehā-to-Māori ethnic switching has been rarely considered. Preliminary work in the 1980's, though limited in its statistical validity, suggested a 7 percent gain to the Māori population resulting from Pākehā-to-Māori ethnic switching in an inter-censal period (between two censes), (Statistics New Zealand 23/9/03). This was countered by an 11

percent loss from Māori-to-Pākehā ethnic switching, and hence the net loss to the Māori population was four percent. However, instead of the public being informed only of the net loss figure, information on Pākehā-to-Māori inter-ethnic mobility is also significant and worthy of note. Evidence for such changes in self-identification, and its subjectivity, are indicated in this thesis and others (eg Bevan 2000). Those who have a degree of choice about ethnicity are most likely to be mixed heritage Māori. In America, growth in the American Indian population from 1960-1990 came particularly from urban Indians, often married to non-Indians, who were more "blended" into the American mainstream (Nagel 1995).

9.2.3 Ethnicity Data Re Immigration/Emigration

Because of the extensive Māori emigration in the 1980's, the Māori population is now susceptible to inward migration, both from return migration and the inwards migration of Māori born overseas. Many of these people will be of dual and multiple Māori ethnicity. Data on ethnicity would be improved by the inclusion of an ethnicity question on "arrival" and "departure" forms produced by Customs New Zealand (Wereta 1995; www.statistics.govt.nz Age, Sex & Ethnicity, 2000). This question should include dual and multiple ethnicity categories, and this data should be publicly available. There has been no ethnicity data collected on these forms since 1986.

9.2.4 Dual/Multiple Ethnicity Data in Health Sector

Blakely, Robson & Woodward (2002) argue for consistent and complete ethnicity data in the health sector – using a standard ethnicity question consistent with the census, allowing for identification with more than one ethnic group, and ensuring each person is asked. This thesis also recommends that specific data on dual and multiple ethnicity Māori and their use of the health services, particularly the mental health services, be made available for public access. As researchers gain greater understanding of diversity within the Māori ethnic group, there is a need for specific data in relation to diversity within the Māori ethnic group Te Hoe Nuku Roa and other research (Murchie 1984; Ministry of Social Development 2001: 68) suggests a link between having a strong traditionally Māori cultural identity, and spiritual and cultural

well-being (2002: 46). Participants interviewed for this thesis were generally confident, articulate and successful. While this thesis did not include questions about physical health, it did provide insights into both "secure" and "positive" identity as identified in Te Hoe Nuku Roa, see section 1.1.1 (Durie 1998). It appears from the limited number of life narratives recorded for this thesis that a secure identity (extensive involvement and understanding) as Māori can be maintained at the same time as a range of other social and cultural affiliations. Full social and cultural assimilation was not necessary for a secure identity as Māori to be maintained. It would also appear that a positive (a lower level of involvement and understanding) identity as Māori was sometimes deliberate, can be associated with a secure personal identity, and does not necessarily indicate a lack of access to Māori ethnicity or cultural resources.

9.2.5   Qualitative Data on Children's Ethnicity

Do Māori children in mainstream schools today identify as Pākehā until the age of 9-10, and then experience a change to a Māori identity, as suggested by the "picture and doll" research of Vaughan (1962), Hills (1964) and Awatere (1974)? It is understood that such research had its limitations and have been described as "blunt" quantitative instruments, which are a better measure of group response to various social forces than the meaning of race or ethnicity to the individual. Could an improved method of research be used today? Could particular children describe their own subjective experience of this change in some detail to sensitive researchers with expertise? If children have an initial desire to socialise and acculturate as Pākehā/European which is not successful, is this to do with experiencing discrimination/racism from pupils or teachers, failure at schoolwork, or feeling inadequately recognized as Māori or as an individual? Is the transition a period of vulnerability? What kind of feelings are associated with it? How does it affect their behaviour? How do their feelings about themselves change before and after the transition? Is the change only exploratory and possibly temporary or is it "achieved", ie permanent and long-term (Phinney 1990: 503). Further research on these questions could facilitate educational success and positive ethnicity for Māori children in mainstream schools.

King (1974), Brown (1990) and Gibbs (1987) suggest that children and adolescents rarely have the strength or ego-identity development required to achieve bi-cultural competence or a positive dual ethnicity identity. The research of McDonald (1976) and Wilson (1987) suggest that many children do have a positive sense of belonging to both. Evidence collected for this thesis suggests that, although few participants had a high level of cultural knowledge in childhood, their early experiences of inclusion and acceptance in a Māori social and cultural context were significant in their awareness of themselves as being Māori and desire to access knowledge later. Awareness of ethnicity can lie dormant and unexplored for many years before being revived and developed in adolescence, early adulthood or later. With the growth of Māori language immersion education initiatives, many more children are being raised with significant exposure to both languages and cultures. More research is needed on the ability of children to achieve bi-cultural competence and a positive dual ethnicity identity.

Māori language immersion pre-schools (kohanga reo) and schools (kura kaupapa Māori), alongside initiatives for adults to learn the Māori language (such as Te Ataarangi), have been developments which have meant many parents, whose own upbringing was often predominantly culturally Pākehā/European, have been able to raise their children with a primary and secondary socialisation as Māori over the last two decades. Further research is needed on the strengths gained (and whether there are any weaker educational or social aspects) by those *tamariki*/rangatahi and their ability to also integrate with the broader society of Aotearoa New Zealand.

9.2.6   Educational Programmes Re Dual and Multiple Ethnicity

Due to a combination of reasons, including political and social, there has been a reluctance to acknowledge dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity, and commonalities (genetic and otherwise) across cultural/ethnic groups. The absence of validation and acknowledgement of dual heritage Māori/Pākehā is a stress on the mental/emotional/spiritual health of those individuals which needs to be addressed. While some initial measures have been taken, including public

talks, a hui, and a radio programme in 2001 (see section 2.6), further research is needed on how to further understanding in the education, social support and health sectors.

There is also a need for broad public education about the experience of ethnic identity development and achievement; the social, cultural and political (as well as the whakapapa or biological) aspects of identification as Māori, and the inadequacy of phenotypical belief systems. Various media could be used for such education, such as radio, television, film and print media.

9.2.7 Māori Ethnicity and Descent Groups, and Disadvantage

The intermediate socio-economic and educational status of dual and multiple ethnicity Māori/Pākehā between sole Māori and non-Māori is recognized in this thesis. Those who have Māori descent but not Māori ethnicity are more advantaged again. Therefore it would appear that the Māori ethnic group, which in 2001 included 5,322 people with no Māori descent who self-identified as ethnically Māori, is more closely associated with disadvantage than the Māori whakapapa or descent group. There needs to be further discussion on the validity of Māori ethnicity for people with no Māori descent, and to what extent such people share disadvantage and entitlements. Further research is needed on the subjective experience of these individuals which results in their sense of Māori ethnicity.

9.2.8 Quantitative Research on Identity-Related Ill-Health

The extent of ill-health described by participants in this study was a matter of concern and suggests the need for further research on the relationship between identity stress for mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā and mental/emotional/spiritual ill-health. There is a need for more extensive, quantitative research on the extent to which children, teenagers or adults are affected by confusion, non-acceptance, non validation and stress as mixed heritage Māori/Pākehā. Surveying mental health consumers themselves is one possibility. Another possibility is to survey counsellors and other mental health staff on the extent to which these issues affect their clients.

9.2.9 Ethnic Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality

A limitation of this thesis was that issues relating to sexuality and spirituality, as they relate to dual Māori/Pākehā ethnicity, were not explored, because of the extreme personal and sensitive nature of these issues. This would be an interesting and challenging topic for further research.

9.2.10 Working together for the future

A multi-ethnic association has been established in the United States which provides social support, information and advocacy for individuals of dual and multiple ethnicity. There is a need in Aotearoa New Zealand for researchers and professionals with expertise in dual ethnicity, particularly dual or multiple Māori/Pākehā ethnicity, to continue to work together to achieve similar aims. Both the numbers of people identifying themselves as of dual/multiple Māori/Pākehā ethnicity, and the level of interest shown in initiatives already undertaken, indicate the need for on-going action. Further investigation is required into funding sources, networking and the possibility of establishing an organisational body to advance these aims.

ake:	own, self, upwards
aroha:	love
ate:	liver
atua:	god
awarua:	two rivers, central passage in a house
hā:	breath
iwi:	tribe
haerenga:	journey
hapū:	sub-tribe
harakeke:	flax
hōhonu:	deep
kai:	food
kaiārahi:	guide
kai karanga	caller
kanohi:	face
kapahaka:	Māori performing arts
karakia:	prayer
karanga:	call
kaumātua:	elder/s
kete:	kit, woven basket
kia tūpato:	being very careful
kite:	see; sight;vision
kōrero:	talk
kōhanga reo:	language nest
kuia:	female elder
kupu:	word
kura kaupapa Māori:	school with a Māori philosophy or purpose
ngā tangata awarua:	dual heritage Māori/ Pākehā
mana:	authority, power, prestige
manaakitanga:	hospitality, care
mana ake:	individuality
mana atua:	personal well-being
manawa:	heart, stomach, breath
mano:	thousand
manuhiri:	guest, visitor
marae:	traditional Māori gathering place
mātauranga:	knowledge,education
mau rākau:	a form of physical discipline
mauri:	vitality, life force
mihi	greet
moana:	sea, ocean
mokopuna:	grandchild, grandchildren
mōteatea:	lament
muri:	back, behind
mutunga:	end,conclusion,finish
ngeri:	rhythmic chant with actions
noho marae:	marae stay, usually overnight

ora:	health, well-being, life
pakeke:	adult, elder
pakepakehā:	mythical, light-skinned beings
pani:	bereaved
pāua:	mollusc, haliotis species
papakainga:	ancestral settlement
pepeha:	proverb, tribal saying
pou:	pole, post, support
pounamu	greenstone
pūkana:	to stare with bulging eyes
pukepuke:	hilly, small hill
puna:	spring, source
pūtake:	cause, reason, root
rangahau:	research
rangatiratanga:	control, sovereignty, chieftainship
reo:	language
roa:	long
rohe:	district
rongoā:	cure, remedy
rua:	two
taha:	side
tāhuhu:	ridgepole
taiaha:	spear-like weapon
taiohinga:	youth
tamariki:	children
tangata:	person, people
tangi:	cry, weep, mourn
tangihanga:	funeral, wake
tāniko	ornamental border of cloak, mat etc
taonga:	treasure, valuables
tapa:	edge, side
tapere:	amusement
tāwāhi:	overseas, the other side
Te Hoe Nuku Roa:	the long-distance paddle
te ao Māori:	the Māori world
tika:	correct
tikanga:	custom, habit, practice
timatatanga:	beginning, start
tipu:	to grow
tirohanga:	sight, perspective
toto:	blood
tuku iho:	pass down
tukutuku	decorative reed patterns, usually in meeting house
tumuaki:	principal
turangawaewae:	home place, spiritual home
tuamanomano:	thousands
tuatinitini:	with many parts or strands
tūpāpaku	deceased person, corpse
waiata:	song
waiata-a-ringa	action song

waka:	canoe
wānanga:	educational gathering
whā:	four
whaea:	aunt, mother, mum
whāia:	pursue
whāngai:	feed, nourish, adopted, adopted child
wairua:	spirit, soul
whakakapinga:	overview, covering all
whakataki:	to begin, recite, challenge
whakatauki:	proverb
whakapapa:	genealogy
whakatipu:	generation
whaikōrero:	to orate, or speak formally
whānau:	family
whanaunga:	relative
whanaungatanga:	kinship, relationship, family feeling
whāngai:	feed, nourish; adopted, adopted child
whare:	house
wharenui:	meeting house
wharepaku:	toilet
whare tapere:	traditional house of entertainment
wheke:	octopus
whenua:	land
whiria:	weave

References: Williams 1995; Reed 2001 (see Bibliography)

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ORAL HISTORY RECORDING AGREEMENT FORM

NAME OF PROJECT: ....

FULL NAME OF
PERSON INTERVIEWED: ....

DATE OF INTERVIEW: ....

COMMISSIONING ORGANISATION/PERSON: ....

INTERVIEWER: ....

COPYRIGHT HOLDER: ....

1. PLACEMENT: I, the person interviewed, agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material, prepared for archival purposes, will be held at ....

....

2. ACCESS: I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be made available for research, at the above location or at a location approved by the commissioning organisation/person, **subject to any restrictions in Section 4.**

3. PUBLICATION: I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material, may be quoted or shown in full or in part in published work, broadcast, or used in public performances, **subject to any restrictions in Section 4.**

4. RESTRICTED TAPES AND ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL:
I require that there be **no access to** ☐ (cross where
I require that there be **no publication of** ☐ appropriate)
this recording and accompanying material **without my prior written permission.**

NOTES: .... REVIEW/RELEASE DATE:............. ....

....

5. PRIVACY ACT: I understand that this Agreement Form does not affect my rights and responsibilities under the Privacy Act 1993.

6. COMMENTS: ....

....

PERSON INTERVIEWED: .... Date: ....

INTERVIEWER: .... Date: ....

FOR COMMISSIONING
ORGANISATION/PERSON: .... Date: ....

NOTE: This Agreement Form may be amended only by the person interviewed, or by the commissioning organisation/person with the authority of the person interviewed. Any amendment must be registered with the commissioning organisation/person.

This Agreement Form is approved by the National Oral History Association of New Zealand.

Massey University

Wellington Campus
Private Box 756,
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New Zealand
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Nga Tangata Awarua: Being Both Maori and Pakeha

(Information Sheet)   June 2002

Tena koe,

Nga mihi nui ki a koe ano! I hope this letter finds you well. As you know, since 1994 I have been working on a project about "Nga Tangata Awarua; Being Both Maori and Pakeha" which has involved a series of recorded life history interviews, and background research relating to historical attitudes, statistical issues, and social/psychological aspects of cultural identity. I appreciate your participation in this project, and hope that you may have gained something from taking part so far!

The project was undertaken with the long-term goal of working towards a book for publication, and this may still be possible, but a significant amount of further research and analysis is still required to form a complete picture. Because the project is both sensitive and complex, I felt that - both for greater guidance and support for myself, and also to offer a higher degree of safety and assurance to participants - it would be best if the project came under the supervision of an academic institution. I was familiar with and admired the work of Professor Mason Durie in this subject area (Diverse Realities, Te Hoe Nuku Roa etc) so I approached him for advice in his office at the School of Maori Studies in Palmerston North.

He suggested that I enrol at Massey to complete a Masters in Philosophy (Maori Studies), part-time over two years (2002-03), which provides me with supervision from two people at the Wellington campus to complete the thesis. No other papers are required. I will enclose a copy of my thesis proposal, which has been approved by Prof Durie. My supervisors are Te Kani Kingi, who has submitted a Ph.D. on outcomes in Maori mental health, and Sheridan McKinley who has a Masters degree in Maori language education. If you wish to contact either of these supervisors, their contact details are listed at the end of this information sheet.

This project has also been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, WGTN Protocol 02/115. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Pushpa Wood, Chair, Massey University Regional Human Ethics Committee: Wellington, telephone 04 801 2794 ext 6723, email P.Wood@massey.ac.nz.

In order to work towards completing this thesis, I need your permission to use material we recorded about your life history, primarily as it relates to issues of cultural identity. As you initially agreed in your Oral History Agreement Form, the originals of these tape-recordings are now held at the Oral History Centre of the

National Library. As is standard procedure when working on oral history projects, I also hold copies of these tapes at my home for convenience of access, where they are kept securely and confidentially. Copies of the abstracts, and now transcripts of the recordings are also held at my home. These copies and transcripts will be destroyed after completion of the project (a period of three years after completion is usually allowed in case of questions being raised).

I would very much appreciate it if you would allow me to use some of your *korero* in the proposed thesis! Once I have decided which sections from your recording I wish to use, I will check with you again before including them in the final thesis. Use of your name alongside quotations is optional.

I apologise for the length of time the project is taking, and will understand if you would rather not proceed. You have the right to withdraw at any time, and to seek further information if required.

I continue to feel that the project is worthwhile, and that it is very important to provide insights into the complexity of our lives and the kinds of issues we face as people of mixed Maori/Pakeha ethnicity. I hope it will benefit not just those of us in this category, but also the broader society, both Maori and Pakeha.

