

Kua riro ki wīwī, ki wāwā
The causes and effects of Māori migration to Southland

By

Karyn Paringatai

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
At the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand.

June 2013

For my two dads

Mautini Paringatai
(12-11-1950 – 05-04-2007)

and

Tiria Monga (Ritchie Raro)
(12-06-1951 – 01-06-2005)

They both loved me unconditionally and I miss them every day.

Abstract

The urbanisation of the Māori population after World War Two saw the rapid movement of a mainly rural people to a number of urban centres around the country. The social, economic and political push-pull factors involved in this migration flow have been described in a number of publications. This research is usually conducted within North Island locations, particularly Auckland, where the Māori population is considerably larger and the Māori population increase of urban centres more noticeable. Of little interest to those who researched this topic, but still duly noted, is the movement of North Island Māori to the South Island. As a result, there are only a few publications that mention the statistical changes that occurred in the Māori population of Southland and only a couple look at the social changes that ensued as a result. This research has been largely empirical and generalises about these people's experiences based on the trends that have emerged from research based on North Island communities. This thesis addresses the gap in the research and locates itself firmly in Southland. It looks at the causes of Māori migration to Southland during the mid-twentieth century from the perspective of the migrants involved.

A number of Māori who moved to Southland chose to stay, become permanent residents, and raise their children there. Their decision to settle permanently in Southland and live outside of their tribal area affected their children's Māori identity development. This thesis therefore also looks at the effects of this migration flow on the Māori identity development of the children of North Island Māori migrants. These children all have one Māori and one non-Māori parent. They described their upbringing as largely Pākehā; reflective of the different Southland communities they each grew up in. The transfer of Māori cultural knowledge from their parents

was minimal and regular return visits to their tribal area for the majority did not occur or were irregular at best. Most of the participants did not grow up within Māori social institutions that foster Māori identity. However, when they began socialising outside of their family network they began being defined and stereotyped ethnically with mixed results on each of the participants' attitudes towards their Māori identity. Comfort was found amongst peers whose socio-cultural background reflected their own. It was within these friendships that they reconciled being Māori with their reality of growing up in Southland.

Other studies tend to look at migration and identity as two separate areas of study. This thesis uses interviews combined with secondary literature to investigate how one has impacted on the other. The research conducted here is qualitative in that it allows me to enter the subjective world of my participants and gain descriptions about their experiences that I would not be able to achieve using any other method. There are a number of studies on migration and identity development that use large cohorts of participants from which to draw out similarities or differences to theoretical constructs. This thesis differs in that a narrow sample has been selected to focus on individuals and their life narratives.

The first part of this thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter One gives an introduction of Southland as the geographic and demographic landscape in which this research takes place. Chapter Two provides a theoretical understanding of the migration process in relation to Māori urbanisation within New Zealand, to the South Island and Southland. The following two chapters introduce four migrants, who all moved from small, rural North Island Māori communities to Southland in the 1960s, and three spouses. Chapter Three looks at the migrants' experiences of migration, their integration into the Southland community, and their thoughts of return migration

back to their home community. Chapter Four looks at the interracial marriages that took place and the experiences of both the migrants and their spouses.

The second part of this thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter Five reviews literature as it pertains to the processes and factors involved in the construction of someone's identity. It also looks at ethnic and mixed-ethnic identity development. Chapter Six investigates Māori identity formation and looks at aspects of Māori culture that are said to be the main contributors to the formation of a secure Māori identity.

Chapter Seven introduces six children of Māori migrants and looks at the way in which the participants became aware of their Māori ethnicity, the input of their parents, their ethnic identity choices and the outcomes of their decision to identify as Māori. Chapter Eight looks at what role the participants' *whānau* played in contributing to their Māori identity. The final chapter looks at the role the school environment played in assisting the participants to develop their Māori identity.

Acknowledgements

This research topic originated purely out of self-interest. I wanted to tell my father's story of moving from the East Coast to Southland, my mother's story of being a Pākehā Southlander in an interracial relationship, and the story of my sister and I as we struggled to find our place as persons of Māori descent in Southland. I soon realised that aspects of our lives were reflected in the lives of others around us. As I began musing out loud to these people as a way of tentatively broaching what could be a sensitive topic, I soon realised that they were as eager to tell their stories as I was to listen to them. As a result, I owe my biggest gratitude to my participants who shared with me stories about their lives, without which this thesis would never have happened. You opened up your homes and your hearts to me and I will be forever grateful for the privilege you have given me to share your lives with others. My fear was that our stories would be absorbed into the landscape and forgotten about, but with your support and encouragement we have collectively ensured that this will never happen. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

There are two people who have been through this whole process with me, my supervisors, Professor Michael Reilly and Associate Professor Poia Rewi. You are two of the most humble people I have ever met whose dedication and commitment to advancing Māori scholarship is always a priority. I have and will always appreciate the invaluable advice, guidance and gentle critique you have provided me since we have been colleagues. I appreciated your faith in my research and writing abilities even when I seriously doubted my mental capacity to do both. I thank you for the time and effort you have put into developing me academically and personally.

My parents were the inspiration for this research. To my mum and dad, I thank you for having the courage to take a chance on each other. In a 1970s Southland Pākehā community I can

imagine it was not an easy thing to do. Without the choices you made there would be no thesis. You each played a pivotal role in guiding me in to the woman I am today and I thank you for everything you have done for me.

To my older siblings, Lana, Dione and Darren and your families, I can never repay you for all your support and encouragement throughout my entire life. From the moment I was born you have loved me unconditionally and looked after me. I know that you do not understand fully why I am ‘still at school’ but I hope this helps make things a little clearer – I have actually been working for the past 12 years too! I was also fortunate that throughout my childhood I grew up with one of my best friends. To Manu, my ‘twin’ little sister, we have struggled together to reconcile who we are as Ngāti Porou children/teenagers/women with our reality of living in Southland. We have had to negotiate this process ourselves and, while it has not been easy, we have always had and will always have each other for support and help.

Ever since I was a child my grandmother would ask me “What do you want to be when you grow up?” My standard reply to this question was, “I want to be a teacher.” I am lucky that she planted this seed in me from such a young age and that it became a reality. I am privileged to work with an amazing group of people. To my colleagues in Te Tumu and the wider University community, I have appreciated your words of encouragement and support over the past few years. Your concern for my well-being has been humbling. I would especially like to thank my colleagues on ‘the third floor’, who have made me laugh, cry, think about the world in a new way and helped me grow as an academic. I owe a special thank you to Suz, who has filled the past couple of years with laughter and mockery – often at our own expense. I also want to acknowledge all of those who I have had the pleasure to teach, many of whom have become dear

friends. I thank you for challenging me, asking the tough questions for which I sometimes have no idea what the answer is, making me laugh and cry, and keeping me invigorated to finish this – you are a breath of fresh air that I need every year. *Anei taku mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa.*

Some people come into our lives and quickly go...some stay for a while and leave footprints on your heart and we are changed forever.

My friends have been crucial to the maintenance of my sanity, not only during this PhD but my life in general. To Hera, Michelle, Tahnee and Tara and your families, my oldest and dearest friends for 20 years, it does not matter that we have headed in different directions because I know that I have your love and support always – it is inked into our skin that our lives are intertwined and always will be.

Gianna & Shaun, Suz & Al, Robyn & Nathan, Carel & Dale, Tanz, Shane & Jess, Dennis, Jaye, Arnika, Sarah and all your families. I cannot express how much you have contributed to my personal and social well-being over the past few years. You have kept me fed, hydrated, and energised beyond what I could ever imagine. You have seen me at my lowest, picked me up, slapped me back into reality, and sent me on my way again. My words of thanks can never repay you for your precious time and energy you have given me unconditionally.

You have all left indelible footprints on my heart that I could never erase, even if I tried.

Porourangi, I am grateful every day that you decided to move to Dunedin to live with me and your father, and I thank your mother and her family for allowing you to do so. For as long as you have been living with us I have been working on this thesis. I want to thank you and Neihana for

allowing me to be a part of your lives, and for sharing your dad with me. The stories contained within this research also reflect your mum's family and I hope you both find some comfort in knowing that your beloved Nan's story can be found in some of the discussion. I am so proud of you and the men you have become. I love you with all my heart.

Finally, to the person who has been by my side since I was 17 years old. David, you are my best friend and I cannot imagine anyone else who I would have with me throughout this journey. You have been there for every agonising moment of it and dealt with things that any other person would have given up on. You have been by my side through every difficult thing that has happened in my life so far and you are my biggest advocate. Whenever I have doubted myself you remind me of what I have overcome to be where I am today. Thank you for your support, encouragement and love and giving me the time and space to do this. *E kore e mutu tōku aroha ki a koe.*

I don't stop when I'm tired; I stop when I'm done.
Ka nui tēnei – I'm done!

Notes

The orthographic conventions used in this thesis follow those set by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission. The spellings of Māori words follow those in Williams' *Dictionary of Maori Language*. Where applicable, vowel lengths will be marked using macrons, except in the case of quotations which are written as they appear in the original source.

This thesis is written in English and I have chosen to italicise all Māori words except proper nouns and those that occur in direct quotes. This is not to suggest that Māori is a 'foreign' language but italics are used to reduce ambiguity of words that have been adopted into New Zealand English with a changed or restricted meaning. Translations of these words will be given when they first appear and a glossary of all non-English words can be found at the end of the thesis. For the purposes of this study the terms 'Pākehā' and 'European' will be used as synonyms for each other. This thesis uses in-text referencing and footnotes have been used to further explain information without disrupting the flow of discussion.

When incorporating the participants' narratives into the chapter it has sometimes been necessary to disguise personal information by substituting personal names with pseudonyms or personal pronouns. This protects the anonymity of those not involved in the research but who would be recognisable by the mention of their name. A pseudonym has been used with one participant in deference to their wish to remain anonymous and protect members of their extended family. All effort has been made to remove personal information that would cause them to be identifiable.

Whilst this thesis addresses contemporary issues such as Māori identity formation, it is also partly historical in nature. It is worth noting that because of the time period in which Māori

urbanisation took place there are a number of sources which date from the 1950s-1970s when scholars were researching the phenomenon as it was occurring. There is a dearth of more recent work on Māori urbanisation because academics have more or less ceased to look at the topic. This thesis uses a combination of primary and secondary sources. I have also been able to incorporate my own personal knowledge as someone who grew up in Southland.

This thesis also addresses issues of race, ethnic and cultural identity. Each of these terms has its own distinctive use. 'Race' has historically been used to categorise groups based on sets of physical characteristics which result from genetic ancestry. 'Ethnicity' has been used to describe sociological factors of a population such as a shared group history, cultural traits, language, and ancestry. 'Cultural identity' has been used to describe the shared values, ideals and beliefs of a group. In this thesis I have maintained the distinctiveness of these terms where applicable.

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Introduction

The post-World War Two Māori urbanisation phenomenon saw the rapid movement of a mainly rural people to a number of urban centres around the country. This thesis examines the causes of Māori migration to Southland during this time period. The places these people were emigrating from were subsistence, agriculturally-based communities, where the majority of the population was of Māori descent. By contrast, Southland had almost the opposite social and cultural demographics: a population dominated by Pākehā, many of whom descended from early settler families. The *tangata whenua* (local people), Ngāi Tahu Whānui, formed a distinctive social and cultural minority within that white world. The first part of this thesis will look at the migration experiences of some of these North Island Māori migrants and their integration into the Southland community.

A number of interracial marriages took place with local women, which also forms part of this study: the migrants then decided to stay and raise their families in Southland. As a result, a significant number of Māori children born in Southland were brought up away from their tribal area. They were removed from the social frameworks and knowledge systems that their parents were exposed to when they were growing up: the institutions within which a Māori and tribal identity is fostered and developed. The second half of this thesis will look at the effects of Māori migration to Southland in terms of how the children of these migrants developed or reconciled their identity as Māori outside of their tribal area and away from networks that enhance Māori identity formation.

Personal Introduction

It is important to contextualise this research in terms of how I am positioned in order for the reader to understand the motivation behind this particular study. On a trip to visit members of my family on the East Coast of the North Island a few years ago one of my cousins introduced me to other members of the community as “the Pākehā cousin from down south”. The irony of this statement eluded me at the time but upon reflection throughout the course of this research there were a number of reasons why, of all the conversations that took place during that trip, this particular comment kept surfacing. Throughout my whole life I have always been labelled and judged as Māori, never Pākehā. My last name and physical features instantly alerted people to the fact that I was of Māori descent. Few people realised that I have a Pākehā mother. The cousin who referred to me in this way also had a Pākehā parent, however, she had been brought up with our Māori grandparents. It would seem she equated the lifestyle she had grown up with as a Māori upbringing, whereas the place I had been born and raised was thought to be more conducive to developing a Pākehā identity. I wondered why she would think of me in such a way. Was it the way I spoke? The way I dressed? Or was it perhaps because she had no other way to explain the differences that existed between her and me?

My father grew up in a small, rural Māori community called Horoera, just outside the main township of Te Araroa, on the East Cape of the North Island. He is from Te Whānau-a-Hunaara and Te Whānau-a-Tuwhakairiora, *hapū* (sub-tribe) of Ngāti Porou. At the age of 18 he left Te Araroa and headed southwards, stopping at a couple of places along the way, before arriving in Southland. In 1968 he found seasonal work during the summer months at the Makarewa Freezing Works, just outside of Invercargill, affectionately known as ‘the Mak’. During his first few years of working there during the summer his intention was to return ‘home’ to Te Araroa

during the winter, although he never did. A stable job in the off season during those early years ensured that he remained in Invercargill, as the guarantee of a steady income in Te Araroa was never a certainty.

My mother is a Pākehā of Polish, Prussian, German and English descent. Her maternal great-grandparents were born in the 1830s at a time when their ancestral homeland of Poland had been occupied by Prussia for just over 35 years. They married in 1862 but growing discontent with living in an occupied country, high unemployment and persecutions saw them and their children flee to England in 1874. At that time the New Zealand Government was offering fully paid fares for suitable immigrants to come to New Zealand. They arrived in Bluff on 29 March 1875, and eventually established themselves in the Makarewa area where other families of Polish and German extraction were also directed to settle. My grandfather's parents immigrated to New Zealand from England.

From this background it could be said that I was born into a family of migrants. People who opted to move away from their home communities in favour of an unknown life that they hoped would be better than what they were leaving behind. I too have continued this migratory characteristic of my family when I left Invercargill to attend the University of Otago in 1997. This move became permanent when I found employment in Te Tumu in 2001 after completing my undergraduate degree.

My mother's interaction with Māori people as she was growing up was virtually non-existent. Her first interaction with someone of Māori descent in a social situation did not happen until she was in her late twenties. In 1976 whilst enjoying a night out with two of her friends she saw my

father playing cards and when he went to excuse himself to go to the toilet she played his hand. Three years later I was born and my sister followed a year later.

Despite my parents' distinctive ethnic backgrounds, I grew up in a household that favoured neither. My mother already had three children from a previous marriage whose father was also Pākehā and I was not treated any differently from them. My Pākehā ancestors' arrival in New Zealand was relatively recent and their different European ethnicities are culturally distinctive enough to have had some sort of effect on my mother. But it would seem that when they left Europe they also left many of their cultural nuances behind. My father, having grown up within his tribal area, possessed a strong Māori cultural background. But when I was growing up I was not influenced ethnically either way. I grew up with no notion of what 'being Māori' meant. I only found out what my *iwi* (tribe) was when I was 11 years old, not that I even really knew what that meant either. For me it was some abstract concept that had no relevance in my life.

When I began intermediate school at age 11 I became aware that I was different from other people. Teachers formed opinions of me based on my skin colour and my last name. High school became a struggle of identity as I flourished in Māori classes but had no knowledge outside of the classroom of what that meant in my home life. The opportunities to practically apply the cultural concepts and the language outside of the classroom were limited and I was not in a position at that time to participate in the community activities that were available. What I discovered was that I was not alone in this struggle and it is this realisation that has prompted the direction of this thesis.

The conscious realisation of my Māori ethnicity, and the sudden feeling of belonging to

something much greater than what I had grown up with, led to the development of an insatiable appetite for knowing who I am and discovering that which makes me Māori and Ngāti Porou. However, I also struggle with how to balance this with my Pākehā ethnicity without either having to be compromised. I am proud of being Ngāti Porou but equally I am just as proud of being a Southlander. Being continually defined solely based on my Māori ethnicity because I looked Māori and had a Māori name used to frustrate me but it also scared me because for a long time I did not know what being Māori meant. I would avoid conversations with people who I thought would judge my authenticity as a Māori person because I was unable to answer their questions about my *whakapapa* (genealogy, ancestry), my *whānau* (extended family) or my Māori cultural knowledge in general. When my father passed away in 2007 it felt like the link with his family and our tribal area could have been severed, but I have been back to the East Coast more times since he passed away than when he was alive. I have to make the effort. If I do not, I feel like a piece of me is missing. Not everyone who grows up away from their tribal area feels like this.

It is with this awareness that conversations with friends and family began to take place and the focus of this research became clearer. Central to our discussions was how we formulated our identity as Māori growing up in Southland. There we had very little to no interaction with our tribal area. We also faced expectations placed upon us by others (both Māori and non-Māori) to conform to a national image of what a Māori person should be and how a Māori person should act. It is with this in mind that I began to formulate my proposal for this research. It soon became clear that pivotal to my identity development were the choices my parents made for me when I was younger, that is, the cultural environment of our home, the language they used, the schools they sent me to, and the community activities we participated in. This research would therefore be incomplete without interviews with migrants and their spouses, where possible, as to

why they migrated to Southland and why they raised their children in a particular way. The combined thoughts of migrants, spouses of migrants and children of migrants are presented in this thesis. Their stories will contribute to another chapter of New Zealand's history and the discussion of national identity as the number of Māori living away from their tribal area increases.

Research Methodology

This is a Māori Studies thesis. As a result, there are distinctive intellectual approaches, including methodologies and philosophical assumptions, regarding research and the presentation of knowledge. Māori Studies is a multi-disciplinary subject that focuses upon *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge). Other scholarly subjects, such as anthropology, education and history, also engage with aspects of that Māori world of knowledge, but they are oriented to the dominant Western intellectual practices of their particular disciplines. By contrast, Māori Studies is firmly grounded within a Māori world view that incorporates Māori values, attitudes and knowledge. This type of approach allows for a different positioning from those represented in dominant Western discourse (Duffy & Rigby, 2010:299).

As a person of Māori descent, who identifies as Māori, I choose to operate under the guidance of Māori cultural concepts and knowledge because it is a natural and organic way for me to do so. It is an ingrained behaviour that allows me to function within 'my' Māori reality. This then transfers over into how I work as a Māori researcher, and provides a framework within which I can conduct culturally appropriate research within my community. Consequently, it is impossible for me to remain objective in this research. I am not removed from the community I engaged with for this research. I am located within it, related to it and responsible to it. As a

result, it could be said that I am incapable of critically detaching myself from my own experiences to understand those of my participants (Bishop, 1998:211). It is in fact this lack of objectivity that enables me to do so. As explained by Māori Marsden (2003:22-23), “abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete. The only way lies through a passionate, inward subjective approach”. In any research with this level of subjectivity it is inevitable that some sort of researcher bias will occur. Throughout the research process, I was conscious of my own opinions interfering with the results. My approach to the collection and analysis of the data was to make sure that it was a fair process guided by Māori protocols and that it was an honest representation of the information shared by my participants. The following will show how this was achieved.

Smith (1998:120) provides a set of guidelines that tend to be the most common values that Māori researchers use when conducting research.

- 1 Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
- 2 Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
- 3 Titiro, whakarongo...korero (look, listen...speak).
- 4 Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
- 5 Kia tupato (be cautious).
- 6 Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the *mana* of people).
- 7 Kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).

These values are echoed in other Indigenous communities (see Duffy & Rigby, 2010, Schaaf, 2010, Kahakalau, 2004), and are evident in how these scholars interact with and conduct their research within their own communities. Researchers who work with Indigenous communities are expected to establish and maintain relationships with members of the community. Often the researcher is unknown to the community they wish to engage with. Accordingly, a number of preliminary meetings are necessary in order to establish networks, trust, and respect with the

community before the research can begin. The connections, obligations and responsibilities between the researcher and the community are strengthened throughout the research process. The relationship is enduring and there is a promise of reciprocity and support beyond the time period that the research project takes place in (Macfarlane, 2013:136).

This research is located within Southland's *ngā hau e whā*¹ Māori community; that is, people whose tribal affiliations lie elsewhere in the country. This is my community. I am a child of a North Island Māori migrant and I grew up in Southland. This background has allowed me to engage with other members of this community in a way that others who do not have this connection would not be able to do. I already knew my participants before undertaking this research. I have known them for a timespan ranging from eight years to my entire life. As a result, I have a deep level of familiarity and shared history with each of them. The relationship I had developed with them over my lifetime meant that they were receptive to my request to participate in this research.

Some of my participants are related through *whakapapa*, others are not. However, through our already long-established relationship that preceded this research, I think of all of them as members of my *whānau*. According to Smith (1999:187), *whānau* “can be a very specific modality through which research is shaped and carried out, analysed and disseminated”. They and their families have helped shape my world view, contributed to formulating this research topic, and have helped me to locate my position in this research. Even though I have lived permanently away from Southland for 12 years I still undertake regular trips to Southland, and to other places, in order to visit the members of my *ngā hau e whā* community. As a result, I am

¹ *Ngā hau e whā* literally means ‘the four winds’. It is a phrase commonly used in Māori society when referring to the pan-tribal make-up of Māori communities whose members come from the four corners of New Zealand.

ensuring that the concept of *kanohi kitea* (the seen face), and the associated importance of physical contact and interaction, is maintained. My level of commitment to them and their families goes beyond that which other researchers develop with community members purely for their research. I have been at significant celebratory events, I have holidayed with them, I have shared meals with them, I have grieved with them and I have laughed with them. I have done all these things before I became an academic. I maintained this contact throughout the course of this research and I will continue to do so even though the research has finished. Such a long term relationship recognises that I will remain in touch because they are my *whānau*; not simply participants in a piece of research to whom I have obligations as a researcher. This will never change. I have a life-long commitment to this community.

The bond I have with each of my participants means that if at any time they feel I have overstepped the boundary or if I ever become too arrogant they would not hesitate to let me know. They would do so out of respect for our relationship and to ensure that we remain honest and truthful with each other. Likewise, I have learnt when I can push for more information on matters of interest and when it is best to let things go, or approach it in another way. As a result, I have been granted more access to unique insights and honesty than someone who does not have this type of relationship with their participants could achieve. As an insider in this particular research context I have a connection and an empathy with the participants that made it comfortable for them to talk freely to me about their experiences, both positive and negative. If at any time they felt uncomfortable in doing so our relationship was such that they would let me know and we would cease that particular conversation. It is this respect for the participants, their families and the stories they have told me that have underpinned how I have conducted myself during the course of this research.

Duffy and Rigby (2010:302) state that the most appropriate way of eliciting information from Indigenous communities is “through narratives allowing community members to voice the priorities, importance and range of issues important to the community”. Interviewing is described as “a powerful way of producing knowledge of the human situation” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:311). The research conducted here is qualitative in that it allows me to enter the subjective world of my participants and gain descriptions about their experiences that I would not be able to achieve using any other method. There are a number of studies on migration and identity development that use large cohorts of participants from which to draw out similarities or differences to theoretical constructs. This thesis differs in that a narrow sample has been selected to focus on individuals and their life narratives. Interviews are used to highlight experiences of individuals whose stories may differ from those of the majority. This puts a human face to the discussions around migration and its consequences, not just on the migrants, but also their families. Because of the nature of my relationship with each participant I felt that it was only fair I chose to use the interview material verbatim rather than rewrite it as a narrative. This allowed their voices to be heard in the research rather than be hidden within the obscuring tones of academic writing.

Thesis Outline

This thesis is presented in two parts. Each part will begin with an introduction outlining the content of each of the chapters. The first section consists of four chapters that will investigate the causes for Māori migration to Southland. It will provide a description of the Southland community that these migrants were moving to in order to contextualise the specific location within which this research takes place. Factors involved in driving the mass urbanisation of

Māori society will be detailed before looking at features specific to Māori migration to the South Island and to Southland. The experiences of migration and integration and interracial relationships will also be examined. The time period chosen is reflective of some major changes in the industries that contributed significantly to Southland's economic base at that time, including the shearing and freezing works industries.

The second section of this thesis consists of five chapters. It will begin by looking at theoretical underpinnings that contribute to identity, ethnic identity and Māori identity development. It will then investigate how the children of migrants developed their identity as a Māori person growing up away from their tribal area, and what influences in Southland contributed to this.

PART ONE

E kore a muri e hokia
The route left behind cannot be retraced (Mead & Grove, 2001:30)

Rural-urban migration does not occur in isolation from social, economic and political influences happening at a national level. The causes and effects of the urbanisation of the Māori population during the middle of the twentieth century attracted the interest of a number of social agencies and academic researchers. Their work described why Māori urbanisation was occurring at such a rapid pace and the effects of this movement on the receiving communities and those left behind at that time. The aim of the first part of the thesis is to outline those attributes of Māori urbanisation as they pertain specifically to the North-South movement of Māori migrants.

Chapter One will locate this research within the Southland district and will provide an historical overview of key events that occurred within the development of the province. This will enable the reader to gain an insight into the social and economic environment the migrants were moving to. This will highlight the social and cultural differences that existed between the migrants' home communities and the one they were moving to.

Chapter Two will provide a theoretical understanding of the migration process in relation to the Māori urbanisation phenomenon that occurred after World War Two. It will look at the causes and effects of Māori migration from rural to urban centres, before detailing those aspects of the urbanisation process specific to the South Island and Southland.

A key feature of this research is the use of personal experiences of migration. Chapter Three will introduce four migrants who all moved from small, rural North Island Māori communities to Southland in the 1960s. It will look specifically at their experiences of migration, their

integration into the Southland community, and their thoughts of return migration back to their home community.

A significant reason why Māori migrants stayed in Invercargill resulted from a post migration change in marital status. The migrant participants developed intimate relationships with women who were from Southland and raised children with them. Chapter Four will look at interracial marriages in relation to the participants' experiences. It will also look at the experiences of three of the spouses of the migrant participants.

Chapter 1

Murihiku/Southland

Few Southlanders may think today of Captain Cargill, or remember his connection with their city. Invercargill as a word has a life of its own, and a history. It also appears to have escaped dilution by echoes from other places. At least a dozen Wellingtons may be found in a gazetteer; and even Auckland, a proud city of the north, has to share its name with a town in Durham and a group of sub-Antarctic islands. There is only one Invercargill. (Holcroft, 1976:20)

Introduction

Te Hei-a-Māui, Te Waka-a-Māui, Tumuki, Arapaoa/Arapawa, Te Waipounamu and Middle Island are all names that have been used to describe what is commonly known as the South Island of New Zealand which provides the geographical landscape in which this research takes place. The island is significantly larger than the North Island but is home to only a quarter of New Zealand's population. The temperate climate deters many from its shores but the abundance of natural resources and fertile plains have been the cause of migration to the South Island for hundreds of years. Both Māori and non-Māori people have made the choice to migrate to the South Island to utilise these resources for personal gain.

In order to understand the social, economic and political environment that encouraged North Island Māori migrants to move to the southern end of the South Island during the post-World War Two era it is necessary to start with a historical overview of Murihiku/Southland. This chapter will look at both the Māori and Pākehā history of the Southland area. It will begin with the Māori mythological origins of the South Island, the initial occupation of the Southland region by Māori, and the various places of importance within this province. The second part of this chapter will look at European settlement of the area and the commercialisation of the various resources that prompted cities and towns to be established.

Origins of the South Island

According to some accounts the South Island is often described as the canoe used by Māui (Te Waka-a-Māui, the canoe of Māui), a demi-god of the Māori people, when he fished up the North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui, the fish of Māui). With the Nelson/Tasman area being the prow of the canoe and the Southern end being the stern, it is said that Māui hauled up his fish whilst standing from a point somewhere in the vicinity of Kaikoura (Reed, 2004:141).

Figure 1. Aoraki/Mount Cook and the Southern Alps



Source: (<http://www.airsafaris.co.nz/flights/video/>)

Ngāi Tahu mythology, on the other hand, claims that the South Island is actually representative of a canoe of another *tipuna* (ancestor), Aoraki. After the separation of Rakinui/Ranginui (sky father) and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (earth mother),² four of Rakinui's sons, Aoraki, Rakiroa, Rakirua and Rarakiroa, from his first wife, Pokohārua-te-pō, descended to earth in a *waka* (canoe) from the heavens. Due to a mistake in the recitation of *karakia* (prayer) the brothers were unable to return back to the heavens. The canoe, Te Waka-a-Aoraki, became submerged and stranded on its side and the four brothers were petrified in stone as they sat on the hull of the canoe waiting to be rescued. The canoe is thus said to be the South Island and Aoraki and his brothers can still be seen in the form of the Southern Alps mountain range with Aoraki being the tallest amongst them (Anderson, 1998:13).

² Refer to Buck (1966), Reed (2004), and Thornton (2004) for further reading on the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku.

Various *waka* traditions such as that above have also given shape to the geographical landscape of Southland. A significant landmark that can be seen from most places in Southland is the Takitimu mountain range, which was also previously a *waka*. This is the same *Takitimu* canoe known to have frequented places along the east coast of the North Island.³ The *Takitimu* traversed the length of the eastern side of New Zealand under the leadership of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua. Nearing the bottom of the South Island the *waka* was struck by three waves: O-te-wao, O-roko and O-kaka. These three waves were then followed by a cross wave which caused it to be thrown slightly inland where it capsized and has lain ever since as the Takitimu mountain range at the mouth of the Waiou River (see figure 3: (7)) (Department of Conservation, 2004:1).

Figure 2. Takitimu Mountain Range



Source: (<http://www.sit.ac.nz/pages/about/Experience-Southland>)

Tamatea-pōkai-whenua survived and is responsible for the naming of various places in the Southland area. The Takitimu mountains are located in Western Southland and the plains to the north are said to be the sails of the *Takitimu* canoe (Anderson, 1998:15). The Takitimu mountain range was also recognised as a *topuni*⁴ in the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement; a place with special cultural, spiritual, historical and traditional significance.

³ Refer to Mitchell (1944) and Buck (1966) for further reading on the *Takitimu* canoe.

⁴ A *tōpuni* is a dog-skin cloak worn primarily by women of high rank. This term is used in the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement to represent the metaphorical laying down of the *tōpuni* over areas of particular cultural and historical importance emphasising the need for their continual preservation. These areas are administered by the Department of Conservation (DOC) under the mantle of Ngāi Tahu.

Figure 3. Southland Boundary Line and Surrounding Islands



Source: (<http://www.transit.govt.nz/road/map2.jsp>)

Geographically, Murihiku was the term originally used to describe the entire area from Stewart Island to Temuka; incorporating land south of the Waitaki River and east of the Southern Alps (Beattie, 1994:35). This is far different from the area known as Murihiku today. Murihiku has now become synonymous with the term 'Southland', and this is how it will be used in this thesis. Modern Murihiku includes the area which extends from Awarua Point (see figure 3: (1)) on the west coast, 40 kilometres north of Milford Sound, to Waiparau Head (2) on the east coast, in the Southern Catlins. It does not include Queenstown but instead veers off at Kingston (3), at the southern end of Lake Wakatipu and goes around the lake before heading north again. The southern boundary extends to include Stewart Island (4) and its surrounding islands, Ruapuke Island (5) and Solander Island (6).

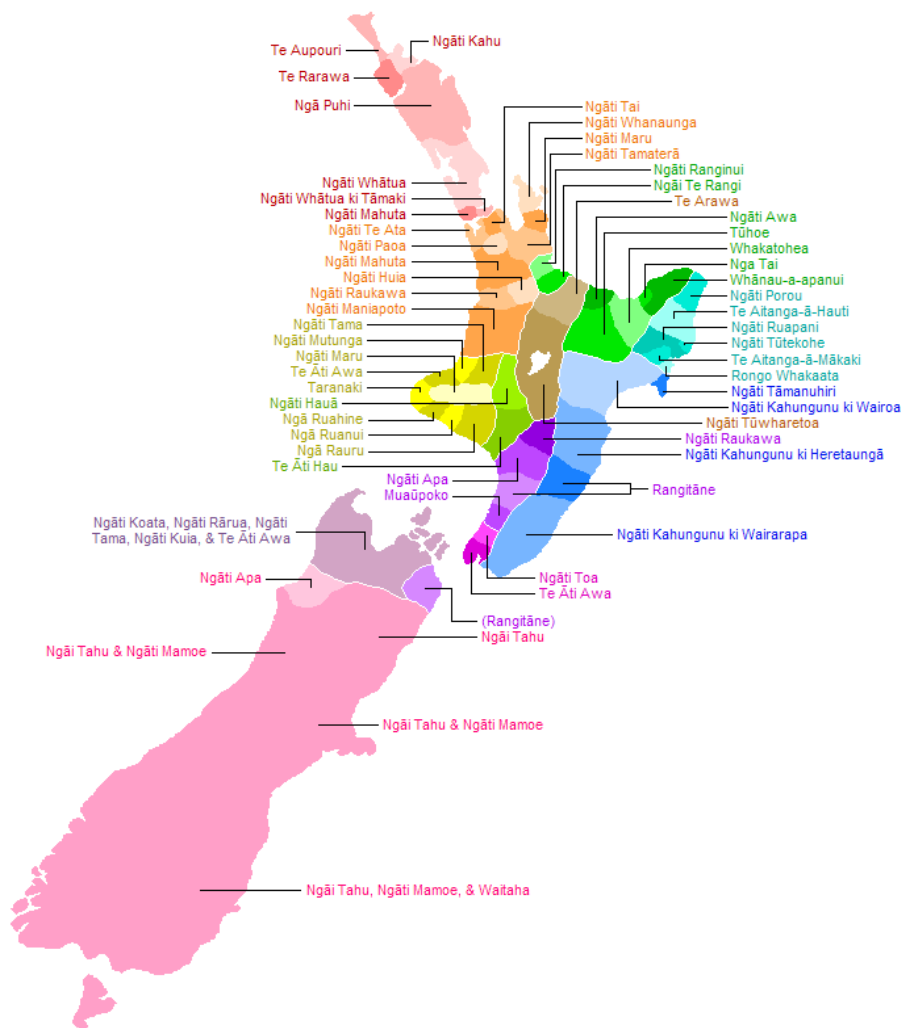
Māori Settlement of Murihiku

The peopling of the South Island took place over hundreds of years and happened in successive waves of migration and small scale colonisation. Among the first groups of people said to have inhabited the South Island are those known as Waitaha. Waitaha is the name given to the people who were living in the South Island prior to the migration of Ngāti Māmoē. The most ancient of South Island place names are records of their presence and are still remembered and used today to retell the formation of a number of geographical landmarks (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

The Ngāti Māmoē people were more recent immigrants to the South Island with their occupation beginning around the 1500s. Ngāti Māmoē are descendants of Hotu Māmoē whose origins are said to be on the East Coast of the North Island (Anderson, 1998:23). After receiving a gift of preserved foods from the Waitaha people, Ngāti Māmoē decided to cross Te Moana o Raukawa (Cook Strait) and settle permanently in the South Island, mainly in the Wairau district (north-east

area of the South Island). The southward pressure of movement of eastern tribes from the North Island, such as Ngāti Kahungunu, to the Wairarapa area forced those tribes living there to also cross Cook Strait, thus causing Ngāti Māmoe to shift further south and relinquish their control over the Wairau area to *iwi* such as Rangitāne, Ngāi Tara and Ngāti Kuia (see figure 4) (Anderson, 1998:23). In order to stamp their authority on the areas further south Ngāti Māmoe intermarried with Waitaha and eventually took political control. After a succession of invasions, not only from Ngāi Tahu but from other *iwi* as well, Ngāti Māmoe eventually retreated to the Otago and Southland regions.

Figure 4. Map of tribal locations



Source: (<http://www.tkm.govt.nz/>)

The Ngatimamoe retired further south; and at length, feeling themselves too much weakened to hope to regain their lost position, they made peace with their invaders and formed alliances with them. Thus the two races became incorporated into one tribe, which, as most of their principal families had in their veins the blood of Tahu, was generally called Ngaitahu, or Kaitahu. (Shortland (1843) as cited in Anderson, 1998:25)

It is said that “the story of Ngai Tahu migration into, and settlement of the South Island is as central to understanding southern Māori by the early nineteenth century as the arrival of Pakeha, because from that sequence of events stemmed the traditional economic, social and political structures” (Anderson, 1998:25). Ngāi Tahu are descendants of Tahu Pōtiki, who was either the younger brother or uncle of Porourangi, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Porou. As with the impetus for Ngāti Māmoe migration to the South Island, Ngāi Tahu migration south in the seventeenth century can also be partly attributed to their attraction by the abundance of resources in the South Island. Ngāi Tahu migration also relieved the pressure on those that migrated from wars in the North Island. After migration to the South Island skirmishes often broke out between Ngāi Tahu and the current residents of the areas they migrated to. These earlier people were continually forced southwards because of Ngāi Tahu’s strength. Intermarriages between key people on both sides were again pivotal to successful colonisation of the Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha people but Ngāti Mamoe were able to retain their political power in southern Otago and Southland (Anderson, 1998:27).

At the time Captain Cook first came to New Zealand in 1770, he estimated that the total number of Māori people living between Dusky Sound (Fiordland) and Moeraki (75 kilometres north of Dunedin) was about 500. These mainly consisted of small family groups that moved between the coasts and the headwaters of the rivers and creeks. Cultivating food crops was not a suitable way of securing a sustainable food supply for Southern Māori due to the inability of certain types of food that were grown in the North Island, such as *kūmara* (sweet potato), *taro* (*Colocasia*

esculenta) and yams, to grow in the colder South Island climate. Instead, a variety of micro-environments with naturally occurring food resources existed. For example, there were sandy beaches, tidal river estuaries and mud flats with flounders and bivalve shellfish such as *pipi* (*Paphies australis*) and cockles; rocky coasts with seals, sea lions, fish, seabirds and mussels, and swampy lagoons with a variety of water fowl. Inland there were rivers and lakes with eels, podocarp forests with the various types of berries and an abundance of pigeon, owls, *tūi* (parson bird), and *kākā* (forest parrot) and tussock grasslands and plains with other types of birds such as the *weka* (woodhen) (Bathgate, 1969:59-61).

Seasonal changes in fauna, for example, migratory patterns of the various birds, required the movement of these family groups between each micro-environment. Consequently, Murihiku Māori developed sophisticated seasonal cycles of migration finely attuned to utilising the food potential of their environment with complex patterns of travel based on replenishing food supplies (Richards, 1995:14). Resources surplus to requirements were often exchanged with others for items not available in their own micro-environments. Thus diets were varied and material objects shared amongst each other. Because of the importance of the coastal micro-environments Māori settlement in Murihiku happened largely along the eastern and southern coasts. Surrounding islands, such as Ruapuke Island, were also traditionally main areas of Māori settlement in Southland (Bathgate, 1969:218).

European Occupation of Murihiku

The initial European occupation of New Zealand was largely unorganised and began around 1790, with most European contact occurring towards the end of the eighteenth century. European settlement of the Murihiku area followed largely that of the Māori pattern of settlement. It

occurred for a variety of reasons mainly based on the resources available at certain times of the year. The dense bush clad interior of the lower region made the harbours and river mouths more appealing to the European colonists, as they did to the original Māori inhabitants. The trading of resources available in these areas with overseas markets proved to be a prosperous form of income. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 allowed the formal acquisition of land to take place for European immigrants and the development of towns to cater for the ever growing settler population. Pākehā settlement in Murihiku has a number of interesting features that makes it unique when compared to other parts of New Zealand, some of which will be highlighted in the following section of this chapter.

Sealing

The first Pākehā sighting of Māori inhabitation of the Murihiku area occurred in March 1773 in Dusky Sound during Captain Cook's second voyage to the Pacific. Cook's account of his stay in the Sounds noted the number of seals that "are to be found in great numbers about the bay and on the small rocks and isles near the sea coast" (McNab, 1905:35). Such a description attracted commercial sealers from Australia, North America and England to utilise this newly discovered seal population for economic prosperity.

The earliest of the sealers came to the shores of southern New Zealand around 1804 (Richards, 1995:17) with most of these gangs taking up temporary residence in the Western Fiords of Southland and Foveaux Strait. In a very short space of time they had plundered the seal population to less than half of what it was when they first arrived on these shores. Payment to the sealers was made on the basis of a fraction of the total weight of the cargo load. This provided the impetus for the large scale plundering of the seal rookeries since the more they procured the

more they would be paid.

Seals were hunted for a variety of uses which included: oil for the lighting of towns and the lubricating of machinery, leather for hats and shoes, hides for rigging, and meat for eating (Salmond, 1997:282). This provided sealers with a lucrative income. As a consequence of the increased number of seals that were killed the market was flooded with seal skins. The price of the skins dropped significantly thereby lowering the worldwide demand for these items. By 1810 the sealing industry had declined so much that there were very few sealing gangs operating and each with very limited success.

But seals are just like any other animal with a price on its head. The reckless, senseless mad career of slaughter only stops when the means of gratifying it no longer exists. When the seals were practically exterminated, the butchery, perforce, ended. And now the seal, which once dotted every rocky headland, has to be protected by law to enable one or two to be visible in long intervals of time. (McNab, 1905:35)

As the sealing industry fell into an economic slump, gangs were sometimes left abandoned as their ships were unable to afford to sail back to retrieve them. They were left for months on end, sometimes even years, in appalling conditions with little food and inappropriate long-term shelter. However, they were also their own worst enemies as their over indulgence in the killing of the seals, including the females and the pups, ultimately destroyed their own means of livelihood (Richards, 1995:21).

As a consequence of the sealers' destruction of ancient rookeries with no compensation and very little thought to the importance of seals to Māori skirmishes sometimes broke out between the two, and in some instances resulted in deaths on both sides. The sealers were likened by Māori to "thieves who should be punished" (Richards, 1995:31). Murihiku Māori had been the *kaitiaki* (guardians) of the seals for over 600 years and in less than ten years the rookeries that they had

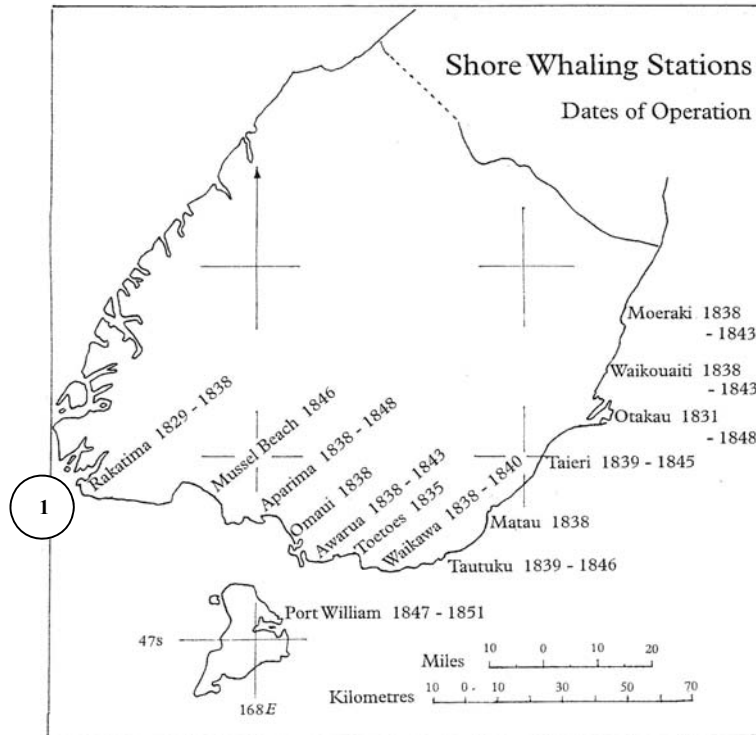
carefully sustained so as to provide provisions for their future descendants had been almost completely wiped out. Sealers, in a combination of arrogance and ignorance, had often broken *rāhui* (restriction)⁵ placed on the rookeries (Sorrell, 2006:49). However, Māori anger soon gave way to a realisation of the potential profits that they could obtain by engaging in trade with the sealers. By 1810 the rookeries had been depleted and the southern coasts of New Zealand had been virtually abandoned and by the 1830s sealing had ceased to become a viable trade due to the pillaging of the seal rookeries by earlier sealers (Bassett, Sinclair, & Stenson, 1988:27).

Whaling

As the sealing industry was waning, the interest in whales as a commodity resource on the world trade market was beginning to increase. Vessels intent on open sea whaling for sperm whales initially used New Zealand as a stopover point for replenishing food and water supplies by engaging in trade with local Māori. They did not base themselves permanently in New Zealand. Just prior to the 1830s, however, the demand for sperm whales decreased whilst the demand for right whales increased. Right whales were caught in the numerous bays and waters close to New Zealand and were often dragged back to shore to be processed. This meant that New Zealand was no longer used as a stopover destination but crews were beginning to build houses and sheds and setting up sites on shore (McNab, 1913:1-2). The choice to do so was less costly than maintaining boats that would have required anchorage on the coast.

⁵ *Rāhui* is used in this instance as a means of restricting the access to and gathering of certain food sources for part of the year to enable the restoration of these supplies for the following season.

Figure 5. Shore whaling stations and dates of operations



Source: (Richards, 1995:53)

The first organised shore whaling station in New Zealand was built in Preservation Inlet (see figure 5 (1)), located at the southern end of Fiordland in 1829 (Sorrell, 2006:63). From there it was only a matter of time before there were whaling stations established in almost all of the sheltered bays on the southern and eastern coasts of the South Island. Local Māori were often employed to work with the European or American whalers, and they proved to be very adept at this job. The income earned was quite high for the time but obtaining the whales came at a great risk to the whaler's lives (Salmond, 1997:314).

Whaling was an expensive and risk-taking venture dominated mainly by British and American investors. It became a lucrative industry especially as these two areas of the world had been transformed by the Industrial Revolution and the need for oil to lubricate all the machinery increased. Other uses of whale products included: oil for lighting, cooking and as an ingredient

in candles, soaps, processed wool and tanned leather, baleen for upholstery, corsets and umbrellas, and the ambergris (found in the stomach) for perfumes and as an aphrodisiac (Salmond, 1997:314).

Locally this led to an increase in trade between Māori and the whalers. For example, flax, potatoes and meat would be traded in exchange for items such as “tomahawks, pipes, fish hooks, clasp knives, rum, muskets, tobacco, cotton handkerchiefs, cartridge paper, bullets, cartouche boxes, bayonets, cutlasses, bullet moulds, leather belts, blankets [and] woollen slops” (McNab, 1913:12). Many of the whalers, in a bid to develop peaceful relations with Māori and secure access to land often married local Ngāi Tahu women of high rank. It is from these whalers that family dynasties were created and their legacy continues today. But again, like the sealing industry, the killing of so many whales in a short space of time, plundered the whale population which meant that by the late 1840s very few whaling stations remained (Cawthorn, 2000:8).

Murihiku 1840-1900

Planned European settlement of the South Island did not take place until after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 which signalled the beginning of a new period in the settlement phase of the South Island. Although settlement of areas south of Nelson (top of the South Island) prior to this was not official there were still many men occupying areas along the coastline, particularly in Foveaux Strait. European settlers who were occupying land prior to this year were essentially seen as squatters. At the same time, however, these so called squatters endeavoured to allure Māori with the offer of higher rents if they didn't sell their land to the Government (McNab, 1905:15).

Like the rest of New Zealand, prior to European arrival, much of the Southland area was covered in dense, thick forests of native trees, bushes and shrubs. This deterred many from its shores when the area was first being surveyed for settlement.

Murihiku was looked upon by the early settlers as a most undesirable place for settlement, which was principally due to Mr Tuckett, who, when chief surveyor for the New Zealand Company, was sent in 1844 to report on its adaptability for settling the Free Church colonists, when he stated that the place was “a mere bog, and utterly unfit for habitation.” What would he think if he saw it in 1895 with its rich farms and luxuriant crops? (Roberts, 1895:41)

Frederick Tuckett, who was sent to find a site for the settlement of the Free Church of Scotland, overlooked Southland for the Canterbury plains. Had Tuckett been a farmer and not a surveyor the outcome may have been very different (Watt, 1971:1). European occupation of the area had been uncontrolled and those who had taken up residency were usually male who had negotiated access to land from local Māori or were given land through marriage and decided to try their luck at farming once the whaling industry had proved to no longer be a viable source of income (Critchfield, 1954:289).

As of 1850 the area known as the Murihiku block⁶ still remained in Māori hands; the Crown had not yet secured its purchase. Because the block was quite isolated and did not have a legal port of entry the area had been largely ignored by European immigrants although earlier whalers had already settled there. The area was passed over many a time and people concerned themselves instead with populating the Dunedin area. It was also deemed more desirable that “the new settlers should live in fairly close contact with one another and not be thinly dispersed over a wide area” (Watt, 1971:2). Captain William Cargill, leader of the Otago settlers, agreed with this sentiment and encouraged new settlers to base themselves in or around Dunedin and move out

⁶ The boundaries of the Murihiku block have remained essentially the same as the geographic boundaries of the Southland province as it is known today (see figure 3).

gradually from there (Watt, 1971:2).

By the early 1850s most of the suitable sheep-run country in Canterbury, the province to the north of Otago, had been taken up and there was increasing demand for runs south of the Waitaki River, the current boundary between the Canterbury and Otago districts. New settlers were eager to move outside of the Otago block and turn their hand and money to sheep farming (Lind, 1999:941). They looked south to do so but the Government purchase of land in the Murihiku region had yet to occur. In 1851, Walter Mantell, an appointee to the office of the commissioner for extinguishing native titles in the South Island, was sent to investigate the purchase of the Murihiku block. From Dunedin he proceeded south by foot in early December accompanied by a number of Ngāi Tahu people including Topi Patuki, a paramount Murihiku chief. The party passed through Tukurau (near Mātaura), where an area of land was agreed to be set aside as a reserve, before they continued on to Oue (Sandy Point, located seven kilometres west of Invercargill). There a meeting was held with representatives from Stewart Island, Ruapuke Island, Aparima, Oraka and Kawakaputaputa (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991:587-8). The outcome of this meeting was that reserves were to be provided at Omaui, Oue, Aparima, Oraka, Kawakaputaputa and Ouetoto. When the reserves were surveyed in March the following year many of those Māori who resided in the Murihiku area were away on their annual trip to a group of islands in Foveaux Strait to harvest muttonbirds for the winter season. It is said that some reserves were not as large as they requested and not all the land they asked for was set aside (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991:588). Regardless of how it happened, of the 6,900,000 acres of land included in the purchase of the Murihiku block the amount of land set aside for all the reserves, including Tukurau, totalled a mere 4,588 acres (Mackay, 1888:13).

Mantell secured the sale of the block for £2000. The terms agreed upon were that the first £1000 was to be paid when the deed was signed in Dunedin on the 24th May 1852 and the second £1000 to be paid in Bluff later on in the year on the 1st June. Mantell informed the Government of the settlement terms and set about organising the first signing, however, the Government did not turn up to this signing and Mantell did not hear from them for 15 months. The Murihiku Māori who he had negotiated with were becoming restless and annoyed with the delay, therefore, to ease the tension Mantell took it upon himself to raise the funds to secure the deal. Using his house as security he paid the first £1000 on 17 August 1853. The second £1000 instalment was paid on 15 February 1854 and Mantell managed to persuade the government to pay another £600 for the inconvenience Māori had suffered due to the delay of the purchase payment (Hall-Jones, 1979:99-100). Legal settlement of Murihiku was then able to begin and within 20 years the number of settlers living in the area was larger than the Māori population (Jackson & Harré, 1969:43).

The Murihiku settlers still lacked a legal port of entry. In 1856 a petition was handed to the Governor of New Zealand, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, who was visiting Dunedin at the time asking that a legal port be established in the southern part of the province. The outcome of such a petition would enable livestock to be imported to the area quicker and with no penalty for landing at an unauthorised port (Watt, 1971:2). There was also a lack of a proper market town in the Murihiku block. Upon granting the request to legalise the port at what is now known as Bluff, the Governor announced at a public dinner on 17th January 1856 that a town should be established as the main centre of the Southland district. He suggested it be named Invercargill in honour of Captain Cargill (Watt, 1971:3).

The original site chosen for the township of Invercargill was at the junction of the New River estuary and the Makarewa River. However, this site was too far inland and prone to flooding as the depth of the river was measured to be only five feet. The final decision as to the location of Invercargill was given to John Turnbull Thomson, the chief surveyor for Otago, who promptly assigned the location of Invercargill to its present site (Watt, 1971:3). Within a couple of years a post office was established, sections for the town went up for auction, houses were erected, shops and a bakery were opened. Large sections were sold and eager men were ready to test the unfamiliar soil and invest their money in farming (Watt, 1971:4-5).

At this point in time, Southland remained a part of the Otago Province, the southernmost unit of the provincial system of government that existed until 1876. While this situation suited the Dunedin settlers, and for a while the Murihiku settlers as well, it was not too long before signs of discontent appeared. Land was sold cheaply to people with large amounts of capital to invest. The profit resulting from their development was siphoned back to Dunedin and assisted in the development of that city. Murihiku settlers at the time felt that whilst Southland was a part of Otago no progress could be made (Holcroft, 1976:33). There was also a sense of isolation and abandonment as Dunedin continued to grow and expand leaving those further south in its wake. The feeling amongst the Otago settlers was that Southland was a valuable asset that they could ill afford to lose. Time and again they counteracted any attempt made by the Southland settlers to separate. However, after three years of debate the separation of the two provinces was finally made permanent in March 1861 (Bremer, 1986:37). Unfortunately, the decision to do so was poorly timed. Soon afterwards it became official that gold had been discovered in the Shotover Valley in Central Otago, the profits of which were sent back to Dunedin to aid in its development (Watt, 1971:7). There is little doubt that had Southland still been a part of Otago some of this

revenue would have been used to help with the desperately needed upgrades to Southland's roads, bridges and railways.

For nine years after the separation from Otago, Southland struggled with very little money to develop as a province and make Invercargill an adequate town for its burgeoning population. When gold was also discovered in Central Otago Bluff became the closest port of entry for those involved in panning for gold. Invercargill went through a boom period as more and more people passed through on their way to the gold fields and needed accommodation and supplies. However, without a stable and sufficiently large population to inject continuous funds into the city it was no better off (Watt, 1971:8). Although surface repairs appeared to be to the contrary the town continued to struggle and successive Town Boards were forced to borrow large amounts of money for development and repairs.

The borrowing spree of the 1860s may seem today to have been a little out of character. It is hard to reconcile with what we know of the place in later years: Invercargill had always been a solid town, anchored to Scots virtues, and quick to understand the value of a balanced budget. In the 1860s, however, it was part of a province which had to justify independence by rapid progress. It could not survive unless risks were taken, and the psychological climate favoured bold policies. (Holcroft, 1976:59)

At the end of 1864 the Provincial Council was £400,000 in debt which by 1866 was reduced to £230,000 although this figure was still too large for the province to manage (Holcroft, 1976:61-2). The only solution was to unite again with Otago and by the end of 1870 Southland had done just that.

Back under Otago's administrative control Southland began to recover. The strong commercial sense of the new settlers coupled with an expanding economy helped it to grow and strong financial institutions were soon established which ensured that money was utilised effectively. In

1859 the population of Invercargill was a little over 1,000 but by 1880 had risen to 5,000. This increase necessitated the building of gasworks, waterworks and an adequate sewerage system to support its burgeoning population (Lind, 1999:945). By the time the abolition of provincial governments happened in 1876 Southland was in a sound position to take responsibility once more of its own financial future and development.

Small industrial townships are characteristic of New Zealand's geographic landscape and Southland is no different. During the 1880s and 1890s farming boomed and with it the surrounding rural areas were developed. Smaller townships became firmly established, each with their own history and significance in determining the character of Southland and the industries that prompted Māori migration to this area in the time period of the 1960s to 1970s. Winton, Ōhai, Nightcaps, Ōtautau, and Tūātapere service the mainly farming area of Western Southland. Gore, Mataura, Edendale and Wyndham do the same for Eastern Southland. Northern Southland relies on Lumsden, Mossburn and Waikaia for supplies. Other significant townships in Central Southland are Winton, Hedgehope, Limehills, Dipton and Drummond. Riverton in the west and Bluff to the south are also areas of extreme importance and feature prominently in local Māori history as the sites of much early social, political and economic engagement between Māori and Pākehā (see figure 3).

Pastoral farming, in particular sheep farming, expanded rapidly throughout Southland. By the 1880s the sheep supply outweighed the demand of the local population, whereas in other countries there was a severe shortage of food. Technological advances were being made in the refrigeration shipping industry and in 1882 the first shipment of frozen meat was exported overseas from Port Chalmers (Dunedin), with much of its load coming from Southland. A year

later the first shipment from Bluff was sent. The ensuing intensification of pastoral farming and demand for land can partly be attributed to the development of refrigerated shipping, particularly in Southland (Critchfield, 1954:294).

The Southland Frozen Meat and Produce Export Company (Southland Frozen Meat Company) began operating in 1881 when a group of Southland farmers set up business. Although the early years were fraught with mistrust and financial precariousness it did not take long before shareholders profited from their investment. This signalled the beginning of the industry which characterised the economic prosperity of the region for decades afterwards. Freezing works were opened by the Southland Frozen Meat Company in Bluff (1885) and Maitua (1893) before the independently owned Ocean Beach Freezing Works (1892), located on the outskirts of Bluff, began operating in direct competition to the Company (Macfie, 2006:167). It soon became apparent that there was enough stock to ensure a profit could be made by both.

Solo butchering, where the entire carcass was broken down by one person, was the method of processing employed. However, the introduction of the chain system in the 1940s, where each part of the butchering process was reduced to one task being performed by one butcher along a moving chain, revolutionised the meat processing industry and increased productivity (Macfie, 2006:169). The accelerated production occurred at a rate that was unsustainable unless more people were employed. This additional labour could not be physically sourced from within Southland. It became apparent that there was a need to obtain workers from outside of the Southland district. It is against this background that labour supplies, including those from Māori communities, were enticed southwards to work in this industry.

Impact on Murihiku Māori

Engagement in trade with the sealers and whalers had a profound impact on the traditional lifestyles of Murihiku Māori. The European potato introduced to Māori was said to have grown best where there was a reasonably high rainfall, low temperatures and shorter days, conditions synonymous with Southland's winter climate (Bathgate, 1969:195). Trade with sealers and deep sea whalers took place mainly during the summer period but once shore-based whaling stations were established, trading took place all year round. These exchanges promoted the growth of semi-permanent village settlements close to where these stations were situated. Whilst potatoes originally supplemented the existing food supply this new product eventually lessened the dependence of Murihiku Māori on moving around to their various micro-environments (Bathgate, 1969:201-202). When one whaling station site no longer proved profitable whalers would move to another area and Māori would naturally follow suit to continue trade.

From 1810 onwards Māori quickly and selectively adopted foreign technology and customs into their lives. The new tools did not greatly alter their lifestyle; instead, they facilitated the old ways rather than change them completely (Richards, 1995:41). By 1844 the pace of acceleration had, however, significantly changed and Māori were rapidly abandoning the old way of life. As Māori became more and more involved in the commercial opportunities presented to them at the time, such as whaling, they tended to gravitate towards those areas leaving behind their traditional village areas. Māori had also grown accustomed to obtaining foreign goods in exchange for food. By this time the whalers who had settled permanently in Murihiku had started growing their own food thereby diminishing the need for trade (Richards, 1995:9).

After the Crown purchase of the Murihiku Block in 1854 the amount of land set aside for Māori proved to be inadequate to accommodate the increasing Murihiku Māori population who were to reside in these reserves. Land titles within the reserves were also individualised and over time the amount of land owned by each person became smaller and smaller. Initially Māori continued cultivating potatoes for trade with the Europeans but as Europeans became agriculturally self-sufficient they no longer needed produce from Māori. When the potato yield was low those on the reserves that still continued to grow them were unable to move outside of the reserve to areas where the soil was more suitable for a high yield, as they had done prior to the purchase of the Murihiku block (Bathgate, 1969:330).

Growing potatoes and rearing pigs was important for trade but they were not essential for subsistence. In desperation Māori returned to their traditional micro-environments for food but unfortunately even these naturally occurring food resources were becoming endangered supplies. “In their eagerness for land the New Zealand Company had overstated the role agriculture and underestimated the significance of naturally occurring food resources in the Māori diet” (Bathgate, 1969:329). Inland rivers were being overrun with introduced fish species; the podocarp forests were cleared for farms which meant a decrease in the birdlife that previously inhabited those forests; and the land that other customary food resources were located on was now privately owned (Bathgate, 1969:337).

By the early 1880s the rate of natural population increase amongst Māori and early settlers had been overtaken by immigration. This increase proved disastrous to Māori and contributed to the Māori population decline due to introduced European illnesses such as measles, influenza and venereal diseases (Pybus, 1954:57).

The remaining Maori were a scattered remnant, often already in effect dispossessed of their best land, dogged by ill health, and dispirited by the ever increasing influx of strong, successful foreigners. Their older men and women could look back with nostalgia to the time before the arrival of the first foreigners scarcely forty years earlier; but could only lament their change of fortune. The foreigners now dominated Murihiku, and were bound to remain. (Richards, 1995:72)

On the one hand, new diseases and other new environmental, economic and cultural challenges affected Māori health and resulted in a population fall. On the other hand, Māori communities through inter-marriage were already beginning to see a growth in population, more resistant to introduced diseases, which pointed in the longer run to the development of a stronger Māori society.

Conclusion

Māori occupation of Murihiku is grounded in mythology, using stories of ancestors to explain the geographical landscape that was carved in ancient times. Successive waves of migrants from the North Island and intermarriage between these groups consolidated the *tangata whenua* status of Ngāi Tahu as it was when Europeans first began frequenting the Murihiku shores. Micro-environments sustained Māori and these locations, along with the cooler southern climate, were responsible for the itinerant lifestyle southern Māori were forced to adopt. Sophisticated cycles of resource management were developed as were systems of exchange with neighbouring groups. These skills were naturally transferrable when it came to engaging in trade with Europeans.

The subsistence lifestyle proved to be susceptible to change as the sealing and whaling industries arrived. Māori moved away from their traditional villages to be nearer to the on-shore whaling stations and set about cultivating large patches of potatoes for trade with the sealers and whalers. Trade often included high-ranking Ngāi Tahu women, who were able to extend protection to their

whaler husbands and families, and source large tracts of land on which to reside and farm on once the men's whaling careers were over. Interracial marriage was common and it is from these early relationships that the unique genealogical characteristic of European-Ngāi Tahu mixed descent families emerged (interracial marriage will be discussed further in Chapter Four).

Reserves set aside during the purchase of the Murihiku block ignored traditional food gathering areas and practices and did not provide enough land for an expanding Ngāi Tahu population. European settlement of the area after the purchase of the Murihiku block was swift and expedited by a need to make land available for new settlers with money to spend on local development. The procurement of lands in the South Island was virtually trouble free. Europeans quickly benefited from the existence of a small southern Māori population living in a large area of land.

Because of the distance the reserves were from the newly created township of Invercargill, and the fact that the town was now built on the recently purchased Crown land, Māori input into the development of Invercargill, and indeed Southland, was minimal. This was compounded by the fact that the site chosen for Invercargill was not a traditional residential area of Murihiku Māori prior to European arrival. The expansion of Invercargill happened quickly, albeit with its troubled times, and it soon became a structured settler town quickly shedding its frontier skin.

Synonymous with agriculture is pastoral farming which is the single industry that is responsible for shaping the commercial success that Southland is renowned for. It is largely, although not solely, this industry that created employment opportunities for the migration of Māori from the North Island in the 1960s. Technological advances were to develop in ways that required a large pool of labour in Southland at particular times of the year; something the province could not

provide from its existing population. As a result, employers would turn to North Island Māori as a source of labour. The process by which these people migrated south will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

Urbanisation and Migration

There is something strange about the way we study migration. We know, often from personal experience, but also from family talk, that moving from one place to another is nearly always a *major event*. It is one of those events around which an individual's biography is built. The feelings associated with migration are usually complicated, the decision to migrate is typically difficult to make, and the outcome usually involves mixed emotions...It is a statement of an individual's world-view, and is, therefore, an extremely *cultural* event. (Fielding, 1992)

Introduction

Migration has always been a feature of Māori society. Māori settlement of New Zealand occurred because of overcrowding on small Polynesian islands coupled with diminishing resources insufficient to sustain a growing population. The larger land mass those early ancestors found when arriving in New Zealand, with its abundance of food and material resources, meant that there was no need for them to venture forth from here. Upon arrival in New Zealand settlement was organised around resources and strategic positioning but it was neither instantaneous nor permanent. As *whānau* groupings grew too large, branches would break off and set up residence on an area of land nearby. In some instances long-distance migration also occurred. A significant difference between this type of migration and that which was to occur in the middle of the twentieth century was that migration was often done as a group rather than being an individual process.

The urbanisation of the Māori population in the mid-twentieth century occurred with such intensity that it drew much attention as state services struggled to cope with the influx of Māori into the cities. This chapter will outline key features of urbanisation as it pertains to the urbanisation of the Māori population. It will also look at aspects of the Māori urbanisation process in relation to the South Island of New Zealand before looking specifically at Māori

movement to Southland.

Urbanisation in New Zealand⁷

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Māori population had significantly decreased due to involvement in the land wars, introduced diseases and poor sanitation. The events of that time left Māori wary of the Government's intentions for control and suspicious of Pākehā motives and values. They withdrew into rural areas where they lived physically and socially separate from Pākehā with little interaction between either group. They also suffered economic stagnation: unable to develop beyond their limited financial means and land resources. Their subsistence living was supplemented by working for local Pākehā farmers and public works (Ausubel, 1961:220). Māori were described as “essentially a subordinate, rural-based, ethnic enclave on the periphery of an increasingly urbanised, European-dominated society” (Pearson, 1990:110). Not all of the Māori population were living in rural areas as there were some *hapū* and *iwi* whose tribal area encompassed urban centres, however, the overwhelming majority of the Māori population were. This type of separation persisted until the middle of the twentieth century.

By the 1940s the Māori population had gone from one where the effects of a high fertility rate were essentially nullified by a high rate of mortality to one whose numbers were rapidly growing. Improved sanitation, enhanced immunity to introduced diseases and better standards of living lowered the mortality rate and contributed to this population increase (Borrie, 1959:260). However, the growth was beyond what could be sustained within the economic and resource limitations of the rural areas the population growth was occurring in. Employment opportunities were minimal: 47% of the population were under 15 years of age and not all could gain

⁷ The underlying social and economic causes of the urbanisation of the Māori population are, in part, a result of the colonisation of New Zealand. A thorough discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of the present research. See Marais (1927), Kawharu (2003), Mikaere (2005), Moon (2007) and Moon (2009).

employment in the limited jobs left vacant by their retiring grandparents (Maxwell, 1961:41; Poulsen & Johnston, 1973:172).

World War Two saw the beginning of Māori movement from rural areas to urban centres. Where it could, the Department of Labour and Employment assisted by directing labour towards essential industries in the cities necessary to aid in New Zealand's contribution to the war effort (Metge, 1964:1). After the war ended in 1945 the steady flow of Māori urbanisation continued. Other government schemes were designed to aid in this process, such as the Department of Māori Affairs' urban relocation programme, and the establishment of hostel accommodation within the cities specifically for Māori new to the city (Metge, 1964:143).

In New Zealand, the main urbanisation period for Māori has been typically characterised by the large scale movement of the population from rural areas to urban towns and cities. The rate and scale of this movement had such an impact on the character of the country that it has often been described as the most rapid urbanisation "of any national population or of any other sizable ethnic subpopulation at any time in history" (Gibson, 1973:82).

TABLE 2.1
URBAN-RURAL MĀORI POPULATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Urban Māori Population</i>	<i>Rural Māori Population</i>
1936	17.3%	82.7%
1946	25.7%	74.3%
1956	35.0%	65.0%
1966	61.6%	38.4%
1976	76.2%	23.8%
1986	80.8%	19.2%
1996	83.2%	16.8%
2006	84.4%	15.6%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Official New Zealand Yearbook (1936-2008)

The phenomenal rate of this movement drew the attention of a number of demographers at the

time that it was occurring.⁸ This study is not intended to measure urbanisation to Southland during the time period of this research, although it would provide interesting results. The difficulty in doing so is compounded by the limited resources available because few statistics of internal migration were collected for this particular area at that time.

The two areas in which emigration largely occurred was from Northland and the East Coast of the North Island. These two regions were the most densely Māori populated areas with limited opportunities for economic growth. Auckland was the favoured destination of a significant proportion of Māori migrants because of the numerous benefits, both real and perceived, that existed there. These included a wider range of employment opportunities available, higher wages, the variety and excitement of city living and its location, particularly in relation to those from Northland (Rowland, 1973). Māori population increases were also recorded in Wellington-Hutt Valley, Hamilton and Gisborne. The Central North Island also received a significant proportion of migrants due to the forestry developments in this area (Poulsen & Johnston, 1973:155-162). The social ecology of New Zealand's two main urban centres, Auckland and Wellington, radically changed during this time period. These two cities, along with the South Island, experienced rapid rates of intercensal growth due to migration. During the 1960s these trends remained the same with noticeable increases to the South Island, the causes of which will be discussed further in this chapter.

Established migration theory explains that migration is caused by a variety of push-pull factors: incidents that push people away from their home community and attractive prospects that pull them to a new place (see table 2.2). In most instances it is a combination of both push-pull

⁸ See Maxwell (1961), Rowland (1973), Gibson (1973), Poulsen & Johnston (1973), Poulsen, Rowland & Johnston (1975).

factors that entices people to move.

TABLE 2.2
THE PUSH AND PULL OF MIGRATION

	<i>Push</i>	<i>Pull</i>
Sociocultural	Social discrimination, family expansion, crime, religious restrictions and social injustice	Family reunion, family or community commitments, education and cultural opportunities, health services
Political	Political instability, ethnic conflict, propaganda	Access to public services
Economic	Poverty, unemployment, slow economic growth, low wages, land tenure issues, landlessness, mechanisation of agriculture, depleting resources, lack of infrastructure	Employment and business opportunities, higher wages, potential better standard of living
Environmental	Environmental degradation, natural disasters, food insecurity, disease, climate change and water scarcity	Lack of or high number of people, space, environmental quality

Source: (Mohanty, 2009:4)

Contrary to popular opinion, migrants are not always ‘pushed’ or ‘pulled’ by economic forces, although financial stability and upward mobility are significant motivating factors in their decision to move (Metge, 1964:127-8). The push-pull factors listed in table 2.2 are diverse and show that there are a number of interrelated factors that contribute to a person’s decision to migrate: a decision that does not occur in isolation from the social, political and economic state of the nation. People are expected to consider the perceived benefits of migrating from one place to another in relation to the disadvantages they may continue to face if they stay. The following factors have been suggested to help explain the rural-urban exodus of the Māori population:

- a. acute Maori over-population in relation to limited regional natural resources;
- b. high rural unemployment;
- c. the economic marginality of many Maori-owned farms that were smaller, less efficient, and hence less productive than many which were European owned;
- d. the generally slow rate of regional development in those parts of New Zealand most heavily populated by Maori;

- e. the lure of better employment and income opportunities and therefore of greater economic security in the city;
- f. the more intangible benefits of urban lifestyles. (Pearson, 1990: 113)

Although the factors listed above highlight underlying national economic and political causes of migration, they alone do not force people to emigrate. According to Metge:

Economic circumstances, however bad, do not *force* people to emigrate unless they have certain aspirations in the economic field. The Maoris in the 'sets' [Metge's research sample] came to the city because they refused to accept a lower standard of living as the alternative to emigration. Their attachment to the land and community of their forefathers was not enough to hold them there on those terms. Some left home, even though their standard of living was not threatened, because they wished to share in higher standards available elsewhere. (Metge, 1964:127)

In some cases there are other contributing causes for migration. Other social factors that are sometimes taken into consideration as push-pull factors in Māori migration include obtaining a higher education or up-skilling, quarrels with family members, escaping domestic violence and abuse, a heightened sense of adventure, and a desire to experience new things, which is a common motive amongst younger migrants (Metge, 1964:127-131).

Labour migration has been the reason behind most large-scale migratory movements worldwide. These movements were characterised by a change from an agricultural to an industrial labour force and, as in other Western capitalist societies, New Zealand also followed this trend. Up until the mid-1970s the New Zealand economy was very prosperous, a situation the country had been enjoying since the end of the Second World War. The world economy boom and the domestic promotion of policies that encouraged industrialisation and full employment left a gap in the labour market that was filled by migrants from rural communities in New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. The type of work that attracted these people to the urban centres of New Zealand was largely unskilled or semi-skilled, low waged employment that offered little job security and limited promotional opportunities (Ongley, 1991:17).

Labour migration was a major cause for the migration of Māori living in rural communities to urban centres. The first wave of Māori migrants were poorly educated and not equipped with the skills to take advantage of the wider range of jobs available in urban areas (Walker, 1979). They brought few resources that were easily marketable in an urban environment and employment was often found in primary and secondary manufacturing and processing industries (Pearson, 1990). In comparison to the earning opportunities in the migrants' original community the wages received were significantly higher and so the incentive to move was great. The wages, however, were still lower when compared to the average household income of that time. Affordable accommodation also often meant living in sub-standard housing in inner city areas, the usual location for new migrants (Walker, 1979:33).

By the mid-1960s the transformation of the Māori workforce from an agricultural background into industrial-based employment was almost complete and consolidated over the next twenty years. Between the mid-1960s and the 1980s urbanisation continued, albeit at a much slower pace, and by the end of this time period the majority of the Māori population resided in urban centres (Pool, 1991:182) (see table 2.1).

It soon became apparent that the rapid urbanisation of the Māori people had disrupted the cultural sustainability of rural communities. The social changes that occurred in Māori society as a result of urbanisation drew the attention of a number of researchers at the time that it was occurring.⁹ The shift from a community-orientated society to one that valued individual success as well as the absence of effective forms of social control brought about cultural changes to Māori society

⁹ See Ritchie (1963), Metge (1964), Hohepa (1964), Booth (1959), Rowland (1973).

as a whole. There was also a breakdown in communication and changes in values amongst Māori migrants. Barriers that once hindered entering another tribal area's domain no longer existed. Migrants saw themselves on equal terms with those whose tribal domains they were now living in (Metge, 1964:212-3). The authority of elders was undermined as Māori living in the city began to accept Pākehā egalitarianism which altered the traditional pattern of Māori leadership (Ausubel, 1961).

The economic recession and a downturn in the New Zealand economy became a reality from the mid-1970s. In subsequent decades, the government struggled to compete commercially with foreign investors and decided to withdraw from a number of ventures they had invested in. State-owned enterprises such as the railways and the public works departments were sold, production subsidies in the primary and secondary sector were removed as were tariff protections for manufacturing industries (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2000:6). During this re-structuring, Māori were more disadvantaged than others as many urban Māori were employed in the industries being restructured. Large scale redundancies became common.

Migration to the South Island

The South Island has always received its share of the Māori population as a result of North-South migration. During the 1960s, the decade in which the Māori migrants involved in this research travelled southwards, the Māori population of the South Island expanded exponentially.

Less well-known and little commented upon is the development of a subsidiary-migration flow from the North Island to both urban and rural places of residence and work in the South Island. Partly seasonal, this flow has in a few years stimulated a new phase of radical change and dynamic growth as its influence has deeply affected much of the intrinsic character typical of the South Island Maori community in earlier decades. (Heenan, 1966:125-6)

Up to and during the 1950s, the South Island Māori population was characterised by higher

proportions of middle aged and elderly people. An increase in the number of Māori males in the 20-25 age group moving south caused a significant shift in the age and sex profile of the South Island Māori population in comparison to the national trends (Heenan, 1966:148-9). Whereas family groups were common types of migrants to move within the North Island, the demographic of the typical Māori migrant to the South Island were young, single men. Single, young females also featured but were not as prominent as males (Poulsen & Johnston, 1973:163). Demographic research conducted by Heenan (1966) helps substantiate that trend. Family migration streams in the late 1960s were stimulated by government policies, in particular, low interest housing loans in specific areas (Pool, 1991:154), and because of the educational benefits available for their children (Rowland, 1973). However, those moving to the South Island were not interested in such things at that time of their lives, particularly given their employment circumstances and seasonal lifestyle.

This migration stream, consisting mainly of people affiliated to North Island tribes, resulted in a more diversified South Island Māori character. By the 1980s it had also consolidated its multi-tribal character and contributed to the spike in the South Island Māori population.

TABLE 2.3
SOUTH ISLAND MĀORI, NON-MĀORI AND TOTAL POPULATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Māori Population</i>		<i>Non-Māori Population</i>		<i>Total Population</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
1951	4,164	0.67	621,439	99.33	625,603
1956	5,257	0.78	671,441	99.22	676,698
1961	7,140	0.98	723,059	99.02	730,199
1966	10,635	1.36	772,958	98.64	783,593
1971	13,837	1.71	797,431	98.29	811,268
1976	19,358	2.25	841,632	97.75	860,990
1981	19,041	2.23	833,707	97.77	852,748
1986	43,011	4.97	822,458	95.03	865,469
1991	47,346	5.37	834,191	94.63	881,537
1996	64,917	6.97	866,649	93.03	931,566
2001	64,653	7.12	842,823	92.88	907,476

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Official New Zealand Yearbook (1936-2008)

The increase in the population of Māori resident in the South Island seen in table 2.3 can also be partly attributed to the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 and its redefinition of who is counted statistically as being of Māori descent.¹⁰ However, it is also clear from table 2.3 that an increase in the South Island Māori population was occurring before the Act and the change in census population data collections. Whilst natural increase will have contributed to this, it is undoubtedly the southward migration stream of Māori migrants from the North Island that caused it to rise so rapidly.

The population increase and associated changes in public policy showed that “the total impact on the environment was a Maori presence in numbers and activity at levels that the South Island had not seen in 100 years” (Armstrong, 1987:205). This migration stream was initially stimulated by employment opportunities which lead to the population increasing dramatically in a short time span. After the downturn in these industries any future population gains were mainly by natural increase.

Many of the experiences of Māori migrants follow that of well-tested migration theory. Some moved straight from rural areas to large cities especially when those cities were located within a close proximity to the home community. Some moved from one rural area to another rural area before moving to the city. Others moved from rural areas to small towns then to large cities (Metge, 1964:131-132). Movement is also said to have occurred only over short distances from the point of origin (Forrest & Johnston, 2002:134). Unlike the relatively short distances that most migrants were travelling within the North Island, the distance involved to relocate to the

¹⁰ Prior to 1976 figures comprise people who were half or more New Zealand Māori only. The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 expanded its definition of ‘Māori’ and figures from 1976 onwards now includes those who indicated they were persons of Māori descent but did not specify the degree of Māori blood quantum. This expansive definition allowed those of less than half Māori blood who may have identified as Māori to be included in the Māori population figures.

South Island was considerable. The financial cost of moving to another island would no doubt have impacted on the ability of family groupings to undertake this type of long distance migration. Chain migration, where the movement of one prompts the emigration of others in the home community, does not seem to have been a strong feature of Māori migration to the South Island. Many migrants had no close kinship connection with those they travelled down with or their workmates (Heenan, 1966).

There are five major urban centres in the South Island that attracted the majority of Māori migrants: Nelson, Christchurch, Timaru, Dunedin and Invercargill. The choice of destination can be explained by a number of socio-economic factors, mainly the scope and location of economic activities leading to a range of employment opportunities and the type of penal, mental and educational institutions available (Heenan, 1966). Whilst institutional and permanent types of migration did occur, seasonal migration was by far the most significant type of migration for Māori migrants to the south. Whilst the itinerant lifestyle of the Māori seasonal workforce may have been viewed by some as ‘shiftless’, ‘dissolute’ and ‘profligate’, it was in fact an enduring aspect of their traditionally migratory lifestyle.

A very important desideratum of works is that it must be seasonal. This means not only the survival of the old nomadic tradition. It means that most of all that the Maori does not surrender himself to a hostile order. Capable, intelligent, active, he sallies forth for a season's shearing or butchering, or any other occupation, which, by being seasonal, enables him to retreat after a certain interval of time to the sheltering warmth of his society. Steady work prevents him devoting his energies to the important social occupations of his community, worse still, it may drag him from that community; and apparently that is the fate he fears most. (Duff, 1940:387)

This attachment to their tribal area or their point of origin was never compromised as a large number of those employed in seasonal occupations in the South Island returned ‘home’ as soon as the season was over, or returned to the North Island in search of other work. However, as the years passed and permanent migration became a reality for many Māori migrants the attraction to

their 'home' community lessened as they embedded themselves in the South Island. To what extent this happened for the participants in this research and the reasons why will be discussed in the following chapter.

Migration to Southland

Very few case studies were conducted on the migration of North Island Māori to Southland during the main urbanisation period, although the phenomenon was briefly mentioned in a number of articles. A key piece of research includes that of Heenan (1966) whose studies looked at the changing South Island Māori population in relation to the North-South migration stream. Mirams' (1970) survey of the social situation of the Māori population of Otago and Southland (excluding Dunedin) investigated Māori migration to Southland in reference to the Presbyterian Church and whether they needed to appoint someone to tend specifically to the increasing number of Māori settling there permanently.

From the information available it would seem that large-scale seasonal movement of Māori labour to and from Southland dates from the 1950s when the chain system of killing was first introduced to Southland freezing works. Prior to this, individual slaughter men were responsible for the killing, gutting and butchering of a single carcass. This method of butchering was time consuming and only a small number of animals could be processed each day (Lind, 1981:217-8). The chain system of killing meant that the tasks became individualised and each worker was only responsible for one part of the butchering process rather than being involved from the beginning to the end. This system increased production beyond what the current labour employed in the freezing works at the time could sustain. The mechanisation of the freezing works industry stimulated a demand for seasonal workers which could not be satisfied from manpower resources

available in the South (Lind, 1981:231).

Companies began actively recruiting outside the Southland region. They looked to North Island communities in particular to help combat the labour shortage. Many freezing works are situated a considerable distance outside of the main township of Invercargill. Inadequate accommodation nearby, obvious financial benefits of working there, and the distances prospective workers were required to travel from their home community to Southland impaired the abilities of the freezing work companies to attract North Island labour. A variety of incentives were thus employed to recruit workers including subsidised travel, high wages, production bonuses, and cheap accommodation at hostels located adjacent to most of the freezing works in Southland. The hostel accommodation “proved particularly attractive to the Māori since in more or less traditional fashion it allows him to commune freely with his fellows, and to indulge in various recreational and other social activities arising essentially from the very collectiveness of the group” (Heenan, 1966:135-6).

Freezing works started advertising in North Island newspapers with one company systematically studying North Island settlements to determine the best pool of labour (Heenan, 1966:136). Ocean Beach Freezing Works (Bluff) sent personnel officers to a number of North Island communities to actively recruit workers. The Alliance Company also utilised recruitment and information tours to Christchurch and North Island towns and cities in an effort to recruit enough workers for the upcoming season (Mirams, 1970:15). Alliance also developed close relationships with elders within North Island communities who assisted in their recruitment efforts (Herring, 1993:14). During the off season, workers needed to find employment in other industries. Some returned to the North Island, others would work in local industries such as the Bluff wool stores

and factories (Heenan, 1966). Expanding provincial service towns such as Gore, Mataura and Balclutha provided other employment opportunities for migrants including the paper mill, shearing gangs and other farm work.

Although their intention may have been to remain only for as long as the seasonal employment was available evidence suggests that a substantial number of Māori migrants settled permanently. This was usually brought about by a post-migration change in marital status. Those who chose to marry locally and settle in the area did so much to the delight of the freezing works (Heenan, 1966:15). They represented a more stable and dependable workforce and lessened the need for the companies to actively recruit from the North Island as the labour force could now be found locally. There is scant evidence available to substantiate claims that migrants were making Invercargill their permanent home or the reason why. From the participants involved in this research some insight into why they chose to remain in Southland will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Whilst much of this discussion has been focused on the freezing work industry as a key employer of Māori migrants, it was not the only industry that employed Māori workers. Other significant areas of employment included shearing and the railways. Short-term projects in the wider Southland and Central Otago areas including the Clyde power dam (Department of Māori Affairs, 1988) also provided opportunities for employment of Māori labour. In terms of the participants involved in this research all of them were attracted southwards by the employment prospects offered by the freezing works. Their participation in this industry will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

The overall picture of the Māori population in Southland during this time period is a complex one of migration and movement within and into the province. In the period 1961-1966 Otago and Southland recorded the two highest rates of increase in the Māori population of all the regions in New Zealand: 79.7% for Otago and 69.6% for Southland (Mirams, 1970:7). This growth was not the result of a high rate of natural increase but arose from migration. Geographically speaking, the origins of the migrants were diverse. It was noted by Olssen (2006:81) that a significant number from the Ngāti Porou area had arrived in Southland to work, mainly in the freezing works, although there has been no quantitative research done into the number of migrants from Ngāti Porou or other tribal areas to substantiate that claim.

The Māori population of the South Island has always been small in relation to the number of Māori residing in the North Island. Regionally, the Māori population of Southland has also historically been quite small, however, the North-South migration of Māori in the middle of the twentieth century caused an increase to occur.

TABLE 2.4
SOUTHLAND MĀORI, NON-MĀORI AND TOTAL POPULATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Māori Population</i>		<i>Non-Māori Population</i>		<i>Total Population</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
1951	120	0.17	70,058	99.83	70,178
1956	833	0.98	84,438	99.02	85,271
1961	375	0.4	93,346	99.6	93,721
1966	962	0.94	101,610	99.06	102,572
1971	1,527	1.44	104,821	98.56	106,348
1976	4,255	3.91	104,605	96.09	108,860
1981	4,790	4.44	103,115	95.56	107,905
1986	8,667	8.21	96,845	91.79	105,512
1991	9,129	9.13	90,825	90.87	99,954
1996	10,641	10.96	86,457	89.04	97,098
2001	10,038	11.03	80,967	88.97	91,005

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Official New Zealand Yearbook (1936-2008)

The increase in the Māori population of Southland (table 2.4) can be seen to occur at the same time as an increase in the overall population of the region. Looking at the total population

statistics for the area, it is easy to see a spike in the population occur after 1951 and increase consistently until 1981. This time period coincides with the main urbanisation period discussed in this research. After the 1980s the total population begins to decline which is likely to be in some way related to the restructuring in the primary and secondary sectors and the mass redundancies that occurred, although the Māori population continued to increase. This indicates the population was still growing due to natural rates of increase.

A theory embodied in rural to urban movements is that people will undoubtedly go to settlements larger than their place of origin (Forrest & Johnston, 2002:134). In the case of the majority of Māori migrants who moved to Southland and, in particular, the participants involved in this research this was very true. However, in the 1960s there were three national trends that Southland did not follow in relation to migration and its associated outcomes. Firstly, the decision by North Island Māori to migrate to Southland goes against typical migration theory that most migrations occur over short distances. The majority of the migrants migrated a considerable distance from their point of origin. The inability to maintain regular face to face contact has no doubt caused relationships within families to change. Secondly, Māori women on a nationwide basis slightly outnumber Māori males in urban areas. The reverse is true of those that migrated to Southland where the majority were overwhelmingly male. Thirdly, during that time period it was more common in interracial marriages for the wife to be the Māori spouse (Mirams, 1970:15). In Southland the opposite was to occur which is to be expected given the high proportion of Māori males moving there in comparison to the number of Māori women.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the process of urbanisation as it applies to the internal redistribution of the Māori population during the main urbanisation period of the 1950s and the 1960s. The retreat of a large proportion of the Māori population into rural areas towards the end of the nineteenth century saw Māori and Pākehā living largely separate lives. At that time the Māori population was about a quarter of what it had been at the time of European arrival to New Zealand. In their rural world, higher birth rates coupled with lower mortality rates, due to improved sanitation and disease immunity, meant that by the 1950s the Māori population had increased to such a point that the resources of these rural communities were no longer able to support them economically.

During World War Two Māori were directed by government agencies to urban centres to contribute to the war effort by working in essential industries. After the war, worldwide economic forces generated a boom situation creating labour shortages in mainly urban-based industries. The spatial mobility of the Māori workforce meant that they quickly and eagerly met that demand. Within a short space of time the Māori population was quickly transformed from a rural to urban-based population. Associated costs and benefits from transplanting a rural-based group of people to cities were exacerbated by the fact that these movements were undertaken largely by individuals and not by large groups; the latter had historically been the norm in Māori migration.

Little statistical information is available that accurately records the details of Māori migration to the South Island and Southland. However, the North-South movement of Māori workers was significant enough to have been raised in several pieces of demographic research concerning the urbanisation of the Māori people nationally. The empirical research conducted on migration to

Southland in particular is even more limited. The aim of this thesis is to document the migration experiences of individuals to show the decision-making process involved in long-distance migration. The experiences of migration to Southland from the migrant's perspective, and their integration into a community vastly different to the one they had come from, will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Experiences of Migration & Integration into the Southland Community

For a long time and in many places people have been moving from country to town. New Zealand today is no exception. But on a *pro rata* basis, more Maori are caught up in this traffic than Pakeha; and since it has also been more recent in its impact for the Māori, it is at present more disruptive of their family and social life. In the country theirs is a world largely circumscribed by kin and tribal interests. In the town, on the other hand, theirs must be the world of the Pakeha and of few Maori—among whom, in any event, there are only slender ties of blood and common ancestral locality. (Kawharu, 1968:174)

Introduction

Migration is often described as being a consequence of social, economic and political push-pull factors that occur at a national level. The context within which the migration of Māori people occurred from rural to urban areas in New Zealand was essentially caused by these same reasons. However, the characteristics of the people involved were as varied as were their experiences of migration. The factors outlined in the previous chapter do not always aptly describe individual acts of migration and the push-pull factors said to influence migration may not always be the sole contributors to an individual's decision to move, nor are experiences of migration the same amongst all migrants.

This chapter will introduce four Māori migrants who travelled from small, rural North Island Māori communities down to Southland in the 1960s. They represent a cross section of the people who undertook this journey southwards during this time period. This chapter will look at their particular experiences of migration and integration into the Southland community. This chapter will also outline their experiences of moving to Southland, highlighting the uniqueness of each participant's journey.

Participants' Experiences of Migration and Integration into Southland

The four participants involved in this research are just some of many that migrated down to Southland for work in the primary industries that could not source enough labour from within Southland itself. They contributed statistically to a migration stream that went against the national trend: the South Island was seen as the least likely place for Māori to migrate to. However, Southland received an influx of over 350 Māori each year between the 1950s and 1970s to work in the various seasonal primary industries in the district (Burridge, 1964:54), in particular, in shearing gangs and the freezing works. This figure does not include those who also came down for other employment and educational opportunities.

The Southland community at that time was markedly different from the ones that the participants had grown up in. In 1961, people of Māori descent residing in the whole of the Southland district represented 0.4% of the total population. By 1971 this figure had risen to around 1.4% (see table 2.4). Despite this noticeable increase, the ethnicity of the majority of the population of Southland in this time period was Pākehā. This is in stark contrast to the rural North Island Māori communities that these participants were coming from where Māori totalled 80% or more of the population. It is within this context that the participants migrated and integrated into Southland. Despite all coming from strong Māori communities, each of them migrated from a distinctive location and upbringing, and these varied experiences will now be outlined below.

Tamati Reedy

Tamati is of Te Aitanga-a-Mate descent, a *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. He was born in Te Puia Springs (East Coast of the North Island) in 1954 and spent most of his childhood in Tikitiki, a small community 145 kilometres north of Gisborne.

Figure 6. Map of the East Coast of the North Island



Source: (<http://101mustdos.co.nz/101-must-do-tv-show-eastland.php>)

During the time period of this investigation Tikitiki was a bustling rural East Coast community.

Economically it was a poorer area although people didn't starve. I mean it was at best probably what we would call nowadays subsistence living. You made a living from several different areas; you worked for somebody who had a big farm and you come back and worked your own little farm, you planted gardens and things like this so you know it's a lot of seasonal stuff going on. So economically it wasn't really rich but you never starved. Socially, there were a lot of things going on at the *marae* (meeting place, building complex). There's always things going on like funerals or birthdays, weddings, things like that it was great. To go to the *marae* was always an occasion and it felt like a special occasion to me. I quite enjoyed it cause it gave you a chance to meet kids outside of school you know and interact and things like that play around get mischief, *hianga* (mischief, play around), and all those sort of things. (Reedy, 2006)

People living in Tikitiki during this particular time period relied on doing a variety of jobs to earn

a wage. This income was supplemented with farming, fishing, growing, and gathering additional food supplies. This meant that the money they did earn could be used to purchase other necessities. Tamati recalls not being wealthy, in terms of having lots of money, but never wanting for anything. The *marae* was the focal point for all social activities that occurred in the community. It also provided an opportunity for Tamati to play together with his friends in one place at one time. He would have had no responsibilities concerning duties that needed to be performed on the *marae* until he was older. The freedom children experienced in that environment would no doubt have enhanced his enjoyment of this time.

Tamati lived with his grandparents in Tikitiki after his parents separated. When he was 10 years old he moved with them to live in Gisborne. Also living with them was Tamati's sister, his aunty and her four children. He found distinct differences between Tikitiki and Gisborne:

It was a strange place. All these houses close together and the people were different too...It's like...moving to a new school, you're the one out of place and you find it a bit hard to fit in until you start to get to know people. It took me a long while to get to know people. The first thing I can remember about moving into Gisborne was fighting with the neighbour's kids from down the road first day...he just got cheeky and poked his tongue at me so I smacked him. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati moved from a small rural community of approximately 800 people, where he either knew or was related to the majority of the people there, to Gisborne with a population of approximately 26,000 people (New Zealand Official Year Book, 1965). Although there are some adjustments that need to take place during migration, children tend to adapt quicker to such changes. Tamati's initial adjustment difficulties soon disappeared when he got to know the people living in his Gisborne neighbourhood. Living in close vicinity to other people would no doubt have allowed him to interact with other children his own age on a more regular basis and adjust more quickly.

When Tamati began high school he attended Te Aute College, an Anglican Māori boys' school located 30 kilometres south of Hastings in the Hawke's Bay on the East Coast of the North Island. Te Aute College has a long history of producing prominent Māori leaders since it first opened in 1854 and has always had a solid focus on the academic success of its students. Tamati, who did not enjoy academia, left Te Aute part way through and found employment in the Hawke's Bay. He did not consciously decide to stay in this particular area after he left school, however, employment opportunities available there meant he stayed away from Gisborne longer than he had intended to. This proved to be upsetting news for his grandparents who:

were sort of a bit concerned when I didn't want to go back [to Gisborne]. I just told them I didn't want to go back to school and I've got a job [in the Hawkes Bay] and so I stayed there. It was just over the phone sort of thing. I heard them crying in the background and they just had to deal with it. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati was the second youngest of his father's children and had already lived in a household separated from the majority of his siblings. By the time he started working in the Hawke's Bay a number of them had already moved away from the East Coast. Living away from his family was a lifestyle he had become accustomed to after leaving Tikitiki and then going to boarding school. For Tamati, staying to work in the Hawke's Bay was not an unusual choice for him to make and visits back to Gisborne were rare.

I went back to Gisborne a couple of times when I'd been in the forestry and I thought, "Oh well I'll go home and visit Nan and Grandpa." And I did. Three or four times I went back but I never went anywhere near Ruatoria¹¹ or Tikitiki not for a long time. I just kept going further and further south I did go back once to work on the farm out at Ruatoria but then when I got back from there it took me a long time to get back that way again [to Ruatoria] unless it was on a holiday.

Why was that?

It did nothing to me, for me [to go back]. I missed a couple of my mates and everything like that. I thought I would miss the diving and everything but then I found the same sort of things elsewhere in the country... That's why I sort of went to areas where there was sea and rivers and bush and stuff like this. (Reedy, 2006)

¹¹ Ruatoria is located 130 kilometres north of Gisborne and only 15 kilometres south of where Tamati grew up in Tikitiki. It is the largest town on the northern East Coast region (see figure 6).

Tamati's tendency to move from place to place was already well ingrained within him before he moved to Southland. Tamati's movement from a rural area (Tikitiki), to small towns (Gisborne and Hastings) before moving to a larger town or city (Invercargill) is consistent with well-tested migration theory that suggests migrants move using this stepwise process (Keown, 1971:178). Tamati was not in control of where he was moving to as he was only a child and then a teenager when he did so. However, these experiences no doubt aided in the migration he undertook as an adult and in subsequent adjustments to a new community. The act of migrating can be distressing and using this process helps migrants adjust more easily to their new surroundings. In New Zealand we can expect places like Gisborne and Hastings to be 'collecting points' for people moving from rural East Coast and Hawke's Bay communities. From there it would be expected that the next logical destination for people to relocate to would be the Central North Island or Wellington (Poulsen, Rowland, & Johnston, 1975:317), but for Tamati this was not the case, and instead he moved to Southland.

Despite the number of moves, all the destinations were still located within the greater East Coast region of the North Island. The environments, in terms of the food resources available, the people and the culture, were all familiar situations that Tamati had grown up in. The locations he worked in were also all within predominantly Māori populations. This meant that there were few cultural adjustments Tamati had to make. This would have made the migration adjustment process easier. By the time he moved to Invercargill he had already experienced living in communities that he did not tribally belong to.

When Tamati finished high school, he pursued a number of different occupations on the East

Coast: at the Whakatū Freezing Works,¹² in the forestry, working on a farm and shearing. The jobs Tamati gained employment in between leaving school and arriving in Southland are all typical of employment opportunities available to people living in rural Māori communities. His experience in these industries prior to moving to Southland meant that he already possessed a set of skills that would be easily transferrable to employment opportunities available in Southland.

Tamati originally intended to move to Southland to get a job with a shearing company but ended up gaining employment at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works.¹³ He arrived in Southland in the 1970s at a later time period than others in this research, but had already begun his internal migration process based on employment opportunities available. Before moving Tamati was working as a shearer and made the trip down south with others in his shearing gang.

There was four of us. We were all friends, we were all working in the same place and all for the same gangs up in Ruatoria and up on the Coast and when the work ran out up there we went down south. (Reedy, 2006)

Nationally, the shearing season usually begins in late October or early November and goes to the end of December or January. Itinerant shearing gangs move from one farm to another throughout the main shearing period. However, in Southland the season can run until the end of February because of the large number of sheep farms located there. The number of shearers and shearing hands required to work in Southland during this time period is around 17% of the total of all shearers required nationally (Andrews & Andrews, 1996:44). As a result, the attraction of a high demand for labour and a longer period of employment was no doubt an alluring feature of moving to Southland for Tamati. Employment in the shearing industry was what prompted

¹² The Whakatū Freezing Works, which were located just outside of Hastings, also suffered from the government's removal of agricultural subsidies and trade tariffs. It officially closed down in 1986 resulting in some 2,000 full-time and seasonal employees becoming unemployed.

¹³ The Ocean Beach Freezing Works started operating as an independently owned company in 1892 before it ceased operating in 1991. It was located on the outskirts of Bluff, 25 kilometres south of Invercargill.

Tamati and his friends to move south, although it was with the freezing works that he found work. The migration of these four single, young men is representative of the demography of the typical Māori migrant that moved to Southland.

Although the literature suggests that a significant number of Māori migrants employed in seasonal industries in Southland would travel northwards when the season finished to find work (Heenan, 1966:134), the same cannot be said of Tamati who stayed in Southland.

Well it was I suppose the lifestyle, it was near the sea, I like the sea cos there's plenty of *kaimoana* [seafood] and the work was there, even though it was seasonal. Sometimes some of us managed to get jobs planting trees in the forestry and things like this and then go back to the works, bit of fishing. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati knew of others who did move between locations within New Zealand for employment, including those who he originally moved down with. He, himself, was able to gain employment during the off season from the freezing works in industries where he could use the skills he had gained from doing a variety of jobs in the North Island before he moved to Southland. It would also seem that Tamati's early life, that is, his subsistence living of fishing hunting and gathering certain types of food near the sea, rivers and bush, acted as a reference point for later moves as an adult. He was naturally inclined to live and work in areas of the country where he could maintain this type of lifestyle, although moving to an environment like this was not a priority in his decision to move to Southland.

Leaving behind the support and protection of one's kin group can evoke feelings of trepidation, fear and anxiety of moving to a new environment. The lack of familial and cultural support can sometimes makes it difficult for the migrant to integrate into the new community (Ravuvu, 2002:88). For Tamati, he felt none of these emotions:

I didn't really feel anything, it's just another place to go as far as I was concerned...It wasn't as if I felt like I was cutting ties or anything like that, I mean everybody was just a phone call away, but I didn't feel anything. (Reedy, 2006)

His lack of anxiety towards moving to Southland may be attributed to the fact that he had already been living away from the area of his upbringing whilst attending Te Aute College and working in the Hawke's Bay after he left school. This shows that for Tamati, attachment to place was not significant as the economic benefits were insufficient for him to remain on the East Coast. However, he did settle in an area where the physical environment was similar to that where he grew up and he could maintain a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Regardless of the physical distance between Tamati and his family, he was still able to regularly communicate with them over the phone. He also had a brother who had moved to Dunedin and he made regular trips to visit him, particularly when their children were born.

There are a number of noticeable differences between the East Coast communities that Tamati had grown up and worked in and the Southland community that he migrated to. Tamati decided to base himself and his family in Bluff, a small town that already had an established Māori community. Initially, he found it difficult to fit in.

I think they're a bit more sort of insular than up home. I mean well obviously everybody knew you up home so it was easier to get into groups to assimilate and stuff like that...In Bluff you were the odd man out and well you just had to work at it...I got in by working a lot harder than a whole lot of the people down there worked and that's how I made my way into the fishing industry and that and I worked my way up to factory manager, production manager, and finally plant manager. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati described Bluff as 'insular' which is most likely what an outsider new to any small community would have described it as. Bluff is located 30km south of Invercargill and is the oldest town in New Zealand. It is a small coastal community with access to a variety of seafood resources that Tamati enjoyed. It also has a number of people of Ngāi Tahu descent living there.

Having already felt like an outsider when he moved to Gisborne as a child and then living and working in the Hawke's Bay, as an adult Tamati knew how to adjust accordingly. Other members of the Bluff community did not know him and he knew that he would need to work harder and smarter than others to prove his capabilities, for which he was justly rewarded. In many ways the small community, with its reliance on sea-faring activities and the employment available at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works, resembled a world that Tamati was familiar with on the East Coast. The opportunity to live nearer to his work and reside in this particular environment is likely to have caused Tamati to take up residence in Bluff rather than stay in Invercargill.

Tamati realised that Bluff was not his home community, so he did not try to recreate the communities that he had left on the East Coast. To help ease his adjustment he joined community groups.

I got in to social clubs, a bit of martial arts and things like boxing.

Did that make it easier for you to become part of the community down there?

Just with certain people cos there was a lot of Coasties¹⁴ down there too at that time and some of them had been down there and stayed there long before I got there and I got to know a few of them and so basically...it didn't feel as though you were cutting ties or anything like that. You know it was easy as people from up round Te Kaha and that and further around the East Cape I just meet up with them and we sort of got on...we liked doing the same things and I think the reasons that we were down there were all similar for work and that. The area was good there was some good hunting, good diving, fishing. I mean it's just everything that a Coastie wants. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati developed friendships with both Māori and non-Māori people who resided in Bluff and Invercargill. The people Tamati felt that he did not need to try so hard with, and to whom he naturally gravitated towards, were people who were from the same geographic area as he was originally from. Having a similar cultural background and an interest in coastal activities meant

¹⁴ The word 'Coastie' is a term used to describe people who tribally affiliate to the northern East Coast of the North Island.

that interaction with them was easier and he found himself associating more with others who were also of Māori descent.

A significant proportion of the Māori population of Southland has historically been located in Bluff (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The Māori population there also grew with the increase of Māori moving down from the North Island. Despite this Tamati noted cultural differences in Bluff in comparison to his own upbringing. This was particularly noticeable in the role of the *marae* in the community.

They're a bit different down there I mean even the Māoris refer to the *marae* as the *ma-rye*, the Māori *ma-rye*. I thought they're Māori and they're calling it the Māori *marae* you know? It's usually only Pākehās that say that sort of thing but even then you know it's as though it was sort of a separate entity from their daily life.

And is that something that was different from you when you were growing up in Tikitiki?

Yeah...I mean the *marae* was there. Everybody went to the *marae* and did things...[they] never looked upon these *marae* as gathering places like we do up on the Coast. Everybody down there [in Bluff] was doing their own thing. It's hard to think about what they were like down there cos even though they were part of us they're different, you know. (Reedy, 2006)

It is interesting to note the role the *marae* plays in the two different areas. On the East Coast the *marae* is the central point around which most activities took place. The distribution of families around the district meant that the *marae* became a focal point of social interaction and a communal area where a number of activities took place. Tamati felt that the *marae* in Bluff, Te Rau Aroha, was not used in the same way. Te Rau Aroha was established in the late 1800s as a hostel for those who lived on surrounding islands as a place for them to stay when they visited the mainland. In 1985 the facilities started to be used in a way that other *marae* were being utilised. It had always been a central point of communal gathering for the Ngāi Tahu Bluff community and a symbol of their identity, but now it assumed another identity as a *marae*. It was not until 2003 that the meeting house was opened the inside of which is adorned with carvings of

female ancestors. These are the same women who married the early Pākehā sealers and whalers from whom the majority of Ngāi Tahu families in Bluff and Southland descend from (interracial relationships will be discussed further in Chapter Four).

Tamati grew up in strong Māori communities whose lives revolved around active engagement with the *marae*. He was ingrained with a sense of *marae*-centred Māori communities from a young age and could not understand how the Ngāi Tahu Bluff community did not have the same commitment to their *marae* at the time he first moved there. Tamati moved to Bluff permanently with his family in 1982 before the hostel was transformed into a formal *marae* in 1985. He had also been living at the accommodation provided by Ocean Beach Freezing Company before this. Certainly in his early years of living in Bluff, his perception of how disconnected the Ngāi Tahu community appeared to be from their *marae* made a lasting impression on him.

Marae signal a permanent place of residence. Southern Māori were typically nomadic and moved from one place to another based on the resources available at certain times of the year. This meant that fixed structures like the *marae* complex and its set of buildings were not required. Elsewhere in the South Island this was also noticeable. For example, the opening of Te Tauraka Waka a Māui Marae on the West Coast of the South Island meant that for the first time in 140 years the West Coast had a purpose built *marae*. Up until the opening in 2003 the West Coast was the only area in the South Island not to have a *marae* (Baxter, pers comm, 2012). This demonstrates the late inclusion of *marae* into the southern Ngāi Tahu lifestyle and identity. Tamati did not have tribal affiliations to Bluff, therefore, he was unable to participate in *marae* activities. He was thus unable to bear witness to the change in the community, and their new found need for the *marae* and the adjustments they made so that they could begin to use the

marae in a way that fitted their own specific cultural needs.

Tamati also grew up in an area of the country where there was a standard look to the *marae*. In these places there would usually have been an ornately decorated central building (*whare nui*), a separate dining room (*whare kai*) and kitchen and ablution block. The difference in appearance of Te Rau Aroha, in comparison to *marae* in the North Island that Tamati had been to or grown up on, would have caused Tamati to misunderstand the importance of the hostel and then the *marae* to the Bluff community. Before the building of a *whare nui* at Te Rau Aroha there was one hall that played the role of both *whare nui* and *whare kai*. This would have seemed unusual to Tamati who has always known the buildings to be separate for cultural reasons.

When migrants arrive in another city they experience a certain amount of freedom. For many, the number of times they were required to participate in activities that were centred on cultural and familial obligations lessened in the city (Metge, 1964). This was certainly true of the participants. Migrants new to the city also experienced social freedom and began to experiment with alcohol and engage in social events that they previously had little experience of (Metge, 1964:217). These two things were a feature of Tamati's life when he first moved to Southland. The majority of the people Tamati interacted with outside of work were Māori and they quickly gained a reputation because of their behaviour when drinking.

They knew a lot of us by reputation. Hell, all we used to do down there was eat, drink and fight and all sorts of things like this, so a lot of the Pākehā fullas, that weren't involved with us, they kept away from us. And the people too it was sort of hard to get out and meet different people there cos they did sort of avoid you or tend to look down on you or pick on you.

How did that make you feel?

Oh angry sometimes. Otherwise I just couldn't have really given a stuff. (Reedy, 2006)

Their behaviour when drinking alcohol was not necessarily reflective of the type of people

Tamati and his friends really were when they were sober. The reputation they, and others like them, gained because of their youthful antics when drinking was justified but not always a true representation of their character. It was not until they felt more comfortable in their new environment that there was no longer a need to use alcohol to break down social barriers and to ease communication with other migrants and locals.

The reactions of other people in the community towards Tamati and his friends because of their drinking behaviour did not seem to influence his ability to access certain services or gain employment.

Were there any instances where you felt disadvantaged because you were Māori?

Not really no, cos all the people I knew down there that were Māoris and that they were hard workers...and for me it was easy for us to get jobs just because we were hard workers. I didn't find any sort of discrimination there. (Reedy, 2006)

The reputation many of the migrants gained because of their drinking did not impact on their work ethic and employers quickly realised that the Māori migrants were hard workers and used to the physical demands of the job, particularly those employed in the freezing works, shearing sheds, forestry and railway. The workers themselves relied on these jobs and their relatively high wage rate, in comparison to that obtained in their home community. They naturally worked harder to ensure that they remained employed and employable for the next season. These particular attributes eventually seemed to outweigh any negative perceptions members of the wider community held against them, particularly in Tamati's case.

When Tamati first moved to Southland, he found employment at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works. Ocean Beach provided accommodation to employees who needed it in the form of single men's quarters. Tamati stayed in the quarters and found it a good place to socialise with others

from different backgrounds.

That was great cos you met people all from all over the world there. There was Russians, there was Islanders, all sorts of Islanders, there was Samoans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Niue Islanders hard cases everyone, you know all sorts of people. It was great, a good place, tough, but good. (Reedy, 2006)

Tamati enjoyed the carefree lifestyle that accommodation in the hostel allowed, a different experience to when he was at boarding school. He experimented with renting a house in Bluff but soon moved back to the camp. When he met his wife, he moved to Invercargill, where she was from, until they were married. They then moved back to Bluff to be closer to his job.

A characteristic of migration is the clustering of migrants into particular residential areas of the receiving community commonly termed ethnic enclaves (Epstein & Gang, 2010:2). In New Zealand, Māori who moved to urban areas tended to follow this trend, congregating particularly within inner city areas (Walker, 1979:33). Whilst the concentration of ethnic immigrants in the one area aided in facilitating networks and easing the adjustment to urban living, the development of such enclaves was not without its problems. The Department of Māori Affairs, in an effort to prevent these enclaves from forming and in order to assist the integration/assimilation of Māori into the Pākehā community, offered low mortgage housing in predominantly Pākehā suburbs. During the time period under investigation, living anywhere in Invercargill for the participants would have meant residing within a predominantly European neighbourhood. This was not the result of the Department of Māori Affairs pepper potting scheme, but because of the small number of Māori in relation to the predominantly European population. Literature would suggest that this would cause problems for ethnic minorities (Kaushal & Kaestner, 2010:138), including Māori residents. However, the opposite was to occur for Tamati when he was living in Invercargill.

It was good...it was a quiet neighbourhood and [my wife] knew one or two people there so I mean...it wasn't as if she'd moved far away...from her mum's place so you know we weren't actually moving out of the area.

Was it predominantly Māori or Pākehā?

Nah no it was European.

How do you think they reacted to Māori people moving in?

They had no choice I was just there. There was no adverse reaction to me being there I mean everybody would say hello over the fence and stuff like this, yelling at you to...make your dog shut up or something like this you know it was just neighbour things. (Reedy, 2006)

Overall, Tamati's experience in migrating to Southland and integrating into the Invercargill and Bluff communities was positive. He felt some guilt at leaving his family permanently, as is expected of many migrants, but he had already been living away from them for a while and saw this as a natural progression in his life. His choice to travel to Southland was for work, however, it soon became clear that his reasons for staying resulted from the ease with which he integrated into his new communities and the similarities of the environment to the ones he had left behind. This adjustment was aided by staying in the accommodation organised by his employer in which he was able to make new friends who were in the same situation as he was. A post-migration change in marital status also helped broaden his networks as he was now part of a new extended family network system.

*Matua*¹⁵

Matua is of Ngāti Porou descent. He was born in the early 1950s and raised on the East Coast of the North Island (see figure 6). The community he grew up in is located north of Gisborne and during the time period of investigation was a bustling rural East Coast community.

¹⁵ At the request of the participant a pseudonym has been used to protect his identity and that of his extended family. 'Matua', which means 'Uncle', has been used in deference of his wish but also as an appropriate way of addressing someone of his age and standing in the community.

It was a very tight community because we were *whānau* and that sort of thing. I grew up with a lot of guys in my age group, we were all cousins, but we were all very, very close. Our headmaster at school was Pākehā and we didn't look at him as any different other than that he was the headmaster, his sons used to play with us all the time and his daughters...I really enjoyed primary school...I really enjoyed it...But yeah the community was really, really tight. If you had things at the *marae* there was always a lot of *kuiā* (elderly lady), *koroua* (elderly man), a lot of parents, a lot of kids...We had a lot of things with *tapu* (sacred, restricted, forbidden) we were very cautious with what we did, we were very cautious about where we played, we knew the boundaries especially with things that were sacred.

What was it like economically?

I believe they were poor but for some unknown reason I don't remember that. I know my old man didn't earn a lot, didn't earn a big wage. We didn't always have a lot of *kai* (food), like *kai* that you bought from the shop, because there was a lot of...But we were never hungry...because we had the skills to go and get *kai* like watercress and that stuff you know. We could make bread. I knew how to cook when I was quite young and we never went hungry there was eels and there was all that stuff. But economically? If it was how it was then now you wouldn't be able to do anything, you'd probably starve to death. It was just the nature of the environment. Everything at home wasn't [always] good cos there was a lot of alcohol abuse, there was a lot of violence and yet my recollections of my youth of my time as a child are really, really good. I don't have a thing about, "Shit I wouldn't grow up there. I'm glad I got away from there." I never ever had those thoughts. All my recollections of my youth are really good...the other thing is you know at home they don't earn a lot of money but for some unknown reason they seem to be quite well off, not so much financially but they just seemed to be happy people all the time and I can only speak about [my community], I don't know what the rest of the coast is like. I know they don't earn a lot of money but whatever they get it seems to be enough for them and it's always been like that. (Matua, 2011)

Matua describes his time growing up as enjoyable. Despite the economic disadvantages of living in this area, he and his family wanted for nothing. Theirs was a subsistence form of living that relied on supplementing store-bought goods with food procured from the land, the rivers and the sea. He was taught this particular lifestyle from a young age. Although there were incidents of alcohol-fuelled violence and abuse, this did not detract from Matua's positive memories of his childhood.

The subsistence type of living could not be sustained once he and other members of his family of the same generation grew to a certain age where they needed to become financially independent. There were not enough jobs where he grew up or in the surrounding communities to sustain a growing population. Emigration was necessary to combat the lack of employment opportunities available for Matua, his family and peers. Matua first left home when he was 16 years old. Skills he had acquired while working in the shearing sheds on the East Coast were used to gain

employment in the South Island.

When I first left home I think I was about 16 [circa 1967] but I actually moved to Balclutha because I had cousins that lived there. They came down there shearing and they came home and then I came back down with them. We did a scrub cutting contract to get some money to come down...I was rousing¹⁶ with one of my uncles. Then I got a job in the Balclutha freezing works. But I was only there probably about a month and then a couple of friends and I went up north. From there I stayed in Wellington in the freezing works. I was there for about a week and I didn't like it so I ended up with one of my uncles and I was only there a couple of weeks then I went home [to the East Coast]. Then when I came back down I think I was about 18 [1969]...when I come back down to Balclutha to shear again but I don't know how long I was shearing, then I went to Dunedin. I just bummed around in Dunedin for a while then I ended up coming down here [Invercargill] with a friend of mine and he pissed off back [to Dunedin], because we weren't actually working [in Invercargill]. I was working in Dunedin but then I'd just get enough money and I'd just go away and drink it all up and all that sort of stuff and we ended up down here then he took off and left me here. It was just fortunate that I ran into a cousin of mine from Dunedin and I ended up shearing down here. That's how I ended up staying and then I ended up at the freezing works down at Ocean Beach. (Matua, 2011)

When Matua initially left the East Coast, he journeyed between Balclutha and Dunedin. The reason he did so was because his first wife was from Dunedin. The ease with which Matua moved around to different places, both within the South and North Islands, is typical of the mobile nature of the Māori population at the time and the seasonal industries he was employed in (Burridge, 1964:54).

Matua moved straight from the East Coast down to the South Island. His oldest brother had already moved down to Balclutha for work with their uncle before Matua moved down indicating the presence of chain migration in this instance. Despite knowing this *whānau* support network was in place, Matua's departure still impacted on his parents and grandparents.

My mother didn't like it. My mother used to cry and I used to wonder, "What the hell is she crying for?" She used to cry every time I'd go home, every time I'd leave, she'd start crying and I used to think to myself, "What the hell is she crying for?" And then the same thing happened [to me], I mean I didn't actually cry but when my kids left...and went to go overseas, I felt a bit of a loss for them going. My old man never actually showed it but he didn't actually want us to leave either but he never actually showed it...My mother and my grandmother was a bit more expressive about it when I was leaving, if they were gonna cry, they would cry but the old man would just sit there and not say anything.

¹⁶ The act of rousing derives from the noun 'rouseabout' which is often shortened to 'rousy'. A 'rousy' is the name given to the person who gathers the fleece from the feet of the shearer after it has been shorn from the sheep.

So were they supportive but didn't want to be?

Yup, supporting me with tears in her eyes you know. It's the same as me...I mean I understand why they [his children] leave and I really want them to stay in Aussie cos I know they can do well there but then a part of you thinks oh god it's not really what you want. (Matua, 2011)

It is not until Matua was placed in a similar situation where his own children started to leave Invercargill that he experienced those same emotions his grandparents felt when he left home. His children left Invercargill because the economic and social opportunities that initially drew Matua to Southland were no longer available for his children to take advantage of.

Migrants leave the area they grew up in for a number of reasons. Economic gains is said to be the motivating factor, but for Matua there was another reason.

The main reason was just to go and have a look at the world really. Cos all the time I had been at home we never actually went to Gisborne. Gisborne was the closest city to us and we never, ever went there. I think I was about 16 when I first went there and I went there because I was going to join the army and we had to go there to sit the papers. I did all the stuff and I passed all the tests and that and then they told me I was too young and I had to wait till I was 18 but I couldn't do that, I wasn't hanging around doing that. Yeah that was the big thing was just to go around and have a look around the country. (Matua, 2011)

If financial security had been the sole reason behind Matua's decision to migrate to the South Island, then he would have maintained steady employment, particularly during the early period of his migration south. As indicated by Metge (1964), a sense of adventure was another reason for moving and this was the significant contributing factor in Matua's decision to leave the East Coast. The decision to move southwards, in particular, was made easier because he moved down with family. He had family members already established in Balclutha with whom he could work and who could help facilitate his adjustment to a new community. Apart from Matua's brother, other siblings also travelled south within the time period he moved, which is again another indication of the existence of the chain migration process for Matua's family.

Even though Matua left the East Coast when he was 16, it was not until he was around 22 years of age that he settled permanently in Invercargill. Matua travelled to Invercargill on an intermittent basis with friends. During one such visit he was left there without transport back to Dunedin so he used his shearing skills to obtain a job shearing before he began work at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works. Rather than return to the North Island for work when the season had finished, he was able to gain employment doing various things in Southland, such as on the railways and on a government farm.

Despite the sporadic nature of Matua's employment, his decision to stay was cemented when he met his second wife.

What made you stay here [in Invercargill]?

Was work and then I got married. But I mean I don't actually think I would have went home [East Coast] because there just wasn't the work there. If I had gone anywhere it would have been to a different place altogether, it would have been to go somewhere to work. But it was mainly, it was the work that kept me here. I think the first time I came down [to Invercargill] I was here probably about five or six years before I ever went home [East Coast]. (Matua, 2011)

Invercargill was not necessarily the destination in which Matua intended to take up permanent residence, but it was the obvious place to stay when he became integrated into the community, found stable employment and began a family. Once in a steady relationship return visits to the East Coast became less frequent than they had when Matua initially moved south. It took time for Matua to establish himself and his household in Invercargill and once he had done so visits back to the East Coast resumed, especially once his children were born. Matua made a concerted effort to regularly take them back to the East Coast, particularly while his grandparents and parents were alive.

We used to go home every two years, we used to go home a lot in the earlier years...my grandfather passed away first so I was here when my grandfather passed away and I never went home for his *tangi* (funeral wake). When my grandmother passed away we went home, my mother passed away we went home, my father passed away we went home. And when those people are gone then the pull to go home is not that great anymore. I mean my uncles are still alive. My mother's got two brothers and a younger sister that are still alive, but the younger sister doesn't live at home, but the two brothers do. It's always good to go home and then you think yeah but I'm gonna leave, I'm going back down south. It just doesn't have that pull anymore. I mean I love going home I actually thought about moving home to live until all my kids talked about going to Oz [Australia] and I thought crikeys, maybe I'll move to Aussie [Australia]. (Matua, 2011)

The attraction of 'home' for Matua appears to revolve around the people and the relationships he had with them, particularly his parents and grandparents. Once they started to pass away the desire to go 'home' lessened although he still regards the East Coast as his home.

The financial cost of traveling back to the East Coast regularly was an expense that Matua incurred so that his children could meet extended members of their family.

We drove, we used to drive because petrol was cheap. It was cheap and the ferry was cheap. It was actually cheaper to drive than try and fly the kids up home. But the cost wasn't that huge...In the freezing works we were getting good money and cos Christmas time the freezing works were going and that was when we would go home, would be Christmas. That was one thing I never really noticed was how much money it cost it was one thing we never really talked about.

It was just something that you had to do?

Yup, something we did. (Matua, 2011)

Matua's grandmother was the only one of the elder members of his family to visit him in Invercargill. In this respect, Matua's commitment to return to the East Coast on a regular basis ensured that his children developed and maintained good relationships with their grandparents and other members of his family. The financial costs involved were insignificant in comparison to the benefits he and his family would derive from maintaining contact with his *whānau*. The regularity of these visits no doubt influenced their Māori identity development.

As stated previously, migration can cause anxiety and stress about heading into the unknown, particularly where there is considerable distance between the migrant's home community and where they are relocating to. Matua felt none of these emotions.

I was quite excited actually...about coming but mainly because I came with people I knew. There was four of us that come down, two of the cousins who were living in Balclutha and the other one was another cousin who's just like me, who's just a *tauhou* [stranger] to leaving home so him and I came, so there was four of us together. It was quite exciting, more than being nervous. (Matua, 2011)

The anxiety many migrants feel about emigrating can be tempered by experiencing migration as a group rather than as an individual. Even though Matua and one of his companions had never left the East Coast before they were travelling with two others who had. These two migration 'experts' would no doubt have helped facilitate Matua's journey south (Ravuvu, 2002:88). Their familiarity with the migration southwards would have eased any anxiety and heightened the excitement Matua experienced.

Matua's integration into the South Otago and Southland community and lifestyle was made easier by the fact that a number of people in his family were already established in the area. They would have provided the continuity of family support that he had grown up with on the East Coast. They would have also eased his adjustment and integration into a new community (Ravuvu, 2002:88). Outside of this support system Matua noticed a number of differences between the two areas.

Yeah totally different. One thing I noticed, [at home] we walked everywhere...but in Balclutha, cos we lived in Clydevale you can't walk to Balclutha that's about 10-20 miles [16-32 kilometres] away...There was a lot of distance, a lot of isolation really more so than [on the East Coast]. Although [the place I grew up in] is a smaller place for some unknown reason those other places were just more isolated and I think a whole lot of that had a lot to do with because there were a lot of kids where I lived like my age group, we grew up with a lot of our relations so you didn't have to go far to go to a friend's place. (Matua, 2011)

The physical landscapes of the two areas are very different. The East Coast region totals around

8,400 km² of land which is almost a third of the individual total land mass of Otago and Southland. The Otago and Southland areas are characterised by a number of large pastoral farms, whereas the East Coast is predominantly forested hill country. These large tracts of farmland intensify the remoteness of Otago and Southland farming communities. The sparsely inhabited small settlements that are mainly located in the bays of the East Coast are separated by forested hills. The remoteness of each community ensured that people living in a particular bay knew everyone else, usually having a familial connection with each other. Children developed close bonds from a young age that they were able to maintain because of the small size of the communities. When Matua first moved to South Otago he noticed the considerable distance of one farm to another and the impact this had on his ability to interact with other members of the particular community and industry he was working in.