Though some of you may have consented to open access to the recorded material, or even open publication in some cases, it was felt that further written consent was advisable in relation to the thesis, and to gain assurance about the ethics of my use of recorded data to date. Hence I would very much appreciate it if you could sign the consent form as follows.

Thank you, in all sincerity,

Naku noa,

Heeni Collins.

Contact details for supervisors:
Sheridan McKinley & Te Kani Kingi
School of Maori Studies
Massey University
PO Box 756
Mt Cook
Wellington
Sheridan – P
Te Kani – P

Massey University

Wellington Campus
Private Box 756,
Wellington,
New Zealand
Telephone: 64 4 801 27S
Facsimile: 64 4 801 269?

Nga Tangata Awarua: Being Both Maori and Pakeha

Consent Form

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

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and that any material concerning myself will be used in the thesis only with my permission. My name will not be used without my permission.

I am satisfied that Heeni Collins has behaved ethically in her work on the project to date, and has checked with me before publishing or publicizing any data from the interview/s she recorded with me.

I give consent for Heeni Collins to access the material she recorded concerning my life history, for the proposed Masters in Philosophy thesis, under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed...

Name..................................

Date...................................

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Inception to Infinity: Massey University's commitment to learning as a life-long journey

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5/3/04

Ngä Tangata Awarua: Being Both Mäori and Päkehä

Consent Form in relation to use of name and photograph

I have read the sections of the thesis written by Heeni Collins on the above topic which include aspects of her recording of my life narrative. I have approved the use of data taken from this recording, subject to amendments being made as I have requested.

This document confirms that I also give consent to Heeni to use my name and photograph:

I give consent to Heeni Collins to use my name in her thesis:

Full Name: ....

Signature: ....

Date: ....

I give consent to Heeni Collins to use my photograph in her thesis:

Full Name: ....

Signature: ....

Date: ....

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

Appendix 4: Summary of Participants' Work Histories

Jacquie: studied towards medicine; changed to an arts degree; completed a Masters in Philsophy on New Zealand character in literature; wrote fiction and non-fiction for the Government publication Te Ao Hou; represented the Maori Women's Welfare League on the Maori Education Foundation (for 10 years); the loss of her husband resulted in a difficult period of financial stress, nurturing children and grand-children; worked in the Wellington Public Library; and became a celebrated writer of published poetry and fiction. In 2003 she was awarded an honorary Doctorate in Literature from Victoria University.

Bruce: lived with his mother's whanau near Matamata and worked in carpentry and farming/horticulture; came to Wellington and became a successful builder/developer; took risks, collapsed financially, left his wife and children to set up a fishing enterprise in south Fiordland; jailed for dishonesty; developed a dream of establishing a marae and found enough support from politicians and work skills schemes to do so. He has managed this extensive and successful marae complex in Island Bay, Wellington, since 1974.

Kamiria: worked as a research librarian for the Dominion; various other jobs including a rousie for a gang of shearers; became a prison officer at Arohata for ten years. The loss of her mother and grandmother triggered a period of serious depression (see Chapter 8); promoted awareness of sexual abuse; learnt te reo, studied at Te Wananga o Raukawa, taught at primary to tertiary levels, worked as a skills advisor for ETSA (Education Training Support Agency), and served her various iwi in traditional roles including kai karanga.

Kiri: kindergarten training; left to care for ill mother; married and had four children; returned to training and completed a course; husband died tragically in a car accident; period of vulnerability and financial strain recovering and nurturing four children; supported Kohanga Reo; lectured in the Maori

Studies Department at training college; worked as a regional early childhood advisor for the Department of Education; became Tumuaki Maori in the Early Childhood Development Agency; joined a corporate consultancy partnership with other Maori and Pākehā women, taught life skills to women in Arohata Prison, and worked with special needs children at a Maori women's refuge.

Piripi: lived at Jerusalem (as an at-risk teenager); worked on fishing boats, in a bakery; studied te reo and Maori studies at university; produced programmes for radio; became involved in language and broadcasting Treaty claims; Director of Language Studies at Te Wananga o Raukawa (1991-96); now an independent Maori language teacher, consultant and researcher.

Perena: exchange student in USA; factory work; achievement in piano; completed a BA at Victoria University; performed in musical drama overseas; worked as an actor for Auckland drama companies; taught in schools; father's death, spiritual issues and serious accident led to period of depression; became a diplomat for New Zealand in Kiribati and Indonesia; worked for Manatu Maori and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade; currently at Sydney University completing a double masters degree in international business and commerce. He has also completed a Diploma in Language Studies in Bahasa Indonesian).

Rawiri: primary school teacher in both mainstream and immersion schools; one-year period of anxiety and illness; taught within tribal rohe (Northland); developed Maori programmes at Te Papa Tonga-Rewa, (Museum of New Zealand); now national co-ordinator, Nga Toi (Maori arts) for the Ministry of Education.

Charles: studied towards music degree, Victoria University; grew interested in traditional Maori waiata; decided to immerse himself in te ao Maori (an emotionally vulnerable transition phase), spent 18 months in Ōtaki learning reo, whakapapa and family history; worked for the Royal Commission on Social Policy; the Ministry for the Environment; the Alexander Turnbull Library and Te Wananga o Raukawa; has written books on researching tribal

history and waiata tawhito; played with contemporary Maori musical groups; completed a PhD on traditional Maori theatre.

"Rona": studied English literature at Canterbury University; travelled to Africa and England; studied women's studies and Maori studies at Victoria University; tutored in the Maori language at Victoria University, worked in radio journalism, taught English as a foreign language; worked as a professional singer; worked on an archive of Maori recordings; produced a series of radio programmes for student radio; wrote and staged two plays, primarily in te reo; wrote published fiction and poetry; completed a Masters course with Bill Manhire in creative writing at Victoria University. Rona has experienced conflict and vulnerability in university departments, within her hapu and within her whanau.

Jessica: experienced a period of social isolation and difficulty at secondary school; regional winner of Nga Manu Korero Speech Competitions in the sixth form; attained scholarship Maori language; studied at Victoria University; worked as a teacher of kapahaka and te reo, an editor of writing in the Maori language; and an advisory/support officer for Te Tahuhu o Te Matauranga (the Ministry of Education). Jessica composes waiata, delivers kai karanga, and is currently married with three children.

Marama: has completed an arts degree, majoring in art history, and has worked in a clothing retail store.

Appendix 5. Life Narratives

1.   Jacqueline Cecilia Baxter

(Photograph by Ans Westra)

Interviews with Jacqueline Cecilia Baxter (nee Sturm) were recorded on 8/5/97 and 11/5/97. Jacquie (Whakatohea, Taranaki) is a former librarian and a writer of magazine articles, short stories and poetry. In the late 1940's her poetry was published in student newspapers and the Review. She married the poet James K. Baxter in 1948, and in 1949 became one of the first Māori women to obtain a university degree, completing a BA at Victoria University College. She next gained an MA in Philosophy, writing a dissertation on "New Zealand National Character as Exemplified in Three New Zealand Novelists", which was awarded first class honours. She began writing short fiction in the 1950's, with stories published in Numbers (1) and Te Ao Hou throughout the 50's and 60's. In 1966 she became the first Māori writer to have work selected in a New Zealand anthology. Her first book of short stories, "The House of the Talking Cat" was published in 1983, and again in 1986. She also had books of poetry published in 1997 and 2000 (see references below). In 2003 she was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Literature degree from Victoria University.

Jacquie Baxter was born in Opunake in 1927 and adopted out at the age of three after her mother had died and her grandmother had become ill. Her father and sister had gone to live with his mother in the Bay of Plenty. Jacquie's adoptive family was kind to her and others, and she felt lucky to have shoes, socks and a coat – which was

more than many other children at school had. Jacquie was told that she was adopted some time before she started school at the age of six. She occasionally saw two uncles (a mother's brother and a father's brother). She was not told she was Māori. Jacquie does not remember noticing any Māori children at primary schools she attended in New Plymouth, Auckland, or Palmerston North. She experienced racism at an Auckland school she attended, being taunted as a "nigger" and beaten. After telling her parents, she was removed from the school. The family moved to Hastings, where she remembers playing with Māori children for the first time, though playing "tangi" got them into trouble. Traumatised by her experience of abuse in Auckland, Jacquie refused to go to school for some months. She was eventually re-introduced to it by a sympathetic headmaster after the family had shifted to Palmerston North. From then on she enjoyed and did well at school. She remembers being told she was Māori after asking about the people in an early reader called "Tales of the Māori". She could not see how she was like the "old-time Māori"in the book and could not relate to it. She says her adoptive parents did not differentiate between Māori and Pākehā, but cared for people in need. Her adoptive father was part-Māori from a well-known Māori family on the East Coast, and she remembers him occasionally speaking some Māori, perhaps sometimes exclaiming with a pūkana. She enjoyed listening to records of some Arawa musicians of the 1920's or 30's – including that of Ana Hato and Deane Waretini.

Jacquie's adoptive father's business had been affected by the Depression, and during the 1930's he often changed jobs, trying to make ends meet. The family stayed with Mrs Sturm's sister in Pukerua Bay for a period of over two years to help ease the situation, and Jacquie enjoyed playing with other Māori and Samoan children and spending time at the beach. "It felt wonderful. That's when I had my first kina, and my first crabs." After that the Sturm family returned to Palmerston North and then Napier. Jacquie does not remember her adoptive father attending any hui or tangi, explaining that they were managing only to survive. But while the family had few books at home, they did believe in encouraging their children to do well educationally. Once introduced to public libraries by a sympathetic stranger, Jacquie was able to read widely. Jacquie also remembers visits from aunties on her father's side, and her sister, from Opotiki. "I remember I thought she was wonderful because she could sing ... I think she was brought up with more Māori language than me, because my father's parents were fluent in the language." Jacquie did not re-meet her birth father until later in life.

While she was at Napier Girls High School, a predominantly Pākehā school, Jacquie experienced feelings of discomfort in playing basketball against girls from Hukarere Māori Girls School. "I identified with them in a way that I didn't with my own team. It was a very awkward situation, and I can't say I managed to resolve it." She felt unable to play her best against this team. Jacquie says her adoptive parents had decided against sending her to Hukarere herself, because of cost, and a belief that her educational options would be more limited there. Her adoptive parents made sacrifices to allow her to stay at secondary school and take part in sporting and social activities. She did so well at school, her parents were advised to allow her to finish secondary school with the intention of going on to university. The Sturms could not afford to send her to university, so Jacquie applied for and gained a Health Department bursary and went to Otago University to study medicine.

Jacquie felt very privileged, as few Māori stayed at secondary school beyond school-leaving age, and even fewer undertook tertiary education at that time. She heard of only two other older Māori students who were at Otago University when she arrived in the mid-1940's. She was accustomed to not having any Māori friends, and university was no different. There were no other Māori in her classes and none at the hostel she stayed in. Following her Auckland experience of racism, she chose a single room, for fear that a room-mate may not like being with a Māori. She made a couple of close Pākehā friends, one of whom took her home to her family farm in a university break. In response to a negative comment made by one of these friends about Māori shearers, Jacquie declared her own Māori identity. She was dismayed that her friend did not accept that she was Māori, because she was regarded as an "honorary white." Jacquie comments that this has been a common experience throughout her life.

At the end of Jacquie's first year at university it was arranged for her to travel to Auckland to stay with her uncle, who had established a market garden in Henderson. While there she was recognized in the street by her sister, Evadne, which was an emotional experience. Without Jacquie knowing, the Sturms had kept in touch with her blood relatives and sometimes sent photographs. Evadne was living in Auckland, married with two children. Failing to get into medical school, Jacquie lost her bursary but managed to earn enough money from casual jobs in Napier through the holiday break to allow her to return to university for a second year. She applied for and received a Māori education scholarship and switched to an arts degree. There were still no Māori in her classes. Her papers included anthropology, taken by Dr Skinner,

curator of the Otago Museum. Jacquie was boosted by seeing the name of Te Rangihiroa, Sir Peter Buck, carved into a desk in that lecture theatre. Skinner specialized in material culture, such as adzes and fish-hooks with only a broad coverage of living Māori and Polynesian culture. To further her interest in this area, Jacquie decided to shift to Christchurch to study social psychology under Professor I.L. G. Sutherland at Canterbury University. He had edited a book called "The Māori People Today: A General Survey "(1940). Sutherland was enthusiastic about Jacquie's presence in his class but she was taken aback by his plans for her. Barely knowing her, and before she had finished her BA, he suggested that she write a thesis on "the mental and spiritual concepts of the Māori with reference to their language." When Jacquie told him she did not know the language, he arranged for her to have private tuition - from a Pākehā who knew grammar, but whose pronunciation was questionable. With full-time studies to complete, Jacquie could only manage about two hours of language instruction per week, and Sutherland eventually realized she would not be able to write the thesis he had proposed.

During her time at Otago University Jacquie had met and later married the poet James K. Baxter. Through school and university Jacquie had been aware of certain expectations that were associated with being Māori, which included being good at sport, singing, entertaining and public speaking. As a result she had felt pressure to take part in those activities, and did well. There were also growing expectations that she would work with Māori and provide leadership in the Māori world. But Jim encouraged her to question the expectations of others, and think about what she really wanted to do for herself. He too was breaking away from his parents' expectations relating to academic success and politics. Jacquie describes feeling great relief when she decided to move away from others' expectations and it was then that she started to write. "I wrote for Te Ao Hou, paradoxically. I was serving the Māori community, but in my own way. And I went to Ngāti Poneke and learned to stand up in line for waiata-a-ringa. I joined up with the Māori Women's Welfare League and learned to do various things. I was no good with the flax, but I could do taniko. I learned tukutuku. And I represented the Māori Women's Welfare League on the Māori Education Foundation (board of trustees) for ten years or so."

Jim would sometimes attend Ngāti Poneke or the League to support his wife, and similarly she attended groups he was involved with, for example the national writers association PEN. Jim supported her attendance at Māori Education Foundation meetings by caring for the children, often for several days at a time. But he also

questioned any established organisations such as the Māori Affairs Department and the Māori Education Foundation, suspecting them of imposing values and ways of thinking on others. Jacquie strongly supported the aims and objectives of both these groups, Ngāti Poneke and the League. "This issue caused a certain amount of friction between me and Jim. He was a far more radical person than I was." There were two occasions when Jim wanted Jacquie to accompany him publicly to protest against racism in both a cinema and a bar, but she felt such a situation would be too painful for her, and refused.

Jacquie first met her father after she was married and had two children, flying up to Auckland and arriving at night, feeling very nervous. Their first meeting was awkward and tongue-tied. "We were strangers, you see. We couldn't communicate. At some stage I think he asked me questions and I answered them. I told him I belonged to Ngāti Poneke, and he said, "Oh, all that show stuff?". So that knocked me back a bit. And I thought, "Right, OK, we'll just have to come up with something else. And its funny, I don't remember anything else." She remembers meeting several half-brothers who were staying in a caravan behind the house, but found them hard to talk with also. This was the first time she realised her father had a new wife and a large second family. She was pleased to hear later from her sister that she and her father were very alike, and that he, as she did, had a habit of being very silent at times. Another time Jacquie went to stay with her father and his wife at Opotiki. Jacquie enjoyed meeting his wife but says that being treated like a VIP guest put a barrier between them. "I remember the warmth of it but at the same time I was still on the outer." She and her father talked further on this occasion, and Jacquie was disturbed to hear he had lived in Napier at the same time she had lived there with the Sturms. He had sometimes gone out of his way to see her biking past a certain corner at a certain time, but had not wanted to intrude on her life. However, he would not agree to an adoption so Jacquie was fostered until she was 14, at which time the father's consent was not needed for the adoption and it was able to go through. Jacquie was pleased to think her father may have dreamt of her returning to him. While Mrs Sturm had kept him informed of Jacquie's progress, particularly about achievements in sport or academia, Jacquie had been told nothing about her birth family, which she later regretted.

But misfortune struck Jacquie's father (Jack Papuni) again with the death of his second wife. He himself died not long afterwards. Jacquie attended his tangi at Omaramutu marae in Opotiki and learnt from his mother, her grandmother, the

customs relating to tangi in her iwi of Whakatohea/Ngāti Rua. This meant staying beside the casket for three days and three nights, moving only after dark to have a drink of water and go to the wharepaku (toilet). All night someone stayed awake with the tūpāpaku, and all night someone would mihi to him. It rained constantly. Jacquie and her sister would help their grandmother as she left and re-entered the wharenui. The memory is distinctive for Jacquie as it was the first time she had been part of a whānau pani. Her sister recognised she was new to the tikanga and suggested she have tea and biscuits, but Jacquie says the discipline was still "gruelling". Jacquie practiced a similar tikanga at her husband's tangi in 1972 at the marae of the local hapū (Ngā Hau e Whā) in Jerusalem, up the Wanganui River.

Jacquie comments that she often experiences feelings of social discomfort because she does not know how she'll be treated, as Māori or Pākehā. For example, after Jim died and she had begun working at the Wellington Public Library, she felt that on the whole she was working in "Pākehā mode". But when Māori Language Week was looming (in the mid-to-late 1970's), she says she was "suddenly" expected to be an expert on things Māori and asked to prepare Māori signage for public display. As the only Māori there, she accepted the task, aware of her own limitations - and consulted with family members, Māori friends and dictionaries. She found some Māori regarded the effort as merely "toadying to tokenism". Jacquie felt the situation was "tricky" but decided to regard it as just part of her job, even though it was an extra responsibility with no financial recognition. Her signage went up, and some Māori complained that it was not good enough. Some Pākehā also complained about it being there at all, and got into conflict with front desk staff over the issue. The staff were considered at fault for their reaction and again Jacquie was embarrassed. "When I left that job I had it (the Māori knowledge requirements) written into the job description for that position. So whoever followed me would (one) know what they were letting themselves in for, and (two) make sure it was accounted for when it came to salary."

Jacquie describes how she has often felt that she is trying to please or placate two parties, two almost conflicting groups, and that this is very tiring. Switching from one cultural milieu to another is hard, as is trying to live up to contrasting expectations. She found that the only time she felt she could be herself was when writing or thinking about writing. But even writing was not free of the conflict. For some years Jacquie says she experienced rejection by Māori publishers because they saw her as not being Māori enough, or her writing was not Māori enough in terms of

the popular stereotype of the day; and by Pākehā publishers who saw her as a Māori writer. She argues that writing should be considered on its own merit, and that Māori writers must be free to write about whatever they like, whether their writing is overtly Māori or not. Jacquie had works of short fiction published in "Numbers" and "Te Ao Hou" in the 1950's and 60's, and also had a story included in "New Zealand Short Stories: Second Series" selected by C.K. Stead in 1966. Becoming a solo parent and earning a living left her no time or inclination for writing from 1969-1990. But in 1980 she was invited to read some of her earlier work alongside that of Patricia Grace and Keri Hulme, and this led to the publication of her first book of short stories, *"The House of the Talking Cat"*, by the women's collective *Spiral* in 1983. This book was reprinted by Hodder & Stoughton in 1986. In 1997 (just prior to the interviews for this thesis) her first book of poetry *"Dedications"* (1997) had been published by Steele Roberts Ltd. It was immediately successful, and she felt there had been a breakthrough. With her short stories, she found that overseas readers were better able to notice the indigenous aspects of her work than New Zealanders.

Jacquie explained that because her life was initially directed towards academic achievement, and then she had married a Pākehā man, she had spent most of her life with Pākehā, and has therefore been most comfortable with Pākehā. But as her children have grown older and her mokopuna have arrived, she has been drawn back more into Māori situations. Partly because Jacquie herself encouraged the interest in her own children, two grand-daughters and a great-grandson are now gaining fluency in te reo. Jacquie too has learnt to karanga, but more recently has chosen, for health reasons, to let a grand-daughter take over this custom. Her younger relatives can also translate for her much of what the native speakers are saying. She describes how she has sometimes felt the pain of not living up to the expectations of her own immediate whānau. Her children and grandchildren have surpassed her in their knowledge of te reo, tikanga, and Māori history. "Sometimes I've found it quite painful because they've shown impatience of my ignorance, my inability to participate actively. But as they've grown older they've got to know me more as a person, as an individual with strengths and weaknesses. They can now see how and in what way and when I am being Māori, and hopefully value the Māori aspects of my personality. And they've now been able to learn something from me, an instinctive knowledge of what's right and what's wrong, what's tika. And I can now feel relaxed when I can't do what perhaps they would want me to do." Jacquie says she can mihi, but that her son and half-brother can now attend tangi and *korero* on behalf of the whānau. Her grand-daughters are prepared to karanga if necessary. Jacquie feels she has other

tasks more urgent than extending her knowledge of traditional Māori skills. "I've still got things I want to do - think, write. In India they divide life up into four phases and the last phase is where you're preparing for your exiting. I'm now talking about wairua."

Jacquie has also been aware that her family would sometimes have liked her to have been more radical in her views about Māori matters, more uncompromising. She says that when she was young she was "quite capable of standing up on my hind legs and doing a bit of a rave about Māori matters, about how Māori were treated". But she has found the speed of change in New Zealand society in the last fifty years quite phenomenal and exciting. Some examples are the involvement of Māori in education at all levels, the growth of Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa, and the forming of a Māori writers' organisation. "To me the progress has been enormous, there has been a cultural revolution in this country. It's going on now. And to me its amazing, wonderfully exciting. And to see the acceleration of it, its getting faster and faster. I sit back and I marvel at it." She argues that pushing for too much too soon could be counter-productive, and is not prepared to place herself in too vulnerable a position, for example with Jim and the proposed pub protest back in 1950. "I'll stick my neck out in a poem, but I might get it chopped by the Māori side as well as the Pākehā side."

She has also found it painful that her own children and grand-children sometimes experience social discomfort as Māori because of their fair appearance. "I think there are quite a few who have got more Pākehā blood or ancestry in them (than Māori). And they are penalised in a Māori situation because of it. This is wrong. What are we talking about here, we're still talking about colour! What about wairua, what about just being accepted for what you are! It's horrifying to think that Māori can be racist against other Māori. Again you've got this business of expectations, you don't live up to them, you don't even look like us. For heavens sakes, what are we coming to?" Having recently turned 70, she says she no longer has time to live up to others' expectations, no matter what those expectations are. "I must be faithful to myself in my writing, whatever I'm doing. If they can't accept the total without asking me to split myself in half, then I have to review that situation." She says she'll go on writing, whether she gets published or not. "I write because I want to write, and every time I have an idea that in itself is my challenge and my goal. You pitch yourself against your own material, as it were." She says her *turangawaewae* is her writing, her whānau is her iwi, and so are her friends, her mokopuna. "There is one time when

I will try to meet the expectations of others, and that is for my mokopuna."

(For references re books by Jacquie, see Bibliography).

2. Bruce Stewart

Interviews with Bruce Stewart (born 5/8/1936) were recorded at his marae, Tapu Te Ranga Marae, in Island Bay, Wellington on 2/6/98 and 9/9/1998. Bruce (Ngāti Haua and Te Arawa) is well-known for having established this marae in the mid 70's, after a varied career - from building up-market homes, singing in night-clubs, fishing off the south coast of Fiordland, to imprisonment for dishonesty. The marae was built with the help of various work schemes, with a philosophy of providing a cultural and spiritual base for disadvantaged urban Māori, many of whom have little or no knowledge of their Māori cultural heritage. The marae complex is reportedly the largest wooden house in the Southern Hemisphere. In the late 1980's the Tapu Te Ranga Trust acquired (from the Home of Compassion next door) several hectares of land rising up to the Tawatawa range, and over the years many thousands of native trees have been planted there by volunteers. The total area of the trust's land is now over 19 hectares. Bruce has fathered 13 children, has 34 grandchildren and 13 great-grandchildren, a total of 60 off-spring.

Bruce was born in humble circumstances, his mother having been rejected by her lover, beaten and turned out by her own family. He recalls how he was cared for one night by a friend of his mother. This friend was a maid in a local hotel. His birth father was Scottish, but Bruce does not remember his name. Not long after Bruce's

birth, his mother married another Pākehā man called Donald Lewis Stewart, who had struggled to overcome disability resulting from a leg deformity. The family lived on a remote farm in the northern Wairarapa. Bruce describes his adoptive father as hard-working and honest with a range of skills including building, shoe repair and hair-cutting. "One thing I used to love about him, he used to sharpen his axe so he could shave his arm." Bruce learnt much by working alongside his adoptive father. "He taught me the Pākehā skills, the Pākehā work ethic." Bruce's father was also a keen hunter, an enthusiasm he passed on to Bruce.

A brother and two sisters were born to Pare and Donald. Over time Bruce came to feel that he wasn't fully accepted by his adoptive father or his relatives, though he loved them and learnt skills of self-sufficiency and conservation from them. He felt included within the home, but excluded (because of his illegitimacy and being Māori) when the family went to public events such as sale day or the market. His father had negative attitudes towards Māori, and the family had no contact with the Māori community "on the other side of town". Bruce felt nurtured and loved by his mother more than anyone else. Because of the way she had been treated and her husband's attitudes, Bruce's mother Pare had left her Māori connections behind and did not speak te reo to her children. "She was an outcast, she was thrown out in a way, so her picture of āoridom were very rough years. But like lots of Māori women who wanted to survive, she went away from her Māori side to bring up her kids." Bruce is aware of certain tikanga which were practiced in their home, eg not putting a comb or brush on the dining table, washing the tea towels separately. And her mother would sometimes show him photographs of her family and tell him who they were. She told him the family name of Hirini and said they were from Matamata.

Despite his difficult start in life, Bruce was energetic and clever, and after facing initial racist taunts he did well at school in sport and study. "I didn't come from an academic family. I used to be out in the shed in the cold studying. There was no-one to help me." His mother supported him studying, but his father thought studying was "sissy", and also disliked Bruce's interest in music and his long hair. Bruce says there was no Māori language, culture or Māori perspective on history taught at Wairarapa College when he attended. He kept his identity as Māori away from his school life, but secretly identified with successful black American boxers and other sportsmen. He passed his Sixth Form certificate, and felt a measure of acceptance from Pākehā friends and neighbours. Valuing that highly, he began to feel ashamed of his Māori mother, wanting to avoid people knowing he was Māori. "I made myself sick so I

wouldn't have to go to college to get all the prizes that I'd won, academic and sporting prizes, because I didn't want anyone to see my mother. I had a secret life." Soon after Bruce left school, his mother died, aged 37, of breast cancer and kidney problems.

Bruce felt very lonely after her death, and ashamed of his former attitude towards her. "I went away into the mountains and savoured the loneliness. I found something about the bush and the mountains and my mother were one and the same. I still find that." He lived mainly in various areas of bush (including the Urewera) for years, coming out only to get supplies. He says he felt close to his mother's spirit in the bush, which he described as "clean and pure". With the help of a Christian missionary, he decided to try to find his mother's family in Morrinsville, the Hirini family of Ngāti Haua. He was embraced, and lamented over, for he was bringing both himself and his recently-deceased mother back to their marae. Bruce felt this as a home-coming, and wanted to live there amongst his mother's people. But the community was poor, his relatives were heavy drinkers, and he started to become disillusioned.

The positive images he had developed of Māori from books - about sharing and caring, working together and living close to nature – were not fulfilled in his real-life experience of his hapū. Bruce wanted to establish gardens and develop other plans, despite a lack of support from the locals. He formed a relationship with a woman member of the hapū and the couple were allowed to live in the family homestead, on the family farm. "I loved it, I worked very hard." Returning from nine hours of work as a builder every day, he would eat, have a nap, and then work in the garden, often in moonlight. Bruce and his wife Orapai were Christian and regularly attended church and marae. He says this period enabled him to gain strength in his identity as Māori. But he was disillusioned with the wider family helping themselves to the products of his labour, and so he decided to bring his wife and six children to Wellington.

In Wellington he again worked hard as a builder, buying and developing (by hard labour) first a steep section in Island Bay, and then a section in Khandallah, which he sub-divided to build several houses. He successfully sold several up-market houses, and blocks of flats, and was financially successful. But he over-stretched himself, creditors began demanding their money, properties were sold for below market rates, and he experienced financial collapse. His marriage also broke up. He had been

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singing in night clubs and had a son with another singer he met at this time. He bought himself a boat, got a "skipper's ticket" and began diving for paua around the East Coast. But he broke regulations, and the police were trying to arrest him. So he decided to go to Fiordland, setting up a large-scale diving business there. He pursued his interest in deerstalking, beating world records in this sport. Bruce loved the harsh lifestyle of the far south, and was able to sing and socialise in communities there. He was aware that he had disappointed and failed his wife and children, and says he attempted to make amends for it later in life.

Bruce had developed a good reputation in business, but again over-stretched his credit, by giving expensive gifts to people who were struggling. He was aware that he was acting irresponsibly and risking what he had established. Then he set up a scam which involved selling stolen crayfish back to the company that owned them. He was caught, and sent to prison. While some of the harshness of life in prison is reflected in his play "Broken Arse", Bruce comments that in some ways he benefited from it. One of the best things that happened for him there was that he read an article in "Te Ao Hou" quoting Cliff Whiting as saying that his marae was his museum, his place of work, and his university. This became an ideal which he wanted to achieve in his own life. Though he says he became involved in drug-dealing in prison, and developed a drug habit himself, he came out of prison with only $25 and a dream of establishing a marae - both for himself and to help other struggling urban Māori: "That (compassion) is part of my Mum."[47] Bruce was living in a shed in Newtown, Wellington, making furniture with hand tools from demolition timber and selling it, when he began inviting others to share food with him and learn from him. He tells how the mayor of Wellington, Michael Fowler, came to visit on Christmas day, bringing a crate of bread. "There couldn't have been a more beautiful thing for us, just plain ordinary bread." Bruce shared his dream of building a marae - with Michael Fowler and then with Prime Minister Robert Muldoon. Muldoon introduced a work skills programme, and the establishment of the marae came a step closer. After getting a number of contracts, in 1974 Bruce and his team were able to put a deposit on a three-quarter acre section in Rhine St, Island Bay.

With the help of work skills programmes, and the availability of cheap but quality timber from demolition sites and car-packing cases, the marae began to take shape.

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[47] He says his mother took two Polish refugees into their home and adopted them after the second World War.

He worked his team hard, and many developed skills they have been able to successfully apply elsewhere. At the height of the programme, Bruce had about sixty people working for him, and a farm of 2,000 acres behind Brooklyn that he leased from the council. There are eight whare at the marae or next to it, and Bruce says seven are named after his mother, Hinetai no Waitaha. "It was the rebuilding, the need to have my mother (with me)." While he was previously very angry about the way Māori have been treated by Pākehā, and inspired by Māori leaders such as Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, he has also acknowledged his father, Donald Stewart, and the skills and knowledge he learnt from him, in a mountain garden containing several rare plants.

Bruce has a strong sense of his own tino rangatiratanga and resists any imposition of heavy-handed bureaucracy. A council threat to demolish his buildings in 1991, due to lack of paperwork, was finally averted. Bruce is currently planning a papakainga development at the marae, and faces further negotiation with council and neighbours to implement this plan. A society called Manawa Karioi was set up in 1991 to manage the restoration of native plants on the site. Volunteers have planted over 60,000 native trees. In the year 2000 the Home of Compassion "forgave" the marae a debt of $250,000 owing on a large block of land, as part of the Millennium Year of Jubilee.

3.   Kamiria

Interviews with Kamiria[48] were recorded on 26/5/96 and 3/6/97. Kamiria (born 25/1/1942) is of Ngāti Toa and Te Ati Awa descent and lives in Plimmerton. She has had a wide range of jobs, including research librarian at the Dominion and Sunday Times newspapers, shearing gang rousie, prison officer, and more recently Māori language tutor. She has become a reo karanga and strong supporter of her (various) marae - Hongoeka Marae (Plimmerton), Takapuwahia marae (Porirua) and Whakarongotai marae (Waikanae). Kamiria is also an artist, poet and writer of fiction. Kamiria grew up in the Plimmerton and Pukerua Bay area. Her father had no Māori ancestry but was brought up as Māori on the Hongoeka marae. He spoke fluent Māori and was culturally Māori because his mother (a Pākehā) had been adopted by Ngāti Toa Rangatira in 1893. His father was Irish. Kamiria's mother, was almost full Māori (seven-eighths) and grew up at Waikanae. She was brought up with the Māori language and culture, but wasn't confident in the Pākehā world. Both Kamiria's parents had very limited schooling in the Pākehā education system. But they did not speak Māori to their children either and brought them up with a kind of "pidgin English". Some tikanga were practiced in the home. Kamiria was advantaged in that she was often taken by her mother to hui and tangi, so she was able to absorb some language and tikanga there and get to know some of the elders.