The majority of the population in the community Matua grew up in is of Māori descent. An obvious difference Matua noticed between the communities of the East Coast and the South Island was the increased number of Pākehā in Invercargill and Dunedin in comparison to the Pākehā population of the East Coast.

There was a lot of Pākehā people, you never saw a lot of Pākehā people up home. Just about everybody else is a Pākehā person when you're down here. But it was not something that I dwelled too much on that there were a lot of Pākehā...

Did you notice any strange reactions from people when you were walking down the street?

No, never, and I never did in Dunedin either because Dunedin was where I first stopped and I was a lot younger in Dunedin. I never ever noticed that people looked at you and thought, "Oh crikey there's a Māori" and I think the other thing with Invercargill there was a lot of Māori here because of the works there was heaps of Māori people or heaps of dark skinned people but I never noticed that. (Matua, 2011)

Despite moving to an area of the country where he became a visible minority, he never felt disadvantaged because of it. Matua's interaction with Pākehā people on the East Coast was

influenced by his elders, who held Pākehā in high esteem. It is likely that Pākehā people living there were employed in high profile positions within the community. This respect for Pākehā people was instilled in Matua from a young age which no doubt would have made interaction with Pākehā in any community easier.

Yes it is [a whiter community]. I think a lot of things with mixing with people was drinking alcohol, you felt just a lot different mixing with people when you were drinking and so alcohol played a big part in my life during those years. It helped me to have relationships with other people you know whereas at home you didn't need that cos you had family that you were with but in these other communities it was different. (Matua, 2011)

Matua also drank alcohol in order to foster and facilitate relationships with people in the wider community. Not having a shared background with his co-workers or other members of the public meant Matua felt like he had to rely on alcohol to be less apprehensive when meeting people for the first time. He did not need to rely on alcohol in his home community because the people who he interacted with on a daily basis were family.

When Matua first moved south he was able to adjust to the new environment by staying with people he knew. His first marriage to someone from Dunedin also eased his adjustment to the new community, therefore, when Matua began at Ocean Beach Freezing Works, even though the company offered accommodation to their employees, Matua did not feel a need to stay there.

I lived in town [in Invercargill]. I lived with my cousin and [another guy]...He used to live in Dunedin but we knew [we] were related just because of him being from the coast and I just run into him when I was looking for a job and he said, "Come and stay round home" so I ended up staying there. (Matua, 2011)

Matua's adjustment to living in the South Island had already occurred prior to his move to Invercargill. He had already travelled regularly between Balclutha and Dunedin to live. He also developed networks outside of the family who he initially stayed with when he first moved south. This enabled Matua to call on a range of people with whom he could stay if needed. His

flexibility in mixing with others was particularly noticeable in the neighbourhood Matua lived in in Invercargill.

I guess it was predominantly lower-class [neighbourhood] if you want to call it that, whether it's white or black and cos things were cheaper down here, like it was cheaper to buy a house down this end of town [South] than up the other end.

So did you have good interactions with neighbours?

Yup we did actually...I had Pākehā people on both sides of me but the other thing was...we were all freezing workers so we had that in common and then down the road was a couple of Māori people. Yeah we did we got on well with our neighbours. Behind me was a Māori guy as well and I think the other thing, one was that we were freezing workers and the other thing we were new in our community cos we were the first houses built on the street...so that had a lot to do with it.

So you obviously didn't have any problems based on ethnicity?

No, no white-black thing. (Matua, 2011)

Invercargill's southern suburbs are typically low socio-economic areas. Affordable housing was built for people in lower income brackets and many were able to buy their own homes, which they would have been unable to do had they stayed in their home community. This meant that their neighbours had similar socio-economic backgrounds, regardless of their ethnicity. As Matua indicated, despite ethnic differences between himself and his neighbours, their employment in the same industry helped break down any barriers based on ethnicity that may have existed.

Working at Ocean Beach Freezing Works meant that the majority of the people who Matua interacted with were of Māori or Pacific Island descent.

Most of the freezing workers were Polynesian, they were either Māori, Rarotongan, Samoan. But the majority, I would say probably maybe 90% of them, were Polynesian. That had a lot to do with...the employing officer down there, and he made a point of employing Māori or Pacific Islanders. He used to go up to the North Island apparently and bring them down, bring Māori people down and then he started going over to Rarotonga and bringing Rarotongan people here. (Matua, 2011)

Demographic records, in terms of the ethnicity of workers, were not kept by the Ocean Beach

Freezing Company. However, a former Personnel Manager at Ocean Beach estimated that the number of Māori and Polynesian slaughter board workers was likely to have been between 75% and 80% (Kelly, pers comm, 2013). An Employment Officer, accompanied by at least one board-walker,¹⁷ would travel extensively throughout North Island communities looking for suitable people to work at Ocean Beach. Māori communities such as Ruatōria, Māhia, Wairoa and Gisborne (all located on the East Coast of the North Island) were explicitly mentioned by Kelly (pers comm, 2013) as areas targeted by the company. Ocean Beach was considered the least desirable freezing works in Southland at the time and they continuously struggled to find suitable workers. They then started sending recruiters to the Cook Islands, in particular Rarotonga, Mangaia and Aitutaki, with offers of accommodation in the hostel and return airfares to those who proved to be hard workers and maintained a good work attendance record. These Cook Island workers often sent remittances home and their families back home became reliant on them for their survival (Kelly, pers comm, 2013). These recruitment initiatives were driven by Ocean Beach and proved to be successful.

Matua did not consciously try and replicate the same feelings of community he had grown up with in order to adjust to his new situation. However, he did naturally gravitate towards others of Māori descent.

All my friends were Māori at home, I don't actually remember having any Pākehā friends down here. Most of my friends were Māori and that was just part of it. But one thing you notice even with other Māori from different tribes you have a lot of differences a lot of the things are not the same. A lot of the things they do, a lot of the things they [say] when they speak Māori it's really not quite the same. And that was one thing I noticed you were very particular about who you spoke Māori to. If people were from home I would speak Māori to them, I was quite comfortable speaking Māori to them but then with other people cos you didn't want to speak Māori to people that didn't actually speak Māori

¹⁷ A board-walker is the first-line supervisor on the slaughter board in charge of a chain. Board-walkers were salaried staff and were nicknamed "blue hatters" by the freezing workers because of the colour of the hat they wore which distinguished them from freezing workers. Their more senior and permanent position caused a large divide between themselves and the freezing workers and they were often on the receiving end of disgruntled employees' frustrations (Kelly, pers comm, 2013).

cos it sounded like that you were just showing off or you were insulting them you know so you were quite particular about who you spoke Māori to. (Matua, 2011)

Although the cultural familiarity with others of Māori descent was certainly a comfort in Matua's adjustment to Southland he was still mindful of the cultural and linguistic differences that existed. This made him adjust his behaviour accordingly. Despite these differences, Matua found that he was still able to maintain his Māori identity.

When I was younger I was a bit airy fairy. I was kind of all over the place and I think it was because I came down here I just thought, "Oh yeah let's do all this stuff and just drink and get drunk and do all that stuff". But as I've got older and I think the fortunate thing is I haven't lost a lot of things like a lot of my Māori stuff you know I can still speak Māori... There's a lot of *kupu* (words) I don't remember but I can still speak Māori and I still know *tikanga* (custom). I know what's right and what's wrong. So I don't have those sort of things and maybe I think I was fortunate because I grew up in a place very strong with *te reo* (language) and very strong *tikanga* and *tapu* and all that stuff. (Matua, 2011)

Matua is thankful that his upbringing with his grandparents meant that the Māori language and culture was ingrained in him from a young age. When he left the East Coast he was still in his teens and it took a while before he found value and comfort in those things Māori again. However, the Māori language and culture were obviously important in terms of his own self-identification as Māori and for his cultural identity. This is particularly apparent in the transfer of this information to his children which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Overall, Matua's experience of migrating to Otago and Southland and integrating into the two communities was positive. He did not understand why his departure upset his parents and grandparents, but he felt that same sadness when his own children began leaving Invercargill. Matua was the only participant to move from one small town to another before settling in Invercargill. In most cases migrants will move to smaller centres close to their home community before moving to a bigger city. This helps ease the adjustment of the migrant to living in a different community and away from their normal support structures (Metge, 1964:131-132). In

Matua's case he opted to move to a smaller community at the other end of the country, which could have proved difficult for him to adjust to. However, Matua was involved in a process of chain migration. He already had immediate family members established in South Otago and this is where he moved to. Other members of his family also followed. In this way the familial support structure he was accustomed to whilst growing up was also present in South Otago. Matua's decision to find work in Southland happened by chance and was borne out of necessity. However, his decision to stay permanently in Invercargill was helped by a change in marital status. Having already adjusted to the community of South Otago and then Dunedin, which are both similar demographically to Invercargill, Matua found his integration into the Invercargill community to be problem-free.

Mautini Paringatai

Mautini is of Te Whānau-a-Hunaara and Te Whānau-a-Tūwhakairiora descent, *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. He was born in Te Araroa (East Coast of the North Island) in 1950 and was raised in Horoera (East Cape) (see figure 6). Horoera is located 170 kilometres north of Gisborne and 10 kilometres east of Te Araroa. Judging from Mautini's description of Te Araroa, it was similar to the other East Coast home towns of Tamati and Matua. People led a subsistence lifestyle and "lived day by day" (Paringatai, 2007).

It was only just part of your life I suppose. But it's only when you move to a city you found out you've gotta pay for everything and you gotta make sure you have money to pay for this, pay for everything. But in Te Araroa everything cost a little bit but non-existent you only had to pay your phone bill, power, petrol, diesel and all that. You could go out diving for food, go out hunting for some more food, grew your own so you didn't have to worry about that part of it. Going to the city you see a big difference it was actually an eye opener.

So as you grew older you noticed the change economically that you couldn't live in Te Araroa?

I could have lived there and done a bit of shearing, scrub cutting but in reality not enough to live on. You won't have enough to save. (Paringatai, 2007)

Earning a decent wage was important to Mautini in order to secure a sound financial future. Shearing, fishing, scrub cutting and farming were common ways in which people in Te Araroa earned a wage. Aside from shearing and farming, Mautini's father also worked for the council. However, these jobs were not sufficient for Mautini's future aspirations to have financial security.

Mautini left school when he was 17 years old and found work on a farm nearby. He left for Invercargill and arrived there in 1968 after a short stay in Wellington. He was not the first in his family to move away. His oldest sister had moved to Wellington and his second oldest sister was living in Gisborne. Mautini informed his parents that he was moving to Invercargill but did not recall any strong emotions elicited from his parents that indicated how they felt about their only son moving so far away, nor did they verbalise their feelings to him. However, they were heartened by the fact that he was moving with his uncle. Mautini travelled to Invercargill with his father's brother who had already been living in Invercargill for a number of years. Travelling with a senior member of his family helped lessen the anxiety of moving such a long distance. However, the nervousness he felt was also mixed with the "excitement of leaving a small town [and] going to a city" (Paringatai, 2007).

Employment was the main reason for Mautini's migration down to Invercargill, although he did mention, in a joking tone, that escaping from the family was an added benefit.

To get away from the *whānau*, the further away from them the better but that didn't work out.

Why not?

All the *whānau* was down there so if you can't beat them join them I suppose. (Paringatai, 2007)

A few members of Mautini's immediate family had moved to Southland for work. However,

other people of Mautini's *iwi* had moved south and this gave him the opportunity to make extended familial connections with these people and include them in his *whānau* support network in Invercargill.

Mautini found work at the Makarewa Freezing Works¹⁸ working on the slaughter board. His intention was to go back to the North Island during the off-season to find work there, however, this was not the case.

That was the main goal but I didn't achieve that. I just stayed down there [Invercargill] and worked in the off season ...the forestry first for about three or four years...and then the post office for a number of off seasons.

And is that what a lot of people who worked at the freezing works did?

No, most of them worked at the railways, mainly the railways and the forestry. (Paringatai, 2007)

Although Mautini intended to return to the North Island for work during the winter months he was able to secure work in Southland instead. A post-migration change in relationship status meant that he became further committed to staying in the region. He also became accustomed to the lifestyle and did not feel a strong pull to return to the East Coast for off season work.

Prior to having children, Mautini had already decided to stay in Invercargill on a more or less permanent basis. Return visits to Horoera every two years at Christmas time before and after his children were born was Mautini's commitment to his family until both his parents passed away in the early 1980s. For Mautini "it [living in Invercargill] was a good lifestyle, the people, plenty of seafood, mainly the people, lifestyle, it was easy going" (Paringatai, 2007). Like Tamati, Mautini was not looking to replicate his home community but the lifestyle and environment of Southland

¹⁸ The Makarewa Freezing Works is located in Makarewa, which is 10 kilometres north from the centre of Invercargill. The plant initially processed beef before being restructured and downsized in the 1990s to become a venison processing plant. This restructuring caused the redundancy of hundreds of workers.

was similar to that where he had come from. This familiarity helped consolidate his decision to stay in Invercargill.

When Mautini moved to Invercargill he did not notice that much of a difference between the people who lived in there and those in Te Araroa.

There was no difference they were all they were the same actually...the people...they all had all big hearts, very friendly so I suppose that's why they reminded me of Te Araroa.

Would you say growing up in Te Araroa that you had a typically Māori upbringing?

Very much so.

Did you miss that when you went down to Invercargill?

No I didn't because I still had it down there the Māori side of it.

How did you have that?

With all the North Island Māori that had migrated to the south...speaking Māori to one another it was still there. (Paringatai, 2007)

Mautini's upbringing ensured that he was imbued with certain Māori cultural and linguistic practices. He noted that many of the cultural practices he was accustomed to could be maintained away from the East Coast and that he could converse in the Māori language with others no matter where in the country he was. When he moved to Invercargill the continuation of these practices was made easier by the migration of a number of Māori from the North Island to Southland whom he regularly interacted with. For Mautini, the continuation of these practices was not something he thought about actively maintaining, but was done out of habit.

No it was just natural you do those sorts of things. You just do it. We were all brought up the same, all those Māori that came down there they were all brought up in small communities the same as me, so we more or less did the same way really. I suppose [we] went diving, *te reo* and all that...they had their own *te reo, tikanga*. They had their own I had mine but they were all the same we were all brought up more or less the same but different towns but all our *reo* and *tikanga* were the same. (Paringatai, 2007)

Unlike Matua, Mautini appeared to have spoken in the Māori language to other Māori regardless

of the different tribal area they were from. Living and working in an environment with a wide variety of people meant that he was forced to interact with them and he soon discovered cultural and linguistic similarities with other Māori. He appreciated any differences that existed. Trying to recreate a community similar to the one he grew up in was not a priority for Mautini. His upbringing on the East Coast and the cultural customs that were ingrained in him during this time enabled him to maintain his Māori identity without too much effort. Cultural identity maintenance is enhanced when living in a community that shares the same or similar beliefs (Bowles, 1993:418). When Mautini moved to Invercargill he lived in the accommodation offered by the Makarewa Freezing Works. The large number of Māori from around the country who resided there at the same time meant that he was able to sustain his Māori identity through shared language, culture and beliefs.

Mautini worked at the Makarewa Freezing Works for 20 years. A number of social networks were established in that time which revolved around sporting teams, social events and pubs. He made friends with a number of local people who he described as “good people” (Paringatai, 2007). Mautini’s interaction with non-Māori people during his upbringing was limited but ethnic differences were not an issue when it came to friendships formed in Invercargill.

Did you have much interaction with Pākehā people when you were growing up in Te Araroa?

Pākehā people were non-existent.

So how did you find that when you finally started interacting with Pākehā people, was it easy to do?

No, they had two legs and two arms just like me so the only difference was the colour of their skin, so it was easy. (Paringatai, 2007)

There is an impression from Mautini’s response that he thought the question an amusing one to be asked. During the time that he lived in Southland it would seem that this was not actually something he seems to have thought consciously about. The people Mautini interacted with at

work were of mixed ethnicity, the majority of whom had moved to Invercargill for work. Their relationships with each other were easy because of their shared migrant background. Mautini also found the wider community and its members receptive to him as a person of Māori descent.

All, all the ones I came in contact with, and there was quite a few of them, they were ok.

Did you notice any strange reactions say if you were walking down the street? Did people cross the road to the other side?

No, they would stop and talk to me.

Were there any instances where you felt you were disadvantaged because you were Māori?

No. (Paringatai, 2007)

Mautini did not personally experience any untoward attitudes or encounter problems when accessing goods and services in the community. He had positive experiences when interacting with the various communities that he was a part of in Invercargill.

As the Makarewa Freezing Works are located just outside of the Invercargill city boundaries accommodation in Invercargill itself would only have been possible if the migrant had reliable transport, which also meant obtaining a driver's license. When Mautini first arrived in Southland he stayed at the accommodation provided by the Makarewa Freezing Works. Accommodation was provided by all the freezing works in Southland. Those who secured employment at a plant were almost always certain to have a bed in the hostel if they wanted it. The accommodation at the Makarewa Freezing Works was very basic with two single beds per room that could accommodate 300-400 people. In the 1960s it was estimated that the cost to stay there was approximately three or four pounds a week which included three quality meals a day. The popularity of these hostels started to wane when the company turned over the catering to an external company and the costs began to rise. They increased to a point where the hostel accommodation became too expensive for the workers. Employees began finding independent

accommodation and the hostels were forced to close (Kelly, pers comm, 2013).

Mautini stayed in the hostel for a few seasons before finding a house to rent in Invercargill. Mautini found the accommodation comfortable and enjoyed having all his meals cooked for him. Other people staying there came from all over New Zealand and Australia for work and were of different ethnic backgrounds. Living in this type of accommodation for the first few seasons he was working would no doubt have helped him integrate more easily into the Southland community. This type of accommodation would have meant interacting with a number of people from different ethnic backgrounds making it easier to mix with others outside of this environment. According to Kelly (pers comm, 2013), the hostels were “pretty unsavoury places but they were generally nice guys. There were a couple of rat bags but they more or less policed themselves.” When Mautini found permanent accommodation in Invercargill, it was in an industrial area of South Invercargill. He was living in a neighbourhood of mixed ethnicities including Pacific Islanders and Pākehā. According to Mautini, others living in his neighbourhood were all freezing workers who worked at the Ocean Beach, Alliance or Makarewa plants. This common employment background helped with neighbourly interactions.

Overall, Mautini had a positive experience when he migrated to Southland and integrated into the Invercargill community. He moved down with a senior member of his family but took advantage of the accommodation offered by the freezing works. This created a new type of support network by living with people from all over New Zealand who had moved to Southland for work. Mautini was able to adjust to the new environment and community of Southland with these people before he moved to Invercargill to live. Living in the freezing works accommodation also meant that he was forced to interact with people of other ethnicities. Mautini commented that

Pākehā were virtually non-existent while he was growing up in Te Araroa. His time at the hostel and his accepting nature meant that he interacted easily with people in the wider Invercargill community and this helped his integration into Southland.

Harry Fletcher

I was unable to interview Harry in person because he passed away before I had begun this research, however, I did interview his wife, Susan, and daughter for other parts of this thesis. When they spoke to me of their own experiences as a wife and daughter of a migrant, it became clear that much of what they had to say revolved around their memories of and conversations with Harry. I have been given their permission to include what information they could provide me with about Harry's experiences as a Māori migrant in this thesis, without which their own stories would be incomplete. Harry was a very private person who did not often speak of his childhood and upbringing, but when he did his family would listen with interest and remember those stories. In Susan's words, Harry "wasn't someone that went on and on about the past, you just sort of had to put it together" (Fletcher, 2011). The following information is that provided by Susan and Hera. Understandably the amount of information is less than that provided by the other participants but it is nevertheless just as rich.

Harry was born in 1945 and raised in Peria (Northland), which is located 305 kilometres north of Auckland and 140 kilometres south of Cape Reinga (see figure 7). Peria is an isolated community of mainly small farms surrounded by forests that leads to the coasts on both sides of Northland.

Figure 7. Map of Northland and Location of Peria (indicated by the red star)



Source: (<http://gonewzealand.about.com/od/NewZealandTravel/ig/New-Zealand-Region-Maps/Map-of-Northland.htm>)

At the time Harry was growing up Peria seems to have resembled other rural Māori communities of that era. Physically demanding work in the forestry or farming would no doubt have supplemented a subsistence style of living.

I've got a [video] tape somewhere of all the school activities and things they went to. We looked at it and I said to [my daughter] about it, "Have you noticed something?" and she said, "Yes they're all thin." There was no obese kids cos they'd run to school and eat swede turnips on the way and no takeaways and you know. I don't know that the school attendance would have been very good. He had the strap marks across his back, cos they had the super phosphate bags, sowing phosphate by hand

as kids you know fairly hard work, and shifting the cattle from different areas to different areas and things so I don't know how much school attendance went on. (Fletcher, 2011)

Helping attend to the family farm as children was part and parcel of Harry and his siblings' lives.

Harry was used to physically demanding work and it was this type of manual work that would eventually see him make his way down to Invercargill.

Harry's mother passed away when he was young and it was left to his father to raise Harry and his eight siblings. According to Susan, Harry did not often speak of his childhood but she did learn that his father was quite abusive.

The mother had died...the father was very violent and the mother was very sweet and died relatively young and then sort of leaving the father to power trip over these half grown kids who just fled as quickly as they could...They must have gone to Auckland and they realised they couldn't stay together, they'd have to split up...one had the bible and one had something else and they worked out which was to take which and they split up and made their own ways. But no the family was, I suppose not dysfunctional, but they just had to survive and it was only by splitting up and moving out that they could. There were never reunions...there was a school reunion and he went back for that, so he did enjoy that. So that I think sort of brought some closure for him which was good. (Fletcher, 2011)

When Harry finished school he moved to Whangarei to live with his sister and began working at a cement works. While he was working there he read an advertisement in the newspaper advertising jobs at Ocean Beach Freezing Works. During the off season Ocean Beach would place an advertisement in various newspapers around the country. It would state that the recruitment officers would be in town to meet with interested people on a certain date. These recruitment meetings were held in the local hotel or, in some instances, on *marae* (Kelly, pers com, 2013). Harry left Whangarei with a group of friends and arrived in Invercargill in 1967 to begin work there.

Harry also took advantage of the accommodation offered by the Ocean Beach Freezing Works

and found it an enjoyable place to stay:

He said often that it was a great place for a young person. You see there was a camp, there was a camp sergeant, you had your room, there was good meals, there was table tennis, your pay went into the bank, there was a post office on site, you could draw your money on a Friday night and that was all you spent for the weekend, and there was a camp doctor, and it was a whole community you know he said it was great for young people really. (Fletcher, 2011)

Harry and Susan married in 1970. Usually a post-migration change in marital status leads to a migrant staying in the town that they migrated to (Heenan, 1966:139). In Harry's case, Susan does not think that their marriage caused him to settle permanently, but that he would have stayed regardless (Fletcher, 2011). Harry was lucky in that he found employment in the off season:

He stayed there [in Invercargill] cos there was the unemployment in the off season was the thing. In those days though there were so few long-term unemployed that they were known by name at Work and Income. It was amazing and then they sent them on schemes, the freezing workers. He went to Dog Island,¹⁹ because it was manned at the time, and they helped build a new airstrip. He went to Cascade Creek and worked with a group of men doing tracks, he enjoyed that, you know track maintenance in Fiordland Park but then when we were getting married he didn't want to be unemployed in the off season so he went to Nichols Grain Store and he was probably there about 18 months and then he got the job at the abattoirs. (Fletcher, 2011)

It would seem Harry had no intention of returning north for work, unlike the other participants. But just like the other participants, finding work during the off season ensured that his migration would eventually become permanent. Harry realised that when he got married and started a family that it came with certain responsibilities. In order for Harry to fulfil these obligations to his wife and children he would need to move from seasonal work to a full-time occupation in a year-round job.

Susan and Harry took their children back to Peria twice. The first time they went back was in

¹⁹ Dog Island is located in Foveaux Strait five kilometres southeast of the entrance to Bluff Harbour and is about 800m long. It is home to New Zealand's tallest and one of its oldest lighthouses. The island has been uninhabited since 1989 when the lighthouse became automated, making the role of lighthouse keeper redundant. The airstrip Harry helped build on Dog Island enabled supplies to be delivered to the lighthouse keeper and his family fortnightly rather than waiting for a government supply ship to arrive every three months.

1978 when Susan was pregnant with her third child. Her two older children were four years and 18 months old. By this time Harry's father had passed away and he may have felt that it was safe for him to take his family back. The second time they returned was in the mid-1990s. Harry's decision to take his family back to Peria may have had more to do with a desire to introduce his children to the area than out of any loyalty to his family. Harry's upbringing influenced how much contact he maintained with members of his family, particularly those that had remained in Northland. He was able to gain employment in a place situated at the other end of the country. In some ways, this move could be seen as an intentional escape from a negative lifestyle.

Although Harry's family background differs from the other participants there are similarities in terms of the economic and social background of Peria to the East Coast communities they came from. The information relayed to me by Harry's wife and daughter shows that his upbringing influenced his decision to move to and stay in Southland. This was also a contributing factor to the minimal contact he maintained with other family members. Harry moved from seasonal to year round work and involved himself in various community sporting groups. Like the other participants, a post-migration change in marital status with someone from Invercargill also helped broaden his networks as he was now part of a new extended family network system. It is the people in these groups that he drew support from and which helped his integration into the Invercargill community.

Return Migration

Migrants may expect to return to their 'home' community to live but that intention rarely comes to fruition. The longer someone stays away the easier it becomes to "simply slip into a new way of life and the decision to return grows harder or the intention slides from the memory" (Pearson,

1990:123). Nevertheless, the emotional attachment of childhood experiences of the community a migrant grew up in still remains. It is often the recollections of such memories that act as a nostalgic reminder of and yearning for a particular period in that person's life.

Tamati Reedy

Tamati stated that he does not have strong emotional ties to the East Coast. Despite having good memories of his childhood whilst living in Tikitiki, moving away from there at a young age has had an obvious effect on the attachment Tamati feels to this particular area. Tamati has not returned to the East Coast since he left there as a teenager, but is not opposed to the idea of returning there for a holiday. His parents and grandparents have all passed away and his siblings live in various locations around New Zealand and Australia. It is these people he would rather visit than go back to the East Coast where they no longer live.

Tamati moved to Australia in 1998 for work and at this stage he has no plans to return to New Zealand. When asked if he would he replied: "Don't know, I like it here [in Australia]. I mean it's got similar things here that I like about home; bush, hunting, river, diving and people and a lot better weather" (Reedy, 2006). The same things that prompted him to stay in Bluff for 30 years, hunting, fishing and the people, are also things that he found to his liking in Australia. The economic opportunities that prompted Tamati to move to Southland were no longer available as they once were. He was enticed to move to Australia because of the employment opportunities available for him there.

Matua

Matua has been living away from the East Coast for approximately 45 years and has been living

in Invercargill for the majority of that time. He has maintained connections with extended members of his family through regular visits back to the East Coast. By doing so he has also ensured his children were instilled with a strong sense of their identity not only as Māori, but also as Ngāti Porou. Because of this commitment he has very strong emotional ties to the East Coast.

I've told my kids if I die then I'm going back there. The only thing that would keep me here [in Invercargill] is either one of my grandchildren or one of my children passed away and they were buried here. That's the only reason why I would be buried here but other than that if I die first then I'm going home. (Matua, 2011)

A number of Matua's children have moved from Invercargill, with several of them moving to Australia. This has made Matua think twice about returning back to the East Coast to live.

I've thought about it, I've actually thought long and good about it. Because we actually have a section back home that nobody lives on, like it's a section that belongs to our family it's not actually Māori land because it was free hold to my father. And I actually thought about going back there to build when I'm 65 but because all my kids are now talking about going to Aussie I actually thought man! My thing of going back was to go back there and build cos [my daughter] has always said she'd come home [to the East Coast] and live. And I'd say, "Oh cool then you can have the house when I pass away." But now she's talking about going to Oz she said to me, "Oh I'll come back there." And I just know in my heart that she's just saying that but once she goes away and [has] been away for a few years it's not the same you know and I don't want to go back there and get stuck that far away from them. (Matua, 2011)

Matua is cognisant of the same migration patterns he experienced being replicated in his own children as they migrate to other places in New Zealand and Australia. He realises that the longer someone stays in a certain place and develops networks and relationships with other people then the less inclined they will be to return 'home'. Once his children and grandchildren were born it became more important for Matua to be involved in their lives than to return to the East Coast to live. This can only be achieved by remaining in Invercargill.

Mautini Paringatai

Mautini lived in Invercargill for 30 years before moving to Christchurch in 1997. Prior to his death in 2007 he had been living away from Te Araroa for 40 years. Although his visits there

were infrequent, the length of time spent living away from the East Coast did nothing to dampen the strong emotional attachment to the area Mautini still felt at the time of his interview. When asked if he would return back there to live he replied:

Ah that's the 6 million dollar question. If I won lotto I'd go back and live cos there's nothing to do there. There's no work. Oh a wee bit of work but I'm too old for that type of work. I can't shear anymore, can't go scrub cutting anymore. (Paringatai, 2007)

Even though Mautini was in his mid-50s at the time of the interview, financial security was still a major concern for him. From his visits to Te Araroa he realised that the same physically demanding jobs were still the only employment opportunities available to him. His children and his partner's children were all based in the South Island and he was also reluctant to move too far away from them.

Harry Fletcher

Harry lived in Invercargill for nearly 40 years before he passed away in 2005. During that time he made very few trips back to Peria, however, it did not detract from the fact that he still thought of it as home.

Do you think he still had emotional ties to the area?

Oh yes I'm sure the land yeah the land and that sort of thing, yes. He kept on saying home and all the rest. Well before he knew he was sick or anything he talked about going home to be buried and [our daughter] said, "Well that's absolute rubbish. How am I going to go and see you?" And he said, "Oh I hadn't thought of that." So from then on he just made the decision that he would be buried down here [in Invercargill] which was very helpful to know cos so many of them you don't know, they don't want to talk about it. (Fletcher, 2011)

After his daughter expressed her concerns about not being easily able to visit him after he had passed away it would seem Harry realised that it was his wife, children and grandchildren who needed to be able to do that. There was no doubt in Susan's mind that Harry maintained a sentimental attachment to the area that he had grown up in. She mentioned that "he always did

call that home. But I think it was just a name to call it, what else would you call it? You've got to call it something haven't you? Home's where you came from I suppose" (Fletcher, 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the experiences of four migrants to Southland in the 1960s and their integration into the Invercargill or Bluff communities. They represent only a small proportion of those Māori that made the journey south for work, however, their experiences are valuable for the personal insight gained of Māori migration to Southland in the 1960s. All four participants came from low socio-economic, rural Māori communities where a subsistence lifestyle supplemented the meagre wage their parents or grandparents earned. By the time they were in their teens the supply of labour in their home communities outnumbered its demand and they were forced to consider employment elsewhere.

All four participants found their way down to Southland and secured employment in the freezing works industry. As a result of rigorous recruitment and advertising campaigns with numerous benefits, people from all over New Zealand and overseas were enticed to Southland to work in this industry. Working, and in some cases living, with others from a variety of backgrounds ensured that the participants were exposed to people with cultural and linguistic traits that differed from their own. When they eventually established their own households their experience working with these people, their accepting nature and hard work ethic meant that integrating into their neighbourhood and extended communities was an easy process.

The contact each participant maintained with their home communities was different. Their own upbringings determined how much interaction they had with members of their family and the

frequency of return visits, either with their families or without. It also affected how much cultural knowledge they passed on to their children.

A post-migration change in marital status saw all four participants marry or become involved in a de facto relationship with women who were born and raised in Invercargill. Their migration to Invercargill then became permanent, for at least the next 30 or more years. They were all able to find off season employment or change to a job that was all year round. The participants started having children in the 1970s. All of the participants' wives or partners were Pākehā. In any marriage there are certain compromises that have to be made. In a marriage of mixed ethnicities there are also cultural compromises and decisions that need to be made in relation to certain practices and child rearing techniques. The following chapter will look at the marriages of the participants, the challenges both the migrants and their spouses faced and how they negotiated the cultural divide that existed between them.

Chapter 4

Interracial Marriages

For us kids, those nights learning our culture, singing and dancing, was really an excuse to meet members of the opposite sex. Not only were there local boys, but all the beautiful young Māori men from the North Island. These young men were recruited for the freezing works and, to our limited experience, were exciting and exotic. They were different. The local boys were okay, but the North Island boys, as they were known, were the ones who held the greatest attraction. (Whaitiri, 1998:173-4)

Introduction

When previously isolated ethnic groups come into contact with each other for the first time, it is inevitable that intimate relationships between members of the two groups will occur. Interracial marriages are dynamic affairs where each person comes with their own set of linguistic and cultural values. Sometimes these belief systems are not always compatible and a certain amount of compromise is expected from both people as they negotiate the course of their relationship. Not only do they have to deal with personal differences, but they also face discrimination from various sectors of the community because of their relationship. Interracial relationships often attract negative attention, especially in areas where there has been historical tensions between ethnic groups occupying the same area. Interracial marriages become legitimised when children are born. These children then have to negotiate their identity which is often based on two conflicting belief systems. The choices parents make regarding the linguistic and cultural environment of the home directly influences the ethnic identity development of their children.

This chapter will present some of the issues regarding interracial marriages that have emerged from the interviews with the participants involved in the previous chapter. It will also introduce three more participants, the wives of three of the Māori migrants, in order to understand interracial marriage in Southland from a non-Māori perspective. It will look at how these

relationships began, how they negotiated their cultural differences, their interactions with each other's family and the choices they made in terms of raising their children in a particular cultural environment.

Interracial Marriage

Marriage has always been a central institution in Māori society. Whilst love was a key factor in the formation of some relationships prior to European arrival, the overwhelming majority of marriages were strategically arranged to ensure social, political and economic advantage for both families. The *whakapapa* of each person was examined before the community's approval was given to such a relationship to ensure that chiefly lineage remained intact (Buck, 1966:366-7). Each marriage came with obligations to the wider community, particularly when the purpose of the marriage was to resolve conflict. When Europeans began arriving in New Zealand, marriages were also arranged with these migrants to achieve similar goals (Salesa, 2011:68).

The historical occurrence of interracial marriage amongst Māori and Pākehā transformed, to varying degrees, the racial composition of Māori. Observations of early occurrences of interracial marriage in New Zealand and the outcomes of such relationships were recorded by European residents of the country. Missionaries, for example, often noted with pleasure that the 'Māori ways' were quickly being abandoned in favour of European domesticity (Wanhalla, 2009:50). They saw that interracial marriages played an assimilatory role with respect to Māori and they encouraged its occurrence.

However, internationally, interracial marriages have also long been the source of much controversy and Māori-Pākehā marriages have historically not been immune to this. During the

colonial settler period of the mid-1800s Māori-Pākehā marriages were not looked upon favourably by a number of people. It was thought that the only way to maintain the integrity and superiority of the European race was to ensure that miscegenation did not occur.

To keep each race in its proper sphere is by far the most certain way to raise the character of the New Zealander, for...I am convinced it can never be done by amalgamation. Indeed amalgamation is but a one-sided question at best, for surely no white man would wish for the retrogradation of his colour, or to see his daughter, or sister, or female relative in any degree, married to a Maori man. (de Thierry in Ballara, 1986:52)

Māori-Pākehā marriages had been occurring for a number of years prior to de Thierry's musings that this was not in the best interest for the future development of New Zealand. In contrast to other countries, there were no legal barriers that prevented interracial marriages from taking place, although these particular relationships were still susceptible to other acts of discrimination.

As stated in Chapter Two, in the North Island towards the end of the nineteenth century a significant proportion of the Māori population had retreated to rural areas and lived in isolation from the majority of the Pākehā population. This remained a feature of New Zealand society until the middle of the twentieth century. During the initial post-war urbanisation phase there were a number of adjustments Māori and Pākehā had to make as they increasingly came into contact with each other. Interaction between Māori and Pākehā was occurring on a scale previously unseen since the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand. Cases of interracial relationships between Māori and Pākehā increased, albeit with some opposition to its occurrence. However, by the 1970s interracial marriage had become so common that it no longer attracted much attention (Metge, 1967:301). Māori continue to experience high rates of interracial marriage and this is not likely to decline in the future.

Interracial Marriage in the South

The first phase of sustained interracial marriage in southern New Zealand was a result of the shore whaling industry. Whalers who invested capital in establishing on-shore stations and the Pākehā people employed to work there became a semi-permanent population on the southern shores of New Zealand. Owners and workers sought to establish, develop and maintain social, political and economic relationships with local Māori. They cohabitated in the same area and thus became dependent on each other for employment, food, resources and land. Interracial marriage between the European whalers and full blooded Māori women of high rank secured access to these things (Salesa, 2011:64-8). The descendants of these marriages altered Ngāi Tahu's kinscape and demography (Wanhalla, 2008:38-9).

Interracial relationships that began in this era survived long after these economies had disappeared. By the turn of the twentieth century the majority of the Māori-Pākehā mixed-race population of Southland were Pākehā in appearance and culture, however, they still maintained their identity as Māori in an altered form. Because of their fair appearance and early assimilation into the European culture they were largely invisible in the main centres of Southland which were increasingly becoming home to a mainly European immigrant population.

The only in-depth investigation on Māori-Pākehā marriage was conducted by John Harré in the 1960s. This research was undertaken with Māori-Pākehā marriages in the Auckland area. Despite this small sample some interesting results emerged. It was found that in 1960 it was more common for a Pākehā man to have a Māori wife (Harré, 1968:121). In Southland the opposite can be said to be true. According to Harré's research there are three possible problem areas for a mixed couple: "their own adjustment to each other, the reactions of others and the

place of their children” (Harré, 1968:130). These three issues were experienced by the participants and will be examined further in this chapter.

Spouse Selection

The more frequent the interaction of ethnic groups with each other occurs, the quicker cultural and linguistic barriers will be removed. Interracial relationships are therefore more likely to occur and be accepted without opposition. In any relationship spouse selection usually takes place amongst those who have similar educational attainments, occupations and income backgrounds (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:67). Therefore Pākehā who are in high status occupations and who live in more affluent neighbourhoods have less opportunity to mix with Māori who have traditionally occupied low-status jobs and a lower standard of living. This was certainly the case when Māori migrants first started moving to Southland. In the 1960s, Māori migrants began arriving to Southland in numbers significant enough to be highly visible in the community. The pool of potential spouses from within their own ethnic grouping was limited, therefore, many looked to other ethnic groups from which to draw partners. The opportunities for social interaction between young Māori and Pākehā increased and racial barriers were removed.

Family Acceptance

In all societies there are those who will oppose interracial relationships. Family acceptance has historically proven to be a barrier to interracial marriage worldwide. In white-ethnic relationships, this disapproval is not only a feature of white families, although there is more opposition from this group, but is present in the families of each member of the couple (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:68). Initial resistance to the relationship is minimal until it turns more serious.

In few cases do Maori or Pākehā parents object to their son or daughter dating a member of the other race, so long as the relationship is thought to be casual. However, if dating becomes frequent, and more especially if marriage is seen to be a possibility, then opposition to the relationship may increase, particularly in the case of the parents of a Pakeha girl. This does not usually have the effect of stopping the relationship but often compels the couple to resort to subterfuge. (Harré, 1968:129)

The socioeconomic status, age and gender of the spouses involved have had no effect on influencing the families' support of the relationship: race was the only significant factor as to whether the relationship was accepted by the family or not (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:69). However, an "individual's racial background and racial dissimilarity play only a minor role in the selection process...Race is less of an issue for most who choose to marry someone who is of a different race" (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:67). The disapproval of family members will sometimes make the couple more determined to remain together (Harré, 1966:111).

However, this attitude has changed and, while not all families agree about such relationships, there has been an overwhelming trend worldwide to accept such marriages (Root, 2001:77). Increased interactions with members of another ethnic group have meant that the understanding and awareness of other peoples' cultures have improved to a point where interracial marriages are now the norm. During the first phase of European arrival to New Zealand interracial marriages were encouraged out of necessity to help ameliorate Māori-Pākehā relationships, particularly in the southern parts of the South Island. Once formal European settlement became more permanent, interracial marriages continued but for different reasons.

Children of Interracial Marriages

Any children born into marriages where each family initially opposed the interracial mixing of two people are almost certain to help ease those initial apprehensions to such relationships. The case studies presented in Harré's research showed that "there were many Pakehas who were upset

by the prospect of being faced with part-Maori grandchildren. However...when they were faced with the reality, they treated their grandchildren with the usual combination of pride and indulgence” (Harré, 1966:134). Children are the innocent by-products of interracial marriages and their appearance signals a validation of the union. Their birth also seems to elicit a transformation towards acceptance of the relationship from unsupportive parents (Harré, 1966:135).

Children who are born of one white parent and one racial minority parent will often be socially identified with the minority parent, regardless of how those children actually see themselves. There are three ways in which biracial children may be raised: firstly, the parents may choose to deemphasise race as an important aspect of that child’s identity; secondly, the parents may choose to raise them as a member of the racial minority and interact with the minority community. Thirdly, the parents provide a combined identity that incorporates aspects of each parents’ cultural background. However, research has also suggested that “parents are committed to raising mature, secure and normal children who just happen to be biracial” (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:72). When children are young parents are likely to determine their ethnicity, which may or may not change throughout their lifetime. The choice of ethnicity their parents make for them will determine the amount and type of exposure they give them regarding their cultural heritage. This will influence how they identify ethnically and the saliency of their ethnic identity later on in life. A substantial part of a person’s identity is bound up in their interaction with extended members of their families and other social networks. Parents, therefore, play an extremely important role in the identity formation and development of their children (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:88).

Other Difficulties

Additional issues that prove to be difficult to those involved in interracial marriages include experiencing discrimination when accessing community, local council and government services. People in such relationships may find it difficult to obtain suitable housing or find employment. Social acceptance by members of the wider community can also be problematic which may lead to problems with neighbours and co-workers. Often the most difficult problem to negotiate within an interracial marriage is the cultural differences between the spouses themselves. Each person is coming from a unique ethnic background, each with its own set of cultural values and linguistic differences that they must negotiate in order for their relationship to succeed (Yancey & Lewis, 2009:73-9).

Participants' Experiences of Interracial Marriage

This section will look at the experiences of interracial marriage amongst four of the Māori migrants and three spouses of the Māori migrants. Each of the participants were asked questions regarding their families and their in-laws' reaction to their interracial relationship, whether they experienced any discrimination because of their interracial marriage, what cultural differences existed with their spouse and whether they consciously chose to raise their children within a particular cultural environment that would aid the development of their Māori identity. The literature presented in this chapter has shown that these are the most common problematic features of interracial relationships. Although they were interviewed separately, the information obtained about their relationships will be presented together for ease of analysis.

*Diane and Tamati Reedy*²⁰

Diane was born in Invercargill in 1955 and is one of eight children. Aside from living in Auckland for a brief period she spent her whole life residing in Southland (Invercargill and Bluff) until she moved to Australia in 1999 to be with Tamati who had moved there two years earlier. As Diane was growing up in Invercargill she recalls knowing only one person who was of Māori descent whilst she was at intermediate and she was exposed to small amounts of information about the Māori culture at school. Other than these two occasions, Diane could not remember any other instances of interacting with Māori people or experiencing the Māori culture during her childhood.

Before meeting Tamati, Diane was involved in a relationship with another Māori migrant who had moved to Southland from Ratana Pā (West Coast of the North Island) to work at Ocean Beach Freezing Works. Diane was in a relationship with him for five years and they had one son together. Diane met members of his family briefly when she visited them at Ratana Pā. She instantly noticed and felt the hostilities that existed between Māori and Pākehā in Whanganui at that time.

In those days the Māoris used to walk on one side of the street and the Pākehās on the other and that's the first time I'd ever come across it. Where Invercargill is only a small place...it was never like that. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Diane felt uneasy when interacting with his family and attributed this to the fact that she was a Pākehā. She felt that whilst they were not against their relationship they were not entirely supportive of it either.

²⁰ Diane and Tamati were interviewed in the same year. Where extracts have been incorporated from their interviews I have included the first initial of each participant with their last name in the reference to differentiate between the two for this chapter only.

Well you think that regardless of your colour that they would actually think of the person themselves looking for the good in the person not whether they're Māori or Pākehā so you know you go on as you are.

I guess coming from Invercargill where you didn't have that [racism]?

No it was never there. It was only when the boys from Ocean Beach and the bikeys basically every Friday night used to have a sort of a bit of a punch up on the main street and then go back to work on Monday cos they all worked together and everything was hunky dory. But that's about the only thing. There was no racist thing down there [in Invercargill]. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Some of Diane's siblings were already in interracial marriages and she had not encountered this type of opposition to interracial relationships before. Her experience with race based discrimination was limited and she had never personally been the victim of it.

In 1977 Diane gave birth to their son in Whanganui. Although it might be assumed that any discontent over an interracial relationship would be forgotten when children were born, Diane felt that this did not happen.

Not really cause I decided to go back to Invercargill cause I had [my son] in Wanganui. They wanted [him], being the oldest grandson, to live with them cause they said that's their way and I said, "No way it's not my way" and I took him back home [to Invercargill] and yeah the rest is history. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Diane felt uncomfortable in a relationship where her partner's family openly expressed their disapproval of her. She believes that this was directly attributed to her being Pākehā and it prevented her from agreeing to their request to raise her son. Not long after their son was born she and her partner separated.

Beginning of their relationship

Diane and Tamati first met each other at the Waikiwi Tavern in Invercargill but it was not until they saw each other at a party later on that their relationship developed. At the time Diane was a solo mother with a two year old son and she was impressed with Tamati's interaction with him.

He took more interest in my son than he did in me so basically I think that's how the relationship developed. I knew because he spent so much time with [my son] and showed such an interest that he'd be a good dad for him. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Diane and Tamati met in September in 1979 and were engaged on New Year's Eve of the same year. Diane introduced Tamati to her family after they became engaged. The family initially thought he was of Samoan descent. When Tamati corrected them and told them he was of Māori descent "one of them said, "Ooh not another Māori!" cos she had a Māori boyfriend before me" (T. Reedy, 2006). It would seem that there was some suspicion amongst Diane's family that the relationship would end as her previous one had but that proved to be unfounded. According to Tamati:

It was just sort of tacit approval I suppose, [I] just said nothing, just sort of assimilated myself with them.

Were there any instances where you felt like an outsider because you were Māori?

No. I went to all their gatherings sort of things, birthdays and weddings and anniversaries and stuff. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Diane and Tamati were married in 1980 after which Tamati legally adopted Diane's son. These two events, the birth of their own son in 1981 and Tamati's willingness to engage in family events and help out where needed proved to Diane's family that he was committed to Diane and their family. Whilst Diane's relationship with a person of Māori descent was the only such pairing in her family at that time, two of her siblings were already married to people of other ethnicities (Samoan and German). Because of these two previously established biracial marriages, her relationship with Tamati was never rejected because he was of Māori descent. Diane's family was only initially hesitant to her relationship with Tamati because of her previous unsuccessful involvement with a Māori migrant. A number of her friends at the time were also in relationships with other Māori migrants and accepted each other's relationships as nothing

unusual.

It was not until Tamati and Diane began sending out wedding invitations that Tamati's family were informed that he was in a relationship with Diane. Tamati's family had no influence over his relationship with Diane. Because Tamati was the only member of his family living in Invercargill at the time, he did not involve them in his relationship. "I had no family down there. Didn't know what they think. Couldn't care anyway" (T. Reedy, 2006). When they received their wedding invitations, some of Tamati's family contacted him.

They didn't ask who she was they just said, "Oh you're getting married? Good. When [are] you getting married?" and all this sort of thing. [They] didn't ask who she was, they just asked what she was like.

Did you tell them that she was non-Māori?

No. It wasn't an issue with me. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati had already spent a number of years living apart from his family. He did not see them regularly and did not feel the need to seek approval from them about his relationship. It was his choice who he married and his family were happy for them. Only one of Tamati's sisters and her partner travelled to Invercargill for the wedding.

As the majority of Tamati's family did not attend his wedding in Invercargill, Diane met many of them in Wellington afterwards where they gathered together to welcome her into the family. When Diane was introduced to Tamati's family she felt like she was treated as any another member of the family. The only time she remembers feeling like an outsider was when they conversed with each other in Māori. However, she stated that it did not bother her because other than their linguistic differences the interaction with each other was natural and easy. Tamati's family also welcomed her son into their family and have "always treated [him] as though he's

one of theirs...some of them sort of forget that he's actually adopted cause some of them reckon he looks like Tamati" (D. Reedy, 2006). This type of familial arrangement where adopted children are accepted into one's family is typical of Māori society. This situation reflected aspects of Tamati's own childhood experiences where he grew up with his grandparents and other members of his extended family in the same household.

Cultural Differences

In all relationships there is a certain amount of compromise that each partner is expected to make in order for it to be successful. In interracial relationships there are linguistic and cultural differences that normally need to be negotiated, however, despite their different ethnic backgrounds Diane and Tamati found little that they had to compromise about:

Basically I was brought up sort of more Pākehā than Māori anyway...Grandmother and them they sort of brought me up in the Pākehā way just speaking English and doing everything English; speaking it, so there was nothing that she [Diane] did that was strange.

So there were no cultural compromises you had to make?

No. I mean some foods I gotta eat on my own and cook. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Diane found it difficult to comprehend Tamati's fondness for certain types of food, in particular *kina* (sea urchin). *Kina* are an endemic species of echinoderms that have round shells with many sharp spines protruding from it to protect it from predators, giving it a hedgehog like appearance. The edible roe inside the *kina* has always been a staple part of the Māori diet, in particular, those residing in coastal areas. Tamati, however, does not view that as a distinctively Māori food delicacy: "It's not a Māori thing. I mean there [are] cultures all over the world that eat them so it's a European thing that they don't like them. That's how I think about it" (T. Reedy, 2006).

Tamati and Diane both shared in the responsibilities of raising their children and running the household. Diane noticed that Tamati was different from other Māori migrants who she knew.

Well I actually married somebody that could cook and didn't mind doing dishes and baby sit...a lot of them expected their meals on the table at a certain time. I was not one of those housewives. I never got up and cooked my husband's breakfast before he went to work, I never made his lunch and I never had tea on the table when he got home. He had tea when I was ready to cook it. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati had learnt to be independent when he was at Te Aute College and then when he stayed in the accommodation provided by the Ocean Beach Freezing Works. He was already used to doing various domestic duties himself and cooking his own food so that when he married Diane he did not expect her to begin doing these things for him.

The one area that they did differ in opinion was when it came to disciplining their sons. Both Diane and Tamati used to physically punish their children if they were naughty. However, Diane noticed a change in the severity of the discipline administered by Tamati as the children grew older. Diane recalled that Tamati received similar punishments when he was younger with a variety of household items being used. Whilst he did not always use these things himself he was still physical in his approach to disciplining his son. But it soon became apparent to Tamati that this form of discipline was no longer appropriate. He recognised this as a characteristic of his upbringing, experienced by many families from the East Coast area he came from, and he was determined to change:

[Diane's] family would never hit their kids as much as what people from my family or my sort of area did you know? You're brought up in fear rather than the other way and I found that happening...but I stopped it. I sort of just realised it's not working.

So did Diane say anything to you about it?

No. I think she would have liked to have but because I was the way I was I think she was even at that stage a little bit wary and probably fearful of me which is the way a lot of Māoris bring up their families unfortunately and still do too. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati was also worried that Diane may have been cautious of him when he was disciplining their children. He did not want Diane to be scared of him because of this and was determined to change for his family.

Community Discrimination

Diane does not recall any experiences of discrimination because she had a husband of Māori descent. She knew her older sister, who married a person of Samoan descent in the mid-1960s, had experienced difficulties:

When they first got married they couldn't get a place to rent because he was a Samoan. But then when we got married there was a place advertised and we just went in and asked them if we could rent it and they said yeah fine. So we never had any problems at all. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Diane also felt that the same situation may have also occurred if her sister had married someone of any other ethnic minority and is demonstrative of the time period she was married in. However, Diane and Tamati did not marry until 1980, so by this time she felt that a lot of the discrimination felt towards Māori and Pacific Island people in Southland had dissipated.

Reactions of Family

Tamati and Diane were not the first in either of their families to marry someone of another ethnicity. Interracial marriages were also common amongst Tamati's siblings, therefore, neither family reacted to the fact that their sons were of mixed Māori-Pākehā descent.

Yeah they weren't the first ones so yeah I mean they were well used to it by then you know what I mean? They just loved them unequivocally, they were family that's it. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati's family has a long history of interracial marriage so his children with Diane were just a continuation of that trend. The pressure Diane felt from her ex-partner's family in Whanganui to

raise her son in a particular way was not present when she gave birth to her second son (to Tamati). Tamati suspects that his family may have expected him to raise his sons in a specific Māori cultural way by exposing them to certain practices and by transmitting Māori knowledge to them, however, they did not explicitly say so.

They probably did but there's nothing anybody from the family could have told me what to do. I'd lived in isolation from the family most of my life so that as far as I was concerned if one of them was going to come along and tell me how to do things with my family they were going to get a short sharp shift. There's nothing they could have said [that] would have influenced me on the way I brought up my kids unless I was doing things that were negative and detriment[al] to their upbringing but as far as sort of culturally nobody's said anything to me about it, or tried, or probably dared. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Growing up in a household separated from the majority of his siblings, attending boarding school and then moving to Southland meant that the influence of Tamati's family decreased over time. He did not require their approval of his marriage with Diane and did not believe that they should have any input as to how he raised his children.

Cultural Environment of the Home

Diane and Tamati did not consciously choose to raise their sons within a particular cultural environment. They both claimed that their children were exposed to an upbringing that incorporated elements of both Māori and Pākehā culture but that it was predominantly European. Tamati transferred knowledge regarding food resources, outdoor recreation, sports and minimal aspects of the Māori language and culture to his sons. They were never taken back to the East Coast because Tamati never had any interest in returning. However, they were members of a tight-knit Bluff community and became somewhat culturally competent by associating with other Māori families in their community. They also learnt the importance of family, not only with Diane's extended family who lived in Invercargill, but with visits to some of Tamati's siblings in Dunedin and Wellington.

It is assumed that any contribution to the ethnic identity development of children born to interracial marriages will come from the ethnic parent (Kukutai, 2007:1150). In this family this was not the case and Tamati had other priorities for his children.

Well I was more interested in the Pākehā way. I didn't see too many Māori bank managers and things like this you know...that's my perception of how our kids were being brought. So I wanted them to learn how to get on in a Pākehā world because I mean it's the dominant world you know with commerce and things like that. But they made their own choices once they got older though. They said, "Oh we want to do Māori culture and things like that" so I said, "Go ahead do what you want to but I don't want it to interfere with...your work as far as the Pākehā way is concerned. I mean you can do it to keep a hold of your Māori side...or if you find that there is going to be a life for you on the Māori side do it, do it to the best of your ability". (T. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati was acutely aware of the Eurocentric cultural environment of the general Southland community. He wanted his children to be raised in a home environment that was similar to the community they would be mixing with on an everyday basis as they grew older. Diane did not push this issue and did not clash either in terms of raising their children in a particular cultural environment. They were just raising their children in their own way that was neither Māori nor Pākehā in nature.

Because of the culturally non-specific home environment Tamati and Diane raised their children in, neither of their sons were consciously aware that they were of Māori descent. The realisation that their younger son was actually of Māori descent came from outside the family, rather than his parents.

I can remember his first day at school he was called a little Māori boy and he come home crying cause he was called a little Māori boy. He says, "They called me a name at school" and we said, "What?" He said, "A little Māori boy" and we both said, "You are part Māori." He goes, "No I'm not" and both Tamati and I said, "Well what are you?" He goes, "I'm a New Zealander"...I don't think he actually realised what that word meant. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Not at first. I think it probably affected [our youngest son] more than it did [our oldest son]. [He] is a lot more easier going. I think he couldn't have given a stuff either way but [our youngest son] was a bit disappointed I think initially that he was perceived as different from the other kids. He came home

one day and said, “Mum this boy called me a Māori” and I said, “Get used to it cause you are” stopped him for awhile but then like all kids you know it just went out the window. (T. Reedy, 2006)

The culture of the home environment was not overtly Māori in character or nature and neither Diane nor Tamati made a point of actually telling their children they were of Māori descent, or what that meant. Their home life did not include following culturally Māori processes or being involved in many local events, for example at the *marae*, because they were not *tangata whenua* to Bluff. Their children looked physically similar to a number of other children in the Bluff community so they did not attract unwanted attention because of that.

Their younger son was also given the opportunity to be a foundation student in the bilingual unit at Bluff Primary School.

When he was about six, brought a letter home from school to see if we would agree to him learning the Māori language and we both agreed because they have to know their history and their heritage and everything else. [Our oldest son], I think he just did it on his own. I didn't even know he could speak it [the Māori language] up until a few years ago. (D. Reedy, 2006)

Both Diane and Tamati thought it was important for their sons to learn about their Māori ethnicity and saw the transmission of that particular information to be a part of the school's responsibility and not solely theirs. Tamati possesses some Māori cultural knowledge but did not transmit this to his children unless it was information revolving around food gathering and camping. However, despite his ambivalence towards his own Māori ethnicity, Tamati's children chose to engage in Māori cultural activities anyway.

If they wanted to I left it up to them if they wanted to. I wasn't going to influence them one way or another because I wasn't sort of overly influenced one way or the other either and to that I'm probably a little bit resentful because I had all the Māoritanga (Māori culture, practices and beliefs) at my fingertips, so to speak, on tap, but they never bothered to teach me...I was interested in a lot of things...but...there was no encouragement or anything from them or my grandparents on the Taiapa side, they just wanted me to be a Pākehā. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Tamati's lack of interest in this particular set of knowledge stems from his childhood. After he moved from Tikitiki to Gisborne he was removed from a specific social environment where he was living in a rural Māori community guided by certain Māori cultural concepts, rules and protocols. The move to Gisborne and the assimilation into the European standards of city living meant that Tamati's grandparents no longer regarded that knowledge as important to transmit to Tamati and this had a flow-on effect to Tamati's own children. Diane now understands the importance of such knowledge for her grandchildren and realises that without her sons' knowing and transmitting this information it will be lost in their family.

Tamati had expectations for his children in terms of their education. He knew that the freezing works and fishing industry would not be a profitable long-term career choice for them. Tamati left high school part way through and admitted that he did not enjoy the academic side of it. However, he still valued education and wanted his children to pursue a professional career. *Kōhanga reo* (Māori language immersion early childhood centres) was available as an alternative pre-school option for their younger son, however, Tamati did not entertain the thought of sending him there.

I thought, while the *kohanga* and that had their place, I'd sooner see them learn how to become like I said bank managers and engineers and things like this. Whereas *kohanga* at that time was only for small children and it seemed that they were teaching sort of conflicting views and I'd sooner these guys learnt how to live in a Pākehā world first and then make their own mind up about the Māori world afterwards. (T. Reedy, 2006)

Diane was also of a similar opinion and she stated that she would not have sent them to a Māori language immersion preschool or school. She felt that Bluff School was more than adequate for teaching certain elements of the Māori culture that she thought were important for her children: “[He] was taught the Māori language, the *haka* (posture dance), Māori culture, the lot and he was also in the Māori culture group, so that's just part of their education” (D. Reedy, 2006). The

transmission of the Māori culture did not occur in the home but was happening at school in a community that demanded it. It was also reinforced by their interaction with other Māori children, families and events in the community.

Summary

By the time Diane and Tamati formed a relationship in 1979 and married in 1980 a number of interracial marriages had already taken place in Southland. These types of relationships were becoming more commonplace and their marriage attracted no instances of discrimination from any members of their families, their friends or the communities they lived in. Cultural differences between Diane and Tamati were few and any that existed were accepted or negotiated without too much hassle. In many ways their marriage went against many of the expectations of interracial marriages in the literature.

When it came to the transference of ethnic knowledge to their children, Diane's lack of knowledge concerning Māori people and culture combined with Tamati's hesitation in transmitting the knowledge he possessed inhibited how their children developed a Māori identity within the home. This did not deter their children's interest in their Māori ethnicity but they were forced to look to external sources for this information.

Roberta Moore and Mautini Paringatai

Roberta was born in Invercargill in 1948, the second youngest of four girls, and was raised in Myross Bush. Myross Bush is located ten kilometres in a north-eastern direction from the centre of Invercargill and is a small rural farming community. Roberta moved to Invercargill with her parents in 1967 when she was 18 years old. She has lived in Bluff and Dunedin but has spent the

majority of her life in Invercargill where she currently resides.

Beginning of their relationship

Roberta married her first husband in 1966 and had three children. In 1975 she and her husband separated. Roberta then met Mautini at the Glengary Tavern in Invercargill in January 1976. At this time Roberta and her children were living with her parents and Mautini was living in the accommodation provided by the Makarewa Freezing Works. In June of that year Roberta gained ownership of her house and Mautini moved in soon after. In March 1979 their first daughter was born and their second daughter was born a year later.

Reactions of Family

Even though Roberta first met Mautini in January and they had been living together since July, it was not until Christmas Day of that year that her family actually met him. She had already informed them that Mautini was of Māori descent and the opinions of her family about her relationship “weren’t very high” (Moore, 2008). No doubt this discouraged Roberta from introducing Mautini to her family earlier:

My sister thought we had a *hāngī* (earth oven) for tea every night, I said, “No we just have stews and mince and roast exactly like you have.” I’m sure she thought we lived way back 50 years ago but then you see we had nothing to do with them so it was probably not a strange question for her...When you haven’t had anything to do with them and all of a sudden there’s one in the family somewhere and they [Roberta’s sisters] really don’t know how to act or interact with them...another brother-in-law didn’t like Māoris at all.

Why do you think that was?