She was unhappy in her home environment because she says she was regularly sexually abused by her father until the age of thirteen, when she learned to confront

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[48] Kamiria's surname has been omitted on the advice of the Massey University Ethics Committee.

and avoid him, so the abuse occurred less often. There were fourteen children in the family, and while Kamiria's mother appeared dominant, Kamiria was aware of tension and conflict between her parents. Kamiria developed a kind of split identity as a survival mechanism from a young age - Māori at home and Pākehā at school and work. She was fortunate in having a teacher at her primary school who took an interest in her, recognized her potential, and encouraged her to read by lending her books. Kamiria became an enthusiastic reader of books, and this became another reason for her siblings to tease her. Kamiria had to leave school and find work for financial reasons when she was 15. Her first job was at the library of the Dominion newspaper, filing news clippings. It enabled her educate herself on a lot of issues. As a result of the abuse she developed a habit of stealing, and also decided to get pregnant (to a man she did not love) to stop her father abusing her. Forced to marry the baby's father, Kamiria got pregnant a second time before her husband was sent to jail for theft. With her mother's support, Kamiria continued working through her 20's, taking a variety of office jobs. Kamiria's father died of a blood clot in 1971, and she took her children and joined a shearing gang for a year. Back in Wellington, Kamiria decided to accept a job as a prison officer at Arohata Women's Prison. She found adjustment to the harshness of life as a prison officer difficult, but a new, more humane, superintendent eased life for both her and the prisoners. Kamiria became aware of what she saw as discrimination towards Māori staff at the prison and became active in the Public Service Association, the prison officers' union. It was then that her split identity began to break down, as she realized both Pākehā staff and Māori staff perceived her as Māori.

Kamiria's mother died in 1982, and then when her grandmother died in 1984, she no longer wanted to work in the prison. In January 1985 she handed in her resignation in response to criticism that she had been seen "consorting" (socialzing) with a criminal, the husband of one of her cousins. She had worked as a prison officer at Arohata for ten years. She was forced to sell her house and declined into a state of serious depression. In September of that year she attempted suicide, saving several bottles of anti-depressants to take at a time when she would not be visited. Late one night she took all the pills. But her life was saved by a sister who decided to visit, having dreamt that she was in trouble. Kamiria had a period in hospital, and then stayed with her sister for some time, before finding a new home for herself. By now the health system was alert to the seriousness of her condition and she began to respond to counselling. As Kamiria's emotional/mental/spiritual health improved she shifted to Levin, living in a caravan near a cousin with whom she had a good relationship.

Living there, Kamiria got to know other relations and friends who were studying at the Māori tribal university, Te Wananga o Raukawa, in Ōtaki. Because of a perceived need for submissions from women, she was invited to make a submission for the Royal Commission on Social Policy. She made a submission on sexual abuse - "my thoughts on what could be done in Māoridom to change the perpetrators of sexual abuse".

Standing to present her submission to the Commission, Kamiria gave a short mihi which she had been taught by her friends for the occasion. The experience was a turning point, at which she decided to focus on becoming a stronger member of her tribal community. Though her siblings were unhappy with her submission, it was accepted by her home marae of Whakarongotai. Finding support for her campaign against sexual abuse in the Māori community was important for her sense of belonging and acceptance in that community. Soon after presenting the submission, Kamiria enrolled at a Te Ataarangi Māori language class at Waiopehu College in Levin, and began helping out at a local kohanga reo. After two years there she enrolled at Te Wananga o Raukawa, where she remained from 1987 to 1990. She partially completed a Bachelor degree in Law and Philosophy and a Tohu Matauranga Māori (Certificate in Māori Studies). By then aged 48, she decided to go to the Māori section of the teachers' training college in Palmerston North, Te Kupenga o te Matauranga. She became active in advocacy for more use of the Māori language by teachers and students, and for more political unity of Māori students throughout campus. Kamiria became active in the students' association, lobbying to get more Māori on the association committee.

While at Te Kupenga, Kamiria formed a partnership with a Tuhoe man, who was brought up with the Māori language. Staying with him at his home area several times was important for extension of Kamiria's language ability and confidence. Since completing her training as a teacher, Kamiria has worked as a regional organiser for the Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa, as a part-time tutor of te reo for the primary teachers' union NZEI-Te Riu Roa, and a teacher of te reo at Plimmerton School, Whitireia Polytech and Te Wananga o Raukawa. She has been a relief teacher at a variety of primary schools in the area, and also run her own language classes. She has become a stalwart (whaea) of her home marae of Hongoeka, Whakarongotai and other marae from Porirua to Palmerston North. Her contributions include reo karanga, cooking, and cleaning. Kamiria says she is the only fluent speaker involved with the Hongoeka marae of her generation. Kamiria has also

spoken publicly (New Idea, 2/8/94[49]), along with her daughter and grand-daughter (also called Kamiria), about the abuse they each experienced. While this has lifted the morale of those concerned, the decision to talk about the issue publicly has not been supported by some other members of the family.

4.   Kiri Scott

Kiri Scott[50] (born 1946) is a trained kindergarten teacher who has worked as a training college lecturer, an early childhood worker for the Department of Education, a staff training officer for the Early Childhood Development Unit, as a private consultant, and in a Māori women's refuge. She is currently regional *kaiārahi* (organiser) for a programme called "Parenting and Early Childhood Programme/ *Whānau Toko i te Ora* " run through the Māori Women's Welfare League. She had four children to her first husband, Martin Winiata. Martin was tragically killed in a car accident in 1981. Kiri re-married, to Abe Scott in 1984, and had a fifth child, Hēmi. Interviews were recorded on 30/4/98 and 15/5/98.

Kiri was one of nine children of Pākehā/European forestry worker and farmer Thomas Logan and Rita Manu Hawea of the Ngāti Raukawa hapū of Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Tuwhakahewa. Kiri says her father had got to know many Māori people through his work and was used to socialising with them, respecting tikanga and language more than other members of his family did. Rita had been brought up speaking both English and Māori. Both Rita's parents were Māori, but they both also had some Pākehā/European ancestry and they believed in teaching Rita to be "like a

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[49] Rule, Martine (1994), A Vicious Cycle, New Idea. August 2, p24

[50] Kiri is a member of the researcher's extended whanau, the Cook whanau. Her great-grandfather (Samuel Ngawhare Cook) and my great-grandmother (Annie Cook) were siblings, making us third cousins.

Pākehā". Rita was an only child, dressed in high-quality clothes, and was not encouraged to mix with her cousins who lived close to the marae. Kiri believes her father was "a hard case, a fun-loving personality", who was hard-working and loved his children. But she found out long after he had died that he was also violent and that her mother had suffered from his physical abuse. For that reason, he was disliked by Kiri's grandmother. Thomas, Rita and their children lived near Matamata until Thomas died in an accident, felling trees. "When my father died, Mum packed us up and returned to Ōtaki where my grandmother lived, our papakainga."

Soon after the family arrived in Ōtaki, Kiri's older sister Joy, who had helped look after Kiri and her other siblings, drowned in the Ōtaki river. "It was a really traumatic experience for all the brothers and sisters. She was beautiful, she was just lovely." As well as suffering this loss, Kiri remembers being "picked on" by her grandmother because she had been her father's favourite. "My grandmother took it out on me for the things that he did. From when I was five until my grandmother died when I was ten she treated me quite badly. She would put me in a room without any meal, no tea." Only when Kiri's mother came home was she let out and given food and drink. Kiri says she accepted her Nanna's behaviour. "I never had a negative attitude about it. That was Nanna, she was a crabby old grumpy granny and that was all there was to it." Her mother would also sometimes smack her for disciplinary reasons, but said that overall "it wasn't a hitting household, we had the most awesome growing up years". The family lived in a large old house with a verandah in Ōtaki township. The family was financially constrained, and had few toys, but were given clothes and books for presents. "We had all the classical books like "Black Beauty" and all the fairy stories. My mother got us books that were educational as well, encyclopaedia type books - books that talked about other countries, other peoples, other animals. So we had quite an exposure to worldwide things, even though we didn't go anywhere because we were too poor." The family had a large vegetable garden, an orchard of fruit trees, hens and other pets. Fish and shellfish would be harvested locally by her brothers. "We always had healthy food. We were never sick as children."

Kiri and her siblings went to Ōtaki Primary School which was a predominantly Pākehā school. They often had bare-feet, and later sandals, but not shoes. "All we had was one good pair of shoes and that was for church." They would turn it into a positive, by saying to the other children at school when challenged, "only sissies wear shoes!" They would play imaginative games, share the chores, and tease each other. Visits from an older brother who had joined the Navy brought news of places

and events and broadened their horizons. This older brother left behind a car which Kiri's mother learnt to drive. Kiri's grandfather had also travelled widely. Kiri and her siblings weren't taught any Māori language, though their grandmother would occasionally use it in disciplining them. Kiri's mother spoke te reo, but was shy about using it, and had not passed much on. But the family was aware of certain Māori tikanga and had strong whanaungatanga, a feeling of family togetherness. Kiri describes her upbringing as bi-cultural, practicing a mix of customs and mixing socially with both Māori and Pākehā. Her mother attended hui and tangi (usually without the children), but also played hockey and tennis, and learnt typing. The children would occasionally think that Pākehā ways of doing things were "disgusting" according to Māori tikanga, (for example washing feet in the kitchen sink), and this sometimes deterred them from accepting hospitality in certain homes. But they were brought up with strong human values which cut across cultural boundaries.

Kiri describes herself and her siblings as average students, keen on a range of sports, who would sometimes get into trouble. "We had some difficulties at school as far as being Māori went. Certain families would cheek Māori kids, call them names." In one incident, Kiri and a friend got revenge on a boy they considered racist by throwing stones at him while he was biking, knocking him off his bike. "There were racist incidents but we dealt with them and that was it, it was over."

Kiri says she made a decision to be Māori when she was 12. "I got to an age where I could choose what I wanted to be, and that's the privilege (of being both). I could have been Pākehā all the way, but I chose to be Māori. I've always liked the Māori things." She suggests it was also the influence of being brought up by her Māori mother and grandmother, in a "Māori family" which made her lean to the Māori side. Her experiences of being Māori had been positive, and she believes making that choice has given her spiritual strength. With support from an Ōtaki Porirua Trust Board scholarship, Kiri was sent to Queen Victoria Māori Girls School. She was there for four years and often felt homesick. Her reo was not extended as much as she would have liked, because many of the girls understood much more than she did. "Most of it just went over our heads because the native speakers were chatting away." She learnt only basic everyday phrases, even though te reo was compulsory to School Certificate level. But Kiri gained broader perspectives from attending the school, as the students were often taken to opera, drama and symphony orchestra. Kiri performed in the school's kapahaka group, but was not a leader. "I enjoyed

watching others."

A very significant and useful result of Kiri's attendance at Queen Victoria was that she formed close and lasting bonds with other Māori girls, of different ages, and also the boys they met at St Stephens, who were moving out into different spheres of work throughout the country. "Occasionally I bump into one that I haven't seen for 35 years and its marvellous - we just cry and hug, and its like you're meeting a long-lost family member again." She comments that the older girls were kind to the younger ones. For example, Keri Kaa, who was head prefect when Kiri started there in the third form, got to know her there and has been an important support and mentor figure for Kiri since she left school. Kiri says she emerged from Queen Victoria quite confident about being Māori, and also about being Pākehā. "Both sides of me were quite confident. Even though it was a Māori girls school, we had a bigger share of other things as well, not just tikanga and te ao Māori." She says the *manaakitanga* and whanaungatanga she found there were also significant. She had learnt good study habits, and been provided with a good environment in which to do so. The type of education received there encouraged girls towards professional or academic careers, as well as encouraging them to be leaders within Anglican traditions.

Returning home at the end of her fourth year, Kiri heard, with some relief, that she had passed School Certificate, and decided to train as a kindergarten teacher. "I looked for something (in which) I could be involved with little children, and particularly Māori kids." She moved to Wellington to train at the Kindergarten Teacher's Training College in Tinakori Rd and met up with other former Queen Victoria students and Ōtaki relations who were mainly training to be primary teachers. "I spent a lot of time with them. There weren't many Māori at college when I was there. We'd get together for kapahaka and we played sport together, basketball." Kiri boarded with the only other Māori student doing kindergarten training, a girl from Taranaki. This was in about 1962, before kohanga reo were established. The only pre-schools available were kindergarten or play-centres. "Kindergarten was very formal, preparing the children for school. The activities were quite structured then." However, after only one of the two years required to complete her training, Kiri's mother got sick and Kiri was required to return home to help with the family. "She had gallstones and a serious operation. I felt I had to be at home."

Kiri stayed in Ōtaki for 3-4 years, working for short periods at the library and at a

clothing factory. She married Martin Winiata, had a family, and in 1973 shifted to Wellington, where Martin had got a job tutoring at the Wellington Polytech. Kiri's mother remained an asthmatic all her life, but she was in reasonable health and Kiri felt able to move away. By 1981 the Winiatas' four children were aged from 8-14 and Kiri decided to return to kindergarten teachers' training college, then in Karori. Her prior training was not recognised, and she had to prove her maths and English abilities to get in. She was the only Māori student for the entire four years of her training. The movement to establish kohanga reo was just beginning. The year after she graduated, her husband Martin was killed in a tragic road accident and she was left alone with four children to care for. She did not feel able to work for a couple of years.

Kiri supported the movement towards establishing kohanga reo, and sometimes hosted meetings in her home. "We ended up starting a Kohanga at the Pendennis Māori Anglican Pastorate Hostel in Burnell Ave, under a work skills programme." Other Kohanga began running at Pipitea marae and in private homes. Kiri began teaching basic reo and tikanga to secondary school teacher trainees in the Māori Studies Department at training college. After that she joined the Department of Education, becoming an early childhood education officer for the Porirua Basin, Hutt Valley and Wellington, helping people establish childcare centres and meet requirements. She was also involved with staff training.

Later she joined the Early Childhood Development Unit, as Tumuaki Māori, responsible for training 28-30 staff nationally. Most had a background in working with their own iwi, and needed to learn about early childhood requirements and development. Then she joined a corporate consultancy partnership with other Māori and Pākehā women she knew (mostly former ECDU workers), working mostly in early childhood. There were partners in Whangarei, Wellington, Napier and Christchurch. Kiri has also taught life skills, literacy, numeracy, budgeting, dealing with violence, and parenting to women at Arohata Prison. At the time of the first interview she was looking forward to working at a Māori women's refuge, with special needs children. "I'll be working with Māori women and children, which is what I love doing." Kiri and Martin had made learning te reo and tikanga compulsory for their children, though they were able to choose other aspects of their lives such as friends and hobbies. As a result their children have good understanding of te reo and nga tikanga, and have maintained their links with their marae (Ngatokowaru, Parerawkawa) at Levin, and (Katihiku) at Ōtaki. Their third daughter, Fiona, attended

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Turakina Māori Girls School at Marton and gained confidence in herself as Māori there. "If they hear a racist comment or whatever, they're quite confident in dealing with it straight away." Kiri: "But I do know friends who have struggled with (identity issues). Its a thin line, its that balance between both that you have to weigh up. It makes things difficult for some."