Because of the way that they were brought up having nothing to do with them, even though his son [Roberta’s nephew] played in an indoor basketball team and he was the only Pākehā boy in it but his father was against them. It was just a racial thing never having anything to do with them. We didn’t have anything to do with Māori because when we grew up there was none at the primary school, I went to secondary school there was probably about three in the whole school so we had nothing to do with them. We used to go for Sunday drives we’d go to Bluff and you’d see them all sitting out on the seats outside the houses that they were renting oh all these Māori fellows, they’re quite nice you know but [we] still didn’t have anything to do with them. It wasn’t until 1976 that I was up at the Glengary with friends and met Mau and it started from there, we just sort of dated, he would give me his car and

I'd go out and pick him up at Makarewa and we'd go to the pub or the movies whatever and then we just moved in together. It was a mutual sort of agreement thing. (Moore, 2008)

Roberta could see that her family's negative attitude towards Māori arose from the fact that they had never interacted with Māori people when they were growing up. Their attitude was not born out of resentment arising from any personal incident involving Māori people but from a lack of understanding born of ignorance. The same resistance was initially felt by Roberta's parents:

[My mother] said to me, "You make a choice it's either him or me." I didn't make a choice. She used to ring me up every day, I still took my kids up there, she met [Mautini] and she was good as gold. I never ever made a choice because I knew if I did I would lose and she would lose me and my kids and I didn't want that. (Moore, 2008)

Roberta's mother had issued her the ultimatum before she had actually met Mautini, and when she did meet him she realised her initial impressions were wrong. When questioned why she thinks her mother acted in such a way, Roberta replied:

Because we weren't married. I think that was possibly the whole thing. I never asked her why she said that and to this day I still don't know why she said it but times change and I had changed but she hadn't really changed and I think possibly we were living together and not married...I had already said to her if anything happened between my first husband and I, I said I will never get married again, I will live with someone. And she just said goodbye. I just never made the choice she used to ring me up, we'd still be welcome to go up there. She met Mau and thought he was a good guy, nothing wrong with him. (Moore, 2008)

Roberta's parents were born in the early 1900s and for them living with someone out of wedlock was not the proper way of conducting a relationship. Roberta's sisters were also wary of Mautini but they treated him with reserved respect:

They talked to him they were nice and polite. They involved him in things...We had Mum and Dad's 40th wedding anniversary and we all went over there and he was included in photos and [he] used to help at things and that. He just didn't sit back and do nothing you know he always helped out cos that's the sort of guy that he was.

Do you think that made him more accepted?

Acceptable yeah. But my sisters were funny anyway so it didn't worry us. [My mother] and [father] liked him and that was the main thing. He was my choice, not my sisters' choice.

So how did you cope with those opinions and those attitudes?

Oh I just let it ride over my head, not much use losing any sleep over it. You learnt over the years just to let things ride. (Moore, 2008)

Mautini also integrated into Roberta's family by helping out in any way he could and attending important family functions. Roberta's sisters had moved away from Invercargill and she did not let their opinions affect her relationship. She valued her parents' opinions more as it was they who she and Mautini interacted with on a weekly basis. Mautini conceded that his being Māori would have been something different for Roberta's family but that "they were alright" (Paringatai, 2007). There were never instances where he felt like an outsider because he was of Māori descent.

When Roberta introduced Mautini to her three children they were five, six and seven years old. Within a week of meeting Mautini she said to him: "Look I've got three kids. You take me you take my kids" (Moore, 2008). To which Mautini replied affirmatively.

If someone wants you bad enough they take your children as well because there was no way I was leaving my kids with anyone. They were mine. I had them, they stayed with me and he accepted it. He used to look after them at night when I went cleaning. (Moore, 2008)

Mautini would visit Roberta and her children when they were still living at her mother's house and watch television with them at night time. They would have tea together or he would take them out for dinner. Her children enjoyed his company and the treats he brought them. As they were only between the ages of five and seven they were easily pleased.

Roberta first met Mautini's family when their older daughter was 20 months old and their younger was nine months old.

We went up [to Te Araroa] for Christmas. We all went up in the car and they accepted me because I had Mau's children. I went home with him and even though I had the other three [children] they accepted me. They accepted me because of [our children]. [Mautini] and I went to the pub and I was the only female Pākehā in the pub...but it didn't worry me. I was accepted by them because I was with Mau...it didn't worry them at all. That was the Coast, it was lovely up there. (Moore, 2008)

Mautini already had two older sisters who were married to Pākehā men. A number of interracial marriages already existed amongst members of his extended family and he was of the opinion that it is a person's individual choice if they want to marry a Pākehā or a Māori. Roberta instantly noticed the difference in skin colour in the Te Araroa community in comparison to Invercargill, but never felt intimidated because of it. She sometimes felt self-conscious as one of the few Pākehā people there during that Christmas period, but people changed once they knew she was in a relationship with Mautini.

Roberta's interaction with Mautini's family was hindered by a language barrier, but they still made her feel at ease.

I talked to them or I talked to Mau to ask his mother something because they talked a lot of Māori and I knew they would be able to understand me but it was easier for me to ask Mau to ask them, or ask [his sister].

You said they always used to speak Māori to each other. Did you ever feel excluded because they did and you didn't understand?

It never worried me...because they express themselves better that way, especially the old people... you'd go to the pub and you'd hear them talking in Māori and Mau's relations and that all spoke it and he would answer them and then he'd tell me what they said. (Moore, 2008)

Despite the language barrier Roberta never felt excluded from feeling like a member of the family because of it. She accepted the use of the Māori language as a natural means of communication for Mautini's family and people in the Te Araroa community.

Mautini recalled no objections to his relationship with Roberta and the fact that she was non-

Māori, either amongst his family or friends. He informed his family a couple of months after they met that he was in a serious relationship and that she was also non-Māori, but they did not have a problem with her ethnicity. Roberta's three children from her marriage were also welcomed into the family and Mautini treated them as his own.

Cultural Differences

In terms of cultural compromises that needed to be made because of ethnic differences in their relationship, neither Mautini nor Roberta found there were many to make. Mautini and Roberta shared the responsibilities of running a household and raising five children. According to Mautini, he and Roberta "just accepted one another's ways of doing things" (Paringatai, 2007). Mautini's fondness for certain types of food was something that Roberta had to contend with. However, he also influenced Roberta in other ways.

You mean like the rotten corn?...Stunk the house out or eating *kinas* no it was part of his culture no it never worried me. It never worried me what he ate, what was different. No it never, ever worried me because he showed me his way of life and to me it was a better way of life. He used to say, "Don't worry about it there's always tomorrow" and I used to think yes there is always tomorrow. Why rush round and make sure that everything is done in one day when there's always tomorrow? That's why now I think well there's always tomorrow. That's what I learnt through him he showed me a better way of life, don't panic, don't stress...about anything there's always tomorrow. If you didn't do the washing today there's always tomorrow don't worry about it...don't worry about making your bed there's always tomorrow you're only gonna crawl back into it tonight. (Moore, 2008)

Other than Mautini's fondness for certain foods and his carefree attitude to household duties there were no other cultural compromises that either of them had to make. Mautini would work during the day and at night he would look after their children while Roberta went to work as a cleaner at the Tiwai Aluminium Smelter. Roberta's older children were also helpful when it came to doing household chores and babysitting duties.

Discrimination

Before meeting Mautini, Roberta had very little interaction with Māori people when she was growing up in Myross Bush. After she moved to Invercargill in 1967 she began to see more Māori people in the city. When Roberta's marriage broke up she became distanced from many of the people who she associated with when she was married. One of Roberta's friends was married to a Māori person and she went to a couple of parties where a number of Māori people were in attendance. This was Roberta's first interaction with Māori people on a social basis before she met Mautini.

Roberta was aware that Māori-Pākehā interracial relationships existed and knew that they sometimes attracted unwelcome attention and discriminatory remarks:

You'd see a white woman with a black guy walking down the street and everybody would stare and think, "What the hell are you two doing together?" You could see it in their faces. I saw a couple one day in H&J Smiths [a department store in Invercargill] and they had these beautiful little girls, half-caste girls, and they were beautifully dressed and hair up in ringlets and bows and that and they were beautiful. But you could see people would look down their nose because it was a mixed marriage. (Moore, 2008)

Roberta soon found herself in the same position with two daughters who were of Māori and European descent, however, she and Mautini never experienced those types of reactions. Roberta and Mautini began their relationship in 1976 and their daughters were born in 1979 and 1980. By this time interracial marriages were common place, as were children born of these types of relationships. Although Roberta and Mautini had to contend with Roberta's family's initial disapproval of their relationship, this soon dissipated. They also experienced no discrimination from the wider community towards their interracial relationship.

Children

By the time Roberta and Mautini became pregnant with their first child they had already been living together for two years. Roberta's parents had already adjusted to their living situation and welcomed the news of more grandchildren.

Oh they just thought [they] were lovely I don't know what it was...[they weren't] the youngest grandchildren, but there was a big gap. There were no grandchildren for a long time...and [they] come along but...[they] were the only ones that they used to see and they adored [them]. The big ones [Roberta's older children] used to go, I used to take them up to [see Mum and Dad] but [the younger two] would come up every week because I would go and set her hair and [they] would come up and see Grandma and Granddad yeah and they just thought [the girls] were lovely. (Moore, 2008)

Regardless of how Roberta's parents felt about her living situation with Mautini, when their children were born they did not let these feelings interfere with their relationship with their grandchildren. Mautini's parents already had grandchildren who were also of Māori and Pākehā descent and they loved his daughters unconditionally.

Cultural Environment of the Home

When Roberta and Mautini's daughters were born there was no discussion regarding the cultural environment in which they would raise them. They did not consciously think about transmitting to their children information regarding their Māori ethnicity.

Never really thought about it but I think [they] were raised more Pākehā than Māori. It wasn't till [they] went to intermediate that [they] got into the cultural group and started doing [their] own thing then. [Mautini] did teach [them] the odd one or two words but he didn't take [them] to any cultural groups. I used to say to him, "Take them, go...that's where they need to be" but he wouldn't do it because he reckoned there was too many mixed tribes in each group that he didn't want too many arguments he reckoned, "Too many arguments when there's too many tribes in a group too many arguments because someone will want to do it one way and some would want to do it the other" and they wouldn't compromise. (Moore, 2008)

Mautini had possibly witnessed conflict occurring whilst working with people from other tribal backgrounds and it was something he was not prepared to be involved in outside of work or expose his children to. Roberta was running the household during the day, working at night and

attending to five children before and after school. Other than the occasional suggestion that Mautini could be contributing more to their ethnic identity development, Roberta was unable to be more persuasive.

Both of Roberta and Mautini's daughters gradually became aware of their Māori ethnicity and it was something they actively pursued in their teenage years. Additionally, Roberta and Mautini were both supportive of their daughters' pursuit of their Māori identity development and would assist where they could.

No, no it was [them] that came up with the choice and we all just went with it. If [they] didn't want to learn the Māori way then I would've been fine with that. But [they] went the Māori way and that was fine with me and fine with [their mother]. (Paringatai, 2007)

Mautini recalled that his children were aware that they were ethnically different from other people because of a difference in their skin colour in comparison to other people living in the predominantly Pākehā neighbourhood. However, he did little to help facilitate their knowledge of this, particularly when he stopped taking them back to the East Coast in the early 1980s when the last of his parents passed away.

Roberta and Mautini's daughters both went to mainstream schools in Invercargill, an area where Māori language immersion schools were not established until they were both at high school. Roberta and Mautini had mixed opinions on whether they would have sent their children to these types of schools even if they were available.

If Māori language immersion schools had been an option would you have sent or strongly considered sending [your children] to those schools?

Probably strongly considered sending [them] yes I would have.

Why?

Because I think [they] needed it. It was in [them], the Māoritanga was in [them] and I think [they] needed to go and learn it at an early age and I still believe that [they] need to learn it...I still think to this day that somewhere [their] father made a wee mistake by not talking to [them] like he should have the way that he was brought up... I know times have changed yes I would have strongly considered sending [them] to something like that, yes. (Moore, 2008)

Upon reflection, Roberta has realised that the cultural environment of the home was insufficient for the Māori identity development of her daughters. Mautini did not transmit the Māori cultural knowledge that he himself possessed to his daughters. The giving of one's oldest child to be raised by grandparents or other senior members of the family is common in Māori society. Grandparents have more time to spend raising their grandchildren and in this way children are imparted with cultural knowledge that the parents are unable to provide because of other commitments (Metge, 1995:176-190). Mautini's parents had already been given his two older sisters' first-born children to raise. They then asked for Mautini's oldest daughter.

And Mau said, "No you're not. They're both coming back with me". I think his Mum and Dad wanted to keep [her] because [she was] the oldest and he said, "No, she's coming back with me". (Moore, 2008)

Roberta was unaware of the request until they had returned to Invercargill. Mautini made the decision himself not to let his parents have their oldest daughter. Mautini had a good relationship with his parents but due to the distance between Te Araroa and Invercargill he did not want to be physically distanced so far from his first-born child. His sisters, whose first-born had been given to his parents, lived in Wellington and Gisborne, therefore the distance was not as great as it was for him in Invercargill. His parents could also not realistically expect him to raise their children in a culturally Māori specific way and nor did they try to make him do so.

Roberta was hesitant to acknowledge that giving her daughter to be raised by her grandparents on the East Coast would have achieved her desire for her daughter to be culturally competent and equipped with Māori knowledge. For her, it felt like she would have been losing her children had

Mautini agreed to his parents' request. Giving her child to her in-laws to be raised was a foreign concept to Roberta. She still maintained that Mautini, rather than his parents, should have been the one to transmit this knowledge to their daughters.

Unlike Roberta, who would have been an advocate for Māori language immersion schools for their children, Mautini was not so supportive. He was instead cognisant of the Pākehā home and community environments his children were growing up in.

I've got to consider [their] Mum's side of it too, like if [they] want to learn both Māori [they] could learn Māori at the mainstream school. If you go to *kohanga reo* it's totally in Māori and who says [they] were gonna speak English fluently? It would have meant first [they] would have been going there and learning how to speak English before going to high school so no I wouldn't have. But if we were all shifting up North 10, 12, 15 years ago maybe I would've looked at that...[They] could've learnt [the Māori language and culture] at mainstream because in mainstream that was part of the criteria that was coming out. Māori was supposed to be taught in all mainstream schools through access funding so no I would've sent [them] to mainstream. Maybe, maybe a *kohanga reo* for the start and then primary but maybe for about two or three years but that's it and over to mainstream. (Paringatai, 2007)

Mautini did not see it as his role to impart Māori language and cultural information to his children. He felt that this instruction could have been achieved at mainstream schools. He realised that the environment of the home and the Invercargill community they interacted with on a daily basis was European. For his daughters to be able to interact with this world they needed to be able to speak English.

Summary

The initial response from Roberta's family regarding her relationship with Mautini was not favourable. Roberta did not introduce him to her family until they had been together for a while because she wanted to ease into this relationship and she had three children from her previous marriage that she needed to consider first. Her family's opinions seemed to change once they did meet him and he progressively integrated into their family. It was not until their daughters were

born that Mautini felt that he should take his family back to Te Araroa. Differences between Mautini and Roberta were few and any that did exist were accepted as part of each other's cultural norms.

Roberta would have liked to have seen more transference of Māori cultural knowledge on to their children and actively encouraged Mautini to do so. She was aware of community groups that would aid in this but Mautini was hesitant to involve his daughters in the cultural politics associated with them. Mautini was instead aware that his children needed to operate in a Pākehā environment because that was the ethnicity of their mother and older siblings and of the community they were living in. This did not deter them from pursuing their Māori ethnicity when they were older.

Susan & Harry Fletcher

Susan was born and raised in Tuatapere in 1949, the oldest of five children. Tuatapere is located 85 kilometres in a north-west direction from the centre of Invercargill and is a small rural farming and forestry community. Both of Susan's parents were school teachers and would move within rural areas in Southland for work. They moved to Invercargill when Susan was 13 years old so she could attend high school in town.

Beginning of their relationship

Susan first met Harry in 1966 at a dance held at the local Returned Services' Association (RSA) in Invercargill when she was 17 and Harry was 22 years old.

There was a whole group of them and you had to wear a tie and they only had the one tie. So the first came in wearing the tie, then went to the toilets and popped it out the window to the next who came in wearing the tie. So the tie let in about 10 of them at the one time, you only needed a tie to get in you didn't actually have to wear it once you were in.

And how did your relationship develop from there?

Well sort of a novelty value with Māoris really. See when I was young it was the Yugoslavs at Deep Cove were the hot thing that we all thought were beautiful and then of course we moved on to the Māoris. But it was quite interesting because I met him and then he said that he'd get in touch and he didn't and I thought oh well that's it. And then he said he'd gone back [to the North Island], that his sister had died...But oh it was just a typical courtship of those days. Home at the time your mother said, nicely supervised dances and getting engaged and staying at home till the day you got married, you know all very prim and proper. (Fletcher, 2011)

There was some concern from Susan's mother that the five year age gap between Susan and Harry was too much. However, Susan had already left school and was working and she did not think the age gap made any difference in regards to her feelings for Harry.

When Susan was growing up in Tuatapere and when she started going to school in Invercargill, she cannot recall going to school with anyone who was of Māori descent. As a result, her knowledge and opinion of Māori people and their culture was minimal.

There was no studies or school or any cultural things I suppose we knew about the Treaty of Waitangi and that sort of thing but no it didn't really we just thought of them as people but they were a bit more glamorous cos they had a bit of colour. We were very naïve. A lot of this racial stuff it developed it wasn't there originally you know what I mean. (Fletcher, 2011)

Meeting Harry was the first interaction with a Māori person Susan had experienced. According to Susan, "I don't think I'd ever met one [a Māori person] really, I had no need to" (Fletcher, 2011). She also met members of Harry's extended family and the friends he had moved to Southland with, who left a memorable impression on Susan.

Well it was sort of all different. I mean they were down at the huts at Ocean Beach and of course nice girls didn't go down...I had a fairly staid upbringing. I think that's probably one of the reasons why I appealed to Harry was because I was very staid and sensible and boring. He'd seen too much of a sort of swinging lifestyle, girlfriends, infidelity and you know that sort of thing, he wanted to be boring which he succeeded in doing. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan was quite young when she first met Harry and she viewed herself as different from other

women Harry had known. She had a more mature character; no doubt attributed in part to her role as the oldest child in her family and the associated responsibilities attached to that position in the family. It was these characteristics that Susan believed attracted Harry to her.

Reactions of Family

Susan cannot remember telling her family explicitly that Harry was of Māori descent, and as far as Susan was concerned, Harry's ethnicity was never an issue in their relationship.

I don't suppose I did really. I don't really know about that, I don't think I made a formal announcement or anything. I just brought him along and they noticed. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan was aware of her mother's disappointment when she began a relationship with Harry, but believes it was more to do with his occupation and socio-economic status rather than his ethnicity.

Oh yes, my mother was very disappointed...she was well-educated, well-read, she was a so-called liberated lady, but I don't think it was so much racial actually it was the freezing work type thing. To give her her due, I don't think it was racial she just felt that maybe I could have done better but then again every mother thinks that so there you go. (Fletcher, 2012)

Her mother's reaction to her relationship with Harry made her more determined to make it succeed. She understood that everyone was entitled to their own opinion, but being in a relationship with Harry was her choice. Her father on the other hand "never had any input into it really, he was a very mellow, understanding sort of person he just went with the flow" (Fletcher, 2011).

They never, ever criticised no even later on when there was all sorts of ups and downs they never spoke to him nastily, you know they just went along it was my relationship and my business sort of thing, they were good. (Fletcher, 2011)

Despite her mother's initial disappointment it did not affect her relationship with Harry. Her

mother eventually accepted Harry as a member of their family. Susan and Harry married in 1970 and had three children; two boys and a girl.

Susan did not meet Harry's parents as they had both passed away before Harry moved to Southland. It was not until 1978 that she went to Northland with Harry and their two sons and met members of his family. At the time she was also pregnant with their daughter. The family stayed with Harry's brother, his wife and their children on their farm in Peria, Northland. Susan's first meeting with Harry's brother did not leave an indelible impression on her:

He picked us up at the airport and then he went somewhere and went in to have a drink and it was stinking hot and he ended up on the booze with these people and we were sitting in the car waiting for about an hour and a half. It was ghastly, just horrible. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan was already anxious about travelling to Peria with young children whilst pregnant, meeting members of Harry's family for the first time and adjusting to the lifestyle differences while they were there. Her anxieties were compounded by her brother-in-law's disregard of her and her children on their first meeting. However, Harry and Susan's nieces and nephews made the stay more enjoyable.

I remember the little kids so excited, these wee cousins...they said, "Mum bought sheets for the bed because you were coming". There was 13 of them in a 2 bedroom house...And then I asked where is the wash house and everyone fell about laughing and pointed at the river so it wasn't flash no electricity, it was just amazing. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan did not feel as though she was treated any differently by Harry's family because she was non-Māori. Harry's brother, who they stayed with in Peria, was married to a Pākehā and she remembered Harry's aunties being very nice and welcoming. There were no instances where she felt she was not accepted into, or by, the family because she was Pākehā.

Cultural Compromise

In terms of cultural compromises to be made during the course of their relationship, there were very few. Harry had made the decision to leave his Māori cultural lifestyle behind when he moved to Southland. He did not have an enjoyable upbringing and did not want to be bound by any cultural obligations that reminded him of that time in his life.

He made the conscious decision really to leave it all behind. He quite frequently talked about Māori bullshit and could be quite, he wasn't racist but he could be disparaging. Oh little things this feeding the old people first on the marae, he'd be like leave the old people to last feed the kids they're the future and you know. A lot of things that he had quite different ideas. He wasn't that interested in racing around and paying respects at funerals and doing all those things that some of them thrive on. (Fletcher, 2011)

In Southland he could escape all those commitments. He did not have any close relatives living in Invercargill and he did not tribally affiliate to the Southland area. Therefore, cultural obligations to family and social institutions such as the *marae*, *hapū* and *iwi* did not cause conflict in Susan and Harry's relationship. Susan found some of Harry's own personal habits different to her own, but tolerable.

Food, eating, slopping fish heads and putting newspaper on the table, which in a way was such a sensible thing to do but I dunno why it annoyed me but no just the attitude maybe to food gathering and the love of fishing, no nothing particularly...his love of gardening, respect of nature and all those types of things would be the only different cultural things I think. (Fletcher, 2011)

Harry's particular food choices intrigued, and at times disgusted, Susan. But she learnt that this was one of the few cultural habits from his upbringing Harry maintained that brought him joy.

Discrimination

Susan was unaware of any racial attitudes towards Māori people when she was growing up, which may have been attributed to the fact that there were few Māori people living in the Southland community to produce such feelings. In the early years of her relationship with Harry,

she recalls, these attitudes were still not prevalent.

I remember when Harry came down here and he was absolutely excited he'd gone to the fish shop and some really flash white chap had spoken to him and he said what a lovely conversation they'd had and that that wouldn't have happened up north. He would have stood there and they would have stood there. I didn't know really whether that's a Southland thing or not. He thought it was accepting of his race but perhaps the chap probably didn't even notice he was Māori he was just having a yarn in the fish shop. You know you put these interpretations on things don't you? You see what you want to see often or choose not to see. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan never felt personally discriminated against because she had a Māori husband, however, she knows Harry experienced subtle types of discrimination before they were married because he was Māori.

I used to get wild on his behalf, like when he was looking for a flat before we got married he'd ring up to say it was Fletcher and that's fine it was available and then suddenly he would get there and it wasn't available once they saw his little brown face. But it didn't seem to faze him you know he just moved on. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan found it difficult to understand other people's prejudices towards Māori people, when she knew that Harry would be as suitable a tenant as any non-Māori person would have been. However, Harry never spent much time worrying about such instances of blatant discrimination and associated attitudes.

Children

Susan and Harry's children are the only grandchildren with Māori ancestry on Susan's side of the family. However, their marriage is not the only interracial marriage as one of her younger sisters married someone who is of Chinese descent. Susan's children are the oldest grandchildren and they formed a special relationship with her parents. She claimed that their relationship was:

completely normal I would think, yes absolutely, I didn't think for a moment that there was any problems at all. [Our son] was the oldest grandson and he used to stay there on Friday nights...No, never picked up anything like that, if anything they were probably the favourite grandchildren I think it was just cos they were the oldest. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan and Harry had already been married for a few years before they started having children and Susan's parents had already adjusted to her interracial marriage. As the oldest grandchildren, Susan and Harry's children were doted upon by her parents and any anxiety her mother may have had over their part-Māori ethnicity had disappeared.

Susan changed jobs in order to be more flexible for her children's needs and while Harry was working, Susan was at home doing most of the day to day child-rearing duties. However, Harry was involved in a number of their children's sporting activities. When it came to discipline Harry was not physical towards his children because of his own upbringing.

I can honestly say he never laid a hand on them. He'd been thrashed. He still had the marks on his back...he ruled but it was with the force of his personality...They just cowered, not physically cowered but if he said, "Get up out of bed and mow the lawns" they did...He would never go in the bathroom if [our daughter] was in the bathroom, you know he would say to me, "Can you go get my comb?" And even things like looking in my handbag, he'd always pass me my handbag in case there was going to be something personal. And I'm sure he was just trying to prevent any of those violent nasty things that had happened... I thought he was sometimes too hard and I guess he thought I was too soft but I don't think that's cultural...Oh it could have been that he'd seen such hardness that even his softened hardness was a bit harder than my softness. (Fletcher, 2011)

There is an obvious connection between the childhood that Harry experienced and his resolve to raise his own children in a different way. Harry had been subjected to physical abuse as a child and made a conscious effort to not punish his children in such a manner. He was respectful of other people's privacy and seemed mindful not to intrude in other's personal affairs.

The cultural environment Susan and Harry decided to raise their children in was determined by their family, home and community environments and what was available to them in these areas within Invercargill.

[We would] just make the best of what was on offer...there was no push for either one aspect or the other no we just basically tried to encourage them in whatever they wanted to do. In retrospect maybe we should've pushed more but even when the kids were little there wasn't a lot of cultural

opportunities available. (Fletcher, 2011)

Harry and Susan were active in a community group called the Te Tai Tokerau Group which was a support network for those from the Northland region. They would hold regular meetings and organise events for the people in the group but as its members progressively integrated into the Southland community the need for it lessened and it eventually disbanded. The limited opportunities available within the community which had a particular Māori focus meant that their children had little participation in Māori-related events. Harry also made a decision to abandon particular aspects of his Māori cultural background because of his upbringing combined with the reality of living in a Pākehā community and this in turn impacted on his children's involvement in the Māori community of Southland.

Given their physical characteristics it was inevitable that Susan and Harry's children were going to be identified by others as being of Māori descent.

I remember [our second child] being absolutely appalled. He'd had an argument with someone and they had said he was a North Island Māori and he was appalled, he was born in Invercargill, how could they be so dumb? So we had to explain. (Fletcher, 2011)

Like the other participants, Susan and Harry's home cultural environment did not reflect Harry's Māori background. When their son was confronted with the fact that his tribal affiliations were to the North Island he was confused. There were no return visits to Northland to physically connect and locate their children in this particular environment at an age that they would know or remember what this meant. Susan and Harry also did not transmit any Māori cultural knowledge or information that would aid in their children's understanding of what being a North Island Māori meant. Despite the occurrence of this confusing situation for their son, there was no conscious decision made to incorporate more Māori knowledge into their children's upbringing

to avoid these issues of identity confusion.

No, there wasn't no... Maybe if there had been Māori grandparents that may have made a difference, I don't know, if the kids could've gone back up there and had holidays with them and that sort of thing. But then that wasn't financially viable either you know with the distance and things. There was [the] Tai Tokerau they had a committee and we sort of went to their functions and things but yeah no we never made a conscious decision... No I just wanted them to be people, not to be either really, to be both without being either. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan and Harry's main concern was to raise their children in an environment that did not favour one ethnicity over another.

All of Susan and Harry's children started school prior to the beginning of the Māori language immersion school system. Had *kōhanga reo* been available, Susan claimed, "I obviously would have sent them to [it] if there was such a thing" (Fletcher, 2011).

And why do you think you would have done that?

Oh I just felt that in a way they had the right to know their other half, the other side of the coin or something and it would have given them a chance to be... yeah I just think I would have. But then again you can confuse kids, a lot of these ones that do go to Māori immersion there's mixed success really isn't there so I don't know but I would have encouraged that just to let them see how it works out. (Fletcher, 2011)

Susan also felt that her children should be provided with an understanding of their Māori ethnicity. She knew that this information was not going to be transmitted by Harry and she did not possess this knowledge herself. She felt that Māori language immersion schools would enable that to happen. Being in this type of environment would have also helped her children avoid being labelled ethnically by others. These types of schools would also have helped provide a coping mechanism to deal with such comments.

Aside from raising their own three children, Susan and Harry also adopted another son. He was the son of one of Susan's friends and when she passed away it was Susan's decision to provide

him with a home and to become a member of their family.

She was my friend. Went to play centre with his mother and she had these four children she was on her own. I mean Harry was all in favour of it but no it was definitely me. I came home and told him that the vasectomy hadn't worked and we were having another child. (Fletcher, 2011)

Introducing a new child into the household was not without its difficulties; both for Susan and Harry's other children as well as in financial terms. The difficulties their children went through adjusting to a new member in their household, particularly at the age of eight or nine, meant Susan "felt slight guilt about it thinking, "Oh god what have I done?" But you do what you've got to do at the time and no decision is right or wrong really. If I hadn't done it I always would have felt guilty" (Fletcher, 2011). Susan and Harry's decision to have this child become part of their family, even though he was of no blood relation to them, is similar to the *whāngai*²¹ process. This was driven by Susan and supported by Harry, but operated in the same way as Māori *whāngai* practices.

Summary

Although Harry was unable to be interviewed, it is clear from Susan's contribution to this research that aspects of their marriage mirror those of the other participants. Despite the initial disappointment displayed by her mother towards her relationship with Harry this soon disappeared when they married and began raising a family. During the course of their marriage Susan cannot recall any instances in which they were discriminated against as a couple because of their different ethnic backgrounds. Although Susan is aware that Harry was the victim of racially-based discrimination before they were married.

²¹ *Whāngai* is a term used to describe a particular Māori form of adoption and is also the words used to describe the person who is being adopted. Often the child is a close blood relation and there is usually no legal processes involved in this form of adoption.

Harry was brought up in a small, remote Māori community in Northland. However, it was not an upbringing or an environment that he cared to remember and this influenced the way in which he raised his children. It impacted on their Māori identity development as consciously raising their children with a secure Māori ethnic identity was something that neither he nor Susan made a priority for their children. They focused instead on raising children who could operate in the Invercargill environment that they lived in and continue to live in today.

Matua

Beginning of their relationship

Matua first met his second wife at a party in Dunedin, but it was not until he moved to Invercargill, and they started socialising in the same circles, that they became friends. This first meeting after the party in Dunedin occurred at a pub. After a while they developed a romantic involvement and were married in 1973/74 in Invercargill. None of Matua's immediate family members were present, although he had a number of extended members of his *whānau* living in Invercargill that did attend.

As stated previously, by the 1970s interracial marriages between Māori and Pākehā had become commonplace. Their occurrence no longer caused controversy amongst family members or friends. Matua's relationship did not differ in this regard amongst their own *whānau* and circle of friends.

Nobody made a comment...I grew up in that generation that believed New Zealand was the only non-racist country in the world. I grew up in that generation believing that despite what was going on between Pākehā and Māori that was what we were brought up believing. So when we got married even Māori people looked at it like that that New Zealand was not a racist country. (Matua, 2011)

Matua grew up in a predominantly Māori community where there were few Pākehā but they were

held in high esteem most likely because of the positions they held in the community. This was Matua's second marriage to someone of Pākehā descent. Interracial marriages were already common amongst other members of Matua's family and they embraced his choice of marriage partner.

Although his wife's family sometimes exhibited behaviours and made comments that were somewhat disparaging of Matua's Māori ethnicity, or Māori in general, he also felt accepted by her family. Their comments were characteristic of a generation that had very little to no interaction with Māori people when they were growing up. They said things that could easily be misconstrued as racist, but were said merely out of lack of interaction with and understanding of Māori people.

I remember I used to call somebody boy, it might have been my nephew, and [my father-in-law] made the comment, "You Māori people always call one another Boy" that was the first time I'd ever thought about it...it's actually quite a nice way of talking to someone that's younger than you when you call them 'Boy' you're not putting them down but the Pākehā thing is that you're insulting them. (Matua, 2011)

'Boy' was sometime used in a colonial context as a derogatory term, especially when addressing indigenous peoples. Those called 'boy' might well have been quite elderly men and the use of it served to treat them as subordinate to the often white speaker. The use of the nickname 'boy' described by Matua was used in a different context where it is an affectionate term of address to a younger man. Despite the difference in interpretation and understanding of each other's mannerisms, it did not affect his relationship with his wife.

I think they were quite diplomatic in how they behaved. I mean a lot of things that they did if I was [still] married to [her] now they wouldn't say a lot of things to me and the replies would have been quite different coming from me. (Matua, 2011)

Matua was able to reflect on his in-law's behaviour and recognise that it was reflective of the

environment and time period they were raised in. He was still young when he first met his wife and he did not let their comments affect him nor did he react to them. However, now that he is older he is less tolerant of those sorts of attitudes and would be more vocal in stating his opinions on such matters, regardless of who was making those comments. Matua recalled that his wife's brothers and sisters acted in a similar manner to her parents.

I think they were more like their mother, they were racist without knowing they were being racist. Just things they would do, it's like, "This is the way Pākehā do things so this is the way you should do things" that sort of carry on. I don't know if they were aware of it, there was that and you get the feeling that they don't overly show it or they might not even know it but there's a thing that they think that they're better than you because you're dark skinned. They don't actually say that but you just know there's something. (Matua, 2011)

Although Matua felt that there was an air of superiority that hovered over his wife's brothers and sisters they did not say anything to him that confirmed his suspicions. Again, Matua did not feel particularly aggrieved with their comments or attitudes towards him and brushed it off.

Matua's family were unable to attend his wedding in Invercargill. Soon after they were married Matua and his wife returned to the East Coast to visit them instead.

We went home before our children were born. So it was probably a year after we were married and I think she got a bigger shock than what I did, going from here [Invercargill] to [the East Coast]. We stayed at my grandmother's and my grandmother spoke a lot of Māori, but she could speak very good English. Most of those people at home they spoke Māori and [my grandmother] would talk to [my wife] and she would say something in English but then she would end up speaking Māori and [my wife] thought that she was doing it on purpose. And she might of too because my grandmother was a bit weird at times, she might have been doing that on purpose.

Did they have any reaction to her being Pākehā?

No, mainly because they already knew, you know it wasn't like I just dropped her on them. And there was still that thing I think that, especially that generation, that Pākehā people are better than us. So it wasn't so much that they worshipped her or something but...they didn't openly disrespect her apart from my grandmother talking Māori to her but I don't know if she meant it or if it was just the way it was with her language. (Matua, 2011)

Because of their admiration of Pākehā people, Matua's grandparents and others of that particular generation had no issue with his wife also being of Pākehā descent. Despite the language barrier

that prevented her from understanding all the conversations that were occurring around her, it would seem that she embraced these differences and would play an active part in fostering this within her children as well.

Cultural Differences

Matua grew up in an Anglican family and community but converted to Catholicism when he got married. He was ambivalent towards his Anglican upbringing and was more than willing to convert to Catholicism for their relationship. His wife's religious commitment to the Catholic church was one thing that Matua found difficult to understand.

Yeah there were a lot of things. One thing I sort of found hard to deal with was the commitment to church, well not so much the commitment to church but it was like go to church on a Sunday, go out and get drunk on a Saturday. That sort of stuff doesn't quite wash with me. [She] was quite a staunch Catholic but there were things you would think "Well if I was in the church I wouldn't be doing half of that." (Matua, 2011)

Matua felt that the lifestyles exhibited by some of the church members were at times contradictory to the teachings of the Church. His wife's strong adherence to the Catholic faith was something new for Matua and it took him a while to adjust.

Matua felt that he made a major cultural compromise in their marriage when it came to naming their children. Four of their six children were given English first names. Matua had always compromised and allowed these children to be named after members of Matua's family; cognisant of the difficulty her family would have pronouncing Māori names.

When [our fourth child] was born is when a lot of that started to click with me too with the names...so I named her and the next thing I knew was well, "How can my family say that name?" And one of my cousins came down and said something...not to me though, "Oh you can't call her that because you fullas won't be able to pronounce the word" and then she made up [a simpler] name... Then when [our youngest child] was born I said, "No, no compromise" so he's the only one with a *tūturu* (real) Māori name. But you know it took me all that time to realise about my own Māori side that I was giving up to let Pākehā people have their way...All my kids would have loved to have Māori names and I mean

there's just so many of them at home that they could have. (Matua, 2011)

Their two youngest children were born in the mid 1980s. By this time Matua was no longer willing to compromise on the naming of his children and gave their youngest child a Māori first name. The Southland community had been culturally transformed with the arrival of the North Island Māori migrants and by the time their youngest was born there were a growing number of children with Māori names. Their youngest child's name is also simple to pronounce and has been shortened which no doubt made it easier for Matua's in-laws to pronounce as well.

Matua also felt that there was a difference between him and his wife when it came to disciplining their children.

When we grew up you got a kick up the ass when you did wrong...and I was like that with my kids. I was a bit hard on my children actually when they were young...At home, if you do something wrong then obviously there's a consequence. You can't just do something and let them get away with it so you've got to have some sort of punishment so that [they] know it's wrong and that's what I tried to instill in the children. [Their mother] was quite a disciplinarian in her own right but I think she didn't like a lot of the ways I did it. I would give my kids a smack if they were naughty...I would never do it now cos I believe in the system that it doesn't have to be like that. But when I was younger that's what I grew up with and that's what I brought down, that's what I learnt and that's what I knew. (Matua, 2011)

Like other participants, Matua grew up in an environment where physical punishment was a disciplinary technique utilised extensively in his home and community. He therefore thought it was appropriate to use that particular type of punishment when disciplining his own children. After a while Matua realised that his wife differed in her approach and that there were other forms of discipline that would be more beneficial for his children.

Both Matua and his wife come from large families. Matua grew up in a household as a *whāngai* to his grandparents. The opportunity arose for him to expand his family in a similar way and he and his wife adopted his sister's daughter.

[My wife] didn't [have a problem with it]. What she did say to me was, "We'll adopt her legally." So [our daughter] is actually legally adopted. For me it didn't make a difference and she's gonna know her mother regardless of whether we adopt her or don't adopt her. She's going to know that her mother is actually my sister cos I mean up home they don't keep those things a secret. Whenever we went home they would say, "Oh go to your mother" meaning my sister and I don't know if [my wife] liked that. [She] accepts that now cos she loves [our daughter's biological] mum but I think when [she] was young she might have thought, "I'm actually [her] mum" but for me it didn't really matter cos we're used to having *whāngai* kids. (Matua, 2011)

The informal process of *whāngai* can be daunting to those unfamiliar with it and there is always a fear that the biological parents will want their child(ren) back. In order to protect themselves and their family, Matua agreed to his wife's insistence that the adoption be made legal. Matua maintained the transparency of *whāngai* and was honest with their daughter about the adoption. She knew that she was a *whāngai* and maintained regular contact with her biological parents and siblings because of Matua's commitment to return regularly to the East Coast. His wife's family did not question why they were adopting a child and accepted her *whāngai* daughter as another member of their family.

Children

Matua's children are the only Māori grandchildren on his wife's side of the family. The ethnicity of their children was not an issue to her parents and they had a normal grandparent-grandchildren relationship.

They seemed ok. As far as I knew they were good with it and I think a lot of that had to do with their church cos I mean they were quite religious. I don't know what they would have been like if they didn't have the church, they might have been the same, they have might have been better, they might have been worse. But I think a lot of their behavior was decided by the church, how they behaved was instilled in them through the church.

So it was pretty much a normal grandparent-grandchildren relationship?

Yup. (Matua, 2011)

Matua's wife comes from a large family and there are numerous grandchildren. Their children

were not treated any differently by her parents from the other grandchildren simply because they are of Māori descent.

Matua has a strong Māori cultural background and his wife had a strong Catholic upbringing. Somewhere in between these two backgrounds emerged the cultural environment in which they raised their children that was neither wholly Māori, nor wholly Catholic. Matua's children were aware that they were of Māori descent and both he and his wife actively encouraged their interest in this. Their physical characteristics made it difficult for them not to acknowledge their Māori ethnicity and they stood out amongst others of their large maternal family because of this. Matua helped foster this interest by involving his children in Māori performing arts from a young age.

Kapa haka (Māori performing arts) was their big thing. [The two youngest] went to *kōhanga*...but they've all been involved in *kapa haka* for yonks. And I think just a lot of their mannerisms are quite Māori if you look at their behaviour, but mind you I don't know what that means. But they do behave like Māori more than they behave like Pākehā kids. So I mean I must have had some influence on them because the dominant influence has been the Pākehā side you know cos there are more Pākehā here [in Invercargill] than Māori. (Matua, 2011)

Matua and his wife sent their children to Catholic schools and they regularly attended Church. They were also involved in the Māori community and Māori performing arts groups. Matua modelled appropriate ways of acting according to *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs) and they regularly returned to the East Coast to involve themselves in their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* affairs and events. Matua and his wife incorporated elements of each of their upbringings that were important to them and instilled these in their children. Their children chose to acknowledge and become more involved with their Māori culture than others in similar positions. This was facilitated by their parents.

So they've had more interaction with their Pākehā family and yet they're quite Māori?

Exactly, they're quite Māori. If you look at them you'd think well those are Māori kids you just don't look at them and think there's a Pākehā kid.

How do you think that happened?

A lot of it has to do with being involved in *kapa haka* and I know a lot of it has to do with just the things I do. I don't openly go out and say, "Well I'm gonna do this because it's Māori" it's just the way I behave. A lot of it has to do with the things I grew up with. I mean there are some things you can't change and if you wanna change it's not going to happen. A lot of my behaviour my kids have, my mannerisms they have...and all their friends, well I guess most of their friends at school were Māori for some unknown reason they just hung around with their own kind. (Matua, 2011)

Matua felt that his children developed their mannerisms by watching him and mimicking how he acted. He did not openly inform his children that his particular way of acting arose from his Māori descent, however, his children naturally assumed those traits as a particular way of operating by a set of Māori cultural values and standards.

Their three oldest children were born before Māori language schools were established. Their *whāngai* daughter was born when Māori language immersion early childhood centres (*kōhanga reo*) were just beginning to operate nationally but a centre had not yet opened in Invercargill. They were able to send their two youngest children to *kōhanga reo*. When they had both finished at the *kōhanga reo*, the first Māori language immersion primary school (*kura kaupapa Māori*)²² in Invercargill had just opened and was available for them to continue their education in this type of environment. However, it had not yet developed into a school that could provide a similar academic focus as the English language medium primary school they sent their other children to:

I always saw that they had a good education. That was what was always in my mind was for them to get a good education. I had this thing in my mind that you can pick up *te reo* somewhere down the road, which you can but it's a lot harder. But if those options were given to me now there's no way in the world I would say no.

Would you have to fight with the Catholic schooling?

Yeah exactly, cos she was all right with the kids going to *kōhanga* but it was when they went to school...[our youngest daughter] had just finished *kōhanga* when they were starting up the first *kura kaupapa* [here but the thing that happened was that it took them too long to start it. [My cousin] rang and she said, "Oh just wait awhile, don't send her to school yet, just wait awhile." Then it was three weeks down the road and I said, "Oh I can't, I can't deprive her of that" so we ended up sending her to

²² *Kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* will be discussed further in Chapter Nine.

[the Catholic primary school]. But had *kura kaupapa* been around I would have sent her to that. I don't know whether it's easier to learn to be clever later or easier to learn the language later, you know what I mean? If the academic is not in the *kura* (school) but the *reo* is you know you have to make that choice do you want your kids to be academic or do you want them to speak Māori you know which is the easier to pick up later on. I really don't know. I think I would have gone for the language. (Matua, 2011)

Matua would have wanted all his children to be afforded the opportunity to attend Māori language immersion schools. He currently works at a *wharekura* (Māori language immersion high school) and has seen the merits of such schools for enhancing the linguistic and cultural competence of the children who attend. He recognises the importance of Māori language immersion schools for children who grow up in Southland away from their tribal area. This is a key way for these children to acquire such knowledge and foster their Māori identity in Southland.

Summary

Like the other participants Matua and his wife's relationship did not attract unwanted negative attention from members of the public. Matua felt that there was some indifference towards him by his wife's family. However, it would seem that this was not out of spite, but that it had more to do with having very little interaction with Māori prior to Matua becoming a member of their family.

Matua and his wife's relationship differs slightly from those of the other participants in that they created an environment that combined Matua's culturally Māori upbringing with his wife's Catholic background. They involved their children in Māori performing arts from a young age and *kōhanga reo* and this, combined with regular return visits to the East Coast, helped them to develop a stable Māori identity whilst living in Invercargill.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the interracial marriage experiences of four migrants and three spouses of those migrants. Pre-European Māori forms of marriage were strategically arranged to ensure that the social, economic and political aims of the families involved could be achieved. In southern New Zealand marriage for this purpose continued to occur when Europeans first began settling on these shores. These arranged marriages brought mutual benefits for the Pākehā men and Māori families involved. Although interracial marriages between Māori and Pākehā occurred throughout the country and changed the racial composition of the Māori population, nowhere else where those changes were more profound than in southern New Zealand.

In Southland an already small Māori population was quickly being surpassed by an immigrant Pākehā one. The descendants of these early interracial marriages assimilated into a community that was eagerly adopting a European standard of living and associated values. The physical characteristics of Māori were also altered to the point where they were indistinguishable from the European population. During the peak of North Island Māori migration to Southland in the 1960s it was the first time in nearly a hundred years that Māori became a highly visible population again in this area.

It is against this historical backdrop that the Pākehā participants in this research were born and raised. They and their families had little to no interaction with Māori people or the Māori culture. As a consequence, when they were placed in a situation where a person who openly identified as Māori could potentially be a permanent member of their family it is understandable that there was some hesitation about such relationships. For all the participants ethnicity played no part in their spouse selection and it was purely a matter of who they had fallen in love with. When children

were born in these relationships any remaining discontent about these interracial relationships within their families were completely removed.

This thesis also looked at the Māori ethnic identity development of children of Māori migrants. When children are young parents are one of the biggest contributors to their ethnic identity development. This chapter looked at the commitment of the migrants and their spouses towards fostering a Māori identity within their children. All of the participants knew that their children were made aware of their Māori ethnicity by others at a young age. However, three of the four couples did little to help facilitate their children's understanding of what being Māori meant. There were infrequent return visits or none at all, minimal interaction with other Māori in the community and little incorporation of Māori cultural values and process in the home. Only one of the couples maintained a prolonged engagement with the Māori community, incorporated *tikanga Māori* in their home and committed to making return visits to their tribal area in order to facilitate their children's identity as a Māori person living in Southland.

Children of interracial marriages face a number of problems in their adjustment to society and its attitudes towards them. They were raised in a particular way, yet the community views them differently and expects certain things that may not necessarily have been a part of their upbringing. The notion of identity, Māori identity and the experiences of children of Māori migrants in relation to the development of their Māori identity will be examined in the second part of this thesis.

PART TWO

He tina ki runga, he tāmōre ki raro
Contentment above, firmly rooted below (Mead & Grove, 2001:125)

One's identity is not assigned at birth but is an evolutionary process that occurs over a person's lifetime during which they undergo numerous changes. Whilst it can be an isolating journey there are also a number of social factors that impact on the formation of one's identity. One important aspect of a person's identity, as it relates to this research, is an individual's ethnic identity, which only becomes salient when they come in contact with others who are not of the same ethnicity. The aim of the second part of this thesis is to describe the process of ethnic identity formation, in particular one's Māori identity, before highlighting how children of migrants to Southland negotiated this process living outside of their tribal area.

Chapter Five will review literature as it pertains to the process and factors involved in the construction of someone's identity. It will look at an array of factors that contribute to a person's identity before looking at ethnic identity development, and particularly how people of mixed ethnicities reconcile what are often two or more conflicting world views. Chapter Six will investigate Māori identity formation and look at aspects of Māori culture that are said to be the main contributors to the formation of a secure Māori identity.

Chapter Seven will introduce six children of Māori migrants who come from a variety of different backgrounds. One grew up in Gore, two in Bluff and three in Invercargill. This chapter will look at the way in which the participants became aware of their Māori ethnicity, the input of their parents, both Māori and non-Māori, in developing their ethnic identity and the transference of Māori cultural knowledge, their ethnic identity choices and the expectations placed on them by others because of this.

The *whānau*/family is said to be the most significant contributing factor to the development of a person's identity. In terms of Māori identity development the way in which the *whānau* used to contribute to this was significant but the impact of urbanisation has caused this to change. Chapter Eight will look at what role the participants' *whānau* played in contributing to their Māori identity.

As one's identity is often socially constructed there are also influences external to the *whānau*/family that were pivotal in the development of the participants' Māori identity. The most significant institution in which this occurred was the schools that the participants attended. Chapter Nine will look at the role the school environment played in assisting the participants to develop their Māori identity.

Chapter 5

Ko wai au? – Who am I?

Identity is formed by the *dialectical* relationship between the biological organism, the internal reality, the objectivated external world, and societal roles and institutions; biology creates human beings; society is a human product, society is an objective reality; humans are social products. (Katz, 1996:31)

Introduction

My ability to answer the question *Ko wai au?* (Who am I?) requires me to explore my own sense of self. However, this is not a journey I can travel in isolation or without being influenced by external agencies. Identity formation is based on social interactions with others, either within an individual's own family or the wider community, and it is influenced by situations or events that force each of us to analyse who we are. Historically, in more stable communities where interactions with other ethnic groups is virtually non-existent, identity was more likely to have been assigned rather than adopted. Migration has allowed for more regular contact between cultures to occur and new social groups to be formed which draw their membership of people from a wide variety of backgrounds. As a consequence, identity has become something that is selected and we are now all active participants in determining who we are and what our place and role in society is going to be.

This chapter will present a variety of theoretical frameworks in which identity has been constructed. It will discuss the concept of identity and the various factors that are influential in its construction. Although there are an array of factors that contribute to a person's identity, this chapter will look at one of particular importance to this research, namely ethnic identity, and how children of mixed ethnicities are able to construct an identity that negotiates the different cultural values of each parent.

Identity

Despite the abundance of literature that has been published on the topic of identity, researchers in this area still struggle to conceptualise and produce a single unifying definition of identity. It has been theorised in an array of disciplines and in a multitude of studies from which different definitions have emerged for each of those purposes (Lawler, 2008:2), thereby making it impossible for a single definition of identity to exist. In the following discussion I will present a general overview of identity in order to locate some of more relevant themes and ideas for this thesis.

Identity is a construct commonly used by individuals to describe who they view themselves to be and how they fit with others in the social world. It is a dynamic, complex and fluid concept that is constantly changing as a person experiences new things and encounters new people.

Identity formation is viewed as a life-long task that has its roots in the development of the self in infancy. Later, a person's identity becomes reformulated in adolescence as a function of mature cognitive abilities, a facilitative environment, and being potentially open to modification throughout adulthood. (Grotevant, 1987:203)

Identity is therefore not something that is automatically assigned to each individual. It is continually developed and as such “there is something active about identity that cannot be ignored: it isn't ‘just there’, it's not a ‘thing’, it must *always* be established” (Jenkins, 2004:4). Religion, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, race and ethnicity are said to be among the main components of a person's identity. In addition, the social roles one plays and their personal experiences are also acknowledged as important contributing factors to identity formation (Houkamau, 2006:10).

Although each person's identity is unique there are some aspects of our self that we share with

other people. Acknowledging gender, religious and ethnic similarities, for example, is as important as recognising that which makes each of us different from others. Accordingly, “Western notions of identity rely on these two modes of understanding so that people are understood as being simultaneously the same and different” (Lawler, 2008:2).

Identity offers a means of locating ourselves and others. However, it is the notion of ‘others’ that creates tension, opposition and exclusion. In order to lay claim to an identity there seems to be some necessity to say what or who I am not; by stating where we do belong we mark ourselves off from those to whom we do not belong. (Kath Woodward, 2002:147)

Essentially, identity is not about what makes a person unique but it is also developed around the idea of what makes a person the same as or different from others. A personal identity is not a construct that belongs solely to an individual but is a product of relationships with other people and within social groups (Lawler, 2008:8).

Social Identity

The theory of identity being socially constructed was developed by Henri Tajfel in the early 1970s and it is still a leading identity development theoretical framework used by researchers working in an array of different fields today. A key feature of Tajfel’s work was the distinction he made between social and personal identity. Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1974:69). In contrast, personal identity can be seen “as a general view of the self (including personal beliefs about the self, skills, and abilities) influenced by social identities, however, quite unique to each individual” (Houkamau, 2008). Providing a distinction between the two identities shows that while a person’s identity may be heavily influenced by membership of a variety of groups, their personal identity is not necessarily determined solely by them.

Individuals are members of a number of groups for varying reasons and these may be based on gender, sexual preference, class, religion, and ethnicity for example. Some of these exist simply as a reference group (gender) whilst others have a more functional purpose that people actively participate in (religion, ethnicity). These groups do not stand in isolation from each another as people are often members of more than one group at any given time. Social identity also maintains “that individuals attribute value to the group in which they are members and derive their self-esteem from their feelings of membership within that group” (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:6). Research in this area has shown that people attribute value to belonging to a group which in turn leads to a positive self-esteem (Roberts et al., 1999:303). Problems occur when the group is a minority group and is attributed low-status and faces constant discrimination by outsiders. Individuals may begin to internalise these negative views about their group which could lead to low self-esteem. Ethnic groups are amongst those most at risk of developing a negative social identity (Phinney, 1990:501). Some of these issues will be discussed further in the chapter.

One of the main influences on social identity is the home environment, primarily the family unit. In terms of ethnic development the home is where the cultural values, behaviours, and norms are transmitted to the children. According to Gay (1985:45), “unquestionably, many young ethnic minority children are socialized in their homes and communities to be proud of their ethnic identity and heritage”. Whilst this may be true for some, for others the family environment, for whatever reason, is not always conducive to developing an inherent pride in one’s self and one’s ethnic self. People are then forced to look beyond this social unit to institutions external to the home, such as school, church, and sports clubs, for example, as a means of being socialised to be

proud of their ethnic group. This may be particularly problematic if the community in which the person was raised is not their ethnic community. It then becomes an individual choice to pursue avenues available to develop ethnic awareness and pride which is not always an easy task to undertake.

As a consequence of being a member of a variety of social groups, people develop multiple identities that are activated at different times. Everyone possesses more than one identity as a result of the multiple positions that they hold in society and these must be negotiated at any given point in one's life. These varying identities "should be seen as interactive and mutually constitutive" (Lawler, 2008:3). They are all present at any given time and are often in conflict with one another. For example, I am not only an employee of the University of Otago but I am also one of its students. I am a partner, step-mother, god-mother, daughter, grand-daughter, niece, an aunty, and a friend. I also have sporting and cultural interests which take me into different social situations. Ethnically, I am Māori with a Spanish influence, but I am also Pākehā, of Polish, Prussian, German and English descent. I have social and cultural obligations and responsibilities to both sides of my families and my friends that I must fulfil. I am never one thing at one time, I am all of these things all of the time and they are not always compatible with each other. I am constantly having to negotiate all these different identities to ensure that I am comfortable with the decisions I make so that one is not compromised by the other.

In different social situations, an individual may choose, consciously or not, to exhibit more of one of their identities than any other. Identity is therefore also situational and the portfolio of identities any one of us maintains is adapted to each person's behaviour in a given social or cultural context. Accordingly, "the individual's choice of identity in any specific situation is

dependent upon the utility of a particular identity with respect to the relevant political and social context and the audience” (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:6). For example, amongst other Māori I may choose to identify myself by my *hapū* or *iwi* thereby distinguishing myself from them in terms of sub-tribal and tribal affiliation. During interactions with non-Māori people I may choose to identify simply as ‘Māori’. The choice to do so is often intentional to show my commitment to the Māori collective, or I recognise that tribal and sub-tribal idiosyncrasies are beyond the comprehension or care of those who are not members of the Māori ethnic group.

Social identity is about linking the individual with others in a social situation and it is about locating that person’s position within a particular social setting.

The social identity concept indicates what a person is, how she or he is socially defined. It is about categorical characteristics—such as gender, age, and ethnic background—that position or locate people in social space. These characteristics distinguish a person from people that do not have that characteristic and puts him or her together with those that do. Your identity as a member of an ethnic group, a particular culture, or one or the other sex is a designation placing you by what you, in a particular respect, simply are taken to be. (Verkuyten, 2005:43)

A key feature of being part of a group or groups is the belief and adherence to the sets of rules, customs, values, and behaviours each of these groups ascribe to. The symbolic representations that group exhibits then become important features in the production of identities and take on significant meanings themselves, for example, the Māori language and culture.

Identity is also about how I see myself, how others see me and the relationships between the two.

As individuals we have to take up identities actively, those identities are necessarily the product of the society in which we live and our relationship with others. Identity provides a link between individuals and the world in which they live. Identity combines how I see myself and how others see me. Identity involves the internal and the subjective, and the external. It is a socially recognized position, recognized by others not just by me. However, how I see myself and how others see me do not always fit. (Woodward, 2000:7).

A consequence of an identity that is socially derived, however, is that the individual identity of the person is not really known. The danger of this is that people are assumed to be something that they are not. Instead, they are given an identity that is reflective of the characteristic of that person's social standing within the group/s of which they are a member. This is not always the case for those who are only a member of a group by birthright but not a full or active participant in that group. They are then assumed to know certain things and adhere to particular conventions that are attributed to being a member of that group, when in fact they have little knowledge of these things.

Stereotypical notions of a group can cause members of that group to be marginalised. People can be marginalised for a number of reasons based on sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability, ethnicity, nationality, race, language, culture and religion which can cause periods of low self-esteem and behavioural problems. Problems in identity formation arise when socialisation is unsuccessful. For example, a person belonging to a particular ethnic group socialised in a community not of the same ethnic background does not have the same attachment to their ethnic group as their parents may have. They therefore do not act or behave in a way that is characteristic of their ethnic group and they do not have the cultural knowledge that people expect them to have. Physically, they may look like they should possess certain ethnic knowledge and attributes associated with that group and, there is an expectation from other people that they do. They may feel stigmatised by society and trapped into socially predetermined roles based on their ethnic group membership over which they have no say. As a result, they are not able to reconcile their ethnic identity with their personal identity and may feel resentment towards their ethnicity in the process.

Ethnic Identity

As this thesis is looking at the formation of a Māori ethnic identity, this part of the chapter will look at ethnic identity development in order to understand difficulties that people encounter when developing their ethnic identity. The concept of ethnic identity is “meaningful only in situations in which two or more ethnic groups are in contact over a period of time. In an ethnically or racially homogenous society, ethnic identity is a virtually meaningless concept” (Phinney, 1990:501). Ethnic identity is influenced by social context and external factors. Membership of a larger ethnic group and constant interaction with other ethnic groups mean that the content and boundaries of ethnicity are in continual flux and subject to renegotiation and redefinition. Accordingly, “ethnic identity development is an evolving process that refers to individual changes over time in identification, attitudes, values, and behavior through contact with different cultures” (Yeh & Hwang, 2000:423).

Defining what identity is can be difficult enough, so it is not really surprising that attempting to define what an ethnic identity is can be just as complex. Leading researchers in the area of ethnic identity, particularly in the fields of psychology, sociology and anthropology have provided descriptions of ethnic identity in varying degrees as it relates to their work. It has been described as “an enduring, fundamental aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership” (Phinney, 1996:922).

Ethnic identity is also:

a template that is used to develop knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about a person’s own ethnic group (all persons have an ethnic identity); works as a cognitive, information-processing framework within which a person perceives and defines objects, situations, events, and other people; and provides a basis for a person’s behaviour. (Yeh & Hwang, 2000:420)

As explained above all people have an ethnic identity, however, the question remains as to the

relevance of that ethnic group membership in that person's life and the value attached to that membership by people internal and external to that group.

Researchers in this area differ in their opinions on the components that constitute one's ethnic identity and the importance that should be attached to each. According to Dressler et al (2005 in (Viladrich & Loue, 2009), there are three main categories that can be said to contribute to one's ethnic identity. The first is a shared belief system in terms of language, marriage rituals and supernatural forces, for example. The second is shared ancestry which includes kinship with others tied to a particular geographical location and associated historical accounts. The third is the labelling of groups within this ethnic group by recognising the self in relation to others (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:3). Further to this, Phinney (1990) also concurs that ethnic identity development and understanding who we are as individuals is constructed socially through an awareness of how we relate to, are part of, and negotiate with other people, cultures, and social institutions. The components of a person's ethnic identity at a given point in time are a combination of various factors. These factors include self-identification, which is derived from the knowledge of descent-based membership of an ethnic group, a sense of belonging and emotional attachment to that ethnic group, and having a shared set of values and belief systems. Further to this, cultural aspects such as language, cultural competency and knowledge of the group's history are also deemed important aspects of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990:500).

Although not always the case, the term ethnic is often synonymous with being a member of a minority grouping. Researchers who study ethnic identity development are thus also concerned with minority identity development and the consequences of minority group membership. Minority groups are described as:

sub-groups within a culture which are distinguishable from the dominant group by reasons of differences in physiology, language, customs, or culture patterns (including any combination of these factors). Such sub-groups are regarded as inherently different and not belonging to the dominant groups; for this reason they are consciously or unconsciously excluded from full participation in the life of the culture ... Some minorities are physically different but culturally similar with respect to the majority ... others are culturally different but physically similar ... and still others are both culturally and physically different ... The cultural and/or physical differences between majority and minority actually may be so minute as to make it impossible to detect by simple observation who is a member of the minority and who is a member of the majority. (Schermerhorn, 1949 in (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:2).

To be a member of the minority culture means that an imbalance of power exists. There is also a lack of control over the social, political and economic welfare of the minority group. A member of an ethnic minority group is often judged by others based on the characteristics and actions of the entire ethnic population, even if they do not agree with those actions or display those characteristics. Conscious ethnic identity development shapes individuals' attitudes about themselves and others both within and outside of their ethnic group and attempts to dispel myths of cultural conformity.

It has also been suggested that members of an ethnic minority "may internalize the negative views of the dominant society [about their ethnic group], thereby developing a negative identity and self-hatred" (Phinney, 1989:34). According to Tajfel (1978 in Phinney, 1989:34) they can either choose to accept these negative views or reject them in their search for their identity. Successful ethnic identity is not automatic just because someone is a member of an ethnic group. For whatever reason barriers to ethnic minority identity integration can happen at all levels of development and can be put in place by the individual themselves, their family, or existing social structures. A feature of this thesis is the level of support each of the participants were given during the time they were formulating their Māori identity.