About a year later (28/4/98) a third interview was recorded with Kiri. She had experienced a period of severe emotional and spiritual ill-health in recent months and she told me about its causes. She felt she had worked hard since she was 17, and as Māori she had been involved in many emotionally demanding situations including tangihanga; supporting people; whānau, hapū and iwi politics. While she considered herself strong, confident and optimistic, she was now 52 years old and experiencing asthma and arthritis. She found the work for the Māori women's refuge physically demanding because it involved helping people shift furniture in and out of vans and homes. It also involved supporting women in traumatic situations. Kiri had also been active in her extended whānau and hapū, for example by managing a long-running land claim issue in the Horowhenua. "It can be very stressful being involved with decision-making, making sure that people have got the information, going to meetings and sitting amongst conflict." Kiri had become emotionally exhausted. Losses such as the death of her first husband, mother and brother, though they had occurred some time previously, were still relevant to her grief. Kiri decided to resign from her job to rest and recuperate and her older sister spent some time looking after her. "I just wanted to be quiet, rest, and have karakia. I just wanted my immediate close family with me." A friend suggested that a local disabled woman needed help with her gardening, and this turned out to be therapeutic for Kiri. This woman was wheelchair-bound, with no use of her legs and only limited use of her arms. Kiri felt compassion for this woman, felt grateful for her own advantages, and realized that talking to the woman was good for her own well-being. After some months Kiri was able to return to work, and is now working for a Māori parenting and early childhood programme run by the Māori Women's Welfare League national organisation.

5.   Piripi Walker

Two interviews with Piripi Walker (born 1955) were recorded in late October 1997. Piripi is of Ngāti Raukawa descent and has a BA (Hons, first class), in Māori Studies from Victoria University. He has been a Māori language radio producer at Radio

New Zealand (Continuing Education Unit), a founder and manager of the Wellington Māori language radio station Te Upoko o te Ika, and secretary of Nga Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo (otherwise known as the Wellington Māori Language Board) which has taken various cases to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning protection of the Māori language and Māori access to broadcasting. From 1991 to 1996 he was Director of Language Studies at Te Wananga o Raukawa and he is currently an independent Māori language teacher, consultant and researcher.

Piripi was born in Wellington, but spent two of his pre-school years in London where his father was training as a surgeon. He can still affect a Cockney accent. He was the second child, and by 1969 he had six younger brothers and sisters. The family settled in the Hutt Valley. Piripi: "We had parents who were really just marvellous, and our house was always full of children and lovely adults (friends and relations)...We were exposed socially to a wide range of networks and we had a large amount of fun with that - singing, dancing, parties, kai and hospitality...I liked the outdoors and sport, that kind of thing." Piripi's grandmother (Mrs Beryl Walker, Ngāti Raukawa) was a regular visitor, and a strong influence. "She had that love of children, a real family warmth. I was very close to her until she died (in 1989). She spent every Sunday with the family, and continued this tradition through the years. Piripi: "We used to sit out on the verandah and she used to talk about the whakapapa...But I don't know if I wanted to identify too much as Māori. I grew up in a fairly normal New Zealand environment where those kids that could blend in as Pākehā and identify with the stronger side, absorbing their stock of anti-Māori jokes, did so. I was that kind of kid." Piripi says that when there were fights between different groups as teenagers, he would be amongst the Pākehā groups. Piripi: "The roots of things Māori and interest were there, provided I didn't have to front up for it in front of a whole lot of my mates."

On one occasion at school, however, Piripi did have the courage to assert his Māori whakapapa. "I remember in Standard Three we had a Samoan brother at St Bernard's here who taught us the history of Wellington, including the Māori history. I stood up in class and said to him, "well, here's my Māori genealogy" and recited it. He made me sit down. He said, "I just don't believe you!" in front of the class. So I had to sit with the Pākehā kids. It's a vivid memory. That's the first time I had to stand up in front of 30 people and go through my whakapapa, I was only seven, and he laughed at me." Piripi described his experience as "formative", and felt he was "left on the sideline" in terms of things Māori as a result of it. It was not until he had learnt the

language and developed some "cultural literacy" later on that he again gained confidence to assert a Māori identity. Piripi: "There is very significant doubt about your claims to a Māori identity if you're fair-skinned... and there was no social advantage in being Māori (at that time)." At St Bernard's there was no Māori language taught, and only brief references to culture and history in the social studies units. But while at St Patrick's College, Silverstream, Piripi was influenced by an ideology of non-materialism preached by the priests. "I came under the influence of all these priests with this extremely radical non-materialism, in fact anti-materialism, subversive ideology of the gospel. In the context of modern New Zealand society, where the dollar is God, that was subversive. And Jim Baxter was a major bohemian influence in my thinking. I wagged school and ran away to his funeral (at Jerusalem/Hiruharama) when I was in the seventh form. I was a hippy for a couple of years. I was fairly wild and disturbed. I had a turbulent love affair in my seventh form year, and I was caught up in the intellectual and emotional turmoil of the time. Some of the priests were dropping out, finding new ways to be themselves, and they were encouraging all of us to do the same. It was a really interesting time to be young."

"I spent about eight months at Jerusalem. I was living in the top house. The matriarch of Jerusalem, the late Wehe Wallace, heard that I was staying there and possibly heard about a Māori connection I had." Piripi's father worked for the Home of Compassion in Wellington, so Wehe may have known him in connection with the Sisters at Jerusalem. Wehe was Catholic but not a nun. She and the nuns constantly interacted with Baxter and the commune, caring for the young people, despite their drug use etc. Piripi says he suspects Wehe was aware of his parents' concern about him being there. "She came and got me and put me up in her garden shed, to be her "boy". She had about 20 different whāngai children. They would stay with her and mow her lawn or catch eels for her and other kuia. I was quite good at eeling, and she expected me to mow her lawn and do other jobs for her. It turned out to be a life-long friendship, which continued until she died. "Wehe was knowledgeable about Māori traditions and taught him many aspects of tikanga, tangihanga, and wairuatanga. Her Māori was fluent, her English limited. Piripi says there was a strong sense of Māori spirituality and the presence of the deceased around this kuia. He found this scary, and was particularly scared when he broke tikanga. One night he caught and ate eels, against customary tikanga, and suffered a stomach ache as a result. Piripi says Wehe commented once (in Māori) about him, saying she didn't know if he was Māori or Pākehā, but she knew he was lazy! He says his main interests were philosophy and

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girls. But he also attended hui, for the first time in his life. " I regarded myself as a Pākehā. I just used to go along with the others. We used to help with the food and the firewood, with hangi's." Piripi tells with amusement how he was given the honour of being on toilet duty - making sure it was clean, with enough toilet paper. "It was a very important job. The loo's would get in a filthy state and I'd have to go in two to three times a day." Knowledge gained at the commune has been useful in organising hui later in life, he says.

Returning to Wellington, Piripi lived in a "crash pad" with others associated with Jerusalem. He met his future wife Heather there, and they started living together. Aged about 18, he began to realise the need for money so as not to be reliant on charity. "I had a very interesting and valuable period of three to four years working in labouring jobs. I worked on fishing boats, in a bakery. You learn a lot of valuable things. There's a lot of very real language you hear when you're mixing with ordinary people struggling to live ordinary lives." On one boat, he worked with five alcoholics. "I learnt that the sea is inextricably tied to disappointment, marital failure and drinking." But he says he has never liked alcohol himself, because of the undignified behaviour which results. He says this is one of the reasons he has been drawn to marae. "I love that sense of beautifully managed encounter, of cultivated public performance of traditional poetry, sung from the heart. It continues in a sober fashion and the actors remain sober. It's blessed not with drink but with kai. That whole thing I've always found highly appealing."

Piripi says he and Heather had a "wild social life" in Wellington with people like aspiring writers and poets. But when Heather got pregnant, Piripi says he became "slightly more orthodox". He got a job as an assistant executive officer with the New Zealand Manufacturer's Federation and associated organisations. He learnt valuable office skills. His next job was as a barman at a hotel in Naenae. "I had a second child on the way. Things weren't worrying me, I was just naive, young, and I remember reading my way through the great books of the Western world. My family and others were probably getting quite concerned that I hadn't settled down and figured out what to do." The hotel allowed Piripi to listen to and interact with many native Māori speakers, and he began to fill notebooks with Māori phrases. Piripi: "There were 30-40 native speakers who drank there, honest working people, and there was a lot of opportunity to hear Māori." There were groups from Ngāti Porou, Tuhoe, and Waikato. "I started to fill notebook after notebook. I did this for six months." Then he got a job at Gear Meat, with better pay. But his parents were becoming increasingly

concerned about his career, and suggested he go to university to study the Māori language. He finally agreed and enrolled in Māori Studies at Victoria University. His wife Heather also supported him. "It was a very big sacrifice in many ways, because I gave up a wage and for the next three years we ate cabbage and mince."

Piripi studied full-time and majored in Māori Studies. In his fourth year of study, for honours, he was awarded a McCarthy Scholarship and did some tutoring in Māori Studies, including language and archaeology. Despite (head of Māori Studies) Sid Mead's initial scepticism, Piripi's ability with the reo proved adequate to gain him an exemption from some papers at stage one level. Piripi says he came to really enjoy university. "I was very interested in learning and knowledge. I was very much committed to the study that I wanted to do." Older and more settled than most students there, he continued to read widely while pursuing his studies. Piripi: "I didn't identify myself as Māori at university until my final year. In Māori terms people start to ...notice you if you've stuck at a Māori course for several years." Sid Mead was hosting a meal at his home for honours students and those going on to a Masters degree. "We went round the room and I mihi'd in my usual way. Not only did I not identify myself as Māori, I made some reference about how us, the Pākehā group, were privileged to have Sid there and paid tribute to him and Wiremu Parker. I'd said the wrong thing. Amster Reedy stood up and by that time he'd extracted from others a knowledge of my whakapapa, and he gave my whakapapa in front of others and told me off." Piripi was told that it was bad manners in a Māori situation not to declare your whakapapa as part of the formalities. "My view at the time was to classify myself according to skin colour."

Piripi had also begun getting to know his Uncle Whatarangi Winiata, who was teaching at Victoria University at the time. Piripi told Uncle Whata that he was interested in supporting his initiatives involving cultural and language revival for the three iwi of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa. "He began to give me the job of helping to organise the young people's language programme in 1980. I began to write texts for the young peoples' hui and then I became one of the organisers...In 1981-1982 in the school holidays I would go up (to Ōtaki) with my young toddlers and my wife Heather and we would teach language at these hui for the teenagers. It's very good to have people close in age teaching one generation down.The experience I had up in Raukawa was that everybody knew the family connection. They just saw me quite naturally as a person in whom the Māori is coming out." He says he was surprised to find his father had a similar attitude, and he was supported by his father

and his grandmother to pursue his interest in the language, whakapapa and family history. His grandmother chose him, from all his siblings, to succeed to family land on Kapiti Island. "We've always visited it. My father always took us there on his boat. We spent a lot of time picnicking and skin diving there. We still go there and dive. And in the last few years I've been taking my children to stay there a lot, staying with John and Susan Barrett.I think those things are a significant part of being able to hold on to Māori identity."

In 1982 he began working as a Māori language radio producer at Radio New Zealand in their Continuing Education Unit. "I was interested in having a life where I was active and useful in the real world and in working among ordinary people. The media appealed to me in its educational capacity." He recognised that radio also had the potential to be important in language revitalisation. There had been no job advertised but he went up to Beverley Wakem's 18th floor office at Radio New Zealand, wearing a flowery shirt, beach shorts, and jandals. Uncle Whata was associated with Radio New Zealand and had already recommended him. After talking for a while, she offered him a job - despite his casual dress. Piripi worked with Bill Kerekere producing programmes in the Māori language, including programmes for children.

Piripi is fair-skinned and blue-eyed, his Māori whakapapa not immediately apparent. He describes the comments of one of his colleagues on this matter: "People will have a normal response to you as an ordinary Pākehā. But those that are culturally Māori, *kua puta to reo, kia rongo ratou te ahua, te whakatakoto o te kupu,* will hear that you can speak Māori and speak it with a certain purity and resonance that indicates that you're a culturally Māori sort of person, and have spent a lot of time in the heartland of the Māori world. That almost completely evaporates the Māori anxiety over what you're doing, provided on the Māori side that everything's right according to tikanga Māori. Then they'll make an assessment, as Māori do, of what sort of person you really are. Pākehā of good character have always been treated as a rangatira, always."

Piripi says he started to use the name Piripi while at RNZ. "It had been applied to me for the last 4-5 years but I'd resisted it. Once I started to do things Māori, I realized I was kind of integrating together a few things, not only my interest in the language and the ability to speak it, but a career choice, some choices about the education of my children, and also the fact of having Māori ethnicity and ancestry. Mana Māori is on the rise, Māori social values are on the rise, and people do reconnect you back

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into those things. I descend from an old Raukawa family...Those things began to integrate and I decided I would begin to produce under the name of Piripi, because it was the name I already had in Māori circles, and bite the bullet of the identity difficulty that friends, family and the wider community would have with me, a white-looking fellow having a name like Piripi." Piripi turned down a part in a television drama, because it was a role for a Pākehā, though it required one who was fluent in the Māori language. He decided that whenever he appeared in public, he would indicate his tribal connection. "If you operate from an iwi base, you're safe. If you don't, you're lost. Your iwi will always support you, like the unconditional love of your parents. But you've got to be proud of it."

How did his wife and family feel about him beginning to identifying himself as Māori? "My wife must have been quite startled by it, although she was a language learner herself at teachers' college and continued learning the language. She could actually speak Māori, she had an empathy. I think that's a big help. But I feel sorry for my wife because she did definitely marry a Pākehā, and she ended up spending a large part of her married life with this strange Māori who popped out of the chrysalis. She's an absolutely indomitable person, and just coped. And she's let me do things. I've been involved in things in my life which are major projects to do with the Treaty, court cases, going to the Court of Appeal, the Privy Council, which have involved project work in a team for several months on end. Negotiating and these kinds of things have continued for a decade. My wife has always supported these things. And in the 90's the job at the wananga became more and more demanding - teaching on the marae, I was expected to live more and more on the marae, and I was almost expected to be an academic bachelor in the old Māori pattern. In the end this caused me to resign. So I have made decisions in favour of the family."

Despite his deep involvement in te ao Māori and self-identification as Māori, Piripi explains that he and his wife attend a mainstream local Catholic church and have retained their friendships which developed in the late 1970's. "That gang of ten of us are still a gang of ten and we still socialise together maybe five to six times a year. They're my oldest and best friends. I'm pleased I've (kept them as friends). I like the idea of having an inheritance of both worlds. One or two of the others have followed a similar journey." He describes himself as a moderate who is as committed to positive race relations as he is to the Treaty. "We have to have a very good joint future for everybody. Everybody has to be assured of being a first-class citizen." He has not sought to be a "front" person in Māoridom, and has been content to work

behind the scenes. His younger children have attended kohanga reo, and a teenage daughter is comfortable in kapahaka and speaking roles. Piripi was instrumental in initiating the establishment of both the Māori radio station Te Upoko o te Ika, and also the language claim to the Waitangi Tribunal lodged in 1983. The success of the language claim has resulted in significantly increased use of the Māori language on radio and television, which has helped boost the numbers of people learning te reo. At the time of this interview, Piripi and his colleagues were pleased that there were 300,000 people learning te reo, though he commented that the quality of language spoken could be improved.

6. Perena Quinlivan

Interview with Perena Quinlivan, recorded 3/7/98. Perena (born 1962) has had a varied career, achieving a B.A. from Victoria University, becoming an actor with Theatre Corporate in Auckland, joining Foreign Affairs, having a year's secondment to Manatu Māori, and getting postings as a diplomat with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Kiribati and Indonesia. He has recently (as of 21/1/04) completed a Masters in International Business, a Masters of Commerce and a Diploma in Language Studies at Sydney University. He has worked in international marketing, management consultancy (based in Sydney, working in Asia) and management.

Perena, whose mother is Ngāti Ranginui and father was Pākehā was brought up in Napier. His Māori whānau live some distance away in Te Puna, just outside of Tauranga. "I don't think it was easy for Mum to maintain her links. The onus was always on her to visit there and obviously when there were tangi or hui she would go. We would all go usually. It took at least six hours, with all four of us children packed into the backseat." They had occasional visits from relatives in Napier, but more usually had to travel to see them and often went to Te Puna in the school holidays. "I think I was very lucky (to have that exposure) because I know other Māori people haven't. Maybe it was because my mother was older, she was a native speaker of Māori. There was that depth to access, and also the fact that we had our marae, that maintained that." Perena's close family all lived in the vicinity of the marae, and the Māori language was kept alive there.

Perena says he was secure knowing he was part of a wider whānau when he went to the Bay of Plenty to visit. But they knew few Māori in Napier, and he felt his Pākehā

friends didn't understand that he was Māori. He felt some embarrassment when he realized not everyone had marae or relatives or spoke Māori, and because he believed he didn't look obviously Māori, he was afraid of being disbelieved. "I felt like if people heard we were Māori they would just think, "Oh, you can't be very Māori, you must only have one fifty-seventh or something"." He said he knew from his experiences and whanaungatanga that he was Māori, but didn't have the skills to say so and felt his friends' disbelief undermined his confidence as Māori to a degree. His father got on well with his mother's family, but was not strongly supportive of Māori culture. He was interested in learning Māori, but had no opportunity to do so at high school. He remembers, with some discomfort, an incident in which the Māori boys were singled out and he did not assert his right to join them.

"I remember one of the priests, a Māori missioner, came to the school and he wanted to meet all the Māori boys. They went off and I saw them go, and I almost thought I should be there too. But I felt like they all had Māori surnames and they all looked Māori and they were also very much part of the same social group, and I thought they probably would have been surprised if I'd stood up and said, well actually I'm Māori as well. I was more advantaged. I didn't fit in with them at school." He also felt some social distance from his Māori cousins in Te Puna. His parents valued education very highly, and he achieved well at school. He learnt the piano for more than eight years. "Those were things which they weren't exposed to in Te Puna. So I didn't feel as if I fitted in with my Māori cousins in Te Puna, and somehow back in Napier I didn't have Māori friends either. I had Pākehā friends, because that's all there was. But there were Māori aspects to our home life. I remember once washing tea towels with something and Mum getting really upset about it, that was something I shouldn't do. And Mum was always very hospitable to guests and just showered them with food and that sort of thing."

After leaving school, Perena went to America for a year as a Rotary exchange student. "When I was there I had to speak at various Rotary functions and when I got back (I had to speak publicly) as well. I was really quite shy, but maybe I was just quietly determined that I'd go there despite that. I wanted to develop, become something more." He stayed with three host families, all wealthy, and remembers feeling disturbed about racist attitudes expressed by a host, when he did not feel he was in a position to argue. Perena returned to New Zealand, and wanted to go to university, but needed to save some money to do so. He worked in Napier, in a factory and a bank, and attained his ACTL (a teaching qualification) in piano. It was

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a lonely and difficult year for him. He attended Victoria University for a year (1981) and then went overseas again. "I was part of this thing called "Up with People" which is this educational programme for university students between the ages of 17-25. It promotes international understanding and good will. The programme involves doing a two-hour performance, a musical, and those sorts of ideals are encapsulated in this musical show." The group trained in Arizona, and then toured through the United States, Canada, and Europe. "We lived with 90 different families during that year. I was dancing and singing. I was very energetic in those days. It was really very physical and demanding. There were people from 13 different countries in the show."

He returned to New Zealand, worked hard to complete his B.A. and then got accepted for Mervyn Thompson's diploma in drama, a post-graduate course in Auckland. Before going he attended a summer course in Māori language at the Kuratini (Wellington Polytech) for six weeks, to extend the Māori language he had learnt at university. "It was then that people started to call me Perena, whereas previously I had been Brendan. Mum was very happy I was doing the course."

Perena did well in the drama course, and got a lead role in a graduation production. He was spotted by the director of Theatre Corporate, (a professional theatre in Auckland) and offered a contract. "I was very lucky, but I was terrified because I was with all these famous people I'd seen, George Henare and others, and I was thinking I was no good. I had very low self-esteem. I still fundamentally didn't have a lot of confidence in my own ability. I think it was because of a combination of factors, possibly because I was Māori. My relationship with my father wasn't that close. When I went to Auckland I was still called Brendan, but when I started work at Theatre Corporate I asked people to call me Perena. Its kind of a special name." After a year in Theatre Corporate, his father died and Perena resigned and returned to Napier to live with his mother and support her. He worked in a factory for a few months, and then decided to join the Franciscan Brothers. "I was going down a spiritual path. Then that finished and I was feeling very depressed and kind of struggling with things."

Perena won a part Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, at Mercury Theatre. He also did some part-time teaching at high school, mainly English, Geography, Social Studies. He then suffered a serious accident. "I had this epileptic seizure when I was having a shower and as a consequence of that I was burnt to about 30 percent of my body. Most of those burns were third degree. I was in hospital at Middlemore for two

months. I had several skin grafts. And I remember going back to Hawkes Bay and being given weights. I remember not being able to use a knife and fork because it would hurt so much because of the burns on my left arm. I remember not wanting to wash the dishes because I just hated the sight of hot water. I used to get very, very depressed." On recovering, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "I went to Manatū Māori on secondment (from there) because I was kind of adjusting, still emerging from that dark period. I felt very comfortable at Manatū Māori, it was just great working with Māori and for Māori. I especially like working with Māori in business, because you're trying to create something. When I went back to Foreign Affairs from Manatū Māori I found it very hard. Its an elite organisation, government to government sort of stuff, and the people that work there are people who have lived in foreign countries and had all sorts of amazing different experiences. At Manatū Māori, the focus is absolutely domestic and social. In Foreign Affairs there was a Māori network, and I found it very supportive, it was great. A lot of my close friends are Māori staff and Pacific Islanders. But it's a big organisation, predominantly Pākehā and competitive - if you join Foreign Affairs you need to be pretty together, because it's a sort of sharp-shooting environment. I remember finding it hard at first, it was a struggle."

He found that being Māori meant he often had a stronger feeling of affiliation for the indigenous people, wherever he was based, than other staff. "Some of the work I was doing in Indonesia was development work, and I could really identify with the struggles of the various cultural groups there. Every nation has its own particular pace at which it develops and grows. I felt I was very close to the local staff in the embassy and on a number of occasions I was invited to their homes, and the other staff had never been invited. I took that as a compliment. My Pasha Indonesian language was regarded as being the best out of the ex-pat staff and that was because I really wanted to make that effort. I was there for almost four years and tried to do a lot of travelling. Its a great country, it was fascinating. I really enjoyed it." He then decided to attend Sydney University, to study for his Masters in International Business and Commerce. "I think people should look beyond New Zealand. There are so many people with M.B.A.'s anyway, in order to differentiate yourself, you have to go somewhere else. The University of Sydney has a good reputation, and it's very international in its focus."

"I identify as Māori, but I'm not sure how I do that. I suppose that's why I'd

like to be able to come back after getting this MBA and work in Māori business. I'm going to Sydney, because I think Māori need to be global, and to strengthen and develop myself to make an effective contribution. I'm interested in some sort of job assisting Māori trade with overseas, Māori exporters. There's plenty of potential to trade with Indonesia and it could be very exciting.… I'd love to be involved with our marae much more than I am now, but at a political level. I feel welcome when I go to our marae, there's still lots of whānau there. I always want to listen to the Māori news, I always want to buy a copy of Mana magazine. I'm always interested in what's happening in the Māori world and I feel as if I'm reasonably well-informed."

7. Rawiri Hindle
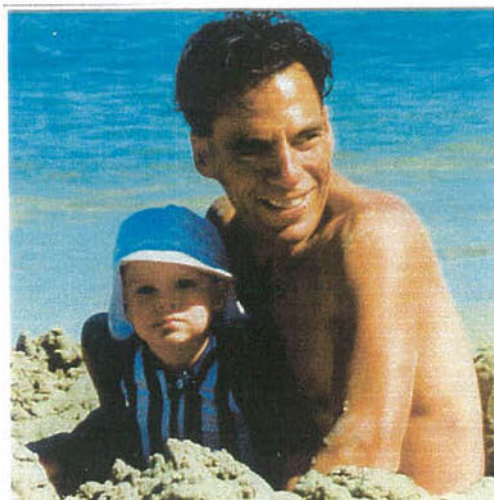
Interview recorded 9/8/1997 with Rawiri Hindle (born May 1959). At the time of this interview Rawiri was a developer of Māori programmes at Te Papa Tonga-Rewa, the Museum of New Zealand. He has since become national co-ordinator, Nga Toi (Māori arts) for the Ministry of Education. Rawiri is a former primary teacher, who has taught in a total immersion Māori language class at Petone. His primary tribal affiliation is to Ngāti Kuri, Poho Tiare in the Far North, but he was brought up in the small railway town of Otira, on the Arthur's Pass Road. Rawiri is homo-sexual, has a long-term partner and two children whom he sees regularly. He is a former aerobics champion.

Rawiri's father was from Yorkshire and came to New Zealand through his work in the Merchant Navy. He met Rawiri's mother (Ngāti Kuri), in a milkbar in Bulls when

she was travelling back to Auckland after a period of work in Nelson. Rawiri's parents lived in the Canterbury region, where Rawiri was born, and then moved to the West Coast. His eldest brother was born in Auckland and brought up in Te Hapua by a great-aunt, who refused to give him back, even when his mother went there to get him. This great-aunt had ill-treated Rawiri's mother as a child when she had responsibility for her after her mother had died and her father had become very sick. "My mother wanted to have nothing to do with our family and moved as far as she could away from them, because of this one woman who really did treat her very badly. She was abused physically, verbally and emotionally." Rawiri: "We didn't have anything to do with our family up there as we grew up. We kind of missed out on all that side of our lives. I only went there once and that was to be christened." Rawiri's mother is full Māori (as far as she knows) and was brought up in the reo and tikanga. "She went through that whole thing of being strapped for speaking Māori at school." But Rawiri was brought up with almost no Māori language spoken around him. "We knew we were Māori, but didn't really know what that was. Brown, that was all we knew. In a way I felt linked to the other Māori in the community. But when a Māori family came into the village from the north there was that feeling that we were different. They had a strength in their culture and whanaungatanga." About a third of the people living in the railway village of Otira, where the family lived, were Māori.

Rawiri enjoyed learning simple actions songs at primary school. The community was largely working class, and Rawiri's parents were not very involved in his school life. But they were interested in their children's school reports and sport, and recognized the importance of education. Rawiri describes his home environment as predominantly English working class. "We didn't do things like go on holidays or spend quality time together. We went home and worked. We owned a shop and a tearooms, and did labouring work on the railways. So it was very much a working family. Dad was the one that gave us the cuddles and called us soppy names. We fought a lot when I was a child but only because he was more open. My mother, you'd never fight with her. She was the boss. If you answered her back she'd hit you. That was a chain reaction, she was abused and beaten." Rawiri said the family owned a set of encyclopedias which he read, but there was little discussion in the home and he was the most talkative himself. There was apparently some dissatisfaction with the local school because Rawiri was asked, probably at the initiative of his mother, if he wanted to go to the Māori boys' boarding school St Stephens in Auckland, with help

from a Māori Education Foundation Scholarship. Rawiri's mother may have been familiar with St Stephens through her own background at Queen Victoria, and may have noted Rawiri's interest in things Māori which was related to his feeling of closeness to her. "I think I've always been the closest out of us all to my mother, I think I was meant to be her daughter." But Rawiri did not fit in easily there: "It really was a big shock going to St Stephens in all sorts of ways - in terms of being gay and in terms of being Māori but not knowing anything about it, it was pretty terrifying."

Rawiri had previously had some sexual experience with other boys at Otira, but he was not aware that being homo-sexual was not accepted by many people. The shift to St Stephens affected his personality profoundly. "I closed right up going to St Stephens, I just went right inside myself. It was my choice to go there, but it was like a prison. To do well at St Stephens' you either had to be a good rugby player or be in the concert party." Coming from an English-style nuclear family unit, he felt different, and says the other boys were sometimes "hard" on him. However, he believes the experience familiarised him with the whanaungatanga of a Māori environment, which affected his choice to maintain an involvement with Māoridom later on. He was not confident enough in things Māori to take part in the kapahaka and found (like Kiri) that the Māori language classes at the school focussed on the students who already knew the language. He regrets the lack of artistic encouragement at the school and would have liked to have learnt to dance.

After leaving St Stephens, Rawiri attended teachers' training college in Christchurch, where he majored in Māori and P.E. The level of Māori knowledge required was relatively low and he felt comfortable with it. "I could do it quite well because I was in a community where there weren't many Māori people anyway so I was more confident. And we had a wonderful tutor, who took me under his wing. I really enjoyed teachers college." He enjoyed a relaxed social life, and accepted his homo-sexual identity. It was at training college that he started using the name Rawiri, when previously he had been called David. As Rawiri puts it, he began to get more involved in the Māori world "from his own perspective" during his first year of teaching in Masterton, with support from an itinerant teacher of Māori. With her support Rawiri ran taha Māori programmes in the middle-class Pākehā school he was teaching at, and gained some experience at a predominantly Māori, low socio-economic school called East School. "While I was at East School I noticed that wealth of being Māori. It was so much alive at that school, and I began to wonder,

what am I doing here (at the middle class school)?" He enjoyed the middle-class Pākehā school, but felt that his ability to teach Māori would be limited there. He began to think that he should focus his talents on working for Māori, because of the greater need in that community. He wanted to return to Canterbury so accepted a job at a place called Runanga, near Greymouth. "I only lasted a term and it was the start of a major depression. The place was grey and I was on my own. I had lots of confusions about being Māori, about identity as a Māori in terms of my sexuality and in terms of Christianity or my *taha wairua*." He met a number of born-again Christians there, but did not want to follow that path. He returned to Christchurch and enrolled for a six-week language immersion course. "I just fell in love with it (the language), absolutely and totally."

But Rawiri's emotional state was precarious, he considers himself "sensitive" and he describes how he experienced a breakdown during a journey to return to his "roots" in Te Hapua. "I just freaked out completely about it. It was part of what my whole belief system had me believe: that Te Hapūa was this *hohonu* (deeply traditional) place, where they only speak Māori. But that's not the reality at all." He was smoking marijuana and travelling north of Masterton, alone, when he was overcome by fear. He decided to return to his family in Christchurch, but felt too unwell to work for about a year. He was diagnosed as having anxiety attacks, given sleeping pills, and put in hospital for a brief period, but suffered a lack of understanding and even suspicion (because he was gay) from medical staff.[51] He had occasional hallucinations. "It was about two or three months of not coping at all. And about another two or three months of starting to gain back some of my self-esteem and then another six months of coming right again." During this period he decided to tell his parents he was gay, and found they accepted it reasonably well.

Rawiri's mother had distanced herself so much from her whānau and hapū that she could offer him little help, and a local church was experienced as rejecting. But talking to two friends in Timaru brought about the healing Rawiri needed, and he was able to gradually return to teaching. "I think that process of breakdown, for me anyway, meant I was stripped completely. My self-esteem was rock-bottom. It was a process of slowly picking it back up again. I ended up going into school and doing a

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[51] Rawiri also had an experience in hospital which he says helped him realise the importance of spirituality. It involved helping to heal a woman through prayer.

little bit of teaching and just finding again that I do have a way with kids that's fairly instant. They were great. And building that back up again." He said while he continued to find it hard, he had learnt that it was alright to fail, that he could pick himself back up again and try again. After a period of teaching at Christchurch, and attending another Māori language immersion course, he applied to teach in Te Kao. "This time I wasn't scared. It was really good. I'd found my strength."

He found the use of the Māori language at Te Kao much lower than he had expected, though there was a kohanga reo there. People over 40 years of age used the language, but the younger ones hadn't been brought up with it. "It's like you almost have to lose that knowledge altogether before anyone starts to do anything about it." He got to know his older relatives (particularly kuia), and also made some new friends. While his appearance did not mark him as different, he felt that his upbringing differentiated him at first. But as people came to know and accept him, he became more relaxed. "Going back for that two and a half years to teach up there helped me to break through that fear and insecurity. It was an enriching part of my life. It affirmed my place with my own people - who I was and where I come from and all those important things."