The inability and/or unwillingness of parents to address racial/ethnic issues with their children may present a barrier to successful ethnic identity integration (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). As a result, the individuals may have no or limited access to role models who have been able to integrate ethnic identity successfully. (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:11)

There may be reasons why parents choose not to raise their children in an ethnically conscious way, particularly if they have migrated from the country or an area where their ethnic group is the majority. As can be seen from the first part of this thesis the Māori parents were cognisant of the non-Māori parents' ethnicity and extended family members that their children were raised in. They were also aware of the Pākehā community that their children were being raised in and the need for them to be able to operate in this world. One migrant had an unhappy childhood that he did not want to expose his children too. Without the continual presence of the Māori parents' *whānau* in their children's lives it then became their sole responsibility to contribute to the development of their children's Māori identity which they were not necessarily able to do.

Ethnic/Minority Identity Development

A number of studies have been conducted across a variety of ethnic groups which look at how members of that group develop an ethnic identity when living as a member of a minority community. According to a review conducted by Jean Phinney (1990) of 70 articles published in refereed journals since 1972 that focused on studies of ethnic identity, ethnic identity development fell into three theoretical frameworks: "social identity theory, as studied by social psychologists; acculturation and culture conflict, as studied by social psychologists, sociologists, or anthropologists; and identity formation, drawn from psychoanalytic views and from developmental and counselling psychology" (Phinney, 1990:501). Social identity theory has already been described earlier in this chapter. The following discussion will look at the second and third frameworks described by Phinney.

Acculturation

Acculturation occurs when two or more distinct ethnic groups are in contact with one another over a period of time. It “deals broadly with changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures” (Phinney, 1990:501). Acculturation is more concerned with changes that happen at a group rather an individual level. Acculturation has taken place in Māori society since European arrival to New Zealand.

Ethnic Identity Development Models

An ethnic identity formation framework follows a departmental stage model based on a series of conflicts that must be resolved. These models are based around the work of Erikson (1968), who theorised that “identity formation takes place through a process of exploration and commitment that typically occurs during adolescence and that leads eventually to a commitment or decision in important identity domains” (Roberts, et al., 1999:303). Many of the identity development models conceptualised by researchers in this area have developed from Erikson and are concerned with contextualising events that occur over a life-span. These events are then categorised into certain developmental phases. Erikson has been credited:

with drawing attention specifically to identity as a psychological construct defining ‘it’ as a more or less integrated set of self-understandings learned during childhood, consolidated during adolescence and ideally resolved by the time individuals had reached their adult years. The content of identity as an object of examination, he suggested, was the person’s answer to the question ‘Who am I’ (self definitions) and ‘What does it mean to be ‘me’ as a member of society’ (self-descriptions and evaluations). (Houkamau, 2006:24)

Adolescence is a critical period in one’s life and many physiological changes are also taking place. It is also the point in one’s life where they are beginning to question the boundaries within which they are developing. Ethnic identity development only adds to the confusion and can have a psychological impact on the person if there are little or no support systems in place to guide this

part of the person's identity development.

One of the most well-known ethnic identity developmental models is Cross's model of black identity development. In this instance "black is defined as a psychological connection with one's racial group rather than mere identification of the colour of one's skin" (Robinson, 1999:389). This model suggests that a person belonging to the black minority ethnic group goes through four stages during the development of their ethnic identity as a member of the minority social grouping. In the *pre-encounter* stage the person is likely to see the world from a Eurocentric point of view and have accepted and internalised a pro-white/anti-black attitude. During the *encounter* stage it is assumed that the person will endure a social event, usually involving some type of racial prejudice, which will make them receptive to developing new views of being black. By personalising this event they will realise that their old frame of reference from the pre-encounter stage is unsuitable and they will begin to explore their black identity. They begin to test the validity of their new perceptions before definitively deciding to adopt a black identity. The third stage, *immersion/emersion*, is a transitional period where the person struggles to deal with the personal implications of their newfound black identity. They begin to withdraw from interactions with the white culture and immerse themselves in the black culture. The fourth stage, *internationalisation*, is characterised by the fact that the person has found security in their blackness and is able to move towards a pluralistic perspective whilst still using blackness as their primary reference group (Robinson, 1999:389). Cross's research was conducted amongst African-Americans during the civil rights period and the model pertains specifically to this group of people, however, it has been suggested that the experiences of other minority cultures are similar (Robinson, 1999:390).

Morten and Atkinson adapted Cross's model into what they called the Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (R/CIDM). It encompasses shared experiences of oppression among various minority groups and integrates the basic principles of previous research done in this area. The Minority Identity Development Model also attempts to track this progression of ethnic identity development over a person's lifespan. During the first stage, *conformity*, the person has a preference for the values of the dominant culture. They are also discriminatory towards members of the minority group. The second stage, *dissonance*, is typically characterised by confusion and a growing internal conflict between the dominant and minority cultural systems. They still hold on to the dominant view but are also experiencing shared experiences with their minority group. *Resistance and immersion* is the next stage where the person develops an appreciation of themselves and their minority group and shows empathy towards other minority experiences. They begin to actively reject the dominant system and accept the minority group's cultural traditions and customs. *Introspection*, the fourth stage, is where the person becomes pre-occupied with rejecting the dominant culture and completely accepting of the minority culture, however, they also begin to question the values of both systems. The final stage, *synergistic articulation and awareness*, is where the person is appreciative of their own and other minority groups and they are also selectively appreciative of the dominant group. They have resolved the internal conflicts that occurred in the previous stages and have developed a cultural identity that selects elements from both systems (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:7-8).

In order to simplify the discussion for this process Gay (1985) has reworked Cross's five stage model into a three stage model. *Pre-encounter* is the initial stage where the person is unaware of their ethnic identity. Their "knowledge of ethnicity has not been systematically incorporated into his or her reasoning, valuing, and feeling structures. It does not shape attitudes and behaviors in

conscious and deliberate ways” (Gay, 1985:44). This is most often experienced by young children. They may also unconsciously subscribe to the values and the ideals of the dominant culture and use the majority culture to measure their own ethnic group against. During the *encounter* stage the individual experiences an event that causes them to begin questioning their ethnic self and group. This may take the form of verbal or physical assault based on ethnic grounds. This stage also involves their reaction to this event and subsequent response, such as a huge shift to a pro-Black/anti-White mentality. In essence the person has lost their pre-encounter “ethnic innocence” (Gay, 1985:46). Once their fury over this event has tempered they start to reincorporate aspects of the White culture back into their lives. The *post-encounter* stage is where conflicts between the two worlds the person lives in, their membership as an ethnic minority and their place in the dominant society have been resolved. Their renewed confidence in their ethnicity has allowed them to once again embrace the ‘other’ and negotiate the differences between the two (Gay, 1985:44-50).

All three models show that identity is constructed as a result of a sequence of events, conflicts and realisations that have occurred over the individual’s lifetime. Each event has contributed to helping that person attempt to define who they are at a given point in time. It is assumed that early in the person’s life they are unaware of their ethnic identity and this may be as a result of not having been socialised in the home environment to be aware of it. These models were developed from research involving a minority ethnic culture. Because the children are raised within a dominant society their frame of reference is usually from a white or Eurocentric point of view. This may contribute to their lack of understanding of their ethnic identity at such a young age. All three models agree that at some point the person will encounter an event or be presented with a situation that will cause them to question their ethnic selves. Confusion sets in and they

struggle to resolve the conflict between their minority self and their dominant world view that they have been raised in. They switch from the dominant view, and become immersed in their ethnic selves until, finally, they resolve the inner conflict and accept aspects of both cultures.

The three minority identity models presented here and others like them (see Phinney, 1989 and Ruiz, 1990) assume several factors that are not necessarily true of the participants interviewed for this research. One of the major flaws of these models for this research is that they assume the person is of a single ethnic group. All of the participants interviewed for this part of the thesis have one Māori parent and one Pākehā parent and as such have two distinctly different ethnic backgrounds, both culturally and linguistically, that they must negotiate. As the participants all have a Māori parent, Māori being a minority culture in New Zealand, and a Pākehā parent, the dominant culture in New Zealand, they are therefore members of both the minority and dominant cultures. This racial mixing has been unaccounted for in the three models presented thus far.

The models suggest that there must first be a rejection of the minority culture and then the dominant culture and that one or the other is chosen at different stages of development. “Self-fulfilment according to these models is based on integrating one racial/ethnic identity and accepting others; it does not include recognizing multiple ethnic identities” (Poston, 1990:152-3). As the models assume that the individual is only of the minority culture, there is no allowance until the final stage of the model for an integration of both cultures. It is possible that for people who are of ‘mixed ethnicities’, particularly when they are a member of the dominant culture, that there is no rejection of either ethnic identities. It is still possible that one or the other of their ethnic identities may be more prominent at different times throughout the person’s life, but it does not mean that either is rejected. The models also require acceptance into the minority

culture. Ethnic communities rely on active participation in community affairs for that person's claim to their ethnic identity and membership in that group to be validated. However, many people of mixed parentage do not always experience acceptance by either of their ethnicities (Poston, 1990:153).

These models also assume that the person must experience an identity crisis that will lead to a period of exploration before they develop an achieved ethnic identity. During the post-crisis stage the person will reject the dominant culture and focus solely on the minority culture. The models do not allow for the chance that there may in fact be a complete rejection of the minority culture and that the person may choose to do so for fear of facing continual racial prejudice. There is also an assumption that problems associated with ethnic identity are located solely within the individual when in fact a number of the events they encounter, and are forced to respond to, are externally driven.

Although people of more than one ethnic background may encounter some of the events and experience some of the stages explained in the three models presented, their journey towards their ethnic identity development cannot be measured solely against them. They have two ethnic identities they must negotiate, which causes a great deal of confusion as they may feel more one than the other but be judged by others solely on the other. The following discussion will look at the ways in which people develop their biracial or multi-ethnic identity and the difficulties they encounter in doing so.

Biracial/Multi-Ethnic Identity Development

Of the number of studies conducted on and the literature available about ethnic identity, only a

few scholars have addressed the issue of multi-ethnic identity development in recent years (Viladrich & Loue, 2009:10). The increasing interest is due to demographic trends which indicate a growing number of mixed-parentage people who fall outside the models and definitions presented thus far. A person in such a position has been described as someone who is 'marginal' and living on the fringes of both ethnic groups.

The lives of children from ethnically and racially mixed marriages are often described as being full of uncertainty, confusion, and tragedy. They face all kinds of social and psychological tensions and conflicts-identity problems in particular. According to Stonequist (1935), their position is typically marginal and problematic. These children do not really belong to their mother or father's ethnic or racial group, and neither community is prepared to fully accept them. They live in a situation of permanent conflict and remain insecure in their ethnic or racial identity...A singular identity is seen as the only healthy response for these children...which in reality comes down to a committed choice for the minority or low-status identity. (Verkuyten, 2005:169)

Much of the research conducted around biracial or multi-ethnic people uses a deficit model approach and implies that these people are under a significant amount of stress caused by conflicting parental values during the development of their multi-ethnic identity (Ward, 2005:244). However, further studies have shown that "children from ethnically mixed marriages would be better equipped to function in different situations and to take the demands and requirements of both groups into consideration" (Verkuyten, 2005:169). Successful negotiation between two ethnic groups is difficult and confusing and often these people have problems coming to terms with an ethnic identity that satisfies the demands of both. But if this process can be managed appropriately and the necessary support is provided to these people then the outcome will be positive for those concerned.

It has often been surmised that someone who is of mixed parentage, for example, someone who has one black parent and one white parent, should associate themselves more closely with the black parent. The justification for such an idea "is that society sees them as black and they will be better off if that is their self perceived identity" (Robinson, 1999:391). This is akin to the 'one

drop rule' whereby a single drop of black blood makes a person black. The 'one drop rule' was a significant concept employed by researchers amongst African-American people (Bowles, 1993:417). The reality of this situation is that these people are neither solely black nor white and as such have different cultural and developmental factors that must be taken into consideration.

The ethnic identity development models presented earlier in this chapter are flawed when it comes to dealing with people of multi-ethnic backgrounds. As a result Poston (1990) has developed a Biracial Identity Development Model (BIDM) that focuses on the uniqueness of biracial identity. During the initial phase, *personal identity*, the person is young and is often independent of their ethnic background. They have established a sense of who they are, and although they may be aware of race and ethnicity, they may only just be beginning to identify themselves as a member of an ethnic group. As the person develops they are required to make a *choice of a group categorisation*, the second stage of Poston's model. At this stage the individual is pushed to make a choice of one ethnic group, usually as a result of societal pressures. This may be a period of crisis for the person and they can choose either to become multicultural, thereby acknowledging and accepting the ethnic backgrounds of both parents as equal, or they can choose one parent's ethnicity to be dominant over the other. If they have made a choice of only one ethnic group the person may be consumed by guilt or may feel anger at having to make such a decision. During this *enmeshment/denial* stage they may feel that their choice is not necessarily reflective of their upbringing. Eventually the individual must come to terms with their decision and resolve their guilt and learn to value both parents' cultures. The fourth stage, *appreciation*, indicates that the person has come to appreciate their multiple identities and feels no remorse towards their decision. They may still identify more strongly with one ethnicity over the other but the decision to do so does not mean that they feel less emotional attachment to the

other. The final stage, *integration*, shows that the individual is accepting of all their ethnic identities and recognises the value of them all. The person has developed a secure and integrated identity (Poston, 1990:153-4).

This model differs from those presented earlier in the chapter in that it “underscores the uniqueness of biracial identity development” (Poston, 1990:152). It shows that the developmental identity process people of mixed parentage undertake is not as straightforward as the other models presume. There is no presumed crisis that the person must encounter and neither must there be a rejection of any of their ethnic backgrounds before there is acceptance of them. Poston’s biracial model allows for both or all ethnicities to be considered in the multi-ethnic development of the individual.

Just like any identity development model, Poston’s BIDM is not without its assumptions and raises several issues of importance.

- (1) biracial individuals might tend to have identity problems when they internalize outside prejudice and values (i.e., RGO [reference group orientation] having an impact on self-esteem);
- (2) numerous factors influence individuals’ identity choice (e.g., family and peer influences);
- (3) biracial individuals may experience alienation at the choice phase and make a choice, even if they are uncomfortable with it;
- (4) the choice of one identity over another at the choice phase and the resultant denial can be associated with feelings of guilt and disloyalty;
- (5) integration is important and is associated with positive indicators of mental health; and
- (6) the most difficult time of adjustment and identity confusion is during the choice phase and the enmeshment/denial phase, when PI [personal identity] indicators might be most affected by RGO attitudes (Poston, 1990:154)

There are important familial factors that also determine how these identities are adopted and when they appear. The influence of the immediate and extended family is pivotal in successfully contributing to a healthy and positive ethnic identity and this includes the contribution of the non-minority/white spouse. The guilt associated during the choice phase is a key reason for people to

acknowledge their multiple ethnic backgrounds. However, the importance of a person's multiple ethnicities, particularly in the face of social pressures to conform to certain ethnical norms, and whether mere acknowledgment of those ethnicities is enough to satisfy the ethnic group's demands of membership, will be investigated further.

Conclusion

Ko wai au? (Who am I?) is clearly not an easy question to answer. This chapter has looked at identity as a construct that is not automatically given to people but is something that every person has to mould, create, develop and adapt at different points in their lives. Identity is not about what makes each person unique but is more focused on what makes us similar and different to other people. Each person can claim membership in a number of groups based on attributes of what we have in common, for example, religion, gender, class and ethnicity, as we mark ourselves as different from people who are not part of those groups. In this way identity can be seen to be socially constructed. Social identity theory posits that by being a member of a social group people develop a self-esteem and pride based on group membership. A person's individual identity is based on personality attributes that are unique to that person, but these attributes are often framed within social group processes. As a consequence of the different roles we play in society and the number of social groups we are members of, we develop multiple identities that are presented and re-presented in differing ways for a variety of social events. These identities are not distinct from one another and they allow us to adapt ourselves depending on the situations we find ourselves in and the other people involved.

An important aspect of social identity, in relation to this thesis, is ethnic group membership. Much of the research conducted around this topic has involved mono-ethnic groups living as a

minority. The models formulated to help explain ethnic identity development are useful for people in these positions and have raised some very interesting issues for this research, particularly the relationship between the dominant and minority cultures. However, a model that focuses on bi-racial/multi-ethnic identity development model could be more applicable for the participants in this research. Although people from mixed marriages encounter problems faced by most minority ethnic group members, the difficulty lies in reconciling the ethnic backgrounds of both parents. A positive bi-racial/multi-ethnic identity must take into consideration both or all of their ethnic parts.

A key feature of Māori ethnic identity development is that although Māori are a minority culture they are also in a unique position compared to other ethnic groups studied in that they are the Indigenous or First People of New Zealand. As a consequence of their minority status Māori identity has been marginalised and the ability of Māori to conduct their own affairs, according to their own traditions and processes, has been severely hindered. The formation of a Māori identity is socially constructed and is similar to the social identity theory presented in this chapter. Māori identity revolves around the characteristics of a collective group and members derive a sense of pride from this. The following chapter will look at aspects of Māori identity and some of the key cultural indicators people have determined are the most significant contributors to a secure Māori identity.

Chapter 6

He Māori au, ko au he Māori – Māori Identity

Being Māori is hard, being Māori is sad, being Māori is to laugh, being Māori is to cry, being Māori is forever. (Walker, 1993:236)

Introduction

Māori identity has traditionally been centred on belonging to a wider collective of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* groupings. It was also about having a connection to the land in which one has *tūrangawaewae* (descent-based affiliation to an area), a practised ability in the Māori language and customs, and historical, ancestral and mythological tribal knowledge. This information was transmitted from one generation to the next and these cultural markers of Māori identity, amongst others, are still seen as core components of contemporary Māori identity. This chapter will present an analysis of a variety of different research findings that have been conducted in the field of Māori cultural identity, in order to extract those elements that are deemed to be the most significant contributors to Māori identity. It will then examine some of the key cultural indicators in order to highlight their importance to a Māori cultural identity.

Māori

The term ‘Māori’ as a proper noun is used to describe the Indigenous people who inhabited New Zealand at the time of European arrival. Historically, Māori were never defined as such as the term *māori* was used as an adjective to show the normalcy of something and to distinguish from those things that had special characteristics (Williams, 1971:179). For example, *wai māori* was used to describe fresh water as opposed to *wai tai* or salty water and *tangata māori* was used to illustrate the difference between a person or a human and other supernatural beings. The term *māori* was also used to show that something was free from the restrictions of ceremonial duty or

that something was native to New Zealand (Williams, 1971:179).

Legal definitions of who can claim to be 'Māori' have co-existed in varying statutes. The Māori Affairs Act 1953, the Māori Trustee Act 1953 and the Māori Adoption Act 1955 all defined Māori as being "a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand, including half-caste and a person intermediate between half-castes and a person of pure descent from that race" (Hunn, 1961:85). The Electoral Act 1956 chose to define Māori in three ways: those who were more than half Māori (who must enrol on the Māori roll), those who were less than half Māori (who must enrol on the European roll) and half-castes (who were allowed to choose between the two rolls) (Metge, 1976:41). Those of less than half descent but who were brought up as Māori, those who found Māori ways more congenial to their lifestyle, or those who were treated as Māori by others were essentially alienated by these various acts from the people who fell into the legal category of being a Māori as defined by this Act.

In direct contrast to these definitions, the Māori community has always accepted as a member of their community anyone who has a Māori ancestor, no matter how distant that ancestor may be, and chooses to acknowledge that part of their ethnicity. An emphasis has always been placed on *whakapapa*, or genealogical descent from a Māori person, and in Māori social situations there were no distinctions made between full-blood Māori and those of mixed descent. This is congruent with definitions as given in the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, the Māori Housing Act 1935, the Māori Purposes Fund Act 1934-35, the Māori Soldiers Trust Act 1957, the Māori Trust Boards Act 1955, and the Ngarimu V. C. and 28th (Māori) Battalion Memorial Scholarship Fund Act 1945. These Acts all define Māori as "a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand, and includes a person descended from a Maori" (Hunn, 1961:85-

6). The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 rewrote its definition of Māori to mean “a person of the Māori race of New Zealand; and includes any descendant of that person” (Pool, 1991:17) which shows a more expansive definition of what constitutes a Māori person than previous Acts had allowed. Although not explicitly mentioned in these definitions, *whakapapa* is a necessary prerequisite for someone to be able to identify as Māori.

The contemporary use of the term ‘Māori’ as a proper noun introduced ethnic and racial differences in New Zealand and only came into existence in opposition to those considered not ‘Māori’. Its use was popularised to show that there was a distinct cultural and linguistic difference between the Indigenous people of New Zealand, who considered themselves *māori* or normal, and those early European settlers who were not. However, as interracial marriages between Māori and Pākehā became more prolific, these differences started to become blurred. Māori society has reached a point where a non-Māori ancestor, grandparent or parent, infiltrates every *whakapapa*, but this non-Māori ancestry has varying degrees of influence on each person’s ethnic identification and cultural upbringing. The mix of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds has often led to a blending or a complete abandonment of certain Māori cultural activities. In an effort to distinguish those practices or traits that are distinctively Māori, a number of studies were conducted in the mid-twentieth century to show the key components of Māori cultural identity.

Māori Cultural Identity

In reaction to the growing assimilatory pressures of European culture and values on Māori society, Sir James Carroll, at a meeting in 1920, urged upon those in attendance to hold fast to their ‘Māoritanga’. What the word ‘Māoritanga’ encompassed was a little ambiguous at the time,

but it is generally thought to include “those elements of traditional Maori expression which are considered to reveal the essential nature of Māori culture” (Ritchie, 1963:37). The term has also been investigated by Metge (1967) and interpreted in two ways: “concretely for ‘Maori ways’, and more abstractly for ‘pride in being Maori’, which involves the practice and valuing of Maori ways” (Metge, 1967:59). Sir Apirana Ngata (1940) has also provided his own interpretation of the term:

It means an emphasis on the continuing individuality of the Maori people, the maintenance of such Maori characteristics and such features of Maori culture as present day circumstances will permit, the inculcation of pride in Maori history and traditions, the retention so far as possible of old-time ceremonial, the continuous attempt to interpret the Maori point of view to the *pakeha* in power. (Ngata, 1940:176)

‘Māoritanga’ seems to have been coined in an attempt to draw a cultural distinction between Māori and Pākehā, to ensure that the core values of Māori culture remained an integral part of Māori society and its members, and to instil pride and confidence in being Māori so as to avoid complete assimilation. It perhaps reflects concerns of those Māori, such as Ngata, who stood between both worlds and were anxious to retain their identity in what was a changing world in the early part of the twentieth century. Ngata also had the vision to realise the situational importance of certain aspects of the Māori culture thereby recognising it as something dynamic, fluid and flexible. The development and use of the term ‘Māoritanga’ was not something intended to preserve elements of a bygone era in a way that restricted its development. As with any culture, Māori society has and is still continually changing: discarding elements that are no longer useful, modifying those that are still required or adopting new ones that are needed (Metge, 1967:60). It became a useful term for subsequent authors on which to peg various notions and definitions of Māori cultural identity through the ensuing decades.

As a result of the popularisation of the term ‘Māoritanga’, a number of researchers and

authorities on Māori culture attempted to list the key components of Māori culture as they saw them to be at the time of their research. Ngata provides a list of eight key aspects of Māoritanga.

They include:

- a. knowledge of the Maori language;
- b. the sayings of the ancestors;
- c. traditional chant-songs;
- d. posture dances;
- e. decorative art;
- f. the traditional Maori house and marae;
- g. the body of marae custom, particularly that pertaining to the tangi and the traditional welcome;
- h. the retention of the prestige and nobility of the Maori people. (Ritchie, 1963:37)

Ngata created this list in 1931 when these were still key components of many Māori people's everyday life. Having grown up within the traditional teachings of his tribe, they were also attributes that Ngata possessed and what he most likely saw were at risk of succumbing to the pressures of increasing cultural assimilation. Of the eight components listed above only one (the retention of the prestige and nobility of the Māori people) describes a feeling of pride in being Māori.

James Ritchie (1963), in his study on a Māori community in the central North Island, concluded that within that community only items a, g, and h from Ngata's list above were found to be active components of that particular area. He devised a list of twenty items which was then scaled down to ten, in order to survey the degree of 'Māoriness' of 45 heads of households. This 'Māoriness' scale included:

- a. blood (three-quarters or more Maori);
- b. visits marae often;
- c. would use the services of a tohunga [priestly expert];
- d. uses a Maori name;
- e. conversational Maori better than fair;
- f. Maori is home language half or more of the time;
- g. can name traditional canoe;
- h. can name tribal and hapu affiliations;

- i. can name meeting-house;
- j. lives in a pa. (Ritchie, 1963:39)

Ritchie acknowledges that the items used for his scale are limited in that they are only a selection of the varying characteristics that are able to be used to define one's 'Māoriness'. The scale used by Ritchie does not incorporate any intrinsic feelings towards one's Māoriness but there does seem to be that level of pride circulating through the community as he claims that "the simplest way to describe the remaining Maori features of the Rakau community would be to say that its people exhibit greater belief in their membership of a distinctive national minority than seems objectively warranted" (Ritchie, 1963:41). Measuring the degree to which someone feels Māori is an unquantifiable task and has been excluded from this study.

Joan Metge (1967) uses her fieldwork observations conducted in Kotare (a Māori community in Northland), Auckland and other parts of New Zealand from 1953 to 1965 to provide an even more expansive list of those components of one's Māoritanga:

- a. the use of the Maori language;
- b. a special attachment to the land and community of one's ancestors;
- c. tracing connections with and honouring obligations to a large circle of kinsfolk;
- d. the recognition of descent as a determinant of social status and of membership in a series of segmentary descent-groups (tribe, sub-tribe and large family);
- e. the institution of the *marae* (Maori social centre);
- f. the holding of *hui* (large-scale gatherings), of which the most important is the *tangihanga* (funeral wake);
- g. belief in *tapu*, *mana* [prestige, authority, control, power] and *mākutu* (sorcery);
- h. Maori ceremonial forms;
- i. a knowledge of Maori history and genealogies;
- j. Maori arts and crafts, including oratory (*whaikōrero*);
- k. Maori methods of organization and decision-making;
- l. emphasis on the virtues of generosity, sociability and co-operativeness;
- m. delight in doing things in groups;
- n. concentration of interest on the present rather than the future;
- o. a happy-go-lucky attitude to time and money;
- p. a preference for certain foods ('Maori *kai*') of post- as well as pre-European origin;
- q. loyalty to other Maoris, especially kinsfolk and fellow tribesmen. (Metge, 1967:59-60)

Unlike Ritchie's research, Metge did not attempt to survey a person's 'Māoriness'. Rather the

list was designed to show the aspects of Māori culture that are not shared by Pākehā in New Zealand. These items are what Metge concluded at the time to be the most distinctive aspects of Māori culture based on her observations and conversations with Māori during her fieldwork (Metge, 1967:58-9). Not all the things listed are important features of every Māori person's life. Where some will embrace wholeheartedly Māori cultural and linguistic nuances in their lifestyle there are a number who do not. Some will fulfil their cultural obligations whereas others will reject them. Unlike Ritchie, Metge acknowledges the varying degrees to which individuals place value on these things but concludes that the majority still cherish their identity as Māori (Metge, 1967:61).

Rose Pere (1979) uses the leaves of the *parapara* tree to represent her Māoritanga. This particular tree produces a cluster of five leaves that lead into a single stem, which Pere symbolises as herself. Each of these leaves represent things that are influential in Pere's life and those things that she believed should be essential in other Māori people's lives.

- a. Spirituality – a divine existence that cannot be seen but has the power to govern;
- b. Ancestral ties – determinants of one's physical and psychological existence and heritage;
- c. Kinship ties – sharing of ancestral and historical ties;
- d. Humanity – the social development of the person and the qualities that are important in human relationships;
- e. Papatuanuku – connection with the land and rituals associated with it. (Pere, 1979:25)

Spirituality not only refers to those who live by a Christian doctrine but to members of all different religions. Accordingly, there is the presence of respect, understanding and appreciation of the guidance and protection provided by one's spiritual belief (Pere, 1979:23-24). Ancestral ties encompass genealogical information and the traditions passed on from one's ancestors including language, and the ability to understand social institutions. Humanity describes the strong sense of community participation to realise potential. Papa-tū-ā-nuku is symbolic of the

importance of the landscape and geographical landmarks in providing her with a strong sense of identity as a Tūhoe person. Although not explicit in Pere's list, included within the symbolisation of this final leaf is the *tangihanga* or funeral rite symbolic of the person's return to Papa-tū-ā-nuku upon their death (Pere, 1979:25).

Arohia Durie (1997), in discussing Māori well-being and development and the factors involved in the formation of a Māori identity, provides a list of features that are distinguishably Māori. This list includes:

- a. knowledge of ancestry (whakapapa);
- b. knowledge of mātua tīpuna [principal ancestor];
- c. knowledge of connections to whānau, hapū and iwi;
- d. connections to tūrangawaewae;
- e. acknowledgements by iwi, hapū and whānau of reciprocal kinship connections;
- f. shareholdings in Māori land;
- g. upbringing;
- h. facility with te reo Māori [the Māori language];
- i. understanding of tikanga-ā-iwi [tribal customs];
- j. active participation in Māori organisations;
- k. commitment to fostering Māori advancement;
- l. freedom of choice. (Durie, 1997:159)

Durie acknowledges that all or a combination of some of these features can be found amongst individuals in describing components of their Māori identity and that "individuals may meet all of these criteria but exercise their freedom of choice by choosing not to identify as Māori" (Durie, 1997:159). The list above includes attributes of Māoritanga contained in other lists presented in this chapter. The inclusion of "freedom of choice" in this list shows that the ethnic identification of an individual is not necessarily the determining factor in one's identity formation development but that the cultural upbringing of each individual is significant in determining their identity and whether they choose to acknowledge their Māori ethnicity or not.

The Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team, located at Massey University, aimed to show how Māori

cultural identity based on a set of cultural indicators could potentially be measured and highlighted its usefulness within a statistical framework (Stevenson, 2004:37). In doing so they used seven Māori cultural indicators to conduct their research:

- a. self-identification (Do you identify as Māori?);
- b. whakapapa (ancestry) (How many generations of your Māori ancestry can you name?);
- c. marae participation (Have you ever been to a marae (if yes) – how often over the past 12 months?);
- d. whānau associations (extended family) (In terms of your involvement with your whānau, would you say that your whānau plays a very large/large/small/very small part in your life?);
- e. whenua tipu (ancestral land) (Do you have financial interest in Māori land?);
- f. contacts with Māori people (In general, would you say that your contacts are with mainly/some/few/no Māori?);
- g. Māori language (How would you rate your overall ability with Māori language?). (Stevenson, 2004:39-40)

According to the study, it was important to use a series of specific cultural indicators to measure cultural identity rather than simply asking the question “Are you Māori?” as this does not measure the degree to which someone actively engages with their Māori identity. It was also preferred over the difficulty of measuring everything within *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), including tribal specific indicators, which would have produced ineffective statistical measurements (Stevenson, 2004:39). These items were chosen because they were believed to be behaviours common only to Māori and aspects of Māori identity shared by most Māori. This study intended to measure how much a particular person was involved and actively participated in *te ao Māori* at the time the research was conducted rather than a measure of who that person is (Stevenson, 2004:37).

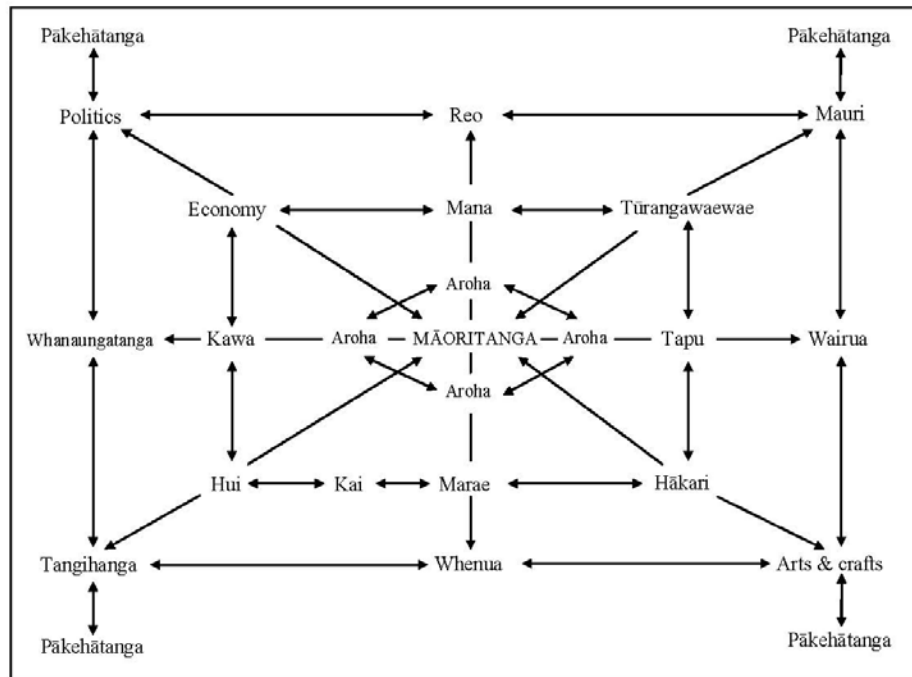
A significant outcome of the research, which involved 650 adult Māori responses gathered between 1997 and 2000 as part of an earlier study, was the construction of four cultural identity profiles. These profiles include: secure identity, positive identity, notional identity and compromised identity (Stevenson, 2004:40).

Those Māori with a secure identity tend to have good access to Māori language, Māori land, whānau and other elements of the Māori world. They tend to send their children to kōhanga reo and subscribe to Māori values. Māori with a positive MCI [Māori Cultural Identity], while having a strong sense of being Māori, do not have good access to Māori cultural and social resources. While their cultural identity is positive, they have been relatively estranged from the Māori world. The third group has a notional cultural identity in that they describe themselves as Māori but do not have any contact at all with te ao Māori. A fourth (very small) group show features of a compromised identity – they do not actually describe themselves as Māori although they may have quite good access to the Māori world. (Stevenson, 2004:40)

These profiles are significant in showing the extent to which someone is involved in *te ao Māori* according to the cultural indicators used. They allow for significant variations to exist and show the importance of the accessibility of these cultural indicators in the formation of Māori identity. However, this case study does not show how people, in the absence of these cultural indicators, may have substituted other social institutions or placed a greater importance on other cultural indicators to develop a Māori identity.

Ignoring tribal specificities, John Rangihau (Ngāi Tūhoe) created a diagrammatic representation of a Māori world-view. The model locates one's Māoritanga at the centre surrounded by common Māori concepts and social institutions important to sustain one's Māoritanga.

Figure 8. Rangihau Model



Source: (Rangihau, nd:5)

Many of the terms included in the model above have also been included in the lists provided earlier in this chapter. This model provides a visual representation to show how each of these things are interconnected. An interesting feature of this model is that it realises that western influences, or Pākehātanga, will exert pressure on everything that is included in this model (Rangihau, nd:12).

Cultural practices which form the basis of one's Māoritanga appear to be fundamental to the socialisation of a healthy Māori identity. Durie explains that:

Any person wishing to identify themselves through their Māori ancestry is surely Māori. How many other elements from Te Ao Māori a person draws on to add to that single critical factor, can only make the identification stronger. As society itself diversifies, so too new factors contribute to Māori identities. The focus remains on cultural identity: who is Māori? What does being Māori mean? And who decides? (Durie, 1997:160)

After analysing the seven lists and Rangihau's diagrammatic representation of a Māori world view presented previously in this chapter the following attributes of Māoritanga or Māori cultural identity are common amongst them all: *whakapapa*, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, land, *marae*, and language. The following section will look briefly at these key cultural markers common to all the literature discussed previously, and their importance in the creation of a stable Māori identity.

Whakapapa

The underlying factor that allows someone to lay claim to a Māori ethnic background is *whakapapa*, being able to prove descent from the original inhabitants of New Zealand prior to European arrival. Māori mythological beginnings stem back to the cosmological creation of the earth through Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. From these two primal parents come a multitude of offspring responsible for the creation of aspects of the natural world with each child acting as an *atua* (ancestor of on-going influence, God) over a certain realm. Included within this formation process is the creation of humankind. For this reason *whakapapa* can be used to show the descent from Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku and their continuing influence.

Through the telling and interpretation of the Māori pantheon, younger generations of Māori, have, from the earliest times, been able to situate themselves within the web of relationships set out in the cosmological narratives. As *whakapapa* is told and retold, the interconnections between the living and the ancestors, the deities and the land becomes clear. From the personification of the pantheon down through eponymous ancestors, the shaping of individual and collective Māori identity is set within the context of the personal, the collective and the total environment. (Durie, 1997:147)

Whakapapa acts as an epistemological template upon which the fundamentals of Māori knowledge is formed (Whitt, Roberts, Norman, & Grieves, 2001:5). As each successive generation is born another layer is added to the *whakapapa*, maintaining the knowledge that prior generations have left behind, whilst at the same time also adding to this vast knowledge pool.

Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the *ira*, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations. Every individual is a beneficiary of two whakapapa lines, the mother's and the father's. Sometimes a child can claim the whakapapa of only one parent. This single whakapapa line is sufficient to define a place within the hapū of that one parent. Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, 'I am Māori.' (Mead, 2003:42)

Whakapapa is also significant in that it is the single thing that links people and place together and is responsible for the organisation of social groupings.

Whānau, hapū and iwi were bound by the common thread of whakapapa. Whakapapa linked the individual to the wider world and guided his or her behaviour within that world. It was the basis of group affiliation and therefore fundamental to social organisation. It was an important determinant in customary land tenure and therefore use rights to tribal resources. Whakapapa set out one's role and place within a hierarchical society, therefore acting as a determining factor in leadership. As a symbol of identity, whakapapa was unsurpassed. It told a person who they were and where they come from, clearly establishing their relationship with those around them and the world in which they lived. (O'Regan, 2001:50)

One's *whakapapa* enables membership into a *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, and prior to European arrival, it was from these kinship-based descent groups that one's cultural identity as a member of those groups was fostered and developed.

Whānau, Hapū and Iwi

Although the term 'Māori' serves as a modern identity marker, historically there was no need to do so as Māori identity was organised around a social framework of kinship-based descent groups. According to O'Regan (2001:46), "the social, political and economic entities which lay at the core of Māori identity throughout New Zealand were the whānau, hapū and iwi". This notion is further explored by Durie:

Classical Māori identity formation posits self-concept as deriving from membership in the kin-group, with the group being the significant societal unit. Identity formation is effectively facilitated within this group. The significant societal units are whānau, hapū and iwi; family, extended family and tribe. Such an approach is in some contrast with Western theoretical perspectives where the primary emphasis is on the characteristics of individuality and a portable identity. (Durie, 1997:149)

The *whānau* is the basic social group within Māori society. The *whānau* comprised of several parent-child families who were related by descent and marriage and spanned across three or four generations (Metge, 1956:16). It is within the *whānau* that individuals managed their day to day lives and worked towards providing the essential supplies needed to maintain the *whānau*. As *whānau* units became too big some of their members would break away and form their own *whānau*.

Over time a number of *whānau* units formed and would unite under the term *hapū*. The *whānau* groups within the *hapū* were linked genealogically and could all trace their ancestry back to a shared eponymous ancestor after whom the *hapū* was named. Whilst most day to day activities occurred through *whānau* operations, *hapū* were called on for larger scale building projects, crop planting and in times of war (Reilly, 2004:63-4). As the *hapū* membership also expanded clusters broke off and formed other *hapū* on nearby land.

The *iwi* was the largest socio-political organisation in pre-European Māori society and consisted of clusters of *hapū*. The *iwi* was named after a common ancestor to whom all of the *hapū* could trace their descent from, and who was usually several generations back. The connections between *hapū* may be loosely formed but *whakapapa* was always recognised when unity was required for political purposes, defence and warfare (Buck, 1966:334). Despite the generational gap that existed between *hapū* before a common ancestor was found, the pull of unity against outside enemies was enough to put their differences aside for the purpose of the tribal collective.

Although there are similarities amongst all *iwi* and *hapū*, each had their own history, *tikanga* and idiosyncrasies that defined it as such and differentiated it from others. Even as the term ‘Māori’

began to take precedence over tribal groupings there have been, and still are, many who derive their identity as being part of a tribal collective rather than under the broader term of ‘Māori’. It is from these tribal mannerisms that people who were/are a part of that *iwi* drew/draw their identity. An eminent leader of the Tūhoe people, John Rangihau, emphasised the importance to him of identifying tribally:

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maori. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared amongst others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history. (Rangihau, 1992:190)

Similarly, leading Māori academic, Hirini Moko Mead, comments on his identity as it is derived from being a member of Ngāti Awa:

There are powerful reasons for identifying as Ngati Awa, and much to be proud of. I emphasise that you can be Ngati Awa wherever you are and that each Ngati Awa person can and should become an ambassador for Ngati Awa and a trustee We have to find a place for everyone who is Ngati Awa in the affairs, and especially in the future, of our *iwi*. We cannot afford to alienate our own people: it is the Pakeha who does that. Our job is to link our people together, to focus them on our *iwi*, and then to work together to guarantee the survival and development of our heritage and of our people. The common link is our Ngati Awatanga by whakapapa and by inheritance. (Mead, 1997:262)

Whilst addressing returning soldiers from war, Sir Apirana Ngata's sentiments of his identity as a person of Ngāti Porou descent also echoed those of Rangihau and Mead:

Having done your job you are free men and can carry on your work for your people. That has been my policy all my life. I do not knuckle under to Bishops or Prime Ministers, I am first of all myself. I am Ngati Porou. (King, 1988:63)

Other prominent Māori leaders also voice similar sentiments of tribal loyalty:

I am first and foremost Tūhoe, secondly I am a Māori, and thirdly I am a Pākehā. I identify as Tūhoe. I cannot speak on behalf of any other tribal group. I speak from the perspective of my own people. So when I am talking to you, I am talking to you as a Tūhoe and what I understand to be Tūhoe means. (Milroy, 2008:185)

Rangihau, Mead, Ngata and Milroy were all brought up entrenched in the teachings, history and language of their respective tribes. Their ethnic identity is derived from their knowledge of, and participation in, the affairs of their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. According to Durie (2003:163), “access to supportive and reliable whānau is a fundamental gateway to te ao Māori...whānau are where the greatest influence on children and adolescents comes from and they are where the adoption of positive lifestyles is possible and where a strong sense of identity is shaped”. They were also raised within the geographical boundaries of their *iwi* and instilled with the knowledge of the surrounding landscape which enhanced their tribal identity and commitment to their *iwi*. The following section will look at Māori attachment to land and its contribution to Māori identity.

Land

In Māori society one does not ask a stranger for their name, but instead locates that person geographically and tribally by asking where they are from. The same occurs in formal situations whereby Māori will introduce themselves by using geographical landmarks to position themselves as a member of a wider collective, before saying their name by using *pepeha* (motto-maxim, tribal sayings). The *pepeha* shows that:

the Maori people had intense emotional and spiritual links with their land, since it provided a sense of belonging, security and sustenance. According to Maori myths and proverbs, land is the original mother who gives birth and sustains life. Land was considered a mystic being, a dear one who both loves and supports. To the Maori people, the land has special meanings and strong emotional ties which the motto-maxim duly reflect. The Maori treats land as a living entity. (Yoon, 1986:57)

The ability to feel this connection on an emotional level is made easier when the person has grown up in their tribal area and sees these geographical landmarks every day. They learn about the significance of these features and places from their parents and their *whānau*, and this information is also valued within the community. One’s tribal identity is enhanced by the

geographical areas and the landmarks that dot the area as they help explain historical events that show the character development of the people who lived there. Māori are bound to these places by *whakapapa* to the ancestors who created the stories and histories, formed the landscape and are also buried there (O'Regan, 2001:51).

Pragmatically, everything that humans need for survival, food, clothing and shelter, comes from the earth and with that comes an inherent right to protect, tend, maintain and care for her for successive generations. Māori mythology states that the first human, Hine-ahu-one, was fashioned from the clay of the earth and life was then breathed into her by Tāne-mahuta (God of the forest). This means that as direct descendants of the earth there is an inextricable link between Māori and the natural environment. It is this genealogical bond that has instilled a sense of environmental identity.

Their bond with the land constitutes an extension of their tribal and personal identity, and it is reflected in song, custom, subsistence, hunting, approaches to healing and birthing, and the rituals associated with death. Human identity is an extension of the environment within which they live; the ancestors are to be found as much in the world around them as in the lives of those long since departed. The essential primary characteristic of indigenous peoples is, therefore, less dependent on colonisation, sovereignty, or a sense of grievance, than on a longstanding relationship with the land, forests, waterways, oceans and air. (Durie, 2005: 11)

A person's identity as an extension of the environment indicates that the two are integral to the existence of each other. It highlights the fact that, in Māori society, a relationship with the land exists in a way that goes beyond mere ownership.

The relationship is not about owning the land and being master of it, to dispose of as the owner sees fit. The land has been handed down the *whakapapa* line from generation to generation and the descendant fortunate enough to inherit the land does not really 'own' it. That person did not buy it. The land cannot be regarded as a personal asset to be traded. (Mead, 2003:273)

Land has always been and continues to be a constant in Māori society and provides someone with a place to locate oneself within this world: it is their *tūrangawaewae*. Residing within one's

tribal area and participating in local affairs, past and current, ensures a continual connection with the land.

Turangawaewae (a standing place for the feet) is the name for this right as a member of the tangata whenua to take part in the decision-making of the tribe on the marae. Any tribe that occupied a particular locality was the tangata whenua for that area.

Thus there grew up in Aotearoa a finely-balanced system of land tenure, with individual rights of land-use being subordinated to the need for maintaining group unity and survival. All the tribal members lived on, worked and defended the land from which they derived their economic, social and political sustenance. In return they all had some say on the marae in how that land was used or disposed of. Land was both the bread of life and an enduring symbol of where they stood in the world. (Asher & Naulls, 1987:7)

Land is one of the most enduring assets in Māori society, but also one of great contestation. Even before the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand and their relentless pursuit of securing land from Māori by whatever means possible, Māori were fighting amongst themselves in order to secure land from others. The fluidity of the land transfer system of pre-European Māori society was rendered ineffective after the arrival of Europeans (Salmond, 1976:33), particularly where/when Māori wanted to maintain control of their lands against the European system of individual land titles. Where Māori were able to retain their land *marae* were often established as a communal focal point and a statement that despite all odds Māori would continue to be a permanent fixture in the landscape.

Marae

Located on tribal lands throughout New Zealand are a number of *marae* each belonging to a *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* responsible for maintaining it. The *marae* is a social institution that has its beginnings in Polynesia where it was an open area of land near where the chief of the village resided. It was the site in which religious services and formal ceremonies were conducted (Walker, 1992:15). The concept was transposed to New Zealand and slightly modified but the *marae* remains a space where significant rituals continue to be performed.

It is on the marae ātea, the open space in front of the meeting house, that the mana of the tribe, its connections with the unseen world of the spirits and ancestors, are reinforced according to ancient custom. The tribal members, whose ancestors lie around them, have the right to stand on the marae and speak. There the people of the tribe weep for those who have gone before, welcome their guest, and farewell the dead who comes with them. It is a place where all the richness of oratory, poetry and music are seen, to do honour to the guests and to honour the hosts. (Simmons, 1997:8-9)

The term *marae* has been adapted and is currently used to describe the whole complex which usually includes the *marae-ātea*, an ancestral meeting house (*whare tipuna/tipuna whare*, *whare nui*, *whare whakairo*, *whare puni*), the *whare kai*, kitchen and ablution blocks (Mead, 2003:95). The extensive definition of the *marae* will be used in this research.

Figure 9. Hinerupe marae, Te Araroa²³



Source: (Image courtesy of Debbie Paringatai)

²³ Hinerupe marae has been the focal point of the Te Araroa community since the 1800s and has undergone several transformations to maintain its appearance and safety. It was completely destroyed by a fire in 1996 and was officially opened on 30th March 2002. “*Kia āta kō ngā kopara a Rongomaitāpui!* Sing softly you bellbirds of Rongomaitāpui, sing softly.” This *whakataukī* (proverbial expression) echoes the sentiments of the crowd gathered who watched the flames of the fire move from one building to the next. For those present “it was like a death in the family witnessed by all, a loss beyond anything the community had suffered in the past” (McConnell, 1996:3).

Despite being a public domain *marae* are insulated from the demands of European decorum and, to a large extent, “no concessions have to be made to European custom – you can wail, chant, orate, talk Maori and eat Maori food as much as you like and everyone else will join you” (Salmond, 1976:34). It is a social venue used for a variety of functions and stands at the heart of those responsible for its upkeep.

Maraes are not places where Maoris can “opt out”. They are places of refuge and do provide facilities to enable continuation of a way of life in the total structure of Maori based terms and values.

We need our marae for a host of reasons:

- that we may rise tall in oratory
- that we may weep for our dead
- that we may pray to God
- that we may have our feasts
- that we may house our guests
- that we may have our meetings
- that we may have our weddings
- that we may have our reunions
- that we may sing
- that we may dance
- and then know the richness of life and the proud heritage which is truly ours. (Rangihau, nd:9)

The *marae* has been instrumental in the fostering of one’s identity amidst the renewed interest in Māori culture (Salmond, 1976:50). They are a visible statement of the survival of Māori culture against the odds and are a bastion of Māoridom where Māori people can recharge their cultural batteries. In terms of identity, those who are raised within the institution of the *marae*, under the organised and/or prescribed tutelage of the elders, feel a strong sense of belonging to the *marae*. They draw their strength from the carved ancestors, the *kōwhaiwhai* rafters (painted scroll ornamentation), and the *tukutuku* panels (ornamental lattice work) which adorn the various structures of the *marae*. They gain their historical knowledge from the ancestral names of the various buildings, and foster their cultural competency by participating in processes that must be observed during various functions that occur on the *marae*. They serve their apprenticeship by doing the menial tasks around the *marae*, until the elders feel they are ready to shoulder more

responsibility. They learn the *kawa* (protocol) of the *marae* by observing and asking. They are tied to the *marae* through their *whakapapa*. They develop a profound respect for these customs and seek fulfilment of their identity by knowing that they are accepted amongst a wider network of families who all have a shared responsibility for and an obligation to the *marae*. For many:

the *marae* represents the core, the very essence of their genealogical identity to the surrounding lands, which they interpret as *mana o te whenua* (supreme ancestral authority of and over the lands). They see their home *marae* as both a tangible (physical) and an intangible (spiritual) space to which they belong—*turangawaewae*—where the “now” is metaphysically embodied within their ancestral past...To the elders the *marae* is a living genealogical connection not only to the distant past, but also to the land itself, Papatuanuku. The tribe’s *whare tupuna*...is deemed to be the ultimate *taonga* [treasure] of the people, because it brings both physical and spiritual authority to the *marae* on which it rests. The house genealogically reinforces the prestige of the *tangata whenua* (home people—descendants of specific ancestral lands) and leaves *manuhiri* (non-kin-group visitors) in no doubt as to who is in charge, at all times, within the *marae* space. (Tapsell, 2002:142-3)

The *marae* weaves together the shared genealogical histories of *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*, by grounding them in a physical location, to their *turangawaewae*. The *marae* is also one of the bastions where the Māori language takes precedence and is the language used in all rituals that are conducted there. The next section will now discuss language and its role in Māori identity.

Language

Prior to the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand, which brought about the formalisation of a written style of the Māori language, the intergenerational transmission of knowledge that ensured the continuation of the traditions and customs of the Māori people was done orally. The depth of Māori oratory is evident in the scores of proverbial sayings, chants, and songs that can be found in *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* histories that exist in both written and oral forms. It is within the language that the nuances of the past are contained with instruction for the present and the future.

Despite the obvious importance of the Māori language for the preservation of knowledge many attempts were made to suppress its use as a language of communication. It is beyond the scope

of this research to investigate the marginalisation of the Māori language, however, it is sufficient to say that the efforts made in the last century to curb the use of the Māori language were overcome by the desire of the people to ensure its survival. Being a speaker of the Māori language enables an intangible connection with the culture to be made. It also ensures membership amongst a group of Māori language speakers, of which only four per cent of the country's population is a member (Ministry of Social Development, 2009:84).

[T]he advantages to a Maori of being able to speak Māori are also clear. Only by knowing Maori can he fully enjoy the inestimable psychological satisfaction of being a full member of the Maori in-group, the group that, starting with one's immediate and extended family spreads in ever-widening circles to embrace all Maori everywhere. The skin-colour, the familiar behavioural and physical features, and finally the language; these are the keys to membership of New Zealand's largest and most vital club. (Biggs, 1968:82)

There is widespread belief that the language is a powerful symbol of any ethnic group and is often highlighted as the most important component of any group's cultural identity (O'Regan, 2001:59). For some it is vital to one's existence and identity as a Māori person. Sir Apirana Ngata is often quoted saying "Ki te kore e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori ehara koe i te Māori (If you do not speak Māori you are not Māori)" (Karetu, 1993:223), and this sentiment is still shared amongst individuals in regards to their own beliefs about the importance of the language to themselves.

Likewise, for me language is essential to my mana. Without it, could I still claim to be Māori? I do not think so, for it is the language which has given me what mana I have and it is the only thing which differentiated me from anyone else.

I have been mistaken for many other nationalities – even here in Aotearoa – but what makes me Māori, apart from the blood of my Māori ancestors which courses through my veins, is my language, the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my Māori world. No key means no admittance, and no admittance means an ignorance of the culture to which I am heir. (Karetu, 1993:226)

The Māori language is both a part of the Māori culture and a vivid expression of it and is described as one of the pillars of Māoritanga (Metge, 1976:95). Similarly, Biggs also describes

the Māori language as the “*sine qua non*”²⁴ of Maoritanga” (Biggs, 1968:76).

The ability to speak te reo Māori is an essential element of full participation in Māori society and Māori identity. An established cultural identity makes a positive and important contribution to wellbeing, linked also with positive outcomes in health and education. It engenders feelings of belonging and security and provides access to social and support networks. (Tipa, 2006:26)

It is clear that the Māori language is intricately woven into the fabric of, and underpins every aspect of, Māori society. There are a number of Māori cultural concepts and nuances for which there is no appropriate English translation that fully encapsulates the multiple dimensions of that particular word or phrase. For some people, the Māori language is a key component of their Māori cultural identity. Language is an important communicative tool and is the single attribute that distinguishes one ethnic group from another. It is therefore reasonable to see that the loss of one’s language is akin to losing one’s identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at Māori identity as it has been variously defined by scholars such as Ngata, Ritchie, Metge, Pere, Durie, Rangihau and the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team. Their research has identified certain traits and aspects of the Māori culture that are different from Pākehā culture and listed them to show their contribution to a distinctive Māori cultural identity. There are obvious differences in the purposes of their research. Although their research is spread across a time span of nearly seventy years, there are certain cultural indicators of Māori identity that are common amongst them all: *whakapapa*, *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*, land, *marae* and language.

This chapter also examined the importance that each of these factors has on Māori identity. The

²⁴ An indispensable condition, element or factor; something essential.

current legal definition states that one must be descended from a person of the Māori race of New Zealand in order to claim a Māori ethnic identity. Implicit in this definition is the necessary requirement of *whakapapa*. By being a descendant of a Māori person individuals are born with a *whakapapa* into a *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* collective within which they are nurtured and developed. Tribal knowledge is transmitted through the generations using the nuances of the language to emphasise certain traits applicable to the identity of that *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi*. Through tribal membership individuals are able to lay claim to a geographical area of New Zealand that their ancestors claimed as their own and defended with their lives. They are able to stand on their *marae*, know that this is their *tūrangawaewae* and that their identity is etched into the walls of their ancestral meeting house and imprinted in the surrounding geographical landmarks.

The five cultural indicators of Māori identity described in this chapter were an inherent part of every inhabitant of New Zealand prior to European arrival. They were attributes shared amongst all tribes and even if a child were brought up only in the area of one parent they were still instructed in the history of the other and were able to feel comfortable in both tribal worlds. Colonisation, urbanisation and increasing intermarriage has hindered the continued importance of these indicators as many children are no longer raised to recognise the value or importance of these things on their Māori cultural identity. The subsequent chapters will illustrate that children of migrant Māori who grew up in Southland away from their tribal areas, and with minimal Māori cultural and linguistic influences in their lives, were still able to develop a Māori identity.

Chapter 7

Māori Identity Awareness

I consider myself Māori because mostly my whole life that's how I've been referred to by Pākehā. I was raised in Christchurch and I didn't have a lot of Māori support down there and I was referred to as, "The little Māori girl" so I knew I was Māori alright. I felt like I was defined in relation to Pākehā as I say as their opposite, which is ironic because as I've grown up lots of Māori people consider me their opposite too. I think my lack of cultural understanding makes lots of Māori people uncomfortable and I feel as though I get looked down upon because of it, although no one's been brave enough to say that to my face. What it feels like is that I operate in a bit of a gap between the two cultures, between Māori culture and Pākehā culture, where [I'm] a little bit too Pākehā to be Māori and a little bit too Māori to be Pākehā. (Webster in Pouwhare, 2006)

Introduction

The participants in this part of the thesis did not grow up in the tribal area of their Māori parent. They were all born and raised in Southland and were not part of a community or larger extended family grouping that shared the same Māori or tribal ethnic background as them. For the majority, regular trips back to their tribal area were not a feature of their childhood and some are yet to go there. Their ethnic identity development therefore became the sole responsibility of their parents. This chapter will look at how the participants became aware of their Māori ethnicity, the input of their parents, both Māori and non-Māori, in developing their ethnic identity and the transference of Māori cultural knowledge, their ethnic identity choices and the expectations placed on them by others because of this.

Ethnic Identity Development Models

The ethnic identity development of the participants involved in this research does not typically follow three of the main models of ethnic identity development presented in Chapter Five by Cross (in Robinson, 1999), Morten and Atkinson (in Vildarich, 2009) and Gay (1985). These models all assume that the individual is of a single ethnic background living as a minority within a dominant western society and that some sort of crisis will lead to an initial rejection of their

ethnic identity before reconciling their ethnicity with the environment they live in. The participants in this research are members of both the dominant (non-Māori/Pākehā) and a minority (Māori) ethnic group and as such have traversed different pathways in the realisation and acceptance of their Māori ethnic identity.

Poston (1990) provides another ethnic identity development model reflective of bi-racial people based on the following phases: personal identity (independent of ethnic identity), choice of group categorisation (pushed to make a choice usually as a result of societal pressure, guilt), enmeshment/denial (choice not necessarily reflective of their upbringing, resolve guilt), appreciation (appreciate both identities and even though they may favour one above the other it does not mean they feel less emotional attachment to the other), and integration (accepting of and recognises value in all of their ethnic identities) (see Chapter Five).

Social identity theory posits that individuals are members of a number of varying social groups, some of which have a salient purpose in the life of the individual. Membership in these groups contributes to the social identity development of individuals by providing them with an environment that allows them to engage with others of similar backgrounds or interests. Ethnic group membership is but one social group that all people are members of. It is within the home, the family, and the extended community that a person's ethnic identity is developed and consolidated based on a set of cultural indicators, factors and concepts. In a similar manner to social identity theory, Māori ethnic identity is also realised and formed within a larger social setting. As suggested in Chapter Five "unquestionably, many young ethnic minority children are socialized in their homes and communities to be proud of their ethnic identity and heritage" (Gay, 1985:45). The extent to which this happened for the participants in this part of the thesis will be

discussed further on.

At a young age children are often unaware of the ethnic differences that exist between people. Their understanding of ethnicity, particularly of their own ethnic identity, is shaped by their parents' commitment to ensuring their children are raised in an environment that nurtures this ethnic heritage. This task is made easier when the family is living within the community from which they derive their ethnic heritage as the cultural values and social institutions that are a part of this ethnic background are integrated into the whole community's daily life.

Upbringing

It is not until children are older that they realise differences exist between races. For those who grew up in a community where they were physically and linguistically different from others this situation can be even more difficult. The participants involved in this research are not only of a minority culture (Māori) but they are also a member of the dominant (Pākehā) culture. This section will look at the cultural upbringing of each of the participants and what led them to become aware of their Māori ethnicity.

Hera Fisher (nee Fletcher)

Hera is of Awhina descent, a *hapū* of Ngāti Kahu which is located in Northland. She was born in Invercargill in 1978 and was raised there. Hera's Māori father moved from Northland to Southland to work in the Ocean Beach freezing Works. He met her Pākehā mother and settled permanently in Invercargill. Hera was aware of her Māori ethnicity at a young age from her involvement in a community group whose membership consisted of migrants who had moved to Invercargill from Northland. The aim of this group was to provide support to the migrants who

were settling into a new community and to offer a pseudo-*whānau* environment. Prior to attending these group meetings and functions she was not consciously aware of being of Māori descent. However, a conversation with one of her Pākehā cousins prompted her initial exploration into her ethnic background. As Hera recalls:

I remember having a talk with one of my European cousins about what I was and just being a bit confused and having to ask Mum who I was...I mean there was never any kind of secrets to my identity but I just don't think they saw it as that important. I think it was kind of like just get on with life, be happy that you've got what you got. (Fisher, 2008)

Apart from her family's brief involvement in the community group, Hera described her upbringing as culturally Pākehā. She stated that very little of her early childhood upbringing reinforced that she was of Māori descent. It was not until she started at high school that she became comfortable with exploring her Māori identity.

I selected Māori as a subject and then made friends who were Māori and were happy to be Māori, although not coming from staunch Māori backgrounds. I feel that [those] friendships kind of moulded [me]. Just kind of having friends who were Māori...having a group that you could [just] be and it was ok...I look upon myself as far more European. I am, because of my upbringing, far more swayed towards my Pākehā side rather than my Māori. (Fisher, 2008)

Hera's foray into exploring her Māori identity came at an age and a time during her high school years when her parents' involvement and influence was minimal. She knew that it was all right to be Māori in her high school Māori subject class and she forged friendships with people who had a similar cultural upbringing as her.

Manu Paringatai

Manu is of Te Whānau-a-Hunaara and Te Whānau-a-Tuwhakairiora descent, *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. She was born in Invercargill in 1980 and was raised there. Manu's Māori father moved from the East Cape of the North Island to Southland to work at the Makarewa Freezing Works. He met her Pākehā mother and remained in Invercargill until he moved to Christchurch in 1997.

Manu was aware from a young age that there was something ethnically different about her family. According to Manu, “I was aware of being Māori from having Dad around when I was younger and he was quite a lot darker than other people I knew” (Paringatai, 2008). The majority of the people Manu associated with and saw in her neighbourhood, school and wider community when she was a young child were non-Māori. She was aware that her father’s darker skin complexion ensured he stood out from others in the community and because of that she was aware of him being ‘different’ from other people. The difficulties people experienced when pronouncing her name also made her aware that she was ethnically different from her peers.

Manu’s parents separated at an early age and her older siblings had already moved out of home whilst she was still young. The responsibility of her upbringing rested solely with her Pākehā mother. Reflecting on her upbringing and how that influenced her Māori identity development, Manu said:

Being brought up with a Pākehā mother I’d say [my upbringing was] predominantly Pākehā although [Mum] was very pro-Māori. I think it changed more when [I] hit intermediate and high school and she encouraged [me] more into the Māori side of things and the responsibility for [my] upbringing landed on her. (Paringatai, 2008)

Having no other point of reference to compare her upbringing with, Manu has indicated that upon reflection it was largely Pākehā but she was encouraged, mainly by her Pākehā mother, to engage in Māori activities.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh is of Ngāti Hauā descent, *hapū* of Waikato. She was born in Gore in 1986 and was raised there. Terri-Leigh’s Māori mother moved from the Waikato region in the North Island to Southland to work in the shearing sheds in Gore. Gore is the largest town in Southland

population with an estimated population of around 12,500 people. It is located 65 kilometres north-east of Invercargill and is the main service town for the surrounding farming communities. The whole of Eastern Southland is known for its primary industries, mainly sheep and dairy farming. The shearing industry in this area, and in South Otago with its longer season and higher demand for labour, prompted a number of Māori to move down to work. This group-orientated working environment suited the communal nature of Māori society and the desire to work collectively.

Terri-Leigh described her upbringing as Pākehā because of the community she grew up in where approximately 9% of the population is of Māori descent. Upon reflection of her childhood though, she also stated that her home life contained elements that could be described as culturally Māori. Some of her mother's siblings had also moved to Gore and were raising their families there. She was thus able to have a close relationship with some of her extended family. The oldest of Terri-Leigh's mother's siblings was influential during her childhood and it was through her aunty that she had some exposure to Māori cultural processes.

The only real thing like *tangihanga*, going to funerals and stuff which were largely Māori. My Aunty, the oldest of my mum's family, she had quite a big influence in my life and she was quite involved with one of the local *marae* and so just hanging out with her and going to meetings and stuff...and maybe once a month or something they'd have a church service...in Māori. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh was consciously aware of being of Māori descent but did not really know what that meant. She felt she also stood out in the community, particularly at her school, and often felt she was the 'token' Māori at school.

Being one or two of the only Māori kids at school I think everyone was consciously aware so you couldn't forget that you were Māori. They [her parents] didn't try explicitly to make [me] aware that [I was] Māori. I think mostly I just knew, like I always knew I was Māori but I didn't really know what that meant. When you're little all you know is that you've got a different skin colour to most

people and then everyone thinks you're *hōri*²⁵ cos you're a Māori but other than that I didn't really [think about it] until maybe high school, but maybe more so coming to Dunedin and studying Māori and stuff. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh did not become consciously aware of her ethnicity until she was placed in a situation where it was obvious from her name and her skin tone that she was different to others around her.

Patricia (Trish) Moeke

Trish is of Te Awe Mapara descent, *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. She was born in Invercargill in 1976 and was raised there. Trish's Māori father moved from the East Coast of the North Island to South Otago before finding work at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works in Bluff. He met her Pākehā mother in Invercargill although they have now separated, and he is still living in Invercargill. Trish also claims that her upbringing was largely Pākehā with her father at work and the raising of her and her siblings left to her mother. Her mother comes from a large family and she was raised within the Catholic Church, which were both important aspects of Trish's childhood.

English was only spoken in the home. We were with our mother all the time because Dad was working and so Mum, being Pākehā, didn't know *tikanga Māori*. But there was basics like we knew that you can't sit on tables and you take your shoes off at the door to be polite. Church, Mum was real big on religion so we spent a lot of our time at church, spent a lot of time with our Pākehā family and a lot of them were almost really condescending of our *taha Māori* (Māori ancestry) because we were the only brown babies in Mum's [family]...but just around Pākehā people all the time. (Moeke, 2009)

Despite this she still credits her mother for fostering and encouraging their Māori identity, which was reinforced with regular trips back to the East Coast of the North Island where her father is from.

It was my mother who got us learning about our *taha Māori* and the language and things because Dad was treated so badly in school. Being a first *te reo* speaker he used to get whipped and smacked and that for not being able to *kōrero Pākehā* (speak English), so he had a bit of a fear around us learning

²⁵ The term *hōri* is a derogatory term used to describe Māori people, especially those who belonged to a lower socio-economic class.

the *reo*. Not that he was embarrassed of being Māori, or he didn't *whakaiti* (belittle) it. There wasn't a major blockage with the *reo* in our home but we spent all our summer holidays with our Māori family so we had a good connection back to the coast. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish believes her father did not want his children to go through the same things he had experienced, in relation to the Māori language whilst at school. Trish felt that her father sometimes disassociated himself from his ethnic background and at that time did not see the need to immerse his children in the culture he had grown up with. If this was the case then this is a direct result of state directives aimed at marginalising the Māori language in schools and punishing those who continued to speak it. The effects of this directive meant that the children stopped using the Māori language in schools to avoid being physically punished and it was subsequently devalued. The consequences of these actions had far reaching effects on future generations (Smith & Smith, 2001:170). Trish recalled being always consciously aware that she was of Māori descent, and her development in this area was continuously encouraged by her parents. This was aided by her participation in Māori performing arts from a young age.

We started *kapa haka* when I was six and that was my mother again. It was Mum who made us go and join Wairua Wakahou and she'd take us along. And then Dad sort of came on board a couple of months after and played guitar...Mum took us and that sort of got us being more aware of our *taha Māori* and being proud. But Dad was always like, "You don't let people put you down for being who you are, being Māori." He didn't really *whakaiti* our *taha Māori* but he didn't really make it sure it was really big either. (Moeke, 2009)

Wairua Wakahou was the name of the Māori Cultural Group started by one of Trish's aunts who was also from the Ngāti Porou tribe. Her involvement in this group helped foster not only Trish's identity as a person of Māori descent but it also contributed to her Ngāti Porou identity. The tutor helped to foster a sense of pride in being both Ngāti Porou and Māori and encouraged a number of other Māori families to join the group. This was a positive environment that Trish's father found himself in and the more he participated the less resistant he became to sharing his cultural background with his children.

Damian Reedy

Damian is of Te Aitanga-a-Mate descent, a *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. He was born in Invercargill in 1981 and was raised in Bluff. Damian's Māori father moved from the East Coast of the North Island to Southland to work at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works in Bluff. He met his Pākehā mother and remained in Southland living in Invercargill and Bluff until he moved to Australia in 1997. Growing up in the smaller community of Bluff, which has a large Māori and Pacific Island population and cultural presence in the town, Damian was not singled out as being ethnically different from his peers as they were not an obvious minority in the community. He claims that his upbringing was a mixture of both Pākehā and Māori influences, with the majority of the Māori influence coming from his school and the wider community, although there was some input from home.

I'd say a mixture of both, not so much at home, more so at school. I was in the Māori classes right from the word go until when I finished and Dad spoke Māori at home sometimes...we had the occasional *hāngī* and that, but nothing over the top said that we were a hard core Māori family. When I started school and I was automatically put into the bilingual units and things like that so that's where I developed my knowledge. Dad helped a little bit. (Reedy, 2007)

Bilingual units were established in the 1980s in response to the demands to provide a culturally appropriate education for Māori children. It became apparent during the interview that Damian realised the contribution his home, and in particular his father, towards his Māori identity and his learning of the Māori culture and language was minimal. He instead credits his involvement in the Māori classes at his schools to being more pivotal in his Māori identity development.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff (nee Kapo)

Michelle is of Ngāti Tama descent, a *hapū* of Ngāti Mutunga. She was born in Invercargill in 1978 and was raised in Bluff. Michelle's Māori father moved from the West Coast of the North

Island to Dunedin where he met her Pākehā mother. They moved to Bluff where they raised their family and her father found work at the Ocean Beach Freezing Works. Michelle was born a few years before Damian, the other participant who grew up in Bluff. She started at primary school before the bilingual unit that Damian was placed in began and missed the opportunity to be involved in this class. Damian also attended a high school in Invercargill that had a designated Māori class whereas Michelle did not. However, factors external to the school environment that impacted on their Māori identity development were still available to both within the Bluff community.

Michelle stated that although she had a non-Māori upbringing she was always aware of her Māori descent. When asked how she came to realise this she replied “Colour and Dad told us” (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). It is likely that Michelle noticed a colour difference between her parents, or between her father and other members of the Bluff community. However, throughout her childhood she could not recall feeling different from other people in the town because of that. This may be due to the fact that there were a number of people with darker skins living in Bluff and a number of them were involved in interracial marriages so Michelle did not think that her family were unique in this regard.

Ethnic Transmission

Each participants’ primary orientation to their Māori cultural background is through their Māori parent and other senior family members who are responsible for the transmission of ethnic knowledge to their children. Many migrants benefit from migration, but their children may be less fortunate in that they no longer acquire the cultural knowledge that would have been a key feature of their ethnic parent’s original home environment and community (Connell, 2002:83).

The migrants in the first part of this thesis, at some stage during their childhood, lived in a culturally homogenous community. They were passive receptors of Māori cultural knowledge in that they were naturally immersed in an environment that was culturally and linguistically Māori. Some migrants make the decision to try and transplant their cultural background into their new surroundings and actively raise their children in such an environment. Others make decisions about the useful elements of their ethnic identity and arrange their lifestyles to reflect them. Others again will reject all of their ethnic background and transmit little if any of their ethnic knowledge to their children. Their attitudes toward their ethnic language and culture will shape their children's attitudes towards these things while the lifestyle they choose to raise their children in will determine the opportunities their children have to acquire familiarity with their ethnic background (Macpherson, 1991:78).

It is obvious from the first part of this thesis that the majority of the migrants did not choose to raise their children in a specific Māori cultural environment, however, there were others in the community who were willing to do so. They were committed to providing an avenue by way of Māori performing arts where children of anyone committed to the group could develop an understanding of their Māori ethnicity. All of the non-Māori spouses from the first part of thesis attempted to encourage their Māori partners to transmit some sort of Māori cultural knowledge to their children but were met with opposition. The migrants were cognisant of their children's Pākehā ethnicity, the Pākehā family who they often interacted with and the Pākehā environment they were being raised in.

The participants in this part of the thesis each underwent different experiences when it came to interacting with their parents and especially their Māori parent. This in turn determined the

amount of information about their parent's childhood they were told and the type of Māori cultural knowledge that was transmitted to them. The type of information transferred from parent to child varied. It was also dependent on the willingness of the parents to impart such knowledge and the situation that prompted this information to be remembered. In some cases the non-Māori parent of the child tended to be the one who would transmit more of the information about his or her Māori parent's background.

Hera Fisher

Hera was only privy to the hardships that her father experienced whilst growing up. She was not provided with any historical or genealogical information relating to her tribe.

Dad didn't come from a childhood that he was proud of...he was one of about 14 children. He absolutely hated his father which was one of the reasons he came down here because his mother died and he just had his father and he had to get away from him. So no, he didn't tell me a lot of stories, little snippets like when they got a TV or how he worked on the farm, but it was more kind of those reinforcing, "You don't know how good you've got it because when I was a kid I had to get up at 4am and milk the cows." But no real in depth stories. (Fisher, 2008)

Further information about her father's upbringing and an interpretation of the strictness of her father's actions and demeanour were communicated through her mother.

Mum would have relayed things and she often does now. As we think about Dad she'll say, "Oh I remember when he told me a story about..." and I remember that growing up too. She'd say to me, "You know Dad is doing this to you because he had such a hard upbringing" or, "He [just] wants the best for you." (Fisher, 2008)

Hera's mother knew more about her father's upbringing and it would seem she often defended the way in which he disciplined his children or the gruffness of his behaviour towards them. She was privy to information that he did not want to share with other people, particularly his children. This reluctance to share Māori cultural knowledge with his children is consistent with the literature presented in Chapter Two. He had made the decision to move away from Northland

because of an unhappy childhood; to escape his old life, to gain financial stability and to carve out a new future without being bound by cultural demands. As a result, the transference of Māori cultural knowledge from Hera's father to her and her brothers was minimal. The type of information that was transferred to them revolved around practical agricultural skills and basic *tikanga* concepts.

Dad was a real man of the sea and a man of the land too and he really tried to instil that into us, more the boys than me, I was kind of always my mother's job...I had to do the girlie things inside while the boys dug the gardens but Dad was always teaching the boys things...skills he must have brought down with him like *hāngī* and growing vegetables, fishing, floundering, whitebaiting, eeling - a real love of the sea. Dad very rarely spoke Māori although I knew he could do more than he let on. Not sitting on tables, he'd say, "That's not what you do" when other friends were allowed to. So as a child I picked up that that must have been a Māori thing. Not wearing shoes in the house. Not asking people if they wanted something to eat, just making it. As soon as anyone rang up he'd be getting Mum to make scones. As soon as anyone turned up he'd be making Mum make food. Those kinds of things that were different to other people's families. (Fisher, 2008)

Hera began to recognise the cultural differences between her family and other families and associated them with her father and their being Māori. Without explicitly stating so, Māori cultural concepts such as *manaaki* (hospitality), in the form of providing food for visitors, and *tapu*, in terms of not sitting on tables, were cultural protocols followed by Hera and her family. When I asked her whether she recognised those things as Māori protocols, or her father's way of doing things, she replied:

I guess they were Dad's way of doing things but I must have also known. I think I would have known that they were a Māori way of doing things too. It was never a problem. The fact that we took on a foster brother...perhaps some of my other friend's families wouldn't have done that and it wasn't as if we could afford [it], it just wasn't a problem, it just happened. And we always had other people's kids around. (Fisher, 2008)

The act of *whāngai* was another Māori concept that Hera's family were willing to participate in whereby they took in the son of her mother's best friend when she passed away.

Manu Paringatai

Manu's parents separated when she was still at primary school. The fact that they had done so when she was of a young age impacted on the transmission of ethnic information and childhood stories from her father as he was not a constant presence in her life.

What did Dad do? Well he wasn't there from 8 to 18 so nothing really in that time, it was all Mum. But after that time I suppose he took more of an interest because [I was] older and had that footing that he could actually get to know [me] and that's when I feel he actually made the effort. I suppose he did sometimes when [I was] younger but it was hard to know because he'd shift places without telling [me], and traipse off up North without saying anything...[I] saw him when [I] wanted something and he saw [me] when he wanted something so that's just the lifestyle of a part-time father. It's a convenient relationship between the two. (Paringatai, 2008)

It would seem from the above quote that whilst her father maintained contact throughout her upbringing the relationship between the two was often distant. Stories from her father's childhood did not occur until in her adult life.

I remember him telling me that he was brought up in Horoera, went to Te Waha-o-Rerekohu [Area School] and Bob McConnell was his teacher and the principal. He used to cut scrub, used to go running over the mountain for training, ride horses, ride from one side of Te Araroa over the mountain to somewhere along the river line to do scrub cutting. But a lot of that was when we were actually travelling up North, so in the car he'd go, "Oh that place, I know that place blah blah blah" and that's when he'd actually be more open. (Paringatai, 2008)

It was only when Manu was able to contribute towards the financial costs of travel to the North Island that trips to the East Coast with her father became more frequent. It was on these trips that visual locations reminded her father about his upbringing and he freely told these recollections to her. In terms of the transference of cultural knowledge during her childhood she cannot recall being instructed by her father to do things in a certain way because it was the 'Māori' way of doing things. She instead credits her mother for advising her on certain cultural issues such as not sitting on the table. She also believes her mother's encouragement of her to participate in Māori performing arts groups whilst at school was a key contributor to her identity. Her father's disregard for following cultural processes when returning home for an Uncle's funeral six years

ago left her bewildered. They arrived at the funeral in the middle of the night and he walked straight on to the *marae*. It is likely that her father had been to this *marae* many times before and may even have had a *whakapapa* to it but she had never been there. The fact that she had never been to the *marae* before but just walked straight on made her feel uncomfortable because she knew that there were cultural processes that should have been followed. This situation and the avoidance of *tikanga* is most likely indicative of the fact that her father left the East Coast when he was 18 years old. As he was not *tangata whenua* in the Murihiku area he had no *marae* base within which to continue the cultural practices associated with this social institution. It is highly conceivable that a lot of the Māori cultural knowledge that he had grown up with had lost its importance, had been forgotten or he may not have understood the cultural significance of such protocols in the first place.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh's maternal grandmother passed away when her mother was very young. Her mother's older sister then took responsibility for raising her mother and their siblings. Terri-Leigh was only told small amounts about her mother's childhood, and the majority of the information she does know was conveyed by her aunty.

Definitely not my mum cos she never really talked about it...My Aunty did though. She just talked about how it was quite hard. But I think my Aunty and my mum's upbringing was quite different because of the big age gap. I think it's like 15 years so I think it was a wee bit harder [for] my Aunty when she was younger...I think my Aunty had a lot of responsibility with her family cos my grandma died when my mum was like 9.

So your Aunty just kind of naturally moved into that mother role?

Yeah definitely. Actually they don't talk about it all that much. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh's mother is originally from Tauwhare which is located 25 kilometres east of Hamilton in the North Island of New Zealand. She moved to Gore when she was only 16 years

old and consequently, she was still in a developmental stage herself. Her mum had most likely not encountered much difficulty in growing up in Tauwhare, other than the death of her mother. Like other participants, Terri-Leigh's mother instilled in her core cultural values that her daughter recognised were absent in her friends.

Not because it was the Māori way of doing things...Mum was always, "You need to respect your elders" I don't know I just thought it was normal. I didn't think it was explicitly Māori so I don't know. She taught us a lot about respecting elders and always helping and stuff like that and I'd notice when my friends came around they weren't quite the same or if I went to their house they weren't quite the same to their parents. They'd be a wee bit disrespectful and so I didn't realise it was explicitly a Māori thing and I don't know if it is but other than that nah. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Respecting elders and offering a helping hand at other people's houses, whilst not identified by Terri-Leigh as a specific Māori trait, nor are they exclusive to Māori society, are attributes that are generally instilled in many Māori children from a young age.

Trish Moeke

Information provided by Trish's father about his childhood was freely given. Because of the regular trips back to their tribal area, their involvement in the Māori community in Invercargill and Trish's overall interest in her Māori ethnic identity she developed a close relationship with her father and felt comfortable in openly discussing his upbringing.

Not heaps but he's pretty open and me and my Dad have a special relationship. We're best friends in a way, so him and I would travel a lot and he'd always tell me stories and I've always been keen on my *taha Māori* so he used to fill me in about a lot of stuff and when we'd go back to Ngāti Porou, back to Hiruharama. He'd take me on wee walks and show me where the different houses used to stand that they lived in, the river he'd go fishing or eeling in. He talked a bit about emotional stuff, abuse in the home as well for him as a child and he was always pretty open. Depending on what questions we asked as well or what behaviours we were going through at the time, different teen stuff, things would come out for Dad. I always felt like he was pretty open I suppose. (Moeke, 2009)

Visual markers, again, provided the impetus for nostalgic memories of childhood adventures to be passed on. Trish described how her father transmitted cultural knowledge and instructed her on doing things in a culturally appropriate way.

Things like don't put hats on the table that's for your *kai* and the hats for your head, it's *tapu*. Taking your shoes off. Always being proud when you're standing up to speak. You're representing your *tūpuna* and those sort of things. But I'm not sure if he spoke like that to my other brothers and sisters. I don't know if it was just me because I remember being alone a lot of the times. The thing with Dad is he's really soft he didn't say, "You don't do this, you don't do that." He'd always say, "You know this is why we used to do that. It was because we'd be representing our *tūpuna*", so it wasn't ever demands. Well sometimes there would be, "Don't do that or I'll kick your ass", but just those sort of mannerisms I suppose of being Māori and always standing up for yourself was big. It was almost like that was who you were as a Māori rather than who you were as a person. (Moeke, 2009)

Lessons learnt throughout her childhood were always couched in terms of teachings from her *tūpuna* and the influence they continue to have on her *whānau*.

Damian Reedy

Stories about Damian's father's childhood and upbringing were rarely told and Damian was only provided with brief amounts of information.

It was more so the discipline side with dad saying that he used to get beaten up and that and him and his brothers always used to fight and he got sent off to boarding school and he was brought up mainly by his grandparents, is all I really knew. (Reedy, 2007)

In terms of being instructed to do things because they were the culturally Māori appropriate way of doing things, Damian recalled that this information was related to food gathering processes and preparation techniques.

Yeah you don't...have to actually go in over your head to get seafood and you don't get the ones in between the rocks because apparently they slowly move out as they get bigger so you always take from far out. Other than that you gotta leave a *hāngī* down for at least four hours. (Reedy, 2007)

The transfer of cultural information between Damian and his father was centred on food, symbolic of the area that his father grew up in, and the cultural practices that he learnt in his childhood. Damian's father never took him or his brother back to the East Coast, and so Damian was not privy to the childhood information provoked from the visual stimulation that Manu and Trish were given on visiting their tribal areas with their fathers.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle's school, and the wider Bluff community, contributed significantly to her identity development as a Māori person. No specific examples could be recalled about certain tasks or activities that her father did because that was a 'Māori' way of doing things. As the youngest in a family of four with three older brothers, it is conceivable that much of his energy would have gone into instructing her brothers. It was more her father's personality and his qualities of being a giver to the community that she claims as an attribute of his Māori ethnicity. She stated that "it's just the way he is, he's a giver he's not a taker, he just contributes widely to the wider community" (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). These are characteristics that she has recognised as having been developed because of his Māori ethnicity.

From Michelle's recollections of her childhood she claims that her father was also very reserved in sharing details about his childhood and his upbringing with her. She only remembers one significant event that he told her about concerning his three year stay in hospital as a child for tuberculosis and that his family could rarely afford to visit him there.

Despite living in a strong Māori community where Michelle was encouraged by her school and other community groups to participate in Māori orientated activities, Michelle's knowledge of her father's upbringing and the transference of cultural knowledge is minimal. Michelle has never been back to the tribal area of her father, although her brothers were taken back for a visit before she was born. Had she returned to her tribal area with her father he may have been more forthcoming with information about his background once prompted to do so from seeing significant landmarks and features of his childhood upbringing.

Ethnic Choice

At a young age, children are reliant on their parents for ethnic labelling. As children become more aware of their ethnic backgrounds they are then able to make their own choices about ethnically defining themselves, influenced by their upbringing, their experiences, their interests and their surroundings. Where children are a member of both the dominant and a minority culture it is often thought that the child should only be considered as a member of the minority culture because that is how they will be seen in the wider community (Brown, 1995:125). This essentially dilutes the multi ethnic background that this person is a product of. It is possible for a person in such a position to acknowledge all ethnic backgrounds equally and develop an identity that is reflective of all their ethnic heritages.

The reality is that a person or group may form a web of interwoven identities with corresponding interwoven boundaries. For those of mixed ethnic descent, for example, the development of an ethnic identity based on the ethnicity of one parent does not necessarily preclude that individual from possessing or developing an equally robust and valid identity based upon the other parent's ethnicity. Plural cultural identities are a living reality for many of the world's indigenous populations. (O'Regan, 2001:88)

As a person grows the choice to acknowledge both their Māori and Pākehā ancestry, and finding ways to support the healthy development of both, becomes that person's responsibility, rather than his or her parents. This section will look at how the participants choose to define themselves ethnically and the affiliation they have to their Māori and non-Māori ethnic backgrounds.

Hera Fisher

Although Hera describes herself as being more culturally Pākehā than Māori, because of her upbringing, she still defines herself ethnically as being both Māori and Pākehā

In a census they annoy me. If they ask you just to tick one box and I always say New Zealand Māori/Pākehā or European or Kiwi or whatever. I kind of can jump but I definitely always pick the two. (Fisher, 2008)

Although she has never been in a position to have to do so, if Hera were asked to rank her ethnicities in order of preference she states that she would not be able to do so. She indicated that she has a strong emotional affinity to both her parents.

To deny one would be to deny one parent. I think and although I've been brought up in a real European kind of way and with a strong Pākehā kind of base I still could never deny and I don't think I should have to...I would refuse to answer that I think. (Fisher, 2008)

Due to circumstances beyond Hera's control, her parents made a choice to live and raise their family in Invercargill away from the influence of her tribal identity. Despite an obvious lack of involvement from her parents in the development of her Māori identity during her early childhood Hera still acknowledges both sides of her ethnic backgrounds and ranks them as equal.

Manu Paringatai

Having a Māori culturally influenced upbringing has allowed Manu to have a stronger emotional attachment to her Māori ethnicity, but she is still consciously aware of her Pākehā identity.

I would have to say unconsciously I have identified more strongly as being Māori, but that's within Māori environments, and I have to make a more conscious effort of saying I am Pākehā as well. (Paringatai, 2008)

She has not been put in a position where she has been asked to rank her ethnicities in order of preference. If she were to do so she unequivocally states that she would rank them as being equal. When asked how she balances the two ethnicities she replied, "badly, is my answer to that" (Paringatai, 2008). It is not something Manu does consciously and further investigation revealed that the ethnic choice or balance is centred around her personal interests.

I'm teaching Māori, my partner's Māori, everybody I hang out with is Māori, I'm doing Whakapiki Reo, Hōaka Pounamu²⁶ so it's all in *te reo* this year, *kapa haka*. Everybody, bar a few people I hang

²⁶ At the time of the interview Manu was completing Whakapiki Reo, a professional development programme for teachers, and Hōaka Pounamu: Māori Bilingual and Immersion Teaching Postgraduate

out with, is Māori and it's not a conscious thing that I've done it's just something that's happened because of my interests.

So ethnically you're Māori and Pākehā, but culturally you choose to live more Māori?

Not consciously but I have. Although I feel quite comfortable in both environments. I suppose I have something in common with other people who have the same sort of interests. It's like any group of people. You find somebody who has the same interest as you and you get on with them. (Paringatai, 2008)

Despite acknowledging the two ethnicities as being equal, her lifestyle is more reflective of her Māori ethnic background and her interests in this area.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh acknowledges her dual ethnicity and she is equally appreciative and cognisant of the benefits and pitfalls of classifying herself as both Māori and Pākehā, and being able to move between her two ethnic backgrounds.

I put down both so I don't really choose one over the other. It's kind of good. You get the best of both worlds, both have negative connotations depending on what environment you're in. So if you're in a Māori environment you'd definitely be like, "Yeah I'm Māori" but if you were in a Pākehā environment, although they know that you're Māori, you can also identify with being Pākehā. So pick and choose. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

If Terri-Leigh was told or asked to rank her ethnicities in order of preference she would put Māori first, Pākehā second.

If it said to rank them I would rank them. I would probably put Māori first I don't know [why] I just probably would. Because if someone looked at you they'd know that you weren't just Pākehā even though I probably am more Pākehā when I think about it than Māori like in the way I have been brought up. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh believes that her upbringing was culturally more Pākehā than Māori. Despite this it is because of her physical features that she feels the need to rank her Māori ethnicity ahead of her Pākehā ethnicity. She would rank herself Māori first because of the prevailing ideology that if

you look Māori then you should acknowledge yourself as such. However, this may also be indicative of Terri-Leigh's compliant nature. When she was later posed with a hypothetical situation as to how she would rank her ethnicities whereby no one was forcing her to make this decision for official purposes, she replied "if I didn't have to choose I'd definitely put them on the same wavelength in the end" (Tuhakaraina, 2009).

Terri-Leigh's engagement with *te ao Māori* differed from that of the other participants. She has actively engaged with learning about this world by pursuing a tertiary degree in Māori Studies. She is keen to explore and learn as much as she can about her Māori ethnicity but is worried about looking unauthentic in the process.

Yeah I'm probably a try-hard Māori. But when I think [about it] I've changed quite a lot in the last four years studying Māori. Before coming [to University] I would definitely say that I had more of a Pākehā personality, or characteristics, or upbringing but now I probably take the best of both worlds. I still don't really think I have a strong Māori identity because I don't think you can learn that from university yeah so I don't know how to seal that or to grow more in that area. I think I'd have to go back home and just live in a more Māori cultural environment. I'd probably take the best of both worlds. I'd say I probably more identify with being Pākehā although I would say that I was Māori. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

It is obvious that Terri-Leigh struggles to comfortably reconcile her Māori identity with her upbringing and her current lifestyle and desire to learn all she can about her Māori ethnicity. She stated that she had a culturally Pākehā upbringing, which is probably more reflective of the community she grew up in rather than her home environment. Despite this, Terri-Leigh identifies as Māori and has a natural desire to learn more and incorporate more Māori cultural process into her life. However, she sees herself as inferior to others who have been immersed more in their Māori ethnicity and who were afforded more Māori cultural opportunities than her; experiences that she was not able to participate in whilst living in Gore. She uses the people she associated with at university as reference points to gauge how Māori she is and does not want to be seen as over-claiming her Māori identity. There is also a fear that people who have grown up with her in

Gore will also judge her change in attitude when she tries to reclaim her Māori identity.

Interestingly, Terri-Leigh also stated that she would have to go back ‘home’ to live in a culturally Māori environment in order to consolidate her Māori identity. Presumably the ‘home’ she is referring to is Tauwhare, the town where her mother is from and her *whānau* are based, and not Gore where she herself grew up. It would seem that for Terri-Leigh identity is linked to place. The way in which she thinks she can best consolidate her Māori identity is to go to the North Island and live amongst her *whānau* within her tribal area.

Trish Moeke

Trish has always made a conscious choice to learn as much as she can about her Māori ethnicity and incorporate Māori cultural processes into her lifestyle. Trish identifies strongly with being Māori. If she were forced to rank her ethnicities, then being Māori would come first although it would not be without its difficulties.

I would definitely put Māori as first and European as second but I would feel a wee bit of guilt around that and I think that's for my mother's sake I would feel a wee bit of guilt around it but yeah Māori and then Pākehā. (Moeke, 2009)

When asked if Trish favoured being Māori over being Pākehā, or if she felt that they were on an equal footing, she replied:

No. [I] definitely [favour being Māori over being Pākehā] and I think it hurts my mother a bit. My mother and my relationship is good. We've got a beautiful relationship but my father's and mine are closer and I just always feel like I'm Māori first before I'm Pākehā. Sometimes I don't even feel Pākehā if that makes sense?...I usually only say I'm Pākehā if someone asks if I have to explain where the light skin comes from but I always say that my mother is European, that she's a Pākehā. (Moeke, 2009)

As a result of her strong identification as Māori she does not consciously try to find a balance between her Pākehā and Māori identities.

I don't think I'm aware that I do balance them or try and balance them... I suppose I'm like my father with my kids I'm always like, "You be proud of who you are and be proud of being Te Awe Mapara", so I suppose I put a lot of my own stuff on them. For myself it's just spending time with my father to find out stuff from home and then spending time with my mother to find out more about my *taha Pākehā* (European side) but I suppose that's it really I don't consciously do anything to balance it. (Moeke, 2009)

Even though Trish claims that she had a more Pākehā upbringing, she identifies more strongly as Māori. However, for the sake of her mother and the Pākehā side of her family that she grew up with in Invercargill she will also always acknowledge her Pākehā ethnicity.

Damian Reedy

Damian is similar to the other participants in that he actively chooses to identify himself as Māori. It is his ethnic background that distinguishes him from others whilst living in Australia, although he stated that he has always identified as a New Zealand Māori no matter where he is (Reedy, 2007). He also does not favour one ethnicity over another.

Nah they're both important. If my generation doesn't carry it on my kids won't carry it on and it will slowly fade away. That's my stance on it. So to me I gotta learn as much as I can to pass on to my kids so they can pass on to their kids.

So do you see the eventual phasing out of the Māori identity in your family, in your immediate family with your kids and grandkids as something that will happen?

Now that I'm living in Australia it will have a big impact cause there's no bilingual units or Māori language is not a big thing over here so it puts it on me to teach the kids as much as I know. (Reedy, 2007)

Since moving to Australia he has most likely become more aware of the impact of not possessing a wide corpus of Māori knowledge (including the language) that he can pass down to his children. He is also conscious that he does not interact with many other Māori families, nor does he participate within Māori communities in Australia, and therefore, he is aware of the possible effects on his children and their identity in the future.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Despite claiming that she had more of a non-Māori upbringing, Michelle still prefers to ethnically define herself as a New Zealand Māori. As she was growing up the label of 'Māori' was not forced upon her by others but it was something she naturally assumed when she became interested in learning about what made her and her family ethnically different from others. For Michelle, her mother's Pākehā background is equally important. As a consequence, Michelle will acknowledge both ethnicities on ethnic registration forms. She found it inappropriate to rank them in order of preference and categorically stated: "That's a difficult question. I'm just as proud of Mum's background as Dad's...No I wouldn't rank them at all I don't think that's appropriate" (Rogers-Hoff, 2008).

Stereotypes

Although an individual is free to choose to identify as either Māori or Pākehā, or both, society may not be as willing to accept the consequences of that decision based purely on the colour of the person's skin and their physical features. All of the participants possess physical features that lend one to believe that they are of Māori descent. In addition to this they all have a Māori name as their first, middle and/or last names. The implication of possessing such things, and their choice to identify as Māori and Pākehā, tends to make people believe that they are significantly knowledgeable on Māori language and culture. Interestingly, the same expectations around cultural knowledge do not seem to apply to descendants of migrants from other distinctive societies, such as Scotland or Ireland, presumably because of New Zealand's distance from the originating culture and, in some cases, the length of time since the migrant ancestor/s arrived here. Stereotypical assumptions of Māori are rife in this country and the following section will look at the participants' experience and reactions to these misperceptions.

Hera Fisher

Having openly identified as Māori, expectations were often placed upon Hera that she should possess a certain amount and type of Māori knowledge based on her Māori ethnicity.

In my role as a teacher...people will say, [as] an example, “This term we need to teach the Treaty of Waitangi so Hera would you be ok to be the lead teacher of that subject?” And as I’ve kind of got older and...more confident in my role as a teacher I will say, “As a Kiwi why can we not co-teach that? Why do you look upon me or finger point me to teach it because of [me] being Māori?”

My initial feeling is one of anger...it annoys me because...if we were all going to have this equal partnership why don’t they have an opinion on it? Why are they asking me? And then I guess it annoys me because I don’t know too. I kind of get angry at myself for not being able to have an opinion on it. But I also feel when they ask those questions like there’s something behind it. I kind of quickly get my back up cos I think they’re going to attack me or things are going to be my fault: lands being taken off them or you know...Or maybe defensive is a better word than angry. (Fisher, 2008)

Hera is often asked to facilitate sessions at her school that involve Māori content because she is a senior member of staff and is of Māori descent. Her school places expectations on her that she does not always think is fair for them to do simply because she is Māori. She does not necessarily have the knowledge to be able to fulfil these expectations, but she also feels it should not be her sole responsibility because of the multicultural nature of contemporary New Zealand. The anger and annoyance Hera feels is two-fold. First, these feelings are aimed at those who assume she is a possessor of such knowledge and expect her to know certain things because of her Māori ancestry. Second, she is also annoyed at herself for not knowing and becomes defensive because she does not know how to react any other way. It would seem that there may also be a sense of embarrassment present as well.

Outside of her career and knowledge expectations Hera is aware of other things that are expected of her simply because she is of Māori descent.

People can't understand why I can't play a guitar...I will often get told that my name is Hera [Māori pronunciation] not Hera [without a rolled 'r'] and but my parents call me Hera [without a rolled 'r'] so that was just my name. People will ask me if I can speak Māori and I kind of say, "Well can you speak Scottish?"...it's a real thing that I've had to deal with. I feel I'm being insulted or attacked but to me I don't understand other people's ignorance around that and I guess the ignorance comes from the fact that they didn't have to live it.

But I always think there's an expectation on me to be either confident in Māori or to kind of fail in some way because I'm Māori. I always strive to be better, to work harder, to lead this great life almost because I'm Māori and just to kind of thumb my nose at people who thought that I may fail. (Fisher, 2008)

Hera is also aware that there are expectations on her to fail because she is of Māori descent. It would seem that Hera has encountered people throughout her life who have expected her not to live up to her potential. Because of this she has always aimed to dispel those negative expectations and distance herself from anything that would make them continue to think that, including aspects of the Māori culture. Hera is acutely aware of prevailing stereotypical notions of Māori people that exist and she has been a victim of these assumptions.

Hera and her brothers were born in the 1970s and they were all given Māori names. Why her parents chose to do so still remains a mystery to Hera.

I don't know and I still don't understand that and I say to my mother and she says, "Well go change it." Honestly that's her thing...I truly don't understand why they named us that and it's been a real thorn in our sides ever since. [My oldest brother] has been ok because it's easy to say and I think people have heard it before and it kind of rolls. Hera has been ok because it's similar to European names like Kera and I get that all the time. Often I just get called Sarah cos people don't hear it properly. [My second oldest brother] has had it real hard because it's a name people haven't heard before, it doesn't have any direct transliteration and it never suited his personality because he was shy and didn't want attention. It would make him angry and he's had rows with people before about his name when they try and tell him how to say his name...If someone said to me how to say my name as a child I would say yeah that's cool and kind of let it slide of my back but he definitely got in rows with people. (Fisher, 2008)

Names can serve as a strong symbol of identity. People can choose to change their names to support their identity, whilst others have the name bestowed upon them. Hera was unable to control the decisions her parents made to give her a Māori name and, as a result, it has had a significant impact on her identity. She has had to deal with a lifetime of people telling her how

her name should be pronounced and the expectations that having a Māori name brings. Over time Hera has learnt to deal with these situations, although it has not been an easy process to manage.

Manu Paringatai

Māori was an ethnic definition Manu chose for herself but it has not been without its difficulties. Stereotypical expectations of being Māori were forced upon her, especially during her time at high school where she was aware of assumptions “that all Māoris can sing and play the guitar and run around with no shoes on and have snot[ty] noses” (Paringatai, 2008).

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned that Manu knew she was different from other people because of her surname and the way people mispronounced it. Her physical features have not led to any difficulties in terms of people stereotyping her against the perceived Māori norms.

Being a teacher and teaching *te reo Māori* you have to have some knowledge. It's not as in depth as some and it's not as in depth as what I would like it to be but nobody's really made that major assumption. [When I was] younger when people saw me you know brown face, can speak Māori, can sing, can play the guitar some people sort of had that assumption but then learning Māori at school and doing *kapa haka* and all that the assumption was correct I suppose. If I didn't do any of that stuff and I wasn't a Māori teacher and I didn't know Māori and that was put upon me, then I'd feel differently.

How do you think you would feel?

Well if I didn't know, if Mum hadn't pushed us and [I] didn't know [I was] Ngāti Porou and [I was] Māori and all that sort of stuff, and [I] didn't know *te reo* and [I wasn't] encouraged to understand that side then I'd feel probably one of two ways: I'd either feel really pissed off that people make that assumption just cause I have a brown face and I'd feel very shy that I don't know that side. (Paringatai, 2008)

Because of Manu's interests in actively learning and engaging in her Māori heritage she possesses a significant amount of Māori cultural knowledge. She felt able to meet the expectations others placed on her because she was secure in her cultural knowledge and abilities. If she did not then she would feel a certain amount of embarrassment. She does seem aggrieved

when people assume certain things of her because she is of Māori descent and chooses to openly acknowledge this. She is disappointed that the stereotypical assumptions of Māori people in general are often placed on her because of her choice to identify as Māori and participate and work within Māori environments.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh was aware that stereotypical notions about Māori were prevalent in the Gore community. Through her studies at university she learnt about the origins of such notions and that they are not just particular to that area.

It was like, “Oh well you’re Māori so you’re just going to drop out of school and you’ll just go work in the shearing sheds or go to the freezing works”. That’s what you do cause all the other Māori do. The same thing as in history with education and stuff, Māori are only really good for laborious types of work. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Māori were mainly employed in the shearing, labouring and freezing works industries within this area. The initial migrants to Eastern Southland became involved in these types of employment industries and when they had children they would naturally include them in this environment. A cyclical process seemed to have developed. Not only families, but also the wider community, expected that the children of these Māori migrants would then work in the same industries. It is common for children to follow in the same line of work as a previous family generation, for example law, medicine, or teaching. In Eastern Southland, it is also quite normal for family farms to be passed down the generations. In the rural world, there is a distinctive feel of class difference between farmers and their employees. In that situation, employment in the industries typified by Māori workers would have been seen as low status occupations. Terri-Leigh became aware of these negative impressions of Māori in Gore.

To be honest, growing up I was a wee bit embarrassed to be Māori just cos it was a negative

connotation towards Māori and maybe cos like Māori was such a minority in Gore. I don't know. Sometimes I was just like I [wished I] wasn't Māori. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

At times Terri-Leigh felt uncomfortable being of Māori descent because of these expectations. She felt that people would look at her or recognise from her last name that she was of Māori descent and make assumptions based on those two things alone. Because she was given her mother's surname as her last name, people were often unaware that her father was non-Māori, including her close friends.

Nobody had really met my dad. He lived in Australia most of my life and he was coming to watch netball. And I was like, "Oh my dad's over there", and one of my friends was like, "Where?", and I was like, "That guy over there", and she was like, "That white guy?", and I was like, "Yeah", and she was like, "Is your dad not Māori?", I was like, "No, I'm only half Māori", and she was like, "Oh..." I kind of got labelled as a 'plastic Māori'. Well I labelled myself it just cos when you get harassed about that you just make fun of it because that's how you deal with it.

Terri-Leigh the Māori?

Yeah well actually cos that's when *bro'Town*²⁷ come out so they were like "Jeff the Māori" and then they were like "Taka the Māori". [Taka] was my nick-name so I was like the token Māori at school. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

The term 'plastic Māori' is a colloquialism that refers to a person of Māori descent who wants to be seen as Māori but lacks the cultural, linguistic and conceptual depth. Terri-Leigh called herself a 'plastic Māori' as a coping mechanism for her lack of understanding and knowledge of *te ao Māori*. Because Terri-Leigh did not possess cultural traits expected of Māori people, such as the language, she was often seen to have a superficial Māori identity. Friends and people in the community were not privy to her home life and the fact that there were a number of Māori cultural processes she and her family followed and incorporated into their daily routine. Because the Māori population of Gore was also quite small, particularly within the schools Terri-Leigh

²⁷ *bro'Town* is a New Zealand television animated series which satirises the lives of five young Māori or Polynesian boys still at school. The show's creators are of Polynesian descent themselves and use their own experiences to express what it is like to grow up as a minority culture in Auckland. There are a number of un-politically correct, stereotypical references made throughout each episode about Māori and Pacific Islanders. These are deliberately included to undermine ethnic representation by employing reverse discourse. Such reversals, along with the employment of humour, were intended to expose such stereotyping to ridicule, thereby undermining their power.

attended, she was well aware of the minority status her Māori ethnicity placed her in. She also felt like she was the ‘token Māori’ at school and within the Gore community.

How did that make you feel though being the ‘token Māori’?

I don’t know. It’s kind of fun but sometimes you got sick of it. Because you’re the token Māori you’d take the micky out of yourself because that’s how you deal with people teasing you and stuff. And so people would generally just tease you back or whatever. I’d kinda just laugh it off but it was annoying because people wouldn’t take you seriously cos you’re the ‘tokenistic Māori’. So if you were talking seriously about something Māori they’d be like, “Oh well you don’t really know you’re just a plastic Māori” kind of thing.

Not very good for your self-esteem?

Yeah not really, but you just deal with it. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Expectations to know certain things because she is of Māori descent were prevalent until she was unable to live up to them. When people got to know her, particularly her close friends, they then expected her not to know anything at all. These expectations caused a change in Terri-Leigh’s cultural environment where she was then forced to try and understand who she was in relation to how others viewed her. Terri-Leigh used humour in a strategic way to joke about herself and as a coping mechanism for her lack of Māori cultural knowledge. However, when others started to use the same terms and humour to joke about her lack of knowledge she found it hurtful. The use of humour can also be self-deprecating and damaging to one’s identity, particularly when someone is in a minority status. When Terri-Leigh did try to engage in discussions over particular Māori issues she was not taken seriously because people viewed her as a ‘token Māori’. Other people did not have to take what she said seriously because they could use Terri-Leigh’s own joking self-definition back against her. That strategy would not have been available to them if she had not adopted this role in her efforts to cope with her position as a minority person (Mihsuah, 2003:100).

I was living with one of my friends for a couple of months when my mum went to work in Australia and she was going out with a Māori guy and he passed away. And cos it was a Māori funeral and they were white...her mum was a chef and she was like, “Isn’t there something about if you take food

somewhere it has to stay there? So we better take it to the right place” and they asked me and I was like, “Well I don’t know. I don’t really have any idea.” I think [I was] expected to know things about customs and stuff like that.

So when they asked you that, how did that make you feel?

Yeah definitely there’s a type of embarrassment there but I was just like, “Ah I don’t know.” And then they were just like, ‘Oh yeah that’s right, you don’t really know anything about being Māori.’ But I think definitely I was a wee bit embarrassed but you kind of just take it on the chin. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Inferences made about Terri-Leigh’s perceived cultural inabilities came from people who knew her rather than as a result of her physical characteristics. When others repeatedly commented on her lack of Māori cultural knowledge and attributed this to her being a ‘plastic’ Māori, Terri-Leigh laughed alongside them and played up to this role. It would seem Terri-Leigh began to internalise negative stereotypes that people thought about her personally and she felt powerless to disprove them. Her embarrassment then prevented her from being able to change people’s opinions of her. She stated that she took it on the chin and dealt with it and played up to the nickname. This may in fact have been her coping mechanism for dealing with her insecurities over not possessing the knowledge people expected her to have as a person identifying as a Māori.

Trish Moeke

Name-calling had an impact on Trish when she was still at primary school and she did not understand why it happened to her.

I was brought up knowing I was Ngāti Porou. I think what made me really notice I was different was getting called a nigger one day at [primary] school...I must have been about six or seven and a boy called me nigger and I went home and I asked Mum and Dad and I think that’s when I realised that being Māori-Pākehā was quite a big thing...Yeah [it] totally hurt that he’d said that and not embarrassed but there was some sort of sadness around being Māori at that stage when he called me that and not for the sake of being Māori but just because that was something that he was making out to be derogatory. (Moeke, 2009)

Taunts from other children are not uncommon but those that are racially charged are usually not

expected. The use of the term ‘nigger’ seems to be an unusual choice in that it is not a derogatory word commonly used in New Zealand. It suggests that in the early 1980s at least part of the Pākehā population in Southland continued to reflect an extremely negative view of Māori. In the ethnic identity models presented in Chapter Five, it is expected that a person will endure a social event, usually involving some type of racial prejudice, which causes them to begin questioning their ethnic self. Whilst Trish was aware that she was Māori and of Ngāti Porou descent, which for her was a positive thing, the taunts by this particular child made her question the worth of her ethnicity as it was made out to be something she should be embarrassed, or even ashamed, about. Her parents were able to reassure her that being Māori was something to be proud of, but the experience certainly impacted on her Māori identity awareness she felt compelled to recall the incident, even after all these years, during the course of the interview.

Trish can also recall instances where she was expected to possess certain cultural knowledge because she openly identified as Māori. But this was not always the case. These expectations began when she was at primary school.

I remember being in the classroom and always being pointed out by teachers like, “Oh Trish will understand this because she’s Māori.” Legends of Māui or the story of Paikea, “Oh Trish will know about this because these are her ancestors.” And feeling under pressure and feeling like, not a stupid Māori, but someone who didn’t totally identify. Like my whole world wasn’t Māori because of Mum so then feeling stupid that I didn’t know what the teachers expected me to know which when I look back now, what a pack of idiots putting that pressure on a kid. I was 10 years old. (Moeke, 2009)

These were unfair expectations to place on a child of only 10 years of age, and the emotions felt by Trish were typical of anyone put in that situation. Those expectations occurred through her adult life and continue now.

I was involved with Rape Crisis and I was one of the national Māori reps on the board so of course people always asked me a lot of stuff there. But that led on to any community group I joined in Wakatipu [Queenstown]. In that area I was always asked questions about *tikanga Māori* and now because of my work if people have any questions about things Māori they’ll email me and say, “Can

you help me with this? I need to name this *whare* [house]”. They think you’re [this] super genius person and I’m always quite honest I’ll say, “No I don’t know but I’ve got a cousin who works in that area so I’ll ask him” or, “That’s my daughter’s *whakapapa* so I’ll ask her nanny” or, just whatever. I suppose all the time people just expect that you know everything. (Moeke, 2009)

Expectations have been placed on Trish that she possess a wide range of Māori cultural and linguistic knowledge her entire life. She is secure in the knowledge that she does have, particularly that relating to her *whānau* and tribe. She recognises her limitations and is confident to say so without this revelation causing embarrassment.

Trish’s physical features have never been a problem and this is probably symbolic of the fact that at the time of the interview she lived in Queenstown. Queenstown is widely regarded as a tourist town which attracts a high number of overseas visitors from all around the world many of whom decide to stay there on a semi-permanent basis. It is hard to distinguish between the different ethnic backgrounds of the people that live or visit there.

Damian Reedy

Expectations to know certain things because he was of Māori descent were not placed on Damian until later on in his life. Having grown up in the tight-knit community of Bluff, people were already aware of his background and did not place these expectations upon him. Although he could not recall specific situations or events in which people expected him to know things because he was of Māori descent, his time in the Army meant that he was exposed to Māori cultural processes that he was not that familiar with.

More so on the *marae* type activities like a *tangi*, *pōwhiri* and that. I thought I was expected to know certain protocols and that. The traveling around I did with the Army and that and going to different *iwis hapus* and tribes I didn’t actually learn about their protocols and that along the way, which made it sort of hard. (Reedy, 2007)

It would seem that he was expected to already have a familiarity with *marae* processes because

he was of Māori descent. He did not have this knowledge and experience and as a result of that assumption by others he was not explicitly taught the protocols associated with *marae* proceedings. Damian has not yet visited his own *marae* and he does not tribally affiliate to the Southland area, therefore he did not have the opportunity to participate in events at the *marae* in Bluff because he did not *whakapapa* to it.

Assumptions were also made when people found out his last name was ‘Reedy’.

Oh everyone’s heard of them everywhere I go even when I moved to Australia: “Oh you must be from the East Coast? You must know this person and that person and that person?” I pretty much have to say, “Not really cause I’ve never been to the East Coast before in my life.” I’ve never met most of the family so it makes it hard sometimes when people start rattling names and that off. I just don’t think they understand that I was brought up down South. When I first joined the Army they chose me to do a documentary on Māori people joining the Army solely on my last name and as soon as I said that I was brought up in the South Island they pretty much threw me away and picked somebody else.

So when people ask you about certain people with the same last name as you and you don’t know them how does that make you feel?

Yeah sad in a way. I’d love to know more about my family but Dad’s pretty cagey about it. There’s a lot of bad blood running around there, but yeah, he’s slowly coming around and telling me more and more every time I ask. (Reedy, 2007)

Because Reedy is such a prominent last name that is known widely within Māori society it is always assumed that Damian will know others with the same last name. When he explains his background and where he grew up he is then thought of as not Māori enough, or looked down upon for not knowing his *whakapapa* connections. This indicates that for most people knowledge of *whakapapa* and attachment to place are important markers of Māori identity. Place in this instance refers to tribal homelands. It would seem that there are very tight boundaries around the ‘authentic Māori’ as indicated by the listing of Māori cultural identity markers listed in Chapter Six. If you do not measure up then your authenticity as Māori is in doubt.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Expectations were placed upon Michelle by other members of the Bluff community to participate in Māori events and activities that were occurring in Bluff, simply because she is of Māori descent. This expectation most likely occurred because her family were also involved in the community in a variety of other ways, particularly in sport. When Michelle moved to Queenstown she was able to escape these expectations because of the transient nature of the people that live there. Physically, it is also difficult to distinguish between ethnicities of the people who reside in Queenstown either permanently or on a casual basis. Once tourists find out she is of Māori descent they tend to be inquisitive about Māori culture in general and often ask Michelle questions, to which sometimes she does not have the answer. The intergenerational transmission of Māori cultural knowledge was virtually non-existent during Michelle's childhood. However, because she openly claims to being Māori, she is subject to the stereotypical expectations from others that she must have extensive Māori cultural knowledge.

Michelle is not one who lends herself to being baited into forming an opinion on Māori political and/or social issues. She is aware of these issues but is not overly interested in them because she does not “know enough information, enough background to be able to have an informed opinion” (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). However, Michelle is aware of her Māori knowledge limitations and stated: “If it's something I know I'd answer them. If it's something I didn't I'd just say I don't know have a look on YouTube, have a look on the internet” (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). Unlike Trish, who also lived in Queenstown at the time of the interview, Michelle does not have an extensive network of Māori family and contacts to turn to for support or provide information.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked primarily at four areas significant to the Māori identity development of the participants during their childhood through to adulthood: the realisation of their Māori ethnicity, the transmission of Māori knowledge from their parents, their current ethnic identity choice and the impact this choice has had on their interactions with others.

All of the participants described their upbringing as predominantly Pākehā. All the participants grew up in communities where the population was mainly Pākehā. They also all had one Pākehā parent, and extended members of this side of their family living close by that they interacted with. As they became aware of the factors that have commonly been associated with a Māori identity they recognised the absence of these things within their own childhood. It would seem that they have compared their own upbringing against these indicators and concluded that the lack of such things in their lives meant that their upbringing was largely Pākehā.

For most of the participants, the contribution of their Māori parent towards their Māori identity development was minimal. For the majority of the participants the amount and type of information about their Māori ethnic background relayed to them through their parents during their childhood was negligible. They were aware of their Māori ethnic identity and it was never hidden from them but, for many, their parents did not think it was something that needed to be overtly developed within them. Their parents may have been affected, especially in their early lives, by the strong assimilatory values of New Zealand society which generally undervalued the importance of Māori cultural identity and ethnicity. This in turn impacted on how they relayed Māori cultural knowledge to their children. However, this did not have a detrimental effect on the participants' decision to state categorically that they were of both Māori and non-Māori

descent. Nor did it affect their ability to develop coping mechanisms that enabled them to deal with the consequences such a decision created.

In the absence of a strong Māori orientated home environment, how did the participants develop their Māori identity to a point where they were comfortable acknowledging both ethnicities, or even putting their Māori one first, despite having had a stronger affinity with their Pākehā ethnicity during their formative years? There were some instances in which the participants identified extended family members who aided in this development. The *whānau* is said to be one of the key areas in which a child's identity is developed. The following chapter will look at how the participants' Māori ethnic identity developed during their growing up in Southland. The focus will be on the roles played by family and whānau, both immediate and extended members, including those people who acted as surrogate kin during these critical years.

Chapter 8

Whānau/Family and Identity

Real life whānau do not and should not be expected to conform too closely to the constructed model. Each has its own character, its own degree of integration and effectiveness, created and recreated out of the interaction between the personalities of its members and the circumstances of time and place. Members' right to work out their own identity and tikanga must always be respected. (Metge, 1995:78)

Introduction

Theoretical approaches to identity construction, as presented in Chapter Five, suggest that one's identity is socially constructed by belonging to a social group or groups and experiencing the emotional significance attached to that membership. In Chapter Six it was proven that the social groups which lie at the core of Māori identity development and maintenance throughout New Zealand are the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. A key contributor to Māori identity formation derives from membership within these kin groups. The people within this collective are normally related to each other through *whakapapa*. The fundamental ecology in which Māori identities are formed is said to be based around the *whānau*. The socialisation of *whānau* members uses cultural knowledge and values as a tool for identity development based on being a part of that particular *whānau*.

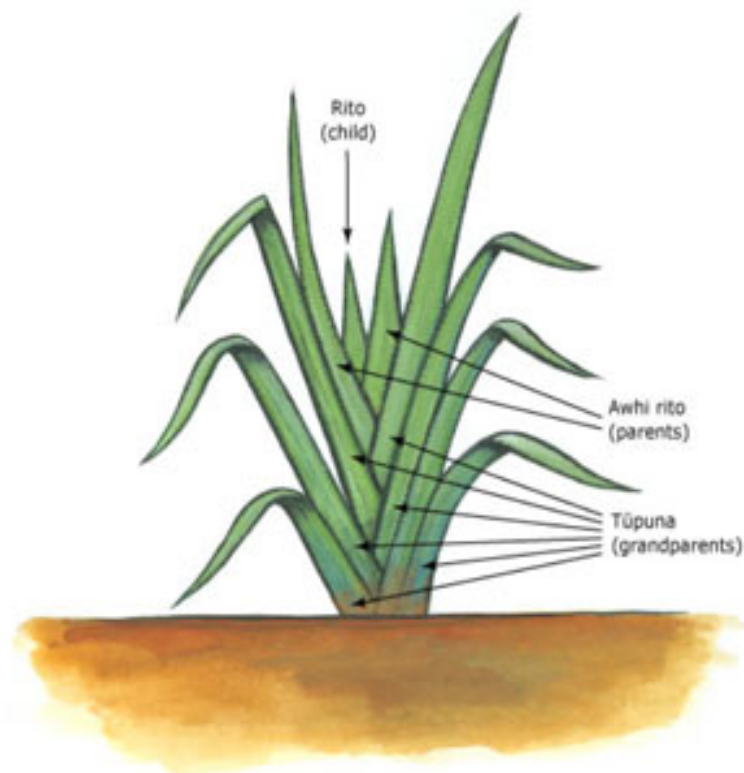
During New Zealand's colonial period much of the social, political and economic power of *iwi* and *hapū* was weakened, particularly within those whose members moved away from their tribal area. The *whānau* unit remained one of the more enduring collectives in Māori society during this time, but it was severely undermined as a functional unit during the main period of Māori urbanisation. This chapter will look at the concept of *whānau* in pre- and post-European Māori society, the functions of the *whānau* and its role in ethnic identity development. It will then look at the significance this social group played in the Māori identity development of the participants,

in particular, with their extended descent based *whānau* in comparison with their *whānau* members on their Pākehā side.

***Whānau* – Pre-European Māori Society**

The *whānau* is often likened to the flax bush with the new growth (*rito*, child) emerging from the centre shoot, and flanked on either side by its parents (*awhi rito*) so that they create a fan-like appearance. Further blades (*tūpuna*, grandparents) help support the development of the bush and the continued growth of new blades.

Figure 10. The harakeke *whānau*



Source: (<http://www.paharakeke.co.nz/about/harakeke-folklore-rituals>)

The roots of the numerous fans that make a flax bush are entwined around each other which is symbolic of the many genealogical ties that bind each person within that immediate and extended *whānau* unit. It is said that they are so entangled that only a sharp spade can separate them

(Metge, 1995:15). Metaphorically speaking, there would have to be a cataclysmic event to cause these connections to break and for the family unit to become dysfunctional.

Prior to European arrival the *whānau* was the basic social unit and comprised “several parent-child families related by descent and marriage, moving between several living sites and engaging in a variety of productive activities under the leadership of a kaumātua (household head)” (Metge, 1995:16). The exact composition of each *whānau* differed depending on the needs of its members. It typically comprised of at least three generations from one couple, all their descendants and in-married spouses. In some cases it expanded to include the head of the household’s brothers and/or sisters, their spouses and their descendants. It was essentially the *whānau* which formed the base unit collectively responsible for the management of daily life; with each *whānau* looking after their own social and economic affairs.

A key function of the *whānau* was the rearing of children. Parents were generally involved in activities that focused on the sustainability of the household, and as there was usually at least three generations residing within a household, the main child rearing responsibilities were left to the elder members of the *whānau*. As most members of the *whānau* (with the exception of some in-married spouses) were descended from a common ancestor, it was up to the older generations to ensure that the children received an education that preserved genealogical information, relayed historical facts, and provided instruction on tribal lore. They were taught appropriate forms of behaviour and cultural boundaries, and as they grew older would begin to assist their parents in their duties and hone their skills in these areas (Metge, 1995:176-190).

With the transmission of knowledge over successive generations the characteristics of that

whānau were formed and moulded. Children were collectively raised by immediate and extended members of the *whānau* and this collaborative effort ensured that they were raised with an identity as a member of that particular *whānau*. The development of *whānau* ideologies guided their approach to certain situations and occasions and helped them in dealing with a variety of events (Cram & Pitama, 1998:133-4).

Whānau – Post-European Māori Society

The arrival of Europeans in New Zealand resulted in many social, political and economic changes within Māori society. The introduction of Christianity from the 1820s disrupted the traditional patterns of shared child rearing by stressing nuclear families where women were the primary caregivers for their own children (Cram & Pitama, 1998:139). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries first confiscation and then widespread land sales changed the nature of Māori society. Diminishing land resources meant that a previously subsistence lifestyle was unsustainable and unable to adequately provide for a growing population. Following the Second World War many Māori had to leave the rural areas where they lived in order to survive in New Zealand's capitalist society. Leaving their tribal area was a choice that many Māori were forced to make (see Chapter Two).

The impact of the movement of young Māori migrants from the rural to urban areas of New Zealand from the 1950s onwards was profound. This mass rural to urban shift placed a lot of strain on *whānau* and their abilities to function as they previously had. According to Fiona Cram and Suzanne Pitama (1982:142), “the stresses of urbanisation have possibly been the greatest threat to *whānau*”.

Urbanisation really presented the first major challenge to the stable continuity. From the family point of view, the supports for Maori child rearing, and their Maori character structure, became attenuated, and for many simply disappeared. No longer were grandparents and other relatives around to act as parent surrogates. (Ritchie, 1972:94)

Notwithstanding the negative effects of colonisation on Māori society, urbanisation disrupted a collective lifestyle where caring for others children and distributing resources amongst the *whānau* was no longer guaranteed. In some instances the security and support that the *whānau* provided in the rural environment was non-existent in the city. The effectiveness of the *whānau* to provide an environment in which children were socialised and educated knowing the core values of the group's identity ceased. *Whānau* members became geographically dispersed all over the country and overseas.

Geographic scattering reduces the frequency with which whanau members see and interact with each other, and thus adversely affects bonding, limits opportunities for young people to participate in whanau activities and learn from older relatives and increase misunderstandings between those who "keep the home fires burning" and those who travel abroad. (Metge, 2001:22)

It could therefore be said that the urbanisation of the Māori population was the 'sharp spade' alluded to previously by Metge (1995) that began severing the bonds between *whānau* members.