He then decided to travel overseas and visit his father's family in England and Canada (he had visited previously in 1982). Returning to Timaru and then Wellington, he accepted a new challenge - a job teaching at a Māori immersion school in Masterton. "It was only meant to be for four weeks and I ended up being there for four years. It was fantastic.I felt really apprehensive about it and unsure but I got really supported." Rawiri says he is confident in his reo to the level of an eight or nine year old, but sometimes struggles to understand native speakers. Gaining security in his identity as Māori was important in his process of learning the language. His next Māori immersion teaching job was in Petone Primary School. He enjoyed the fact that the children came from many different tribes, because he describes himself as "pan-tribal". Moving to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa meant leaving behind the supportive environment of Māori immersion teaching to work in a more Pākehā-dominanted environment, and he faced new challenges in working towards unity with other Māori staff. "To achieve that feeling of strong unity for me is hard because I come from both worlds."He recognised the need to express his views in subtle ways and not to react personally to criticism. "It's that constant game of bridging, on the one hand bridging between Māori and Pākehā

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and then on the other hand bridging between what I feel is right or not right, from that perspective of our people, our iwi or our hapū."

Rawiri comments that while he works passionately for Māori during his work-life, in his private life he also feels comfortable with Pākehā. His partner and some of his closest friends are Pākehā, though they have an understanding of aspects of being Māori. He describes how bridging the cultures can sometimes seem like experiencing conflicting pulls, and that he worries about whether he might be compromising too much. While he says there is sometimes a lack of acknowledgement of being gay in Māori society, as there is in Pākehā society, he doesn't experience any rejection because of it. He believes he has gained strength, insight and understanding from having to work through issues about being Māori and being gay. He describes his spirituality as being largely about caring for the environment, whānau and coming generations.

8.   Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal

(Photography by J.Carlin)

Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal was interviewed at his home in Wellington in December 1997. At that time and until late 2002, Charles was director of graduate studies at Te Wananga Raukawa in Ōtaki. He is also the author of several books including "*Te Haurapa, An Introduction to Researching Tribal History and Traditions*" (1992), and "*Kati Au i Konei: A Collection of Songs from Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*" (1994). He has been involved in the production of historical and contemporary Māori music recordings, and at the time of the interview

he had recently finished a PhD thesis on traditional Māori theatre, whare tapere.

Charles and his twin brother were born in August 1965 in Auckland, and lived at St Heliers Bay for their first five years. Their father Turoa Royal had completed a Masters degree in geography, and taught geography at Tamaki College before moving to a job at the Department of Education. Charles' childhood memories are happy. Although his parents produced six boys, five of them in just over five years (including the twins), they were well supported by extended whānau and a housekeeper. In 1970 the family shifted to Wellington, where Turoa worked for the Māori and Pacific Island Education Unit of the Department of Education, and then later Wellington High School, where he spearheaded bi-lingual education initiatives. While both of Turoa's parents were native speakers and he had grown up amongst hapū and iwi, he had not been taught the language in the home and did not learn it until he went to university. Due to the predominance of assimilationist philosophies in those years, Tūroa's use of the Māori language with his children was minimal. As an inspector of Māori and Island education Turoa travelled often, going to marae and visiting iwi and hapū to promote the importance of education. Charles would often travel with his father, and remembers the sense of adventure he had on visiting remote marae. He was aware that his father was well-received, but his main memories are of playing outside with other children.

Hence Charles was aware that he was Māori, but chose to reject his taha Māori at St Patrick's College, Silverstream. The only other Māori attending the school were his brothers and there was scarcely any Māori or even New Zealand history taught. "The whole context of the school was dominated by Anglo Saxon, Irish Catholic academia and anything outside of that wasn't really valued. But we did very well in that context." Aspects which Charles appreciated about St Patrick's later were the encouragement of self-discipline, good study habits, music, the arts (eg literature) and the Bible. Charles remembers negative comments being made about Māori by boys at Silverstream but did not identify himself as Māori so they did not concern him. "In terms of getting involved in the Māori world, we were greatly resistant. I remember in 1980 Dad took my brothers and I to a young people's hui at Raukawa marae. All the way up to the hui we resisted. We got into the hui, our resistance melted somewhat and then after the hui the resistance went straight back up again. That was my first hui with some of the people who have become prominent. I remember being sort of resentful of them because they were so way ahead, they were so comfortable in this setting."

His "revolution" or identity transition phase occurred when he was studying music at Victoria University. He studied avante garde European composers, and developed his own compositions. He began searching for sounds which would distinguish his work from that of other students. Charles began listening to moteatea as sung by Rangi Dewes, and experimenting with re-mixing. He was impressed by the poetry of the words, and drawn to gaining deeper understanding of these traditional and historic waiata. This led him to further develop an interest in the Māori language and other aspects of te ao Māori. He describes it as an academic choice initially, rather than a personal one. He wanted to remain in control, and was afraid of being embarrassed. Gradually the academic interest changed to a deeper, more personal involvement. Charles describes himself as going through an "identity crisis" at this time. He says he began to reconnect with symbols that affected him deeply, such as feeling admiration for the courage and strength of ancestors. In 1985-86 he began attending rangatahi hui and language immersion courses run by Te Wananga o Raukawa. He mastered the language relatively quickly. After graduating from Victoria University he taught at a kohanga reo at Ngatokowaru, near Levin, living in a cottage with other language immersion students. With other students, he spoke Māori most of the time and attended numerous hui. He attended Te Wananga o Raukawa and began playing music in the groups "Aotearoa" and "Tauira". But the student life meant not having enough money, not eating or sleeping well. This took a toll on him physically and emotionally and after about 18 months he decided to return to Wellington.

A trip to Europe, which included performing with Ngāti Poneke in Spain, gave him a broader perspective and he realized that he had become so passionate about being Māori that his behaviour had sometimes been difficult for his parents to cope with. "You invest all this incredible energy into it, the language and so on. On the one hand it's marvellous because you learn so much so quickly and you place such importance on what you're learning. But on the other hand, you can become very self-centred and you begin to disengage from those around you. One of the things that happens is that you start blaming the Pākehā world for, in my case, why I didn't get this when I was three years of age. And the other thing is that things become terribly black and white - all Pākehā culture's bad, all Māori culture is good. Anybody who even mentions a criticism of the Māori world is an evil colonist who needs to be exterminated from the face of the earth and driven into the sea. That's just the classic emotional period. Your energy for taha Māori submerges anything that may be Pākehā inside you."

He said he became more relaxed about being Māori in about 1989 when he had gained confidence in the language and felt he had a reasonable general knowledge. When he returned from overseas he was offered a job with the Commission for Social Policy. In this job Charles travelled to hui around the entire country. Dr Mason Durie became an important mentor and intellectual influence. Later mentors included Charles' uncle Māori Marsden (his grandmother's brother); Shane Jones, with whom he worked in the Ministry for the Environment; and Miria Simpson with whom he worked at the Alexander Turnbull Library.

9. "Rona"

Interviews with Rona[52] (born 1968) were recorded on 17/10/95 and 11/9/97. Rona is of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Mutunga, Kai Tahu, German, and English descent. She is a playwright, a singer/songwriter and a published writer of short stories and poetry. She is forthright about being both bi-racial (Māori and Pākehā) and bi-sexual. She has worked as a language tutor, a radio journalist and newsreader, and is currently attending Bill Manhire's Master of Arts Creative Writing course. Her father had various jobs before becoming a teacher. She describes her mother as coming from a "working class" family of German and English descent. Rona spent her early years in a state housing area in Whakatane, had a year in Rarotonga and then moved to a higher socio-economic area of Whakatane. When she was fourteen, her parents separated and she went with her Pākehā mother to live in Nelson, which she describes as "very white". She is quite fair-skinned with blue eyes, and often encounters disbelief about her identity as Māori. After studying English literature at university for a year, she travelled overseas, became "politicized", began identifying as a writer and returned in 1992 to study Māori and women's issues, completing her degree in 1994.

Rona always knew she was Māori and had frequent contact with her father's family during her early childhood, particularly his sister and brother-in-law in Taranaki. Her memory of going to the tangi of her father's brother-in-law in Taranaki is particularly significant, partly because she heard her father speaking Māori there for the first time. She had both Māori and Pākehā friends for most of her childhood, initially in a

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[52] Not her real name. This participant requested that her real name not be used for this thesis.

state housing area in Whakatane with around 50 percent Māori and then later in a more middle-class area in the same city. She had learnt action songs and Māori language from a Pākehā teacher. It was not until she began at a new secondary school (aged thirteen) and tried to attend a kapahaka club there that she realized she didn't look Māori, because of the way others made her feel. She decided not to attend again. While she says the incident was not traumatic, she realized then that people made judgements based on appearance, and that she appeared to be non-Māori. She excelled in a Māori language class she attended, however, topping her class in the third form. She knew her father's tribal affiliation was Ngāti Raukawa and he encouraged her to learn more.

But her parent's relationship was troubled, her father physically abusive towards her mother, and when they separated and she went with her mother to Nelson. Rona felt dislocated there and says she experienced Nelson as "a very non-Māori place". She hardly ever saw her father, there was no opportunity to continue learning the Māori language, and no support for a Māori identity within her school environment. She says she was emotionally "messy" and began associating with other troubled teenagers, who were into sex, drugs and alcohol. Nevertheless she continued to succeed academically and was even head girl in her seventh form year. Rona also remembers having her Māori identity challenged by Pākehā, for example when she applied for a Māori Education Foundation grant one of her male peers suggested she was claiming some remote whakapapa solely for financial advantage. "I was really shocked that people thought that way." The challenge made Rona question her own right to claim a Māori identity.

Rona studied English literature at Canterbury University for two years but questioned its relevance for her life. She then travelled overseas and lived in London, Zimbabwe, and Manchester for three years. She says that before she went overseas she had a basic understanding of politics, and a strong sense of right and wrong. But it was through meeting people involved with the African National Congress in Zimbabwe that she became more fully aware and "politicized" about racism and sexism. She was involved with left-wing groups in England but became dissatisfied with their approach and decided to return to Aotearoa New Zealand and study Māori and women's studies at Victoria University. She found a strong sense of vocation and purpose in doing so. But again her sense of identity and belonging as Māori was affected when she found herself being seriously criticized (on issues related to personality and choice of subject matter in an essay) by a staff member. She decided

to lay a formal complaint through the Victoria University Disciplinary Committee. The process of laying a complaint was difficult and painful and the incident undermined her confidence in speaking the Māori language for eighteen months. She was also physically ill with a chest infection and sore throat, she believes as a result of this process, for about six months. She says her father's support was very important to her at this time. The committee made a decision which was in Rona's favour, but did not result in any action being taken against the defendant.

In women's studies she found the experience of identifying as bisexual, and reminding lecturers of the existence of bi-sexuals, similarly stressful. She realized that there were similarities between being bi-sexual and being b-racial. "It's being somewhere in that uncomfortable never-never land that people find threatening or somehow they wish you were just a bit more quiet about it... I still have that same feeling of being too queer for the straights and too straight for the queers, or too white for the Māori or too Māori for the whites. It's very similar."

Rona expresses her bi-racial identity through her work. She has made a series of radio programmes for student radio called "Mana Tagata" profiling Māori and Pacific Island artists, many of whom were of mixed descent. At the time of the first interview she had recently written and staged a highly-acclaimed play called "Maua Taua" (written in a combination of Māori and English). This play described the beauty of the language and also the pain and difficulties that can be experienced by certain types of people in learning the language, including an adoptee with no knowledge of his whakapapa, a Christian, a bi-sexual or lesbian woman and a " Pākehā-looking" woman. They are challenged by others but learn to find their personal strength and confidence as Māori regardless. In the play, a fair-skinned Māori woman called Hinepounamu was ignored, insulted and disbelieved by other Māori. Rona says this is a "concentrated" version of incidents from her own life. She felt some shyness about exposing this issue on stage, but said many viewers told her they were grateful she had expressed it.

She describes awareness of historical dissonance in her whakapapa, for example she is a descendant both of Te Rauparaha and one of the men who arrested him. While she is aware that she is not personally to blame, and can see it as humorous, she is also aware that such dissonance adds to the challenge of reconciling the two sides of her whakapapa. Socially, Rona says she enjoys friendships with a range of people who understand the "pain and joy of being of more than one culture, whether that's a

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sexuality culture, whether that's an ethnic culture, or whether its a national culture". These people similarly identify with and relate to various cultural or ethnic groups, and believe in challenging the boundaries of those groups. The priority Rona gives to her Māori identity results from both whakapapa, family loyalty, and her strong sense of social justice. Though she may not experience anti-Māori sentiment directed at her because of her appearance, she reacts strongly to generalised anti-Māori sentiment when she hears it. She believes this affects her employability in some sectors. While her mother is warmly accepted by her father's family and Rona's Pākehā whakapapa is also accepted by them, she says she experiences a lack of acceptance of her Māori identity amongst older members of her mother's family. "They just ignore it, and they probably won't call me Rona." Younger family members are more enthusiastic however.

At the time of the second interview (11/9/97) Rona had continued to work successfully in the creative arts, working as a singer, a story-teller, a writer and an actor. She had graduated from Bill Manhire's Creative Writing course at Victoria University and had adult work published in "Sport", "Te Ao Marama", "Devotion": and children's fiction published in the School Journal and "He Kohikohinga". A second play she had written was called "Pukeko Tuawha" and was science fiction, about Māori space exploration, primarily in the Māori language. At this time Rona had developed a confidence and freedom in using and writing in the Māori language, without feeling that she had to be expert to the point of being fully comfortable in a marae setting. "I've realized that some of those things I don't have to know, its enough for me to be who I am right now, being me as a mixed race woman. Even with all those absences of knowledge, it's absolutely fine." Rona described also feeling freedom to express spirituality in her own way, according to her own instincts, but also feeling a more instinctive desire to practice traditional customs.

She described another painful incident relating to how she had previously enjoyed spending time with a tribally-related aunt who gave her a lot of information about the hapū and its whakapapa. This aunt had had difficulty accepting her bi-sexuality and become abusive. "I haven't been back there since because that was really painful. I know that I need to go back, but I just haven't been ready yet." She also turned down a job at one of her home marae, explaining that she felt the best way she could help her people was to keep writing material that they would enjoy, particularly people who felt "dislocated". Rona describes herself as "a city girl", with network of friends who support her and think similarly, particularly her "queer women" friends. The city

was where she felt comfortable and supported, and she feared that the marae and tribal university would reject her non-traditional identity. While she felt linked to her hapū and iwi, her identity was primarily pan-tribal, though she was aware that this identity involved some sense of dislocation. She said that being Māori was very important to her, and she was finding strength in learning taiaha mau rakau. "I'm anti-establishment, no matter whether the establishment is Māori or Pākehā."

Rona was known as Māori in Wellington at the time of the interview, but frequently experienced disbelief on travelling and visiting people elsewhere who did not know her. She believed that new people often "freaked out" because she didn't look Māori. While she had previously worn *pounamu* round her neck she had become tired of using objects to make herself visibly Māori and decided to stop doing so. She was aware that the lack of visual clues about her being Māori sometimes made it hard for other people. She had a strong commitment to social justice, and this was why she had given such a high priority to her identity as Māori, without denying or feeling ashamed of her Pākehā whakapapa. She felt quite different from her mother's family, many of whom were Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as feeling different from her relatives with a more traditional Māori identity. "It's still quite jarring when I'm in situations which are pretty traditional, either Pākehā traditional or Māori traditional situations, sometimes to realise how different I am. That I probably never will fit in with either of those cultures and that I suppose I'm following the culture that I do fit in with which seems to be an urban woman-based political queer culture and getting supported by lots of women to do that. I don't know if I'll ever set out to become one of the girls at the marae." Though she feels secure, comfortable and supported by her friends and flatmates, she also has a feeling of being "cut adrift", and would like a stronger link to her turangawaewae, particularly the land.

She says she has felt "troubled" by cultural identity issues for some years and had only recently come to a stronger sense of acceptance of her own Māori/Pākehā identity. "I'm starting to come to a point where I just know who I am, whatever that is. Whatever influences I have and whatever whakapapa I have or whatever. But I did feel troubled because I'd probably internalised attitudes about having to be one or the other, rather than being happy being both." She advocates greater public awareness of issues relating to being both Māori and Pākehā.