While some migrants chose to organise themselves around tribal structures and continued to incorporate cultural practices into their lifestyle there were many who did not. There was one migrant participant in the first part of this thesis who experienced the *whānau* as violent and abusive and welcomed the distance he put between them. As migrants progressively integrated into the city, an evolution of different family lifestyles developed. Migrants formed new relationships and relied less on their descent group based *whānau* for support. Urbanisation allowed new *whānau* formations to be developed that did not necessarily rely on *whakapapa* connections for them to be functional and purposeful for their members, and for as long as the need was there (Metge, 1995:60). Metge (2001) has noted that there are at least fifteen

interpretations of ‘*whānau*’ and a number of different meanings can also be provided for the term ‘family’. Quite often those who are familiar with the multiple meanings of both words will not clarify what interpretation of either term they are referring to and it is common to slide from one meaning to another without signalling the change (Metge, 2001:19). Due to the movement of many *whānau* members from their tribal area, the definition of *whānau* has since expanded, especially given the flexibility with which the compositions of families change, to more realistically accommodate the multiple forms that *whānau* have evolved into today.

Whānau members are now presented with a choice as to whether or not they will activate their *whānau* membership and how much time and effort they are able or willing to invest in this group. The responsibilities of *whānau* membership are no longer prescribed at birth nor adhered to throughout a person’s lifetime. The purposes for which those responsibilities and obligations existed are no longer present, or have been replaced with other commitments. Despite this there is still a natural inclination for Māori in urban areas to operate in a communal way similar to that which lies at the core of descent-based *whānau* success. *Whānau* are now no longer bound by their historical residential locations or geographical tribal boundaries. The expansive definitions of *whānau* in a contemporary context are Māori responses to colonisation and urbanisation. The definitions embrace those Māori who are living outside of their tribal areas who wish to continue to operate collectively for the benefit of all its members.

The formation of *whānau* today does not necessarily have to rely on *whakapapa* connections. This is particularly useful for those who have become dislocated from their descent-based *whānau*, but still wish to operate in accordance with the underlying principles of *whānau*. It is the members of this type of group that refer to themselves as *whānau*, indicating the type of

commitment required of this group. These types of *whānau* are often referred to as *kaupapa whānau*. *Kaupapa whānau* exist for a number of reasons, for example, some may be organised around educational purposes (*kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori*), religious denominations, community or neighbourhood gatherings, sports teams and work. The values and obligations that underlie descent-based *whānau* have been transported to form the basis of *kaupapa whānau* groups (Cram & Pitama, 1998:149). *Whānau* is used to symbolise a connection and commitment to the members for whatever purpose that may be.

Functions of the *Whānau*

Given the multi-faceted descriptions of *whānau*, it goes without saying that the different types of *whānau* fulfil a number of roles and perform a variety of functions suitable for its members at any given point in time. By claiming membership within a *whānau*, one indicates that they are ready, willing and able to accept the roles and responsibilities that being a member of that *whānau* requires. Metge (1995) provides a list of some of these duties which are summarised in the following list:

1. The support and succour of individual members and parent-child families.
2. The care and upbringing of the children of group members, who are regarded as the responsibility, not of their parents only, but of the *whānau* as a whole.
3. The care and management of group buildings, for example, *marae*.
4. The organisation of hui to mark important events in the life of *whānau* members or of the *whānau* as a whole.
5. To deal with its own internal problems and conflicts. (Metge, 1995:66-72)

No matter where its members are geographically located *whānau* are able to fulfil most of the functions listed above. However, urbanisation has relegated the regular management and upkeep of group buildings as the responsibility of those still residing in the tribal area and it has hindered the ability of all descent-based *whānau* members to share in the duty to care for and help bring up children.

Durie (2003) also provides six primary responsibilities that are expected of *whānau* which can be used to measure the status of *whānau* in modern times.

The capacity to care (*manaakitia*) for all members of the *whānau*. If the *whānau* is not able to perform this duty through the lack of available resources and the ability of members (geographical, financial or otherwise) then “the fundamental purpose of the *whānau* has been lost”.

The capacity to share (*tohatohatia*). This includes a redistribution of wealth emphasising selflessness for the good of the collective. In this way *whānau* are also able to act as an appropriate support system in times of hardship.

The capacity for guardianship (*pupuri taonga*). *Whānau* are expected to act as trustees and guardians of the *whānau*'s cultural and physical resources in order for all members of the *whānau* to gain access to it.

The capacity to empower (*whakamana*) and develop human capital by facilitating the entry of *whānau* members into the wider community.

The capacity to plan ahead (*whakatakoto tikanga*). Long-term planning is likely to be the key to creating sustainable futures for the *whānau* and “is probably the most important *whānau* function, though is likely to be the one which is least practiced”.

The capacity for growth (*whakatini*) in terms of population size and the number of *whānau* members. (Durie, 2003:23-4)

This discussion of *whānau* capabilities acknowledges the fact that not all *whānau* are able to successfully meet these expectations. Geographical distancing from one another, financial restrictions and animosity between *whānau* members inhibit the ability of some to access resources and develop the social and economic capacity for the future of the *whānau* (Durie, 2003:23-4). This therefore hinders the sustainability of the *whānau* unit as the fundamental structure responsible for socialising and educating its members as a member of that collective unit.

***Whānau* and Identity Development**

Socialisation within the *whānau* is a significant contributing factor to the cultural identity development of its members. Being raised within this social unit allows for the transmission of cultural knowledge to occur that helps shape the identity of each *whānau*. The shared cultural beliefs that underpin this knowledge, which in turn contribute to the identity and characteristics

of the *whānau* and its members, ensures participatory membership within the *whānau*. The identity of the *whānau* impacts on the environment that children are exposed to and socialised in when they are young, and which ultimately determines the level of Māori cultural identity that is assumed. The level of identity in turn impacts on the connectedness of one person to another within the *whānau* (Cunningham, Stevenson, & Tassell, 2005:37-8).

Limited exposure to one's *whānau* during their childhood will result in a fragmented Māori cultural identity due to the child not being raised within the social unit primarily responsible for imparting, fostering and developing this child's Māori identity. Durie (1996 in Hoskins, 2007:3) claims that "access to one's practices and a sense of belonging to location both physically and within a cultural framework combine to create a security of identity". The geographical distancing of Māori migrants from their tribal area has made it difficult for many Māori children to be raised within these units. The amount of interaction they have is dependent on their parents' willingness to impart this information and their financial capacity to undertake the often long journeys required to return to their tribal area and expose their children to the people, the landscape and the knowledge contained there.

The amount of exposure a person has to their descent-based *whānau* will determine how their Māori cultural identity will develop as a member of that *whānau*. A high number of return visits throughout childhood will consolidate that person's identity and lead to sustained visits in their adulthood. With parents acting as intermediaries throughout their childhood with their *whānau*, these children already have a relationship with them. This makes it easier for them to return as adults without feeling out of place. They also participate in *iwi*, *hapū* or *whānau* affairs, take responsibility for the maintenance of communal areas such as the *marae* and *urupā* (cemetery)

and have obligations to return for various occasions.

The spatial separation of *whānau* today combined with associated financial costs, makes it difficult for migrants and their families to maintain regular visits to their tribal homes. The effects of limited contact are highlighted below:

Identity is central to psychological function and is of increased importance for members of displaced ethnic or indigenous groups. Low self esteem, a sense of lack of belonging, and discrimination can combine to erode identity (Phinney, 1990). Such negative impacts on identity are increased when coupled with alienation from culture and environment and are therefore of particular interest for Māori living in areas that are physically and culturally foreign to them.

Identity is a key component contributing to Māori development. Impacts on identity are relevant at all levels, individuals, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Membership and participation within ethnic groups, families and social units is integral to having a strong identity. Finding positive experiences and interactions with social groups results in the intrinsic cultural and spiritual development of people that eventually is manifested in tangible positive development. (Hoskins, 2007:1)

Some of the parents of the participants involved in this research decided that the financial burden of frequent visits to their tribal area and regular exposure to their extended *whānau* was a cost they were willing to absorb in order to foster their Māori cultural identity. Other participants did not have regular exposure, if any at all, to the extended *whānau* of their Māori parent. However, this does not necessarily mean that their Māori identity suffered as a consequence of not being raised within this social structure. The remainder of this chapter will look at the participants' responses to the notion of *whānau* and family, the roles these groupings played in their lives and the impact these units have had on the development of their Māori identity.

Participants' *Whānau*/Family

This chapter has so far shown that the individual takes a subjective point of view when defining what *whānau* means to them. They are also selective about what *whānau* groupings they are a member of. *Whānau* fulfil a number of roles and are expected to perform a variety of functions

depending on the needs of their members. Some of those responsibilities are cross-cultural and can be seen in families of other ethnicities. Five out of the six participants were raised with their non-Māori extended families and, as a result, they have different experiences and expectations. This section will look at the roles and impacts that their Māori and Pākehā families, both immediate and extended, have played and the meaning these social networks have in their lives.

Hera Fisher

Hera grew up with minimal interaction with her Māori family. She believes that the term *whānau* and family are interchangeable but does not use the term *whānau* often.

To me they're one and the same but I would very rarely use the word *whānau* and think of my family...I would more use *whānau* in a support group rather than my direct blood line...Friends, teachers/colleagues who are Māori who are part of our *whānau* yeah like I said I would very rarely use it.

Family? I guess if I think family [the] first thing that pops into my mind are my immediate family, brothers, mother and their kids, our kids. We don't have a lot to do with Mum's, some of Mum's family live in Southland and we don't have a huge amount to do with them but there is definitely a link when we get together you know we have lots of things in common. How do you define family? I don't know I always think of family as I mean people that are always there for you and that will forgive you for your sins and your shortfalls and I have lots of friends that would be under my family umbrella too. (Fisher, 2008)

Despite initially claiming that *whānau* and family are interchangeable terms that mean the same thing, upon further analysis, Hera actually makes clear distinctions between the two. She tends to use one of the more expansive definitions of *whānau* to provide a collective term for those she interacts with on an occasional basis. In this instance many of those that she chooses to include in her use of the term *whānau* are not related by blood. They are described as a support group but are not required to conform to the functions, roles and responsibilities ascribed to the classical idea of *whānau*. Rather than being related by *whakapapa* it is more important for Hera to include in her '*whānau*' people who she can rely on and who form an additional support network. In this way she is able to use the expansiveness of the word '*whānau*' to show her emotional attachment

to these people in a way that the term family does not allow.

The members of Hera's immediate family, that is her parents, siblings, in-laws, nieces and nephews, are very close. They all still live in Invercargill and there is only an 18 month age difference between each of the siblings. Hera's mother was born, raised and continues to reside in Invercargill. Hera's maternal extended family, including grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins were present in her life when she was growing up. Some are still based in Invercargill and she continues to see them on an occasional basis. However, even though they do not play a significant role in her life now she feels that she would still be able to rely on them if needed.

They're just guests at weddings, see them at Christmas, don't see them as much and whenever we get together we say, "We should do this more often", and we never do and yet I know too that they're there for me if anything were to happen I mean they'd give me whatever I needed. (Fisher, 2008)

The same, however, cannot be said of her father's side of the family; the majority of whom she has never met.

I [knew] Dad's niece who was brought up as his sister and was reasonably close to the family cos she lived down here for maybe 15-20 years but she passed away two years ago. My mother talks to my father's sister-in-law regularly, they're both Pākehā, and they have that in common. Whenever Mum went up north she was kind of her ally. But no...if anything were to happen to my brothers and my Mum wasn't there to notify them, I don't even think I would notify them yeah real distant. (Fisher, 2008)

This shows that the extended *whānau* network of blood-kin relations is not always functional for some members. The roles that *whānau* are expected to play and the functions that they are typically supposed to carry out are not always ones they are able to perform. Hera's father's decision to relocate himself a long distance away from his tribal area has meant that the core function of the *whānau* as a collective responsible for the socialisation and the Māori cultural identity development of its members was no longer able to be performed for his children.

Manu Paringatai

Manu travelled to the East Coast a couple of times up until her grandparents passed away when she was three years old. It was not until she was in her early twenties that she returned there again and was able to reconnect with members of her Māori family. Therefore, the influence of her Māori *whānau* during this time on her Māori identity development was minimal. Manu believes that the two terms are similar, and includes those people who are linked to you one way or another.

I think if you were to define *whānau* is your extended family and those that even though they aren't linked directly to you by blood they are in some way. Family in a more Western sort of view is Mum, Dad, two kids or five kids or whatever and that's your immediate family and then you have your nieces, nephews, aunties, uncles and that's your family. (Paringatai, 2008)

Like Hera, Manu uses the term *whānau* in a more inclusive way to incorporate those people who are not related to her by *whakapapa*. This is in direct contrast to her narrow view of family which only includes immediate, nuclear family members. Having grown up away from her tribal area, and within a Pākehā community, it is likely that these life experiences have formed her idea of what a family is. It may also be the fact that both Hera and Manu's immediate family includes Pākehā and the term family is more reflective of their ethnicity.

Manu also states that "Family and *whānau*, I said that they were interchangeable but they're your blood family and then they're your family that you've been brought up to call family even though they may be no blood relation" (Paringatai, 2008). This provides another interpretation of *whānau* to include close family friends of her parents who fulfilled extended familial roles of pseudo aunties, uncles, grandparents and cousins. They may not be directly related by blood, but have still had some sort of influence or impact on the person at some stage in their life.

Manu states that her *whānau* (immediate, extended and *kaupapa*) all play an important role in her life and fulfil different functions.

They're carers, they're supporters, they're nurturers, they're somebody to lean on, somebody to talk to, they're always there when you need them, they're people that actually smile when they see you...they're somebody that you can count on no matter what, they're somebody that you can ring up in the middle of the night and say, "I've messed up royally" and they're actually there to listen to [you]. Even though you'd have to choose carefully which one of those *whānau* members you'd choose [to talk to] they're still there for you no matter what. And even if you really piss them off and you do something that really hurts them, they'll get over it cause they're family, they're *whānau*. (Paringatai, 2008)

Interestingly, Manu states that you would have to be careful with the *whānau* members that you would choose to contact in times of trouble (Paringatai 2008). *Whānau* relationships and the tensions that can be created from a mixture of different personalities working together is something that cannot be avoided. However, any issues that do arise are resolved because the benefit of the collective is of the utmost importance.

Trish Moeke

Although Trish grew up with and interacted more with her Pākehā family in Invercargill, regular return visits to the East Coast ensured that she also interacted with her Māori family. Trish will refer to both families as *whānau* and family but because of its more encompassing nature she will tend to use *whānau* more often.

Whānau, and I talk about *whānau* to my Pākehā family like if I go visiting I'll be like, "I've just come to see the *whānau*" and, "The Wakatipu *whānau* is good" I just talk like that to them I don't actually use the word family much I suppose...*Whānau* is, it's bigger than family, it's involving. So when I say family I think instantly Mum, Dad, brothers, sisters, aunties, uncles and the aunties and uncles are only siblings to my parents and I only have two grandparents in my family, sorry I have four grandparents. Then when I think *whānau* I think cousins that are fifth cousins or sixth cousins...Nannies I've got so many Nannies and Pāpās in my *whānau* it's not funny. Aunties and uncles there's just hundreds of those just bigger more inclusive I suppose. *Whānau* I just feel like it's a bit more warm than family but whereas the family that I do have are beautiful people and it is really warm, it's just small. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish acknowledges that family has a distinctive use in her vocabulary to describe those

immediate members of her family, but she will also use the term *whānau* in reference to them. Whilst Trish will use both terms to describe members of both her immediate and extended families, she is more inclined to use *whānau* because of the encompassing nature of the term particularly when the genealogical connection is somewhat obscure or distant. She has been able to develop relationships with people who are distantly related to her and their friendship transcends beyond mere acknowledgment of these links to the point where they have some sort of emotional association with each other.

Trish is extremely close with all forms of her *whānau*. The people she includes within these various groupings play significant roles in her life.

I just wouldn't be who I am without my *whānau* and if I am ever down or need something it's always the family that I first go to. That's my being. Who I am is my *whānau* so [they have] a huge impact and big roles. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish was brought up knowing members of both her Māori and Pākehā families. This has meant that she has an extensive network upon which she can draw support. However, by using the term family she has shown that it is her immediate family that she would turn to in the first instance for help.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Unlike all the other participants, Terri-Leigh was the only one to grow up amongst some members of her extended Māori family. She had very little to do with her Pākehā family and has only recently begun developing a relationship with them. Terri-Leigh was initially hesitant to definitively say that the terms *whānau* and family encompassed the same meanings. She regularly uses the term family but when asked if she uses the term *whānau* often she replied:

Probably not really. I'm not sure why but generally I would think they were the same except for maybe that *whānau* was more extending to aunts and uncles and things like that. I would use family interchangeably with *whānau*. Most people, most of my friends would use 'family' as immediate family but I would use family in the same [way] as *whānau*. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Some of Terri-Leigh's mother's sisters had also moved to Gore and their spouses and children were present in her life when she was growing up. There are also other aunts, uncles and cousins living elsewhere in the country that she did not have significant contact with when she was growing up. Whilst she travelled back to her tribal area with her aunt when she was very young she was not at a stage in her life where understanding *whānau* dynamics and *whakapapa* relationships was a priority for her.

My Aunt...used to steal me every weekend, holidays, and stuff so I'd always cruise around with her. So she'd go up north a couple of times when I was little so I knew [another] Aunt. I think she's the only one who I met up north although I'm pretty sure I met some other ones but I can't remember. But other than that they would come down for a holiday...so I know who they are but then there are others who I have no idea. I just know them as a name.

Would you call them family or would you call them whānau?

I don't know. I don't really use *whānau* very much to be honest so I'd say they were my family. I don't think I have that much of a connection with them like family in the actual family sense...*Whānau* I think I associate with more of a close relationship...maybe just cos they're related to you they're family but maybe not so much *whānau*. I think there's more of a relationship when you use the term *whānau*. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Despite Terri-Leigh's confusion, she was able to articulate that, in her opinion, although *whānau* was more of an expansive term she only tended to use it when close relationships had been developed. Those members of her family that she had not met, only knew by name, and had not developed any substantial relationship with, were members of her family because of their shared *whakapapa*. Conversely, the parents and grandparents of her close friends who had a significant involvement in her life when she was growing up constituted Terri-Leigh's *whānau*, highlighting the close relationship she had with these people. Growing up in a small community, and being heavily involved in extra-curricular activities, allowed Terri-Leigh to forge solid friendships with people from outside of her blood related family group to the point where she considered them her

whānau because of their close relationship with one another.

Terri-Leigh was fortunate that she had close members of her extended Māori family living in the same town as her when she was growing up and they played important roles in her life.

My Aunty, who's the oldest in mum's family, [she] had a really supportive role because [she's] the oldest and they kind of like helped out a lot. My [other] aunties, they all had children quite young and then they'd break up with their partners so they adopted quite a few of them so they had that same kind of role with us. Although mum was real stubborn and would never let them adopt us even though they wanted to. So yeah I think they've all had quite a supportive role when I was growing up.

I don't know mum was probably just [your] average mum. I don't really know what the average mum is so she just fed us and nurtured us and stuff like that. My older brother and sister were always quite supportive of me; just playing sport and going to school and stuff. Now though I think moving away I don't know our relationships probably haven't been as strong because of that distance and so when we see each other...we get on real well but during the semester we're not that great at giving each other phone calls and stuff. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

The roles that Terri-Leigh's descent-based *whānau* played throughout her childhood typically align with those outlined earlier in this chapter in relation to the functions of this type of *whānau*. They would care for her as a child and she enjoyed spending time travelling around with them. Whilst she met other members of her family that were not living in Gore she did not form the same type of relationship as she did with those who were living in the same town as her. As migrants integrate themselves into a new community and form new support networks they become less reliant on those that they left behind. Communication becomes less frequent although there is still a certain amount of ease when meeting face to face. Terri-Leigh recognised that the same thing was occurring between her and her older sisters when she moved from Gore to Dunedin.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle did not grow up amongst members of either her Māori or Pākehā families. Because Michelle's extended family was largely absent when she was growing up, they were replaced

with people with whom she developed close friendships with. It is these people who she considers her *whānau*.

I didn't have a lot to do with most of my relatives up North so it was more the people that I got brought up with like [my childhood neighbour and close friend] who's a piece of the furniture.

So the idea of whānau has shifted because of where you were brought up?

Yup definitely.

So who would you consider as your whānau?

My direct family, people I grew up with, my best friends, my partner, my partner's family and some of our friends that we've met in Queenstown. (Rogers-Hoff, 2008)

For Michelle these people are more important to her than her blood relations because they have had more of an influence on her life (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). When discussing the similarities or differences between the two terms Michelle responded that family and *whānau* are not the same thing and the difference is that “*whānau* is sort of a whole community thing to me and family is my Mum and Dad and my brothers...That blood line thing, immediate close knit family” (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). Again, Michelle utilises the more expansive definition of *whānau* to include the people she has developed close relationships with but to whom she is not related by blood. There is no other term in English that would allow her to do the same. She has used the term family in a similar way to other participants to mean her immediate family.

Due to the minimal contact with her extended families on both her Māori and Pākehā sides Michelle states that they do not play a significant role in her life and have no influence over how she was raised. As a result they did not contribute to her Māori identity development. News of a death in the extended family was the only contact Michelle had with her extended family and this information was generally relayed to her father. Instead, her immediate family and close family friends impacted on Michelle's upbringing as well as the development of her Māori identity.

Damian Reedy

Damian grew up with constant and regular interaction with members of his Pākehā family. His mother's siblings are very close, despite a number of them living in Australia, but they always maintained and continue to maintain regular contact. When he was younger Damian also spent time with some members of his Māori family, particularly those who had moved to the South Island and those who lived in Wellington. Damian has a slightly different view of *whānau* and instead uses an expanded definition of family to include more than those immediate family members.

Family to me is pretty much my [partner] and my kids, brothers and partners, Mum, Dad. I didn't know much of Dad's side of the family but the ones I know of I consider them family. I'd do anything for them. I grew up with Mum's side of the family and they're pretty much important to me as well... *Whānau* to me is immediate family that I have contact with regularly wife, kids, Mum, Dad, brother. That's pretty much it for me.

So given those two definitions do you think these two terms are the same? Whānau and family?

To me *whānau* is more immediate family that you have regular contact with, family is more extended out may have contact with once or twice a year or thereabouts. (Reedy, 2007)

Within his definition of family he tends to include extended members of both sides of his family that he has a relationship with. It would seem that Damian relates the term *whānau* with a closeness that is not necessarily replicated when he thinks of the term family and the people who he would include under this definition.

At the time of the interview Damian included his ex-wife's siblings within his extended family network as a support system that he relies heavily on. She was born in Australia but raised in New Zealand. Her family was an effective means of support he and his family utilised when they first moved to Australia. Contact with his own Māori blood-kin also residing in Australia is limited and usually revolves around the needs of each individual.

[I] don't really have much to do with cousins cause they predominantly just don't come and visit. I think I've seen one of them once in two years when another cousin moved over. The only time he come and visited when he needed something be it job or money or whatever but other than that I don't really have much to do with them. (Reedy, 2007)

Damian grew up in a close, extended Pākehā family network. Moving away from Bluff when he was 17 years old to join the New Zealand Army meant that the relationships he had with his cousins became somewhat distanced in the sense that he could no longer see them as often as when he lived in Southland. However, they still have a shared history meaning that there is an ease in their interactions with each other when they do meet up. He would be able to easily mobilise this support system if needed. However, Damian does not mention his upbringing within this network and it would seem that in the overall discussion regarding *whānau*, he only includes his Māori extended family. Maintaining relationships requires the efforts of both parties to be engaged and Damian is also hesitant to make and maintain contact with family members he has not met yet. Conversely, his immediate family plays a significant role in his life and it is this support system that he relies heavily on.

Well I wouldn't be able to get by without Mum and Dad. Dad's become a softy in his old age. I feel I can talk to him more now and it's taken it took us all of 19 years to figure it out actually have a normal conversation. Mum's great whenever I'm in trouble she helps me out, whenever she's in trouble I help her out. Me and [my brother] are slowly drifting away over the last six, seven years but I'm hoping to have a bit more and travel back to New Zealand a bit more try and get closer and that again. (Reedy 2007)

Within his own immediate family the geographical separation between Damian and his brother, who lives in New Zealand, has caused their relationship to become somewhat distanced. The same process that happened to his father and his siblings is beginning to be replicated in Damian's generation because of the geographical separation between him and his brother.

Summary

Throughout the interviews there was a sense of difficulty apparent when the participants were asked to provide their own interpretation of the two terms family and *whānau*. Whilst some said that they are interchangeable, it was clear that how they actually applied them to their own situation, the people they included under each of the terms, and their relationship with them was different based on their own interactions with their Māori and Pākehā families. Most of the participants used *whānau* in its more expansive form to include people who are not necessarily related by blood, but still made a significant contribution to that person's life. This is an interpretation of *whānau* that does not seem to be accounted for by the explanations of *whakapapa* and *kaupapa whānau* that Metge highlighted in her definitions of *whānau*. Because descent-based *whānau* from their Māori parent's side were largely absent from most of the participants' lives, they appear to have included people within their expanded definition of *whānau* who fulfilled roles or functions similar to those normally performed by blood relations.

All the participants indicated that they would include close family friends or extended family in their definition of *whānau* or family. However, they would usually only turn to the immediate members of their families (parents, siblings, spouses and children) for assistance. These people are the ones who have and continue to provide the most support in their lives. This suggests that the expected roles and duties of *whānau* are not necessarily being undertaken. Given the geographical location of the participants these expectations are increasingly unrealistic.

Return to Tribal Area and Interaction with Extended Māori Family

Growing up in Southland the participants are geographically located a considerable distance from their tribal area and the extended family of their Māori parent. One participant comes from the

Taranaki area, two are from the East Coast, one is from Waikato and one is from Northland. To travel by car from Southland to any of these places takes a minimum of two days travelling, including regular stops and the ferry crossing between the North and the South Islands. Whilst the participants were growing up travel by plane was not a viable transport option because of the high costs involved in relation to the wages their parents earned and the number of people in their family. The participants' parents would also decide whether or not they would make return visits back to their tribal area and they again would determine the frequency of these visits. The financial burden of travelling coupled with the passing of grandparents or other significant members of the family meant that return visits were no longer seen as necessary. The memories of those who did return for visits made lasting impressions and are included in the following interview extracts as are the effects of no or irregular contact with their extended Māori families.

Hera Fisher

When Hera was a toddler her father took her and her brothers back to Northland a couple of times. These trips were all undertaken by car. She has no recollection of her earlier visits, but was able to remember her last visit to the area when she was 16 years old.

I remember how far removed it was from the place that we grew up in [Invercargill]. They didn't have a bathroom, had a long drop, lived on a farm and went and visited each other on horses, had an outside bath tub. Just completely different. I mean [they] had electricity run by a generator just...not that we were a wealthy family at all [but] so different from what I was used to. (Fisher, 2008)

The different lifestyles that Hera encountered in Kawakawa and Peria (Northland), where they stayed with various relations, were vastly different from her upbringing in Southland and not something that she, as a teenage girl, could easily adapt to. Without having a shared upbringing, and not having the chance to form relationships with members of her extended Māori family, made their interaction with one another somewhat difficult.

They were a bit in awe of us...I had a cousin who is my age and she was always kind to me but just different. I think we were a week apart, [in] age, we physically could be sisters and yet personality we couldn't be more different and we both tried. But she'd jump on a horse and wouldn't understand why I wasn't following her, went eeling. I was definitely not brought up as a princess but comparatively you know and really stand offish. We went to my family's *marae* which is over the back of my uncle's house and I remember sitting there thinking I am as much of a part of this as all these other people and yet I couldn't be more removed too at the same time.

How did that make you feel?

A bit lost...I remember thinking, "God what are we doing here? I don't want to be here and I don't know anybody and they're speaking Māori and assuming I can". No, I didn't enjoy it. (Fisher, 2008)

The most poignant part of Hera's recollection of the feelings she experienced during this visit back to her tribal area was the sense of belonging she felt and her knowledge that this was her *tūrangawaewae*, but that she was unable to feel an emotional connection to the area. She instead felt apprehensive and uncomfortable about being placed in a cultural and linguistic environment that her parents never instructed her in throughout her childhood or exposed her to regularly.

The contact Hera has with her paternal family is minimal and is maintained primarily through her mother.

My mother, through her sister-in-law, keeps her up-to-date with other parts of the family and I've got a cousin who Dad wanted to gift his land to in Northland and she keeps in contact because she's trying to still get it put into her name so that she can build on it.

And how do you feel about that?

Well it's still it's in our name now because now we have to gift it to her...one of my brothers was a bit [reluctant]...he was like, "No it's our land, why should we give it away?" and absolutely if that's how he feels that's fine but the two of us said to him, "When are we ever going to use it?" It's cheaper to go to Australia than it is to fly to Northland and are we gonna go there to look at this bare piece of land that we can't actually get access to because other people's cousin's lands are around it. This cousin we trust enough that if we ever wanted to go there and they're building on it that we'd be more than welcome to go and stay. (Fisher, 2008)

The contact with her cousin is maintained out of necessity and only because of certain aspirations of the extended family. Hera understands her brother's reluctance to legally transfer ownership of their land to another family member who still resides in Northland. She recognises that

growing up in Southland has distanced them from their Northland roots. Despite being genealogically connected to Northland, there is some concern that if they do transfer ownership of the land over to their cousin, then all connections to their tribal area will be severed. Hera's mother maintains connections with her family in Northland but she is aware that "when Mum passes away, and if we're all still alive and kicking, we'll actually have absolutely nothing to do with our ties there" (Fisher, 2008). Despite this foreboding premonition that the death of her mother will sever the last link to her Northland family, she still has an emotional tie to her tribal area.

I think so, definitely and I wish and I have often pondered how I could be more involved. And when we went up there, even as a 16 year old, there was a real a huge emotional tie just seeing this land that my not just my aunts and uncles lived on but [also] my grandparents. Just realising that I am, my blood lineage is as much tied to them as it is tied to my Pākehā grandparents who I was so close to and knew so much about even though they came from a place that was tens of thousands of miles away. (Fisher, 2008)

For Hera, growing up in Southland has caused a breakdown in the concept of *whānau* as a support mechanism that moulds, shapes and influences social identity development. Instead her non-Māori grandparents, whom she was raised with, have provided that support structure.

Manu Paringatai

Manu's parents took her back to the East Coast a couple of times when she was a baby and toddler. All but one of these trips was by car. These regular visits stopped when the last of her father's parents died in 1984. According to her father:

After they passed away there wasn't anything to go home for cos [her mother] and I were only taking [the] kids home so [their] grandparents could see [them], so [they] could see [their] grandparents so when they passed away oh well that was it. (Paringatai, 2007)

As she was only three years old when her grandmother passed away Manu's recollections of these early visits is limited. Following this her next visit back was with her father for the funeral

of one of his aunties in 2002. She was able to help finance the trip and also share the driving responsibilities.

It was cool cos I had Dad in the car. He was basically my own tour guide so as we went past places that's when he would tell me about when he was younger and what he used to get up to and what he used to do and people he knew. He was a lot different when he was on the coast to when he was in Christchurch, he was a lot different.

How so?

He relaxed the minute he hit the straight before Gisborne. You could just see him visibly relax and he knew the road from Gisborne to Te Araroa like the back of his hand so he would fly around those corners. I'd never seen him move so fast in a car and you could see the closer he got to home the more relaxed he got and once he was there that was it no care in the world. We were a week overdue from getting back cos he kept changing the crossing date [of the ferry between the North and South Islands].

What were your first reactions to the area? When you saw Te Araroa and when you saw Horoera what did you think?

My first reaction was oh sweet this is where Dad grew up, it's good to finally see it and then after you got over that initial, "Oh my god, it's really nice and beautiful, clean, small." You can see how Dad grew up to be how he was and where he actually come from, his origins. Then you got the whole the shop closes at 6 o'clock and this is like really the back of nowhere, this is out of civilisation, that there was only one shop and one gas pump then you got back to the oh well it's actually really nice to be home.

So it felt like home?

Yeah. (Paringatai, 2008)

Again Manu highlights the difference between her upbringing in Invercargill and her lifestyle in Christchurch and the one she encountered in Te Araroa and Horoera. When it came to meeting or re-engaging with family members, sometimes for the first time, she was initially hesitant.

Well it was, "Who are they?" I never saw pictures so all these people were milling around the *marae* and Dad was saying hello to all of them. I knew names but I couldn't put faces to names and then when [my cousin] said, "Oh there goes Mum and Aunty", and they were running across the paddock. Because had she said, "Oh there goes Mum and [Aunty]" and pointed to a group of people I would have gone, "Who?" not knowing. But then seeing them and how they were to finally meet up with us again or meet me again as an adult it was good. It was weird but it was good...Once you could put faces to names then I just slipped right in and it felt like that you weren't the city cousin from down south or you know you were family, you were there and you just got on with whatever everybody else was doing. (Paringatai, 2008)

All too often in situations like this, those family members considered ‘outsiders’ to the tribal area can be made to feel self-conscious about their upbringing and not Māori enough from the point of view of the ‘insiders’ who live in the tribal area. This lessens the desire of those who were raised away from their tribal area to want to create, develop and sustain meaningful relationships with those who did. Fortunately, Manu’s extended *whānau* did not make her feel like this. Reacquainting herself with her Māori *whānau* was easy and they received her well. According to Manu it was:

like I’d never left, like I’d always been there. [They] gave me a great big hug and a great big kiss and then Dad took off and I ended up in the kitchen. So it was like just slipping back into place. It’s like a place that was waiting there and then you just got put back into it so it was like I’d never been away. (Paringatai, 2008)

Because of Manu’s personal interests and her job as a Māori teacher, she was already aware of the importance of developing kinship connections and had a practised familiarity with certain cultural situations. This made her first encounter with the *whānau* in several years much easier.

Manu maintains contact with her extended Māori family and this interaction is natural. She sees similarities between her personal traits and those of other family members.

It was funny the first time I met [my cousin] we were so similar it was actually really freaky to see where all my characteristics come from. I don’t know how to put it, like he’s really cheeky but we just automatically started giving each other grief you know just joking with each other. (Paringatai, 2008)

This connection resonates through her relationship with other members of her family. The more she gets to know members of her Māori family the stronger her emotional ties to her family become. Geographically speaking, the same strong emotional ties cannot be said to be there because she has not been to Te Araroa enough to form such an attachment. Manu maintains regular contact with her paternal extended family and the number of trips to the East Coast has

increased since her interview for this research took place. It is highly likely that the emotional attachment she has with the area itself will increase with each visit.

Trish Moeke

Of all the participants included in this study, Trish had and continues to have the most substantial contact with her *whānau* on the East Coast through regular trips back there and maintaining contact with *whānau* members.

I've got memories of being there when I was a kid and being bathed in a bucket and that's been in Whareponga down on the beach. My Pāpā VJ, who's the oldest in my nanny's family, he had a bach on the beach. I think it was the old school house in Whareponga and they moved it down to the beach for him and we'd go and camp down there that was so much fun. Dad would go diving and bring in all the *kaimoana* and Mum would cook on a fire and we'd sleep in this real rugged old shed with no walls and holes in the roof it was just so much fun and I reckon I was maybe two, three, four when all that stuff was happening, the beach stuff, so yeah that was cool.

When we were kids we went back at least once a year. I remember going back maybe twice some years but always at least once a year and it was always really fun and exciting and we had a freedom up there that we didn't have in Southland. We'd sneak off with our cousins and be down the road till 10 o'clock at night. We weren't allowed to do that with our Pākehā side you'd have dinner at 6 o'clock and then you could go outside and play tig on the back lawn but there's no way you were allowed to leave that area...I felt a lot more freer with my Māori *whānau* so we'd go back heaps and now, out of all the siblings, I'm the one who goes back the most...I get home maybe two or three times a year and my partner's from there as well so we go back and see his *whānau*. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish experienced a sense of freedom when holidaying with her *whānau* on the East Coast when she was younger, the result of which is that her memories of this time were enjoyable. Now that she is an adult she has maintained that contact and continues to return there regularly. She has developed relationships with her extended kin and has a shared upbringing with them that makes it easier for her to relate to them, despite the length of time between visits. Trish's partner was born and raised on the East Coast and the visits there with him and their children serve to maintain connections with both families.

Because of regular return visits to the East Coast Trish was able to share many memories of her time there. Trish was also able to develop a close relationship with both her grandparents. Most of her trips were fleeting visits but Trish developed strong bonds with her grandfather when she was 16 because she went and lived in Gisborne with him for a period of time. This is something none of the other participants were able to do because their grandparents had all passed away before they were born or when they were at a young age. As discussed previously in this chapter, a key role of the grandparents in pre-European Māori society was the rearing of children and transmission of cultural knowledge. Trish was fortunate that she was able to have experiences with and gain instruction from not only her grandparents but other relations of her grandparents' generation.

Trish had regular contact with some members of her paternal family throughout her childhood but she had less interaction with them transitioning through to adulthood.

Well like I said there's that freedom it was easy as kids. But now I hardly see any of my first cousins on Dad's family. With my Māori family my grandparents moved away from Jeru or Hiruharama I think in their 30s just because Pāpā worked for the council and there was no work. Dad and his older brother and his older sister are the only three that are *matatau i te reo* [knowledgeable in the Māori language] and they spent a lot of time with my great grandmother. Then all the younger ones, because Dad's from a family of 14, they all were brought up in Gisborne so their connections to Jeru aren't as strong as dad and so all their kids are like that as well. Sometimes they go home but the other thing is we've got no homestead in Jeru anymore there's just the land there, the house got pulled down so when I go home I only see my Uncle Haua and I see his kids and then the rest of them are just everywhere and don't come home much. So I don't really see any of those first cousins but I love them. My family's amazing, they're all amazing people but I just don't see a lot of them, I see my Pākehā cousins more. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish's father came from a large, extended family of fourteen children, and it has proven difficult for her to develop and maintain relationships with all their offspring. This is similar to Damian whose father is one of eighteen. He is close with members of his family that he had contact with at a young age but was not able to develop those relationships with all of his cousins. Trish has a strong connection to those she has known for a long time as well as to the local geographical

landscape.

There's this feeling I always get when I'm going home and driving up the coast and as soon as I hit Jeru [Hiruharama] it's like, "Oh my God I'm just so where I'm supposed to be." I get really warm fuzzies and I just instantly feel comfortable and know that it's home and know that I'll settle there one day and it's the coolest feeling and I don't get it in Invercargill. I don't know if it's cause I was brought up there [Invercargill] and I'm just over the place but I don't get it there only in Jeru or when I see the *maunga* [mountain] I'm driving up the coast and I see Hiku[rangi] and it's like, "Oh yeah there's my *maunga* man." It's just a really cool feeling. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish's upbringing and regular return visits to the East Coast since she was a young child has meant that she has a strong emotional attachment to the area. Trish's upbringing and tribal education amongst an extended Ngāti Porou family in Invercargill, her passion for Māori performing arts, her employment at the time of this interview, her partner's East Coast ties and her parents' encouragement and tutelage in Māori cultural competencies, have contributed to a secure ethnic identity.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

As mentioned previously, Terri-Leigh's aunty would often have her over to stay and would sometimes take her away on trips. One of the trips included travelling to the Waikato area to attend a funeral when she was ten years old. There she had the opportunity to meet some of her cousins around the same age. However, her interaction with these other children was difficult.

I remember some of the things that they [the other kids] said. I was quite white compared to them, and they were like, "You're really girly" and then they realised that I was their cousin cos we had the same last name and they were like kind of like, "No you're too white." I think I was 10 and cos I had a pink hair tie in my hair or something and they were like, "Ew you're so girly." But I didn't feel like I slotted in very well there.

Why did you feel like that? Is it because you didn't know anyone?

I think there's a number of things actually...well they didn't look like me and it was just so different from what I was used to growing up. Even Māori environments down here are so different as well. It's quite normal to see all the kids were quite fair whereas up there they were all quite a lot darker and quite rugged...just quite a different environment and people worked differently so it was kind of an eye opener...I remember we were just hanging out and they had an under bridge and all these kids went down there and smoked marijuana and stuff and I was like, "Ew that's real bad for you", and they were like, "It's normal".

I just remember thinking...they're real different, how could they be related to me? But then they also thought the same about me like I was real white and girly...I grew up in quite a conservative part of New Zealand and so it seemed they were a lot more strong in their own identity where as we were quite a lot more stand offish. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Whilst children taunting each other are a normal part of someone's childhood, the experience made Terri-Leigh realise that her interaction with these cousins was not the same as it was with her cousins living in Gore. It is interesting that Terri-Leigh's cousins living in the North Island equated being Māori with having darker skin. They found it difficult to comprehend the fact that someone with lighter skin could be Māori, let alone closely related to them. The reference point for these children in relation to Māori people would have been people who looked like them in terms of skin colouring and behaviour in direct contrast to 'othering' people who were not like them as Pākehā. Anyone who did not appear or behave in this way would have been seen as not Māori. Their attitudes seem to reflect wider adult assumptions regarding Māori cultural identity. Even at ten years of age Terri-Leigh realised that she had a different upbringing from her cousins and this difference evoked feelings of being out of place. As a result of growing up in Gore and her limited interactions with the extended members of her family who reside in the North Island she does not have a strong emotional attachment to them or her tribal area. Despite this she still maintains a desire to establish stronger relationships with them (Tuhakaraina, 2009).

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle's family made visits to her father's tribal area before she was born but she herself has never been back. She is curious to visit but the opportunity has not yet presented itself for her to go back to her tribal area, but she would if it ever did. She has briefly met members of her family that have been to Bluff and she has seen photos of her and her family in various sports team photos that adorn the walls at the local pub. They recognise their last name and become curious

who these people are and will make an effort to go round and visit them. However, these visits occurred when she was young and was not at an age to take more of an interest in who they were.

Michelle's paternal grandparents died before she was born. The only extended blood-kin relations she has met are the ones that have travelled down south and so she has met very few of her relations from her father's side of the family. To ask if she has an emotional attachment to the area or to that side of the family was difficult as she has not yet developed this or had the opportunity to do so.

Oh you want to know more but who to contact in his family is more the bigger question. I don't know if they're all like Dad or if they play an active role...We get all the Wellington Tenth Trust, Ngāti Mutunga and Te Ati Awa newsletters and stuff like that...I read them but I don't vote on stuff that I don't know about. I can't vote for people I don't know. (Rogers-Hoff, 2008)

It would seem her father did not facilitate Michelle's engagement with extended members of his family. Her father did not talk about his childhood or his family and provided little information in regards to Māori cultural knowledge. Michelle therefore does not know who to contact to find out this information or if she would be able to do so.

Damian Reedy

Damian only met his paternal grandparents a couple of times and then only for a brief moment. As a result they did not make any sort of impression on him as a young child (Reedy, 2007). He grew up with annual visits to some of his father's siblings who lived in the South Island, or the lower half of the North Island, and it is with those members of the family that he interacts easily. Because the relationship with them had already been established when he was younger, once he moved to Palmerston North (140 kilometres north of Wellington) as an adult for the Army, he did not need to rely on his father to continue to be the go between with these relatives.

The aunts and uncles that I've met I've...annually seen once or twice as I was growing up [I] went and stayed [with] in school holidays and that. When I moved to the North Island I was only two hours away [in Palmerston North] so I was down there just about every second weekend.

So you made an effort to go and see them?

Yup. The aunts and uncles that I actually liked I made an effort to go and see.

Did they make the same effort to go and see you?

Not really. I think the only time one aunty came and stayed was when she got flooded out and the roads closed so she had nowhere to go so we said come around home...A couple of the cousins came up for my engagement party and I invited a couple to my impromptu wedding to sign my [marriage certificate] to be a witness. (Reedy, 2007)

A major effort is required to maintain relationships with family members not living in the same city or town. When Damian was living closer to them, and once he was financially independent to be able to do so, he could re-establish those relationships, but it never felt like it was a reciprocal relationship. When asked if he had strong emotional ties towards his extended Māori family, he replied:

Only towards certain members. Some of them screwed me around so I don't really have much to do with them anymore. But yeah some of the cousins I'd do anything, I'd drop anything and go back home and help out. (Reedy, 2007)

It is obvious that Damian has found it easier to interact with family members that are his own age and has developed good friendships with them, even though contact is not regularly maintained.

Whilst Damian was growing up his parents never took him or his brother back to the East Coast and, since leaving home, he has only been back there once whilst he was in the Army. His travels took him to Te Puia Springs to dock sheep (remove the tails from lambs), but he did not seek out his family while he was there because he did not know who to make contact with (Reedy, 2007). As such, an emotional attachment to his tribal area is non-existent because he has never been there to visit for personal reasons.

I'd love to go there and find out more about the family and that but it's just finding someone there who I can go stay with and they can help sort of coach me along and that but other than that yeah no real strong ties. (Reedy, 2007)

Like Michelle, Damian also would like the opportunity to return home but because his father has not enabled this to happen before then, he does not know who to contact to do so himself. He feels he would need the guidance of someone to help him negotiate the process of connecting with his family and transmitting the historical knowledge associated with his *whānau*.

Summary

In summary, the frequency of the participants' return visits to their tribal area ranges across a broad spectrum of experiences. For the majority of the participants return visits to their tribal area did not occur or happened with such infrequency that any emotional attachment to people or place has not transpired. Some have an attachment because they have visited the area, but the visits did not occur often enough for any lasting impression to be made. Others undertake regular return visits and endeavour to maintain contact with family members. It would seem that these participants have a significant interest in their tribal histories, and have a higher level of cultural competencies and knowledge. This does not necessarily make their Māori identity any more secure than those who do not go back.

The interaction that the participants had with their extended Māori family also varies, and again there are a range of experiences. During their childhood some participants had regular contact until the point when either their grandparents passed away or they reached an age when they could choose whether or not to interact with their extended family. Without regular contact with members of their extended family throughout their childhood some participants obviously found it difficult to interact easily with them later on. Only one participant was raised with some

members of her extended Māori family who had almost daily contact as they all lived in the same town. However, the location she was raised in, and the cultural knowledge that was passed on to her, did not necessarily prepare her for interacting with members of her extended Māori family residing in the North Island.

Interaction with Extended Pākehā Family

As a result of the limited interaction with their extended Māori family, the functions that *whānau* are expected to fulfil were not able to be executed, and some of these things were instead undertaken by the participants' extended Pākehā family. The non-Māori parent for each of the participants originates either from Southland or Otago. This means that they all have extended family members living nearby or within three hours driving distance. The majority of the participants had extensive contact with their non-Māori parents' side of the family.

Hera Fisher

Initially, the reaction from Hera's maternal grandparents to her mother's marriage to her father was not favourable.

Mum's parents weren't happy at all, not at all, that wasn't what, he wasn't what they wanted as a son-in-law I don't think, Mum's often said that. Grandma cried for a week and I don't think she was kidding now that I know my Grandmother. (Fisher, 2008)

Hera and her brothers are the only children of Māori descent on her mother's side of the family, however, they are not the only children of interracial marriages. Despite her maternal grandparents' initial objection to the marriage of her parents, this did not impact on their interaction with Hera and her brothers and they showered them with affection.

No, absolutely no different to my cousins who were European. Actually I think my grandparents preferred us because my Mum was one of five and the other four married quite well off so I think our grandparents did more for us because my parents couldn't afford to. But they would never I mean I don't think they would even say the word Māori, not that they were racist it just wasn't something that they worried about. (Fisher, 2009)

This same easiness was felt when interacting with her maternal aunties, uncles and cousins. Despite having Māori ancestry her maternal side of the family never saw that as an issue and treated them as they would any other member of the family.

Manu Paringatai

Manu and her older sister are also the only children of Māori descent on her mother's side of the family. Although her mother's siblings lived within the Southland and Otago regions, Manu's immediate family were the only ones who lived in Invercargill. Manu's mother would go to her grandmother's house every Tuesday to take her grocery shopping and the family would often visit in the weekends. Her grandparents treated her no differently because of her Māori ethnicity.

No different to the others from what I can remember, Granddad made us stuff, we went and saw Grandma every week. It may have been different before we were born but we never saw anything other than grandparents. They always talked to us. They were nice, they were grandparents. (Paringatai, 2008)

Whatever her grandparents had initially thought of their daughter's relationship with a Māori man, when Manu and her sister were born the grandparents thought they "were just the cat's pyjamas" (Moore, 2008). At that stage in their lives they had retired and were able to spend more time with Manu and her siblings and her grandfather would often make things for them. This is something they did not do for their other grandchildren (Moore, 2008), and indicates the special bond they had with Manu and her older siblings.

Manu's interaction with extended members of her Pākehā family was frequent when she was

younger but as she got older these visits became rarer. Once her grandparents died there was no longer any reason for her aunties, uncles and cousins to return to Invercargill. This is not too dissimilar to how her father felt when his parents died and he ceased taking his children back to the East Coast.

Trish Moeke

Trish and her siblings are also the only Māori children and grandchildren on her mother's side of the family. As a child Trish regularly saw her grandparents and as a result she developed a close relationship with them at that time.

We used to go out there every Sunday as kids after church we'd go out or sometimes just after school Mum would pick us up and then we'd get out to Waikiwi [a suburb in North Invercargill] and go see Nana and Granddad. Yup we spent heaps of time with them. I remember staying with them for weekends and...always being treated really well, being fed really well, clothed really well, you know that sort of thing the grandparents were awesome.

So you were treated no differently from your non-Māori cousins?

Nah not at all. My grandfather was a real funny man, he's a real trickster, always poking you with things and pulling you around and squirting you with the hoses and playing wee practical jokes he was funny like that. And my nan was a real cook, stay in the kitchen, cleaning the house but always, like she wasn't playful at all, but always very caring. Sometimes I felt like they even, not favoured us, but almost watched over us more. It wasn't favouritism, it definitely wasn't, they just didn't seem like they had favourites out of all the mokos, but it was more of a protection I suppose. I felt with my Pākehā grandparents maybe they were protecting us from their children-in-law because I think they knew that there was some racial issues with some of my aunties and stuff. (Moeke, 2009)

While her grandparents held no prejudices against Trish and her siblings because of their Māori ethnicity, it seems the same could not be said for other members of the family. Trish's aunties and uncles grew up in Southland during the 1940s and 1950s when there were very few people who openly identified as Māori living in the region. As a consequence they had little understanding of Māori society and it is likely that one of the first Māori they actually ever met was Trish's father. While this type of attitude and behaviour is never excusable, it was not uncommon with people raised during this time period and in this area of the country. It would

also be expected that people born even earlier than Trish's aunts and uncles, for example her grandparents, would also exhibit these particular attitudes and behaviour but it would seem that consanguineal bonds are stronger than those of affines.

Conversely, as kids do not typically recognise or understand ethnic differences, Trish's cousins from her maternal side of the family were unaware of racial boundaries and she has remained close with several of them (Moeke, 2009). Because of the constant visits to her maternal grandparents throughout her childhood Trish formed a closer relationship with them. However, as she grew older and her interest in her Māori cultural background developed she began to take more interest in her paternal grandparents and the Māori cultural knowledge they could pass on to her (Moeke, 2009).

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh's father separated from her mother when she was quite young. Although two of her dad's brothers knew she existed, his parents and other siblings did not. She did not meet anyone from her paternal extended family until 2005. These members of her family were shocked to find out about her and her siblings and they have since worked on developing their relationship. Terri-Leigh never had the opportunity to meet her maternal grandparents and was pleased when she was able to meet her paternal grandmother.

I had already met [an Uncle] and [his wife] and their youngest daughter and so that was fine. I got there and they came out and they gave me a big hug which was nice and then I went inside and then Grandma was like, "Oh it's nice to finally meet you", but it was still quite awkward like she was Grandma but I had no idea who she was. I met my Aunty and her kids and her husband and one of dad's other brothers and his wife and his kids so it was awkward. But it was alright, you just deal with it, my family. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Now that Terri-Leigh knows her grandmother she makes an effort to keep in touch and visits her

when she is in Gore. For Terri-Leigh “that’s what makes it [the situation] worse that she didn’t know anything about us and she lives in Gore” (Tuhakaraina, 2009). By us, Terri-Leigh is referring to her other siblings who share the same father. When asked if she and her siblings are in regular contact with their paternal side of the family she replied:

It’s real hard cos I don’t know I kind of feel like they should be the people that are initiating the relationship cos they’re older and it’s kind of awkward for someone who’s [young] to try and establish a relationship...it just makes it easier if the older person does but they don’t really know. But I’ve taken [my sister] down to my Uncle and his wife so they know her. But it’s quite awkward. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh and her siblings are the only Māori children and grandchildren on her father’s side of the family. However, their ethnicity does not seem to be of significance in their interaction with their father’s family.

I don’t think it’s an issue now but I’m not really sure...this sounds really bad but we don’t look real hard out Māori so maybe that was easier. I’m not sure but yeah I don’t think it’s too much of an issue it’s pretty funny like I don’t know cos they probably wouldn’t say it to my face. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh’s mother did not introduce her children to their paternal extended family believing that this should have been done by their father. Terri-Leigh’s paternal grandmother knows about Terri-Leigh’s half siblings as her father made the effort to let his mother know about them, but he did not do the same for Terri-Leigh and her siblings. At times Terri-Leigh wishes that she had developed a relationship with them earlier.

When I was younger, I must have been about 15, and I was with my aunty and they were talking about me for some reason and she was talking with her friend, cos she knew my dad, and she was like, “Oh so how do you kind of feel not knowing your dad or not knowing his family?” and I was just like, “Oh it doesn’t matter cos my family love me enough it doesn’t matter”.

But when I actually think about like it did matter...cos you definitely think about it, you’re like, “Oh well was it my fault that...I don’t have a relationship with them?” but I know it’s not the case. But yeah my mum’s family definitely I had enough from them but you still feel like you’ve missed out on something. My little sister, I think she’s struggling at the moment with what I struggled with, not having that part of your family involved in your life. Most of her friends come from two parent normal family, perfect family of three and a half kids or whatever so yeah I don’t know. I kind of think I did miss out on something. But it’s made me the person who I am today so I’m not too fazed. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

It is obvious that Terri-Leigh has struggled with not knowing members of her paternal extended family, and not being given the opportunity to grow up with them having a presence in her life. Other participants have also struggled with not having significant contact with their paternal extended family. The key impact on her and her sister's development has been the lack of opportunity to develop a relationship during childhood with the maternal and paternal sides of the family, rather than the question of ethnic differences between the maternal and paternal lines.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle's maternal family was based in Dunedin when she was growing up. Two of her cousins also live in Queenstown, although their considerable age difference means that their interaction with each other is limited. When Michelle was younger her maternal grandparents were still alive and she was able to see them often, along with her only aunty. Unfortunately, because they lived in Dunedin, and Michelle and her family lived in Bluff, the visits were less frequent than for the other participants. Despite Michelle and her brothers being the only grandchildren of Māori descent on her maternal side of the family this did not cause them to be treated any differently from her non-Māori cousins (Rogers-Hoff, 2008).

Damian Reedy

Damian's family revolves around his maternal grandmother. The barriers of having mixed-ethnic children were already broken down by his older cousins who are of Samoan-European descent.

I would say just we were part of the family we've got older Islander cousins but yeah nah Nan treated us the same. She knew I was a bastard child. She caught me smoking a few times and she kept that quiet which was good. (Reedy, 2007)

Damian's mother has eight siblings and, as a result, he has numerous cousins. The interaction

between them is comfortable. He stated “cousins are fine, some of the aunties think they’re lah-di-dah and sometimes don’t agree with what I’m saying but other than that it’s just your normal dysfunctional family” (Reedy, 2007).

Summary

In summary, for most of the participants, the relationships they developed with their Pākehā grandparents and/or extended family members have left a strong impression on their memories of these people. The bond they formed with their extended Pākehā families during their childhood, particularly with their grandparents, was made easier because they were living in the same city and this section shows that the special bond between grandchildren and grandparents can be produced within and across any culture.

Conclusion

The *whānau* is said to be the basic social unit of Māori society, responsible for nurturing its members, and ensuring that the identity assumed by those people is reflective of the history and knowledge of that *whānau* which has accumulated over a number of years. This is based on the premise that members of any given *whānau* take responsibility for that knowledge and each has a part to play in ensuring that it is observed, maintained and handed down to future generations. This chapter has looked at the concept of *whānau* as a key component of Māori society that has remained largely intact throughout numerous challenges, particularly colonisation and urbanisation. It has also looked at the evolution of *whānau* in response to urbanisation; the expectations that were and still are placed on *whānau* in terms of the duties this unit is expected to fulfil; and the contribution of the *whānau* to the identity development of its members.

Urbanisation effectively scattered families throughout the world, and separated *whānau*, to the point that many are no longer functional in terms of the duties outlined in this chapter. Consequently, this chapter then looked at the participants' experiences with their extended Māori family, the separation that has occurred, the effects of this separation on their relationships with their Māori family and their emotional attachment to their tribal area.

The amount, type and range of interaction with extended *whānau* members experienced by the participants varied. This shows that it is important, when investigating the value and contribution a *whānau* makes to the identity development of its members, that we do not allow romanticised notions of what the *whānau* should look like and how it should operate, to interfere with the multitude of realities that they actually exist in. The functionality of the *whānau*, suitable to the needs of each particular person, helps mould their identity: firstly, as a member of that *whānau* and, secondly, their identity as a person of Māori descent within that *whānau*.

Where the *whakapapa whānau* (family grouping related by descent from a common ancestor) has ceased to be of primary importance it has been replaced by close friends, in-laws, the immediate family and members of the participants' extended non-Māori family members. The support and care shown by the majority of the participants' extended non-Māori family members and friends is similar to that provided by *whakapapa whānau*. What the participants' non-Māori family cannot provide is the Māori cultural and linguistic competencies and historical knowledge associated with their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* that would contribute to the development of their Māori identity. In the absence of these institutions the participants looked elsewhere, in particular, to their schools which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 9

School and Identity

When I was little, I thought I was normal. I had brown skin, brown eyes, a Maori dad, a Pakeha mum. I thought everyone had that. I thought I was totally normal...until I went to school and realised I wasn't because of the colour of my skin. Once you realise you're not 'white' then you have to be something else. (Parekowhai, 2003:73)

Introduction

The formation of one's identity is a process that begins in early childhood, is consolidated during adolescence and is usually resolved by the time individuals have reached their adult years. The contribution of family members within the home environment towards this process is extremely important as it is from these people that cultural behaviours, values and norms are transmitted and this is reinforced within the wider community (see Chapter Five). Outside of the home children spend the majority of their time in school. Therefore, schools and teachers play a vital role in successfully assisting the continued development, maintenance and affirmation of one's identity.

Where the culture of the home is reflected in the school then the process of identity development is somewhat easier for all concerned. An individual's ethnic identity is also moulded primarily within these two environments. The participants involved in this part of the research have already stated that they felt that their upbringing was culturally Pākehā. As a result, the cultural environment of their home was compatible with the cultural settings of the schools they attended. However, it was also during this period that they began to realise that ethnically they were different from the majority of their peers and were treated differently by teachers because of this. This chapter will look at how schools contribute to the development of an individual's identity. It will also detail the experiences of the participants during their education within schools in

Southland and the impact this had on their identity as a Māori person.

Schooling and Identity

Theoretical approaches to ethnic identity development suggest that there is a progression that begins in early adolescence where individuals are initially in a naïve state of awareness of their identity. They then go through a process where they encounter attitudes and/or events that force them to explore the meaning of their ethnic identity in relation to others which usually happens during adolescence. These encounters often occur when the person begins to interact with others of different ethnic backgrounds and linguistic and cultural values (see Chapter Five). One of the main areas in which this occurs is within the school.

Chevalier (1995) noted that children acquire a significant amount of the cultural and linguistic knowledge that contributes to their ethnic identity before they begin school. The family and interactions with the wider community who come from the same or similar cultural background as the individual are the main contributors to this development. As has already been discussed in the previous chapters, for all but one of the participants, this did not occur. The majority of the participants' parents did not consciously choose to raise them in a particular cultural environment within the home that contributed to their Māori identity development.

Outside of the family, the environment that individuals are exposed to the most during their developmental years is the school. This environment can be one of the biggest influences on the ethnic identity development of children and adolescents. While there may be an initial awareness of ethnic differences at primary school age, the real commitment to forming and evaluating a person's identity begins to take place during high school (Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, Beyers,

& Missotten, 2011:83). The process of ethnic identity development is made easier when the people from the home environment and the wider community with whom they interact on a daily basis are of the same ethnic background and share similar belief and cultural values as the individual concerned. In this way there is no disconnection between the two belief systems, therefore, the values within the home might be normalised within the school. Problems begin to develop when these two environments are incompatible with each other.

According to Bernal, Saenz and Knight (1991), ethnic identity may exacerbate behaviour patterns of minority students because of prevailing social rules and behaviours of the school and classroom. This is immediately obvious in the difference between the cultural values of the home and those of the school. With reference to participants of this research, all stated that they perceived their upbringing was more Pākehā than Māori, and therefore, the schools they attended did not conflict with the cultural environment of the home. However, it was in school that their ethnic identity became more noticeable because their physical features made them a visible minority in the classroom, particularly in high school. Stereotypical expectations were then placed on the participants for reasons they were unable to comprehend.

Māori in Schools

An effect of the mass urbanisation of Māori from rural areas was the increase in the number of Māori students enrolling in mainstream schools in the city. This is particularly noticeable from the 1970s onwards. The education system was ill equipped to deal with the influx of Māori children and as a result a number of inequalities based on ethnic differences soon appeared, in particular, lower school achievement rates and higher dropout rates amongst Māori students. The disparities that existed between Māori and non-Māori and the cause for Māori educational

underachievement could be partially attributed to social alienation because of a loss of cultural identity (Sissons, 1993:100). In order to help reduce or even eliminate these inequalities a plan to promote the more positive aspects of the Māori culture into the classroom was devised. This would help foster a sense of pride in being Māori amongst Māori students and enhance the understanding and appreciation of the Māori culture amongst non-Māori students. But by the mid-1980s it was clear that, despite their best intentions, the socio-economic inequality between Māori and Pākehā had not been reduced (Sissons, 1993:100).