10. Jessica Terereiaao Baxter

Terereiaao Jessica Baxter (born 1978), of Taranaki and Whakatohea descent, was brought up in Paekakariki and has worked as a teacher of kapahaka and te reo, assisted in the development of Māori language educational resources, and as an advisory/support officer for Te Tahuhu o Te Matauranga (the Ministry of Education). Since the interview she has become engaged to marry, lives with her partner, and has three tamariki. Jessica lived with both her parents for her first six years. Her parents, John Te Wharematangi Baxter and Karen Stapleton, introduced her to local Māori people, including the kuia of Ngāti Haumia. From the age of four she attended the local kapahaka group, Rangiatea. Her parents separated when she was six, and she remained in Paekakariki with her mother. Soon afterwards her mother began learning how to weave *kete*, and through this involvement of her mother's, Jessica got to know the wider Māori community. Around the same time, her father began studying the Māori language through the Wellington Polytechnic. He had not been brought up with much exposure to Māori language. "I still had contact with my father in the weekends. He would tell me what he'd learnt and take me to all his manuhiri days - hui, noho marae and tangi." About a year later, Jessica's mother also began studying the Māori language and also taught her waiata, karakia, and tikanga.

As long as Jessica can remember, John had also told her stories about their kaumatua, tupuna, tribal beliefs, and history. "I didn't actually realise at the time that these were specifically Māori. To me that was just my father telling me our history." Jessica comments that she did not learn that most people associated being Māori with certain physical features such as skin colour till later, and that her early understanding of

being Māori was cultural. "It was more the way that people lived - if they said a karakia before picking harakeke or anything like that, then to me that was Māori." There was no kohanga reo in Paekakariki during Jessica's pre-school years and it was not until her last year at primary school that "Māori enrichment" was introduced at Paekakariki School. Because she had already learnt so much from her whānau and community, she assisted in teaching the younger children. Her own understanding of the language was not extended, but she says she appreciated learning to teach. "An important thing that I've always been told about matauranga Māori - it's not something that is given to you for you alone. When it's given to you, you are the house for that knowledge and it's up to you to look after that knowledge and then to pass it on to others." Because her family was learning Māori language and customs, tikanga such as karakia before meals began to be practiced in their home. The family practised waiata together, and John had learnt to *whaikorero*. Jessica describes the social circle of herself and her parents as mostly Māori or Pākehā working with Māori. Jessica's mother was brought up with two younger Māori brothers, and had other Māori in her extended whānau. She had established her own relationships with local kuia in Paekakariki, who invited her to learn weaving with them and to become a member of the local Māori Women's Welfare League.

At college Jessica remained advanced in Māori subjects, and helped others as she had at primary school, but also learnt further customary practices, including karanga and oratory skills. She excelled and earned a position of leadership within the kapahaka group. Jessica had a teacher who was also from Taranaki, and passed on ancestral knowledge to her. While she was confident in her identity as Māori, because she has pale skin and blue eyes, at both primary school and college she experienced questioning, challenges and disbelief about her self-identity as Māori. "I was made to feel quite left out by some of the people of my own age group who looked like they were Māori, obviously Māori looking. To them being Māori was eating boil up and having all the uncles round. It was a different way of being Māori than what I was used to." She pursued her interest in things Māori whenever possible, even when few of her Māori peers were doing so. In relation to attending Māori enrichment classes at primary school, she says: "I didn't mind that I was the only one in that age group, I just loved it so much that I went along anyway. People used to laugh and say, "oh well, you'll soon get bored", but it didn't stop me from doing it."

At college she experienced a difficult period of social exclusion from her (darker-

skinned) Māori peers. "A lot of them were sort of looking at me, like, "why is that Pākehā learning Māori?" and "that Pākehā got first in Third Form Māori, she shouldn't have got it!" It wasn't only from the students themselves, but also from their parents. I copped a few comments and it wasn't so much the comments that hurt as the look that you got from people and people just dis(miss)ing you, not bothering to actually sit down and talk to you, just taking you on face value, you know." Usually she just stayed quiet and continued in her work. And because their teacher was also fair, Jessica sometimes challenged the other students about why they accepted him but not her. Over time, as events unfolded, the other students noticed that Jessica's grandmother is brown-skinned, and also that Jessica was known and accepted by local kuia. "It annoyed me that people's reaction towards me would change when they saw that my grandmother was actually brown. To me the most important thing about being Māori is the wairua, it doesn't matter what you look like. It's how you live your life, what you believe in. So over time I did gain greater acceptance and closer relationships." In response to a question about whether she thought the other Māori children were more "working class" in their background, she commented that her mother was struggling on the DPB (Domestic Purposes Benefit) through her school years and both her parents had left college early. But she had received an unusually rich education in traditional or "tuturu Māori" education from her parents and community. While she was at college she also began travelling regularly to Taranaki, and building relationships there. Her father had also learnt about their tribal links to Whakatohea, in the Bay of Plenty, particularly through his aunt. His knowledge about Taranaki history increased through participating in land claim research and he passed on what he knew to the family. John had received early exposure to things Māori through Ngāti Poneke and also his parents' involvement in groups such as Ngā Tama Toa and the Māori Women's Welfare League.

Jessica relates some of her experiences at school which she believes resulted from teachers showing a lack of understanding and sympathy towards Māori – herself and others. An example was that she experienced harassment from some teachers for speaking Māori in class. "Myself and other friends of mine used to go straight from Māori class to English class and without realizing it we'd still speak Māori. The teachers would get annoyed and send us out of the class sometimes or separate us so that we couldn't speak Māori." On another occasion she and a friend had apparently caused a distraction by not fully removing their black lipstick after a kapahaka performance, and were asked to remove it fully. While Jessica believes she could

probably have passed School Certificate Māori in the third form, she decided to remain with her peers and develop her skills in formal and written Māori, because most of what she had learnt was aural. She chose to attend a certain college, because she knew they had kapahaka, and their own papakainga established there. Every year the students in the Māori classes would travel to marae around the country, for up to two weeks at a time. And in her fourth form year Jessica travelled to Sydney to perform kapahaka there. She also did well in other subjects, particularly history and English. She attained scholarship level of Te Reo Rangatira (Māori language) in her seventh form.

Jessica identifies herself as Māori, but also acknowledges her Celtic ancestry, through three of her grandparents. "I've always acknowledged that side because my mother is not Māori. I used to go on holidays with Mum twice a year down to Invercargill where aunties and uncles still knew about our Celtic ways. So I've always held on to that but still I was primarily Māori." When Jessica was in the sixth form she gave a (winning) speech at the Wellington regional Nga Manu Korero Speech Competitions, about how people perceive her as Pākehā and how she has to prove herself as Māori. While she had at times longed to live a more traditionally Māori life, she had concluded that "it's better to take the positive things from both worlds and live with tino rangatiratanga, self-determination, to determine your own future and reality." She also concluded by explaining why her identity is primarily Māori, as a result of her upbringing. She had learnt to deal with how others perceived and challenged her, for example she would sometimes ask older dark-skinned Māori who challenged her, if they would consider their own mokopuna to be "Māori" if they turned out to be fair-skinned. "They'd sit there and think about it, but you'd know their minds had changed a bit." Jessica first considered a career in history, studying it from fifth form to seventh form and first year at university. But she found that her understanding of the Māori perspective of New Zealand history was not affirmed at college and university. For a time she believed she could work as a historian with a Māori perspective, but then decided this would be too difficult, that there were not enough historians who would support this goal. She also considered law in order to regain ancestral land, but then decided that also was too much of a barrier to break. At the time of the interview she was giving private tuition to secondary school pupils and adults in the Māori language. She had also had some experience in writing and editing in the Māori language for Learning Media Ltd.

Jessica comments that being fair-skinned means she gets automatic acceptance by Pākehā people, such as shopkeepers and other strangers. Being a grand-daughter of the well-known poet James K. Baxter is also considered a positive by many. It meant that people expected her to be good at poetry and English, and also to be similar to him politically. Jessica has met people who used to live at Hiruharama, and has visited the local people there twice. She has written poetry in English (for herself, she says), but prefers writing poetry in Māori. " Māori is such a poetical language. It's so easy to express yourself in Māori." Jessica started composing waiata at college and taught some of them to the culture group. "I can compose chants with a tune but I can't play the guitar or anything. But I've got friends who are good guitar players so we used to compose things together sometimes." At university, stage two, she was assessed on composing waiata. "We had to compose a waiata aroha but I composed a ngeri about my grandmother, about Nan and her parents. It's one just for our own family that I've now taught (my cousin) Stephanie and Dad." Then at stage three, learning te reo Māori, te reo karanga, and te reo whaikorero, further composition was required.

Jessica also began learning to deliver karanga while at college. "After a couple of years of doing it my grandmother said to me that I was to be her voice because she'd never done the karanga. Now I'm the voice for the family. If we ever go anywhere I'm the one that does the karanga for us." Jessica is also asked by people on the Kapiti Coast and beyond to be their reo karanga. "Things like this are happening in my life now, even though I'm only 20 years old." She comments that while this way of contributing is not paid, she believes that the assistance she gives people will be eventually repaid in some form. Jessica finds she has to defend her traditional Māori beliefs even to Māori. "One of the issues I always get confronted about by Māori is the fact that I am not Christian. "It's been in their families for too long, they just think it's natural to be Christian. Quite a lot of them think that I'm ill or under some sort of makutu because I choose to pray to our old gods, not to pray to Jesus." Her knowledge of history also affects her attitudes to various iwi and members of iwi. "Not being unfriendly with people, but remembering where they're from." She says she would not choose to marry someone from an enemy tribe. She plans to bring her children up with te reo Māori and tikanga. As well as retaining cultural strength, Jessica believes in maintaining and retaining environmental resources such as forests, rivers and seas. These are protected by tikanga practices. "It is also about being a whole person, te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro me te taha wairua. Body, mind and

spirit. It does enhance relationships to address the emotional things, the spiritual things more openly, and Pākehā can learn from that. Like in New Zealand now unveilings are really common, whereas in other parts of the world they're not."

Jessica has also defended other fair-skinned Māori and Pākehā who are acculturated as Māori, when other Māori have suggested they be excluded. "Some of the people in my generation don't believe that Pākehā people should be allowed to weave or use te reo or anything like that, and to me if someone's really interested in it, I think it's really good because it's still helping to retain our culture. We have to face the fact now that you can't really define Māori or Pākehā. If you want to stand up and say, "yes I am Māori" then that's your choice. I think if somebody has got the respect and interest in your culture you shouldn't turn them away. You should accept them in." She says that some darker-skinned Māori of her parents' generation see Pākehā as so much more advantaged, they cannot imagine why she would choose to identify herself as Māori. But Jessica comments that being Māori is currently more widely socially accepted, and hence young people don't feel as bad about being Māori as her parents generation was made to feel. She says she has actually had no choice because she was brought up Māori, and to try to be Pākehā would be to deny herself.

11.   Marama Steele

Interview with Marama Steele (born September 1978) recorded in May 1998. At the time of the interview Marama lived in Wellington, worked in retail clothing, and planned to pursue an arts degree at Victoria University the following year.

Marama was brought up mainly by her mother, who is of Ngāti Porou descent. They lived in Rotorua and frequently travelled to the East Coast to spend time with their relatives there (Nanna, cousins, aunties and uncles). "If there was a tangi I'd go to that." Hence she felt embraced and secure in her identity as Māori. Her father is Pākehā and she described his family as "quite different". She and her siblings would stay with her father regularly in their holidays through childhood. "He was definitely an influence...I still felt close to him." Her father is culturally and politically supportive of Māori and speaks the Māori language. "My parents have always been really supportive of whatever I might want to do." Marama describes her school and home life during childhood as generally happy, but there was one friend whose family was so restrictive and prejudiced that she had to stop seeing her. "Her parents decided they didn't want her to see me any more (because) my mother was a solo mother, and Māori."

Marama also describes how she responded to her mother's pressure for her to get more involved in Māori club and learning Māori language by backing off. "That was one of the few things that she did pressure me on. I was in Māori clubs and things

like that until intermediate, and at intermediate. And then I kind of went blah, I've had enough." Marama says that while Pākehā friends of hers were sometimes intimidated by young Māori she calls "homies", and even physically attacked, she herself had never been hassled by them. "While a lot of people don't realise I'm Māori and just thought my parents were hippies and decided to call me Marama, a lot of people just think, oh, you're Māori. In a way my name was like a shield. I'm Māori, don't worry, sweet as. Which is funny because I used to hate my name. I couldn't stand it. I just wanted a boring plain name that people could pronounce. I seriously contemplated changing it because I got so sick of it. It still happens, people can't pronounce my name, but I've got a bit more acceptance of that now. Now I really love it."

Marama says she had friends who were both Māori and Pākehā at school, but mostly Pākehā. "At primary school I can't remember having any Māori friends, any close ones anyway. Otonga Primary School didn't have many Māori at it. At intermediate I had more Māori friends. Mostly Pākehā's have been with me my entire life. My Māori friends at the moment are two guys, none of my girlfriends are Māori. In my day-to-day life, I don't speak Māori and I live in a city, Wellington. Its just my lifestyle. Being Māori just doesn't really come into it. When I first went to Wellington High School, they immediately put me into the whānau level, where supposedly everyone's very close, being a family. But it wasn't bi-lingual and it had nothing to do with being Māori. I made really good friends, and met really cool people." She says that because of the timing of her arrival at the school, she missed the chance to learn Māori, art and typing. But that now she has got a strong desire to learn Māori. "I've got a deeper respect for it now. From knowing my mother better on a personal friend basis rather than having her say, learn Māori. Now we spend time as friends and I'm really fascinated with her background, ask about all the relatives and the gossipy bits. As a kid I was just hanging out with my cousins and just playing, doing kids things, but now I want to know more about the background." Marama's mother was brought up by her Nanna, rich in Māori language and customs. Marama describes herself as having her Dad's lifestyle and her mother's spiritual beliefs. "Just little things, like never whistling at night (or else the Māori spirits will come out). And all my life I had to take off my shoes before I came in anywhere. " Marama says that while her father socialises mainly with Pākehā, her mother socialises mainly with Māori. "She has big parties - everyone come to my house and have a big feed. And they'll all stink of pork bones and puha. She still brings that into her home. She'll have Māori bread sent down. She has whānau come to stay a lot.

She's very concerned about having her family around her. Whereas with Dad I don't see his family at all. He doesn't seem that involved with his family."

Marama: "My whānau at the moment is my friends. Both my brother and my sister are in Australia, and my step-brother is in Germany. Members of the hapū from the East Coast, they've never wanted to come and stay with me. If anyone comes down to Wellington, they're most likely to want to stay with Mum, because she's got her own place whereas I'm flatting. But I've got cousins that I've given my address to because we get on well. But as far as friends go, last night was Sunday and the phone was just going every ten minutes and all these lonely people are going, what are you doing? Can we come around? And by the end of the night the lounge was quite packed because everyone was sitting round drinking cups of tea and things. Everyone just gravitated towards here. It happens quite a lot. But I'd like to know about my family and my background. I'm still getting bits and pieces out of Mum."

Marama says she usually can't afford the time to go back to tangi on the East Coast. "I'm working at the moment and I need to pay the rent. I can't really just up and leave." She says while she hasn't yet started to learn the Māori language, she knows enough to correct the pronunciation of her friends. "So many of them can't. I think its disgusting." Marama describes her boyfriend as "very European, he's had a very Pākehā up-bringing and life". She describes how they attended a Māori performing arts festival and felt very comfortable herself, but that her boyfriend commented that "he'd never felt so white before". Marama comments that while she may appear fair-skinned to others, she had been much less conscious of the brown skin around her. Her boyfriend was pleased to have gone, and felt it was a privilege.

"I may not speak the language and I may not be in that close contact with my family from the Coast but I still feel like a Māori." She doesn't feel close to her father's family, apart from one aunt. "I find my mother's side more fascinating, more exciting." She comments that the current social climate is generally supportive of things Māori, for example her friends will ask her how to pronounce Māori words and then teach their own parents. "I think its probably a hell of a lot easier for me now than it would have been for a lot of other (older) people. I'll get riled up if anyone says anything racist. Mostly my friends I spend time with are good people. But if anything comes up I'll question them about it. It's more often the guys that will say something against Māori or generalize which I really don't like."