It became apparent that more would have to be done in terms of providing a culturally appropriate learning environment that would allow children to learn about themselves outside of their immediate family. State approaches included the instigation of a programme called Taha Māori and the establishment of bilingual units or classrooms within a mainstream school to help enhance and revitalise the Māori language and culture. Taha Māori was an attempt to introduce a Māori dimension into the primary and secondary school curriculum and validate its legitimacy as an area of study worthy of inclusion in mainstream schools (Jones, Morris Matthews, Marshall, Smith, & Smith, 1990:183). Māori input into the programme was minimal as there was a distinct lack of control over the content that was taught, who would teach it and the use of pedagogically and culturally appropriate methods of teaching the material (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993:79).

Despite the varying degrees of success of these two Māori education initiatives to enhance the Māori language and culture, in effect Māori identity in mainstream schools, Māori communities wanted more. According to Penetito (2002), there is a vision amongst Māori for an educational experience that enriches one's sense of being Māori. The reality is that for some parents this is not occurring at a pace and at a level that they are happy with.

Kaupapa Māori Schooling

The development of an alternative education system that better suited the needs of Māori children and their families materialised in 1982 when the first *kōhanga reo* was opened. Since then numerous *kōhanga reo* have been established throughout the country. Following the progression of the children who attended *kōhanga reo* the next phase of development was Māori language immersion primary schools, otherwise known as *kura kaupapa Māori*, the first of which was opened in 1985. Parents demanded the continuation of their children's education in a linguistic, cultural and pedagogical environment reflective of their ethnic background. During subsequent years a number of *kura kaupapa Māori* also added a high school component, *wharekura*, to complete this alternative education system (Ka'ai, 2004:202-204).

These Māori language immersion schools provide an educational environment that is inclusive of the whole family, puts the linguistic and cultural needs of the students at the fore, and is pedagogically appropriate for its students. *Kura kaupapa Māori* operate using a set of guidelines called Te Aho Matua which clarifies the general expectations of the schools in regards to implementing *kaupapa Māori* (Māori ideologies) in the school. Te Aho Matua includes the following as the core principles: *te ira tangata* (human essence), *te reo* (the language), *ngā iwi* (the tribes, the people and relationships with the community), *te ao* (the world or environment the children engage with), *āhuatanga ako* (teaching practices within schools), and *te tino uaratanga* (the desires and outcomes of *kura kaupapa Māori*) (Ministry of Education, 2008:740-746). Te Aho Matua encourages high achievement, self-determination and the positive development of children through the use of the Māori language and implementation of Māori cultural knowledge. Through these concepts, *kura kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura* uphold their uniqueness as Māori

institutions whilst maintaining academic standards on a par with mainstream educational practices.

Māori language immersion schools were an initiative sparked by the desire for Māori self-determination and the revitalisation of the Māori community. Adhering to these principles enables children to be educated within an environment that fosters Māori linguistic and cultural competence. Parents and extended *whānau* members engaged in these schools are also committed to fostering these values within the home and the community thereby ensuring that there is no disconnection between the home and school. According to Rubie et al (2004:145), Māori language immersion schools are an environment in which the “Māori language, culture and teaching styles are promoted in order for Māori children to develop a secure, positive view of themselves, their ethnic identity, and their culture”. Operating within this paradigm would be extremely effective in assisting the formation, development and maintenance of one’s Māori identity, particularly in the absence of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* structures and social institutions, such as *marae*, for those children living outside of their tribal area.

Southland Schools

Currently there are 92 Early Childhood Education (ECE) centres in the Southland district. Eight of these ECEs are *kōhanga reo*, with six located in Invercargill, one in Gore and one in Mataura. There are 87 schools within the Southland district that provide a variety of schooling options for people living within this region.

TABLE 9.1
SCHOOLS IN SOUTHLAND

<i>Year levels</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>
1 – 15	4
1 – 6	36
1 – 8	34
7 – 8	1
7 – 15	10
9 – 15	2
TOTAL	87

Source: Ministry of Education (nd)

Included in the four schools listed in the first row in table 9.1 are: Ruru Special School, a school for students with special education needs; and Te Aho o Te Kura Pounamu, the correspondence school operated from Wellington. Of the total number of schools in Southland, 12 are state integrated meaning that they are a ‘special character’ school. Additionally, all 12 are religious schools of various denominations. There is only one Māori language immersion school in the Southland district located in Invercargill.

Participants’ Schooling Experiences

Research participants Trish, Hera, Michelle, Manu and Damian were all born between 1976 and 1981 and were living in either Invercargill or Bluff. The first *kōhanga reo* in Southland was opened in 1982 in Invercargill meaning that they were unavailable for these participants to attend. They also all had older siblings who had not been through this system. By the time the first *kōhanga reo* in Southland had opened they would have either been in primary school or nearly finished their early childhood education. There are two *kōhanga reo* located in Eastern Southland, one in Gore and one in Mātaura, that would have been available to Terri-Leigh, who was born in 1986, but her mother chose not to send her to that type of ECE. The only Māori language immersion primary school in Southland did not begin operating with official

government funding until 1992. Trish, Hera, Michelle, Manu and Damian had nearly completed their primary and intermediate schooling at the time the school was opened. Terri-Leigh's mother would have been required to drive a round trip of nearly two hours to transport her to and from this school which would have been unrealistic given her employment. In addition, because she did not attend a *kōhanga reo* and because the Māori language was not a feature of her home environment, she would have found the transition to Māori language immersion schooling difficult. Therefore, for all but one of the participants the option to attend Māori language immersion schools was not available in Southland whilst they were growing up. Māori boarding schools are situated in the North Island and were not attended by any of the participants in this research. As a result, the impact of the participants' schools on their Māori identity development varied considerably from what might have been expected had they attended Māori language immersion schools.

Migration to Southland by the parents of the participants was not seen as a means for better educational opportunities; either for themselves or for their children. Neither was it a motivating factor of their migration to Southland as the children were born after their Māori parent had moved south. Instead, the participants attended either the local school they were zoned for or a religious school. The levels of achievement varied between the participants with some finishing school early, and others continuing on to higher education. The contribution of the school/s during adolescence can have both a positive and negative effect on the ethnic identity development. The rest of this chapter will provide an overview of the schools each participant attended, the type of student they believed they were and how this affected their experiences at school. It will also look at what impact the participants' schools had on their experiences and on their Māori identity development.

Hera Fisher

Hera attended three schools: Surrey Park Primary School, Lithgow Intermediate (both of which have since closed down) and Southland Girls High School. The primary and intermediate schools that Hera attended did not provide targeted assistance for Māori students nor did they provide significant Māori cultural activities for students of Māori descent to develop and express their Māori cultural identity. During her time at primary school, Hera did not remember being ethnically different from her peers and this continued through to intermediate. At intermediate there were a number of Māori students also enrolled in the school and as a result Hera did not feel ethnically different as she already knew a number of them personally outside of school.

An individual's identity development is not only dependent on the influences in that person's life but also the time period in which they are born (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990:297). Hera believes that the time period in which she was a high school student (1992-1997) meant that her teachers and her school did not provide the adequate support, both academically and culturally, that she needed as a Māori student to fulfil her potential.

The only reason that I think I got some support to a degree was because I selected Māori as a subject. I think if I hadn't done that I don't think I would have got any support and I don't even know if that support came through teachers. I think it came through my friends and the fact that it was okay to be Māori, to want to learn Māori...I don't think that they gave us, or gave me, any real support to be Māori apart from allowing the subject to take place in their little prefab at the back of the school. (Fisher, 2008)

In her vocation as a teacher, Hera is able to see that there have been significant changes made in the education system and appropriate support structures have been put in place to ensure that Māori academic success is enhanced.

Hera was made to feel that students who studied Māori as a subject option at her high school were marginalised. This class was held in a free-standing building situated at the back of the school away from the main teaching block where all the other classrooms were located. This reinforced the subordinate position of Māori as a subject option at the school, and subsequently those students who elected to take it. It also devalued the importance of Māori language and culture within the school itself.

Whilst Hera was studying Māori she had five different teachers in five years. She was unable to build a rapport with these teachers and they themselves would no doubt have found it difficult to instigate change within the school or set up Māori student support systems in the short time they were there. She felt other teachers were un-interested in the achievement of Māori students and found a lack of support from them. It would therefore seem that Hera found choosing Māori as a subject provided a supportive environment as she was in a room with a number of other Māori students who had similar backgrounds to her. This enabled her to become comfortable with her Māori ethnicity and reconcile the fact that there were a number of other students like her whose family tribally affiliates to the North Island. However, she has spent her whole life growing up in Southland with little interaction with her Māori cultural side.

For Hera, high school had the biggest impact on her identity development, particularly the fact that she took Māori as a subject option throughout her secondary schooling. It was in this classroom that she felt most comfortable and legitimised her place as a Māori student in the school.

Probably because of friendships made and learning some language...I don't think primary school contributed at all cos there was kind of nothing there for me but...I mean I didn't expect anything and I don't think my parents did either...it would have had to have been my high school friendships and learning *te reo*. I don't think our teachers were very good, we didn't learn too much *tikanga*, we kind

of had to work through books a lot of the time but just probably that it is ok to be [Māori] like it's its own subject, it's a strong enough subject to stand alone. (Fisher, 2008)

Before beginning high school, intending new enrolments were required to sit entrance examinations in order to be streamed for form room classes for the compulsory subjects of Maths, Science and English. Hera's results in these examinations meant that she was placed in one of the top accelerant classes where the majority of the class were non-Māori. It is not uncommon in mainstream schools for friendships across ethnic boundaries to occur (Webber, 2008:91). It is with the non-Māori students in her form class that Hera became most attached to in the early stages of high school. After she selected Māori as an option Hera was placed in a classroom where the majority of the students were Māori. Hera became more comfortable with her Māori descent thanks to the friendships she made in this class with other students with similar personalities and backgrounds. She was able to meet people with whom she had a shared reality of being of Māori descent in Southland and it is with these people she began to spend the majority of her time as a sort of self-segregation (Webber, 2008:91).

I think that's why we [Hera and her friends] gelled so well. I don't think I could have hung out with staunch Māori speaking, *tikanga* living, activists you know that kind of real full on [Māori]. (Fisher, 2008)

When Hera was in her seventh form year at high school, she saw a new intake of Māori students who had been through bilingual primary school and bilingual intermediate. After witnessing their Māori linguistic and cultural abilities, she realised that she and her peers were on the "cusp of falling completely off the Māori radar" (Fisher, 2008), rather than being catered for within the education system.

Manu Paringatai

Manu attended three schools: South School Primary School, Tweedsmuir Intermediate (both of

which have since closed down) and Southland Girls High School. She took a variety of subjects and gained seventh form bursary and university entrance.²⁸ Manu describes herself as a “middle of the range” student who did not attract attention for misbehaving and ensured that she completed all her work to a level satisfactory to the teacher’s requirements. The schools that Manu went to were not overtly responsive to the needs of their Māori students, but they did provide some Māori cultural activities and programmes that the students could be involved in.

South School, I think they tried, I think they were pretty good. I remember my last year there we had all these paintings done up and we reopened the school with the paintings installed and we had them all blessed and stuff and we had a performance and all that. I remember that so they were actively encouraging or trying to. Tweedsmuir Intermediate; because they had a bilingual unit I saw that as an encouraging thing. Southland Girls High School, on the other hand, had Māori [as a subject option] but I think it was just to tick the box in the Ministry documents to say that you were doing it, get the funding, send in your number of Māori students that you have to get the extra funding per student and flick it off elsewhere. So Southland Girls High School wasn’t very supportive at all...they did the bare minimum. (Paringatai, 2008)

In Manu’s experience as a current high school teacher, she is able to reflect critically on her time at high school. She knows what schools are able to do for their students and found that the high school she attended was not as responsive to her needs nor those of other Māori students as they perhaps could have been.

Despite enjoying her primary school years, its contribution to Manu’s Māori identity development was minimal.

I think primary school probably because at that point in time you don’t really think about that sort of thing. It’s not until you get older and you get to high school that people start looking at you differently because you are different. You look different to them, you have a different type of skin tone and different hair colour and then that’s when your cliquy groups come in. At primary school everybody’s just mates you know there’s none of that division of ethnicities at that age level. (Paringatai, 2008)

²⁸ The New Zealand University Bursary was the name of the former New Zealand secondary school qualification gained by Year 13 (Form 7) high school students. Students gained University Entrance by getting a ‘C’ grade or better in at least three subjects. These qualifications were phased out by 2004 and replaced with the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA).

For Manu, the development of her Māori identity has been an interest of hers since she was young and she pursued activities, training, and career opportunities that enhanced this. At intermediate she “started doing *kapa haka* and started learning Māori and identifying more towards the Māori side of things which carried on through high school” (Paringatai, 2008). These experiences signalled the beginning of her conscious pursuit of her ethnic identity. At high school, Manu chose Māori as a subject and excelled at it. For her, this was a positive environment to be in, but outside of this class she felt differently.

It [high school] made sure that I knew I was Māori and that I wasn't expected to succeed that was the impression that I got.

How did you get this impression?

Most Māori. and it still continues today, most Māori students drop out of high school before the age of 15 or at 15, when it's legal for them to leave, they don't ever finish high school, they don't graduate. Very few Māori students are still on at seventh form and then if they are there some of them drop out. The majority will drop out. There weren't many positive Māori role models at the school at a higher level. (Paringatai, 2008)

Manu is aware that Māori education completion and achievement rates were probably very low at the time that she attended high school. Because of that she felt the staff had a low expectation of her and that they did not think she would complete high school. As a result, she did not find high school as positive an experience.

Primary school positively. Intermediate positively. High school negatively because you were seen to be low achieving you were seen to be un-educatable and dumb and the only thing that you were good at was playing the guitar and you weren't expected to succeed.

Is this you speaking from what you were feeling going through high school or from what you know now as a teacher?

I know this is really hard to differentiate. Well when I was at high school I still got the impression that you know probably third form was alright. Fourth form those cliquy groups sort of got in. Fifth form there was nobody because we were in the Māori class and we were right down the end of the school and everybody looked at us funny and, “Oh it's those Māori girls walking in late again they must have been off bunking or something.” The negative feelings you get off people and then they won't come outright and say it but you know you get the look from some teachers,. “Oh there's those Māori girls they're off down to the back of the field oh they must be going smoking”, but you know we're going to class or, “They must be bunking out the back gate”, and yeah sure some of them did and that didn't help. (Paringatai, 2008)

Manu went to the same high school as Hera and, as stated previously, the room for those who studied Māori was located in a free-standing classroom at the back of the school away from the main teaching block. Because of the location of the classroom a considerable distance away from the main teaching block it was sometimes difficult to hear the bell that signalled a change of classes. This would mean that the students doing Māori were sometimes late to their next class and Manu felt the teachers then developed a negative impression of her because of this and equated this to her ethnicity, rather than the location of the classroom.

The classroom was also located on the edge of the school field next to the tennis courts which was an area where students would go to smoke, including a number of Māori students, which was banned on the school grounds. Manu felt that teachers automatically assumed that she was a participant in these smoking sessions and stereotyped her accordingly. This assumption was no doubt strengthened by those Māori students who did play up to the stereotypes placed upon them, which reflected negatively on those who did not. In both these situations it is highly likely that Manu internalised the negative perceptions that teachers held about her based on her ethnicity and the actions of Māori students. In these situations individuals then develop negative self-esteem because of their ethnicity which has a negative effect on their willingness to engage with their ethnic identity.

Manu also perceived that there were instances of institutional racism and teacher discrimination.

There were a couple of events that she encountered that made her think this way.

I remember getting really pissed off because they had cultural badges and cultural badges were for those who did drama and music and I remember kicking up a stink one year because they wouldn't accept kapa haka as a cultural activity even though it took the same amount of discipline, the same amount of time and practice as a singing competition or whatever and they just wouldn't accept that kapa haka was seen as a cultural activity to get a cultural badge for. I got really pissed off at that. (Paringatai, 2008)

Because there was no teacher at the secondary school she attended who was involved with the *kapa haka* group at that time it was left to senior students in the school to organise the group in conjunction with the tutors who were based at Southland Boys High School. The amount of time and effort involved to organise the group, practise for an event and perform in competitions or festivals was not recognised by those in charge of distributing the awards because there was no teacher at Manu's school to advocate on their behalf. This situation had not been resolved by the time Manu left the school.

Fortunately for Manu she was able to cope with this type of discrimination by leaning on her peers for support.

I think I just ignored it too most of it would've just went straight over my head because I just stuck with a couple of really good mates one Māori, one Pākehā and that was it, I knew everybody else I interacted with everybody else but I wouldn't say they were good friends and we just sort of ignored that stuff that was going on...I decided not to be a statistic and I think that was at the end of fifth form and beginning of sixth form because I wanted to finish school and I wanted to go to varsity and I wanted to actually make something and prove to them that I could do it. (Paringatai, 2008)

Manu made a conscious decision not to accept the stereotypes that she felt she was measured against. Her close friendships helped her to overcome these stereotypes and provided the support she needed when she made a decision to remain at school and pursue an academic pathway. The stereotypes that she became aware of were not a feature of her home environment and she was determined to exceed expectations that were not actually part of her reality. Rather than accept the devaluation of her Māori ethnicity and adopt self-defeating behaviours expected of her she was determined to prove that people who are placed in minority position by others still have aspirations to succeed. She challenged racial stereotypes and showed that it is possible to do well in school and still be proud of her Māori ethnicity (Webber, 2008:94).

Trish Moeke

Trish attended two schools: St Joseph's School and Verdon College, both of which are Catholic schools. Trish had positive experiences at school. While she was at St Joseph's her mother's sister became Principal, while other family members also worked there or were enrolled as students. The relatively small roll also contributed to the enjoyment of her time there, although she does recall some negative experiences occurring.

There was a real strong whānau feeling going through that school for me and that was a good school that was fun. I just always have good memories of primary school. Bit of racial stuff things like being called names, nigger, and being called dumb and probably being one of the brightest kids in my class but being called thick just to whakaiti me I suppose, dumb Māori, and that sort of thing. High school that was fun. I had a lot of fun because...we [Trish and her friends] just thought we ruled the school. We were just too cool for this place we just thought we were cool and actually we had fun, we had a really good time at that school. (Moeke, 2009)

As Trish progressed through school she found that her attention wandered and she struggled to complete tasks set. She remembers being bored and as a result could be disorderly in class. Teachers would ignore her behaviour and allow her to do what she wanted in class as long as she did not disrupt anyone else.

The invisibility of the Māori language and culture from the school environment signals what and whose language and cultural knowledge are a priority (Webber, 2008:101). Trish felt that her schools, in particular her high school, were initially not as supportive of the needs of Māori students and that the absence of Māori language and culture suggested that they were not valued in her formal education.

No definitely not [supportive]. In primary school there was nothing until [my] Aunty talked to [the principal] and [she] was really supportive of *kaupapa Māori* and just anything happening around Māori issues.

And then in high school we all had to do correspondence because the school didn't have a Māori

teacher and I think [my older brother, sister and cousins] done it for three years and then I came in a year later and I done it for two years and then [a Māori teacher] started. And once she was there then the school got supportive because she just was like, “There’s no mucking around. This is how it’s done and this is what we do.” We were so lucky to have that but that was it really. And in schools now, looking at my kids living in Wakatipu [Queenstown], there’s just absolutely nothing. It’s actually shocking and I’ve been into the schools so many times asking for different things for my children and it’s just a no go. I feel like Wakatipu School is at where the high school was at when I was a teenager so it’s a bit sad really...thinking back to my childhood that’s when things Māori were just getting big and...getting recognised. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish’s experiences at school were enhanced by the involvement of senior members of her extended family network in school affairs, particularly those that included Māori cultural activities. They were forceful enough to instigate change within the two schools Trish attended. Without their efforts it would seem that there would have been a disconnection between the home and school environments that would have caused her time there to be less influential in the development of her Māori identity. Trish is able to see her own experiences reflected in her own children’s education today but she is unable to change it despite her attempts to do so. It would seem that the development of the Māori community, and the attention of the schools in Queenstown to provide adequate educational and cultural support for Māori students to a level that Trish desires, is still in its infancy and is similar to what Trish experienced when she was at school twenty years ago. Trish was fortunate in that a new Māori teacher at her high school executed a change in thinking towards the needs of Māori students that permeated throughout the staff and other students.

[They became] more aware and sensitive of our needs I suppose. All the name calling stuff and that stopped. If we did need to do things for Māori and that the teachers were really understanding and would be like, “Yup you take that time because obviously that’s what you’re passionate about and who you are so you go and do that.” Once [my] Aunty started [teaching, high] school totally changed for me and it was like you were actually somebody. Identifying as being Māori was the coolest thing ever not so much for us because we always had, but other Pākehā kids that were Māori we didn’t know and they started coming forward. We got a really cool tight knit group and started a *kapa haka* group. It was just fun once [my] Aunty came along I think it was easier to be Māori, just a lot easier. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish felt that teachers did not care about Māori achievement and Trish reacted accordingly to

their attitudes and behaviours towards her. This is similar to other participants where the teacher's negative perception towards Māori students in general led to the development of a negative impression of their own identity as a Māori person. When Trish's Aunty began working at her high school she became an advocate for Māori students who enabled various Māori student support systems and cultural activities to be set up. Having a close kin tie to the new teacher certainly also helped. Trish respected this teacher; something she did not necessarily have for her other teachers. This led to a more positive high school experience for Trish as there was now a safe environment that allowed her to openly express her Māori identity. This supportive atmosphere also allowed others who had previously hidden their Māori ethnicity to feel like that they could begin to explore that aspect of their identity.

Trish's schools had both positive and negative impacts on her, as a Māori person, and on the development of her Māori identity.

Yeah I suppose I was going to say definitely Verdon but that's not necessarily true because St [Joseph's] I suppose...made me more aware of stating who I was and being proud of it. But both schools and both good, positive stuff but negative stuff as well like the name calling and that sort of thing...Putting that pressure on me of having to know stuff, that, there was heaps of instances with kids like when I got pregnant that was because I was a Māori whore. This is the belief of other Pākehā girls, that my father allowed my Māori boyfriend to stay in our home you know it had nothing to do with my Pākehā side, this was coming from Pākehās. I suppose the main thing was that pressure from teachers. I actually had an Aunty, who was a sister-in-law to my mother, and I always felt a lot of racial tension around her, she worked at the high school, and I remember going to do a course once and she wouldn't allow me to do it, it was off school grounds. You had to go to the Polytech and do it and I honestly felt like that was a racial thing and it was nothing she said but the way she used to look at me and that was I was just her little brown niece and I don't know if she even told people I was her niece and it was just horrible feelings like that but mainly name calling with kids and stuff. (Moeke, 2009)

Incidents that sometimes occurred, such as name calling based on ethnicity and assumptions of possessing cultural knowledge based on her cultural background, caused Trish to feel embarrassed and guilty for not possessing such knowledge. Trish felt that she was often stereotyped because she was Māori and that people had expectations of her based on their own

perceptions, particularly from her peers.

Well going to a Catholic school you can imagine how many kids that were Pākehā and a lot of farming kids went there and I don't know there's a mentality with farming people that Māori people are going to steal all their land back you know. "Oh they're going to take what they think is theirs and this is our land and Māori are just going to try and get it under the treaty." So being at school with a lot of farming kids I suppose there was a real big stereotype with Māori kids but a lot of them weren't openly racist. They'd make little comments under their breath or they were just you could tell they had racist parents and they didn't know any better. It was that sort of stuff so a lot of my friends I didn't hold things against them I was more in the thinking that they didn't know but then it was my job to tell them so I was really open. I'd be like, "No you can't talk about my people like that", or even pronouncing words wrong if they would say, "Raka-hook." I'd be like, "Rakaihautu" you say the word properly just that sort of thing. (Moeke, 2009)

The only stereotyping that she experienced from her teachers was their expectation that she possessed a deep level of understanding of Māori knowledge because of her ethnicity.

The schools Trish attended may not have always provided a suitable environment in which a positive Māori identity development could occur, however, there were situations in which Trish did feel that she was supported as a student of Māori descent.

All my best friends were Māori, we had one islander friend she's Tokelaun, Niuean and Samoan heritage and we were all Māori, all Ngāti Porou, oh no one mate from Ngā Puhī...but then we had associates who were Pākehā friends and they were good friends just not the best friends and not our tight crew like that Māori crew. We used to hang out in weekends and be at each other's homes after school that group of girls, all us girls. We're all still best mates now, so lots of Pākehā friends as well because of the school we were at...I've got lots of memories of us sitting around at lunchtime and being like, "Mr [Teacher] he's such a racist prick", but thinking back I can't actually remember any situations where I did feel like the teacher was being racist. I just remember discussing it so I don't know if we assumed that or if it actually did happen; if the teachers were being racist. (Moeke, 2009)

Whilst the teachers may not have intended to act in a discriminatory manner the effects of the perceived discrimination on Trish and her peers at the time left a negative impression of those particular teachers. No doubt this perception affected the interaction of those teachers with this particular group of students. Like other participants, Trish developed a close circle of friends and they provided the support and encouragement she needed to feel safe as a student of Māori descent whilst at high school.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh attended three schools: Gore Main School, Longford Intermediate and Gore High School. She is the only participant to have been educated under the NCEA system achieving at all three levels and obtaining university entrance. Terri-Leigh enjoyed school and she was successful in a number of extra-curricular activities and sport. Her schooling experiences were positive and different from other members of her family.

I loved school to be honest. I got on quite well with all my teachers and stuff so it made it easier.

Were you trying to break out of that stereotypical Māori mould?

I think I probably was...my older brother and sister were both really naughty at school, really naughty, and because my older brother has my dad's last name, and I have my mum's last name, and my older sister has her dad's last name so no one would associate all us three together...I think I tried to break away from their negative or bad behaviour at school. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Having a different last name from her older siblings made it easier for Terri-Leigh to enjoy school and escape the stigma attached to the behaviour of her older siblings that is synonymous with the behaviour of other Māori children.

Terri-Leigh's personality and her ability to operate effectively in a Pākehā world made her experiences at school positive. There were instances where she was aware that certain teachers were supportive of Māori students, and other events where she felt she and her peers were singled out because they were of Māori descent.

Primary, I had no idea but I think they all just treated us all the same. Intermediate, there was one teacher...and she is Rarotongan, so she could speak Māori. I think she kind of looked out for all of the Māori kids that were getting in a bit of trouble. But I didn't really need to see her that much cos I didn't really get into trouble. I kind of slipped under the radar. We were taken out of one period each week where we'd just speak Māori or play Māori games, well not really speak much Māori but learn a wee bit and that was probably the only support we got at intermediate.

High school, not really, I think they were trying to bring in more of a Māori type support system. When I was seventh form they did a survey for Māori students and we all went to a room and they

were just like, “Would you think it would be beneficial if you had a room where all the Māori people could meet up?” I kind of thought it was a bit weird. I was just like, “Well doesn’t that just separate us even more from everyone else?” Well that’s what I thought at that time so I was just like, “Oh nah” but that’s probably because I easily went from each environment. I could easily switch being in a Māori environment or a Pākehā environment so I didn’t really see the point of it. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh’s experiences indicate the level of support that was beginning to develop for Māori students at her high school although this was at a slightly later time period than that experienced by the other participants. This seems indicative of schools located in more rural areas. Prior to the time period that Terri-Leigh attended high school, there were some activities in place in schools in Invercargill where the rest of the participants attended that supported and fostered Māori language and culture, which provided a positive sense of Māori identity for them. However, it is conceivable that with a smaller percentage of Māori students at Terri-Leigh’s school, the perceived need to provide the same or similar opportunities was not as great. There is a smaller Māori population in Gore than both Bluff and Invercargill, and it would seem that the schools were slow to develop their response to an increase in Māori students attending their school.

Terri-Leigh also took Māori as a subject option in her third form year but her experiences in this class were vastly different from those of the other participants.

It was taught until fourth form. I took it in third form but the teacher wasn’t, I don’t know like she didn’t seem very authentic. She was [Māori] and she was quite fair and she had blue eyes and she didn’t speak Māori that much, just in the instructions that she gave us. She didn’t really speak it and so...it just seemed like a bum subject cos you didn’t learn very much and it wasn’t challenging...I think there were there was only four or five of us in the class...but it kind of just seemed like another period to put all the Māori kids in. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh deemed her Māori teacher as not very ‘authentic’ because of her physical characteristics. In this way Terri-Leigh is herself guilty of stereotyping others based on perceptions of what a Māori person should look like. However, it was not unreasonable for her to

expect that her Māori language teacher ought to be able to speak Māori and model good pronunciation to the class. High school seemed to have a major influence on Terri-Leigh's awareness and development of her Māori identity. However, it would also appear to have been the least significant contributor to her identity as a Māori person.

Probably high school because I think that's where you start to question your identity and stuff like that so I definitely think it was high school. Gore High though I don't think it did anything positive towards my identifying as Māori.

Did it do anything negative?

Well that's kind of where I got the tokenistic Māori thing from...The manager for the Silver Ferns was a teacher there [at Gore High School] and once I said a speech and was like, "Oh my family's grown and you guys know how Māori people always have big families?" It was in the end of year speech just saying how the teachers and my friends have become a part of my family as well...I had all these little quirky things about being Māori in it and she was like, "If Farah Palmer²⁹ heard you talking like that she would actually probably hit you. Don't talk like that. Be proud." And I was like, "I am proud", and she was like, "Well are you actually? Cos you're just taking the mickey out of it." I didn't really realise what I was doing. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Historically, schools have assumed that children of both Māori and Pākehā descent have assumed the ethnicity of their Māori parent and as a result are culturally competent (Wardle, 2000:70). Terri-Leigh was brought up by her Māori mother and naturally did identify as Māori. However, because of the small number of Māori students at her school she took on the role of 'token Māori' as a type of defence mechanism. She made self-deprecatory remarks about herself and her ethnicity so that people would not ask her questions about the Māori language or culture that she did not know the answer to. By the end of her high schooling, people had no expectations of her Māori linguistic and cultural abilities. This allowed her to keep herself safe whilst avoiding the expectations placed on Māori students in regards to the linguistic and cultural knowledge base that many perceive they should possess. Terri-Leigh downplayed her cultural abilities by making fun of her ethnicity. It was not until this behaviour was pointed out to her by a member of staff

²⁹ Dr Farrah Palmer is one of New Zealand's most successful sportswomen. She was captain of the New Zealand Women's national rugby team and during her captaincy lost only one game. She graduated from the University of Otago with her PhD in 2000 and is currently a Lecturer at Massey University.

that she began to realise the importance of her ethnicity. Terri-Leigh's interest in other extra-curricular activities such as sport, which she was successful in, meant she had less time to devote to other activities. When her school began to offer a Māori performing arts group in her last two years there she was unable to participate. Without a Māori teacher at the school to coordinate such activities their participation at other Māori events around the region, and the support for Māori students within the school, was minimal.

Because Terri-Leigh enjoyed school, excelled academically and succeeded in sport her teachers did not categorise her based on her ethnicity. They tended to overlook the fact that she was Māori and, as attested by Terri-Leigh, it helped that she "wasn't that Māori" so she did not meet expectations of being a trouble maker. She tended to downplay her ethnicity and, like Manu, focused on achieving academic success to challenge racial stereotypes that expected her not to. However, one staff member in particular did not allow Terri-Leigh to forget the stereotypical expectations placed upon her for being of Māori descent:

I had to get some books and stuff for school so I was 10 minutes late. You have to go to the office and you have to get a permission form because you were late. And so I went to [the school receptionist] and she was quite old and she was like, "Oh why were you late?" And I was like, "Well I had to get things for school and so my mum took me down town and that's why I was a wee bit late." And she was like, "Well us staff have to go in our lunchtime or after school." And I was like, "Well it's not like I just walk down town in my lunch hour cos you're not allowed to and I have netball training and stuff like that after school." And she was like, "Oh you Maoris are all the same." I didn't really know what to do. It's not like I really wanted to go tell someone about it cos it would seem like I was making a big deal out of nothing. But I don't know, move on kind of thing? (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh did not want to make a fuss over the situation even though she had followed school protocol when arriving late. She instead tries to understand the reasoning behind this particular staff member's comments in an effort to justify her response to the event:

Yeah but it's kind of bad when I think about it cos I kind of understood where she was coming from. I was like yeah there's quite a few naughty Māori kids at our school and I could kind of understand why she would say that.

Is it fair that she labelled you that when it's probably the first time in five years that you'd ever been late to school?

Yeah and I had a note from my mum so I don't understand what her problem was but yeah when I think about I don't know maybe it's just cos I'm used to those labels so I was just like oh well that's normal. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Terri-Leigh is similar to other participants who did not care to make a fuss over such comments. On further reflection, she realised how damaging it was to her morale and her self-esteem. No doubt she internalised such unfavourable perceptions of Māori students which impacted negatively on her identity as Māori. Terri-Leigh previously described her older brother and sister as being naughty students and she was determined not to be seen in the same vein as them. She had never been labelled as a “naughty Māori” student and had deliberately tried to stop this from occurring and was perplexed when the staff member still felt this way about her even though she had followed proper school processes. Similar situations arose when interacting with her peers who were mainly Pākehā. They followed Terri-Leigh's own lead and made deprecatory statements using her own label.

I'm not sure of any specific examples but I remember cos I'd do it too so I kind of couldn't, I didn't feel like I could get upset at them because if I initiated it and they carried it on then it was my fault. So I kind of just...brushed it off even though it hurt a wee bit...My really good friend she lives in Christchurch she kinda still does the whole, “Oh you're just a plastic Māori” thing but I kind of don't really I don't say anything. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Moving away from Gore and attending University Terri-Leigh made new friends and enrolled in a Māori Studies degree. She learnt about Māori history, language and culture and began to explore her Māori ethnicity and see it as a positive aspect of her identity. For many people, tertiary education “provided the vehicle by which their Māori identity became more salient and important” (Houkamau, 2006:176). For Terri-Leigh this was very much the case. However, despite having completed a degree in Māori Studies, Terri-Leigh's friends do not see the change in her that has occurred as a result. Terri-Leigh also does not outwardly show that she is no

longer the person she was at high school, nor does she correct her friends when they continue to put her down. There has been a change in her self-perception and she has come to recognise that her peers do not understand this change in her (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008:83). For her, it is about avoiding conflict and tension, but she realises that there will not be any change in her friends if she does not say something to them (Tuhakaraina, 2009). Her identity is therefore situational: she exhibits certain traits amongst some people, then changes when amongst others. She does not yet feel comfortable with proclaiming her Māori ethnic identity in all situations and amongst all her network of friends, based on her lack of Māori cultural knowledge.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle attended two schools: Bluff Primary School and Southland Girls High School. She studied a variety of subjects, including Māori. Michelle admits that her schooling experiences were not that pleasant and explains that she found school boring. She enjoyed primary school because of the freedom and the fact that it was less rigid and structured than high school. Michelle spent seven years at the one school before going to high school socialising with the same group of friends in a culturally supportive environment.

Michelle found that many of the teachers at Bluff School were either of Māori descent and from a similar cultural background, or non-Māori teachers who adapted to fit the learning needs of their students. Michelle found the rigidity of high school difficult to adjust to. She went from a close-knit primary school community, where a significant proportion of the students were of Māori and Pacific Island descent, to a larger high school where she found herself being one of the minority students. She explains:

Probably the teachers were the main difference. I think there was one Polynesian teacher, one Māori teacher at girls high, which was the Māori teacher and that was only for three years and then it was a German teacher teaching Māori...I think they were not narrow minded they just didn't have a good understanding of Māori kids. (Rogers-Hoff, 2008)

Because Māori students were the minority at her high school, Michelle felt that the teachers had no need or desire to adapt their teaching style to suit the few Māori students they had in their class. She felt that they were unsupportive of and unresponsive to Māori students' needs. At high school her teachers also informed her that she did not have the attention span to focus on things.

Despite the positive experience of her primary school it was her high school that had the biggest impact on her as a Māori person. Michelle's loss of enthusiasm once she finished primary school undoubtedly impacted on her subsequent schooling experiences. She did not easily adjust to the changed learning environment or the teachers' attitudes towards her. The teachers at her high school at that time failed to reflect on how their teaching practices impacted on the educational experience of Māori students (Webber, 2008:93).

It's probably more negative than anything else...it's not a very whānau orientated school you knew who you knew and sort of everybody else don't know, don't care. You got your group of friends and you sort of ended up sticking with them. (Rogers-Hoff, 2008)

Michelle compares the *whānau* orientated school environment that she enjoyed at primary school with the isolation she felt at high school. No doubt the *whānau* environment created at primary school enhanced the early development of her Māori identity. At high school, Michelle found support and encouragement came from a close group of friends who were of a similar cultural background as her rather than from her school and the teachers. These peers were able to support Michelle because they were also going through a transition in their Māori identity development, however, they lacked the knowledge to be able to help her develop her linguistic and cultural

knowledge. Rather than be stereotyped based on her ethnicity, she was instead given the label 'Bluffy', a person who resided in Bluff, which came with its own negative connotations. Teachers did not expect 'Bluffies' to turn up and behave. If something happened to one 'Bluffy' then the rest of the 'Bluffies' would also get involved. 'Bluffies' were typically from lower socio-economic families, and the children were used to a certain amount of social freedom. When attending high school in Invercargill, if they were not in the same class the 'Bluffies' tended to congregate together during intervals and lunchtime. Michelle was unaware of being discriminated against because she was of Māori descent, but felt that the low expectations placed on her were a result of being from Bluff. She felt that any animosity she experienced from her teachers wasn't personal and, "it was probably more because of my behaviour more than anything else. I made my bed and I had to sleep in it" (Rogers-Hoff, 2008).

Michelle also chose to study Māori as a subject option. It was in this class that Michelle extended her circle of friends to include more people who were of Māori descent and from other areas of Southland, such as Invercargill. She found comfort within this new group of friends and began to interact with them outside of school as well. They were also of similar backgrounds to her, in that they also tribally affiliated to a North Island tribe and had one Māori and one non-Māori parent.

Michelle's experiences at her primary school were positive in that many of her peers were either Māori or Pacific Islanders and a number of her teachers were of Māori descent. The teachers were cognisant of the needs of their students because they were of a similar cultural background and understood how to make teaching engaging for their students. During this period of her schooling Michelle was engaged in a number of experiences that contributed positively to her

Māori identity development. Conversely, Michelle's experience at high school was significantly different and it impacted negatively on her identity as a Māori person. She felt that she was constantly being marginalised ethnically and geographically: because she was of Māori descent, heavily involved in Māori activities in the school, and also because she was from Bluff.

Damian Reedy

Damian attended two schools: Bluff Primary School and Kingswell High School which combined with another co-educational school to become Mount Anglem College in his fourth year at school. He spent the first three years of high school in a bilingual unit and was a member of the Mount Anglem College Sports Institute in his sixth form year. Damian finished school part-way through his seventh form year to join the Army.

Damian echoes Michelle's sentiments when it comes to describing the impact his primary school had on his educational experiences.

Bluff School was brilliant. One of the teachers didn't know much about the Māori side of things so she had a helper and she was brilliant. Any question we had she could answer and she always had us out singing songs and going to town events and performing there it was great...they took us out of a small classroom and gave us a double classroom. One end of it was for...the Māori kids in the bilingual unit, one end was for the English studies. The other end was total immersion Māori and all that separated was a sliding door that was always open so you could just jump between sides and do what you wanted. (Reedy, 2007)

The small classroom size and the *whānau* atmosphere created by the bilingual unit meant that Damian felt comfortable and safe within this environment. Working in a bilingual unit would have meant that his teacher was cognisant of the teaching methodologies and learning styles that best suited children in this classroom.

Damian found aspects of his high school to be supportive of Māori students as would be expected because it had the largest enrolment of Māori students of any high school in Southland. The school responded to the students' needs and provided appropriate support mechanisms and involvement in Māori cultural activities.

Yeah they went to all the major competitions, Manu Kōrero [Māori speech competitions], all the cultural festivals, kapa haka groups and we were always allowed to go in to the Māori room lunchtimes playtimes just to do stuff really. It was just somewhere else for us to hang out instead of getting in to trouble in the school yard...It had a kitchenette, shared lunches and sitting around singing songs if we weren't outside playing sport. (Reedy, 2007)

Outside of these events, groups and subjects, high school proved to be different and not as positive for Damian. Damian struggled academically and found his attention wandered during classes where the subjects did not interest him.

Quite frankly I hated it I would rather be outside playing sport or trying to give my teachers a mental breakdown...I didn't really take much notice in class. I think the only class I actually listened and understood was the Māori class. (Reedy, 2007)

Damian believes that his attitude towards school was more to do with him trying to rebel against the regimentation of his high school in contrast to the more informal nature of his primary school. He felt that this did not have anything to do with his ethnicity and because of this he had a negative experience at high school. It is highly likely that Damian internalised negative stereotypes of low Māori achievement in school and ethnic biases of teachers which lead to an ambivalent attitude towards school and negatively affected his overall performance (Webber, 2008:94).

The contribution of Damian's schooling towards his Māori identity was at its peak whilst he was at primary school because he was placed in a bilingual classroom. It was here that he learnt most about Māori language and culture. His continued involvement in extra-curricular activities also

helped contribute to his Māori identity whilst he was at high school.

I would say it helped. I'd say more after school when I joined culture groups and that and learned about *marae* protocols, went into *wānanga* (residential style of learning), and went to do *taiaha* (a long weapon of hard wood with one end carved) on Stewart Island for a couple of weeks. I think that's that was the big one...I was in Ngā Mōkai³⁰ culture group for two years. I've done probably three years of *taiaha* learning, travelled to three Manu Kōrero speeches, that was with school and I participated in the welcoming *pōwhiri* (welcoming ceremony) for when [the National Manu Kōrero Competition] was held at Murihiku [*marae*] with Ngā Mokai. (Reedy, 2007)

These experiences in Māori activities helped contribute to Damian's Māori identity development and provided him a means to express his ethnicity. It was also a safe environment and one that he enjoyed because it brought meaning to his world as a person of Māori descent.

Conclusion

Outside of the family network, children spend the majority of their time at school. Schools are environments where we begin to define each other on ethnic terms. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the school, the teachers and the other children enrolled in the school have a significant impact on the identity development and ethnic awareness of an individual. The value the school places on the cultural knowledge the child brings into the classroom, the expectations the teacher has of the child and the interaction the child has with other children contributes to how an individual's identity is shaped within a social context. In early childhood, a person is initially unaware of ethnic differences that exist between themselves and others. It is not until they enter adolescence that they begin to construct an awareness of who they are in relation to others and how these differences translate meaning in the development of their own ethnic identity.

³⁰ Ngā Mōkai o te Whetu ki te Tonga was the name of a *kapa haka* group that originally began as a combined Southland Girl's High and Southland Boy's High Schools Māori performing arts group that competed at Te Hautonga (Otago/Southland Secondary Schools *kapa haka* competition) and Te Waipounamu Festival (South Island). The group then expanded to include students from other high schools in the region and changed to become a community *kapa haka* group.

This chapter has looked at the educational experiences of the children of those migrants who moved to Southland and the impact this had on their Māori identity development. The level of exposure at school to Māori language and cultural activities varied for each of the participants. Each school's commitment to providing activities and support services for their Māori students was dependent on a number of factors including: the ethnicity of the majority of the students, the abilities of the teachers, both Māori and non-Māori within the school, and the involvement of members of the Māori community in the school. During their primary and intermediate schooling the majority of the participants found that their schools had very few activities or events that focused on Māori language or culture. They found that they were seen as a member of the minority ethnic group in their school. This lack of specific activities with a Māori focus may have been a result of a lack of activities within the wider community for children at that level. Teachers may also have assumed that the Māori cultural knowledge development should have been the responsibility of the children's parents. In some instances however, particularly for participants from Bluff, the experiences were different and teachers adjusted their pedagogical styles in accordance with the demographics of their classroom.

For all the participants, high school proved to be a pivotal point in the development of their Māori identity, in both a positive and negative way. It is where, for some of the participants, they became an involuntary minority, subject to teacher biases, institutional racism and associated negative expectations. Some began to internalise these stereotypes which had negative effects on their self-esteem and was detrimental to their Māori identity. Those who came from Bluff found it difficult to adjust from a small *whānau* oriented school and community to the individualistic and competitive environment they encountered when attending high school in Invercargill. One

participant found that her high school was forced to become proactive in their support of Māori students because of the Māori teacher employed there. Had they not done so then her experiences would undoubtedly have been different. Three participants attended the same high school and they were all of the same opinion that this particular school did not provide the support systems they needed as students of Māori descent. The final participant played a role as a 'token Māori' in order to avoid her authenticity as a Māori person being questioned.

Some of the participants felt that their academic achievements at school were hindered by their own attitudes in class. What they may not have recognised was that this was actually a result of an education system that had continuously failed to provide pedagogically appropriate learning environments for Māori children and for Māori-Pākehā children. While they may not have been overtly aware of it, the distancing of classrooms away from the main teaching block and the failure of the school to employ appropriate teachers are just some examples that showed that institutional racism or marginalisation existed.

For the majority of the participants, the schools they attended did not overtly aid in their Māori identity development. The cultural capital of the schools they attended reflected one half of their dual identity, and devalued their Māori ethnicity. Despite the renewed interest in Māori language and culture that had gripped the rest of the country, in Southland these participants were yet to feel the positive effects. All the participants, apart from one, began their schooling after Māori language immersion schools had opened in Southland and were just on the cusp of being able to attend these types of education providers. Some participants were fortunate to live in a small community whose school reacted to the demands of their demographics and another was fortunate to have the involvement of members of her extended family in her school. The majority

of the participants found that the support they needed was generated by peers who were of the same ethnicity and came from a similar home background with working class parents of inter-racial relationships. In these peer support groups they discovered it was okay for them to define who they wanted to be as a person of Māori descent and that there was no pressure for them to be otherwise. The role of friends in providing a supportive network for the development of a positive ethnic identity has been overlooked in much of the literature. However, for the majority of the participants involved in this research, friendships with others of similar ethnic backgrounds provided a safe environment from which to explore their Māori identity as children of North Island migrants growing up in Southland away from their tribal area.

Epilogue

Figure 11. Carved Bricks



(Source: Image courtesy of David Reedy)

E kore a muri e hokia – The route left behind cannot be retraced

In 2000 the Invercargill City Council unveiled a sculpture designed to embrace the people of Invercargill as members of that city as it moved in to the 21st century. The sculpture, in the form of an umbrella, shades the surnames of 5,103 families carved into the bricks below that resided in Invercargill in that year. The surnames of all but one of the participants are etched into these pavers. They serve as a permanent reminder that, no matter where our future may take us, our past is embedded in the landscape of the south as much as it is in our tribal area. Other well-known Māori family names from all over the country are also carved in to these pavers. They highlight the extent to which the post-World War Two southward urbanisation movement affected Māori, in particular those from North Island Māori communities, as hundreds moved south to carve out their future on their own terms.

The Māori title of this thesis, *Kua riro ki wīwī, ki wāwā*, means ‘They have gone walkabout’. The word *wīwī* is often used in conjunction with *wāwā* and indicates indefinite distant localities. In the 1960s our parents made the decision to leave the rural Māori community they had grown up in. They chose to leave their tribal area where their identity and history was tied to the landscape of people and place. Regardless of the social, political and economic forces occurring at a national level that influenced this decision, it was still theirs to make and they did so not knowing what the future held. They were adventurers, risk-takers and incredibly brave. They chose to move to Southland; a place located at the other end of the country, and the complete opposite to what they were accustomed to demographically, culturally and linguistically. No doubt the distance from ‘home’ formed part of their attraction to staying; meeting the mother or father of their children also increased the chances of their remaining in Southland. As they integrated into the Southland community they came to think of Gore, Invercargill and Bluff as ‘home’. It became obvious that maintaining contact with people in the tribal community they grew up in was more important than the actual landscape. The area they grew up in lost some of its emotional significance for return visits once key family members started to pass away.

Mautini Paringatai

Mautini, my father, passed away suddenly in April 2007 at the age of 56, two months after I interviewed him for this research. For 38 years he made the South Island his home. Even though he moved to Christchurch in 1997 and lived there for 10 years, his heart was still very much located in Invercargill. He would return there frequently to visit my sister and me, his friends, in-laws and step-children. When he passed away we decided to bury him in Invercargill, rather than return him to Horoera. It was not an easy decision to make as my sister and I battled with our

hearts and what ‘we thought we should do’ in terms of following appropriate Māori cultural processes. Our hearts won in the end.

Harry Fletcher

Once Harry left Northland he never looked back, and it was a decision that he was comfortable making given his upbringing. However, there seems to have been a sense of nostalgia for the place he continued to call ‘home’, the area in which his being Māori made sense. In 2004 Harry was diagnosed with a terminal illness. As he, his wife and children began to discuss matters concerning where he would be buried, he realised that it was important that he be near these people, who mattered most, rather than being returned to Northland. In 2005 Harry passed away, but the impact of his guidance, love and support continues to be displayed by his wife and children in the way they operate as a solid family unit.

Tamati Reedy

Even though he lived in Southland for nearly 20 years, Tamati’s sense of migratory adventure did not end there. In 1997 Tamati moved to Australia. In 1999 he was joined by Diane and they purchased a small farm halfway between Sydney and Brisbane. Tamati’s brother-in-law and his children lived nearby and eased their adjustment to living in Australia and helped them to establish new networks of friends. Where this support was absent in Tamati’s migration to Southland, it was apparent that this assistance would be pivotal when moving to another country. Tamati has no emotional ties to the East Coast and is adamant that he will not return there to live. Australia has provided the financial security he lost when major structural changes in the freezing works and fishing industries took place. For Tamati, maintaining communication with people is more important to him than his place of residence.

Matua

Despite his early nomadic tendencies, Matua is the only participant migrant who still lives in Southland and has done so for nearly forty years. Two of his seven children continue to live in Invercargill, with the others living on the East Coast, Auckland and Australia. Matua has a significant emotional attachment to the East Coast and would like to return there to live but to do so would mean leaving his children, grandchildren and great-grandchild behind. He knows that remaining in Invercargill, or joining his children in Australia, are the two most viable options to him because he has realised that it is people who are most important to him.

Attachment to place, real or perceived, was not strong enough to lure our parents 'home'. The longer they stayed in Southland and integrated into the various communities they were a part of, the less attracted they were to returning 'home'. Whilst they wistfully remember a simple life and the freedom they experienced as youngsters, the reality now is that in order for them to maintain their lifestyle returning 'home' is not an option. Once we were born the decision to stay in Southland and raise us there affected our identity as Māori. Our ability to operate as people of Māori-Pākehā descent has been more difficult and had more far reaching consequences than they could have ever imagined.

He tina ki runga, he tāmōre ki raro – Contentment above, firmly rooted below

Growing up in Southland as children of Māori who did not tribally affiliate to the area meant that many of us were not raised with a conscious awareness of our Māori ethnicity. There were few, if any, extended members of our Māori family regularly present in our lives. There was no access to our *marae*, and the community we lived in was not conducive to fostering a pride in Māori culture. Therefore, our home environment became pivotal in the development of our

Māori ethnic identity. The decisions our parents made for us in terms of how much Māori language and cultural knowledge they consciously transmitted to us in the home directly impacted on our Māori identity realisation, formation and development.

My earliest foray into exploring my Māori identity was flicking through the pages of a book entitled *The Olive Branches* when I was 10 years old. This book contains one side of my *whakapapa* through my paternal grandfather's line as we descend from Manuel José, a Spanish trader who married my Māori great great-grandmother. I looked at the photos and the lists of names of people, who I knew nothing about, and began to wonder how I fitted into this complex web of relationships. This was my *whakapapa*, but I had no idea of the significance of belonging to this network of families. In 2009 I discovered that I inherited from my father a mutated gene that increased my chances of getting diffuse gastric cancer to between 80-90% and a 60-70% chance of getting lobular breast cancer. This hereditary gene is part of my *whakapapa*. Had I not realised the value of *whakapapa* in my life before then and made the effort to build relationships with my father's family, there is a high probability that I would not be here today.³¹ I finally realised that actively engaging with my Māori ethnicity had life-saving benefits for me: physically, mentally and emotionally.

Identities continue to be made and remade as life circumstances change, so that even the submerged can recover a Māori identity given sufficient confidence and opportunity. (Durie, 1997:157)

I do not have a shared upbringing with my *whānau* that I can remember. However, I am committed to ensuring that I have a shared future with them. This is not always easy to sustain

³¹ Hereditary Diffuse Gastric Cancer (HDGC) develops underneath the lining of the stomach and is undetectable until it has progressed to an advanced stage and has spread to other major body organs, by which time the chances of survival are slim. The genetic mutation I inherited is in a gene that suppresses tumour growth. The mutation caused the gene to stop performing this task and as a result the chances of developing HDGC increased. In 2010 I underwent a total prophylactic gastrectomy (complete stomach removal) to prevent developing HDGC.

but I do it because my identity as a Māori person relies on them, to the East Coast landscape and my *whakapapa* to each.

Throughout the course of this research I wondered how I could encourage other children of Māori migrants to recognise the value of their Māori ethnicity, so that they should go through a similar revelation to the one that I did, and reconnect and reengage with their *marae*, their *whānau*, or at the very least visit their tribal area. I quickly realised that this was not the purpose of this research. I wanted them to explore the process they undertook to understand who they were as Māori growing up in Southland and be happy and secure with that. After analysing this research it can be seen that they are.

Hera Fisher

Hera knows that the life her father chose for her and her family has significantly affected her Māori identity. She recognises the importance of the Māori language and culture for Māori society but does not believe that she should be thought of as any ‘less Māori’ because they are not important aspects of her life. Being Māori for Hera means that she has “a responsibility to kind of step up and be respected and do well. I guess it’s a gift that my father gave to me more so than *te reo* just because that’s not how I was brought up” (Fisher, 2008). At the time of the interview Hera had one son. Her hope for her son was that:

he can be more Māori than I am and that I will be. I talked to him the other day about being Māori, he said “I’m not Māori” but that’s because he doesn’t understand and I thought that’s because he doesn’t get that concept but I think it’s cos he’s not immersed in that concept too. If he went to *kōhanga* or if we lived in a strong Māori society/culture/*whānau* that he would say “I am Māori” but in the same token he doesn’t know he’s Pākehā either. My hopes for him is to not be totally removed from his tribal affiliations, to be whatever he wants to be, to flit in and out of both cultures if that’s what he wants to do. (Fisher, 2008)

Now, in 2013, Hera has three sons. She hopes they will all have some connection with their tribal affiliation. She also hopes they will be able to operate effectively as someone of Māori-Pākehā descent and be comfortable with that ethnic realisation. Through the process of this research, Hera realises that she herself has found this a difficult task to do. Whether she ensures that her sons' identity exploration is any easier is a decision Hera and her husband have yet to make.

Michelle Rogers-Hoff

Michelle also recognises the value of the Māori language and culture. She knows that her lack of knowledge in these areas is in part due to how she was brought up and does not think she is any less Māori because she is not proficient in these areas. Michelle wants to know more about her ethnicity and tribal knowledge but has been separated from her family for so long that she does not know who to contact to obtain such information. To do so would require an enormous amount of time, effort and reciprocal obligations that she is not able to undertake at this time of her life. "I'm alright so far as I know. I think it probably did disadvantage me [growing up away from my tribal area], knowledge wise, but I'm quite happy living down here [in Queenstown]. I wouldn't change it" (Rogers-Hoff, 2008). Michelle's husband is of Cook Island and Pākehā descent and was also brought up in Bluff. She and her husband undertake regular trips to Rarotonga to maintain connections with his Cook Island family. As she prepares to have their first child she wants to ensure that their daughter is consciously aware of all of her ethnicities, to the best of her abilities. Whether that includes interaction with her own *hapū* and *iwi* affiliations remains to be seen.

Trish Moeke

Trish spent six years living in Queenstown where she owned her own business selling Māori products to corporate groups. In 2011 she and her family moved to Melbourne, Australia. Trish had aspirations to strengthen her Māori language abilities but lacked a Māori-language speaking community in Queenstown to be able to support this desire. Now that she lives in Melbourne this will be an even more difficult goal to achieve. However, she does not believe that her lack of proficiency in the Māori language makes her less Māori: “I just think if you know who you are and where you’re from yep too much that makes you Māori. If you’ve got the *reo* then even better” (Moeke, 2009). Trish was fortunate in that her parents actively fostered her Māori ethnicity from a young age, and she had the confidence to be able to pursue that independently once she was an adult. This has consolidated her Māori identity:

Being Māori is identity. It’s about being proud, it’s about being strong, it’s about being connected to the land in a way that I feel no other culture is. Being Māori is just the best thing you could ever be it’s like if you’re not Māori, well if you’re not Ngāti Porou, what’s the point in living? It’s just the coolest thing ever being Māori.

When you say your pēpeha how does it make you feel?

Powerful. It’s like with those words you can conquer the world. Just really proud. (Moeke, 2009)

Trish has four children. It is up to her and her partner to instil that same sense of pride in being Māori, and being Ngāti Porou, in her children. She has to make that commitment of regular return visits to her tribal area just as her parents did for her and her siblings. The difficulty of living in Australia may impact on her ability to do this.

Manu Paringatai

Manu moved to Christchurch in 2001 where she currently works as a high school *te reo Māori* teacher. Whilst her parents encouraged her involvement in Māori related activities when she was younger, she has been largely responsible for developing her own Māori identity to what it is

today. Whilst she is highly proficient in the Māori language and is culturally competent, this does not mean she ascribes to certain philosophies that a lack of these things makes you less Māori.

I think they [people with these views] need to re-educate themselves. Just cause you can't speak Māori doesn't mean that you aren't Māori. It doesn't mean that you don't have the blood running through your veins, the facial features, the brownness and whatever else that goes with being Māori but you can't say it's somebody's fault that they never learnt *te reo Māori* if the options weren't given to them, or if they weren't encouraged to, or if they didn't feel like that they were allowed to. (Paringatai, 2008)

Manu's interests outside of work revolve around the Māori language and culture. An interest in these things has helped make her who she is today, but how she achieved these things was done without the help and guidance from her father's family. She has relied on other people, some distantly related by *whakapapa* and others who are not, to help her in this journey. But she is not always comfortable in a Māori environment and is scared that her lack of understanding will cause her to be reprimanded by others. For Manu:

being Māori means accepting things for what they are, without [always] understanding why. It's knowing who you are, where you come from, who you link to. It's knowing where we've come from to get to where we are now. Who our ancestors were and what they did and how they lived and how they acted and to model off them today and doing them proud for what they did for us. I mean they wouldn't have fought all those wars if there wasn't something to fight for. (Paringatai, 2008)

It is these values that she will try to instil in her children. Her son and daughter are also of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa descent through their father. At this time her children do not realise what *iwi* means but strongly identify as Māori by enrolling them in a Māori language immersion early childhood centre and at a primary school with an immersion unit. Throughout Manu's life her *iwi* has had a minimal impact on her ethnic identity because of where she grew up and where she currently lives. How much impact *iwi* identity will have on her children will be up to Manu and the children's father to decide.

Damian Reedy

Damian left the Army in 2004 and moved to Australia. One of his sons was born in New Zealand and the other in Australia and they now live with their mother in Alice Springs. Damian is currently residing on the Gold Coast where he works as a builder. His decision to move to Australia in pursuit of a new life and its associated social, political and economic opportunities is reflective of his own father's decision to leave the East Coast and move to Southland: common pull factors associated with migration. Damian's involvement in Māori-focused community activities ceased when he left New Zealand, but he still retains much of the Māori cultural knowledge he learnt during this time. He realises that living in Australia has inhibited his ability to be involved as much as he would have if he still lived in New Zealand and that this will have a direct impact on his children. There are opportunities for him to be involved in Māori communities in Australia but he has yet to access them. Now that his children live with their Pākehā mother, Damian's ability to transmit Māori cultural knowledge to his sons on a regular basis has been impaired. His desire is for his children to learn about their Māori ethnicity but how this will come to fruition will require time and commitment from Damian to ensure that it does.

Terri-Leigh Tuhakaraina

Terri-Leigh completed a Bachelor of Physical Education and a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Māori Studies at the University of Otago in 2009. She then obtained a Diploma of Teaching in 2010 and is currently a high school teacher in Christchurch. Tertiary study has led Terri-Leigh to re-evaluate the person she was at high school and she has since come to value her Māori ethnicity in a positive way. She found that by studying the Māori language and culture at university she

realised how embedded within each other the two are. Learning the Māori language has helped mould her identity and formulated her ideas of what it is to be Māori.

I think being Māori to me is accepting everything that life throws at you. You have more resiliency and you're used to all these different things that happen...and being able to pick yourself up if something gets thrown at you. The family component is probably the most significant thing I think being Māori means to me. (Tuhakaraina, 2009)

Whilst she does not regret any aspect of her childhood she would have liked to have been given the opportunity earlier on in life to be exposed to the Māori language and culture. However, this does not make her, or others like her, less Māori: "I definitely think it's important to learn the language and culture but then I wouldn't penalise those people who were brought up without that so I would still say that they were Māori" (Tuhakaraina, 2009). Despite this Terri-Leigh still struggles with her identity: "I don't think I'm a real Māori just cause I didn't grow up in it. When you look at other people and you're just like wow" (Tuhakaraina, 2009). Terri-Leigh is the only participant not to have children but she still has certain aspirations for them:

I definitely would like them to speak Māori, it's part of who I am kind of and so it would be part of who they are. I think that's important so I'd probably do that. And maybe be more involved with the Māori community but then in saying that people are like, "So would you bring your kids up in *kura kaupapa*?" and my initial answer is, "No." I'm not quite sure why. Maybe it's just the hegemonic type thing but I don't know it's probably just the whole negative connotations to being hard out Māori.

Terri-Leigh still struggles to reconcile her upbringing in Gore, where she was a minority who constantly tried to dispel negative stereotypes automatically assigned to her based on her ethnicity, with her desire to engage in her Māori ethnicity more. She is yet to find an environment where she feels comfortable in asserting her level of Māori identity and cultural knowledge without fear of being judged by others as either being 'too hard out' or 'not Māori enough'. This has influenced her aspirations for her future children and whether these feelings

will change as Terri-Leigh becomes more comfortable with her Māori identity remains to be seen.

The migration of North Island Māori to Southland in the post-World War Two period essentially involved the relocation of *whakapapa* from one place to another. Some of these migrants left with no thought of ever going back, whilst others had every intention of returning to live permanently but never did. Nostalgic recollections of a carefree youth could not counteract the need for economic security and their rural 'home' communities could not offer this. These people may not affiliate tribally to the Southland area but they have done much to change the cultural landscape of the region. Their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren remain an integral part of the Māori community in the region thereby embedding themselves and their *whakapapa* forever into the history of Southland.

What then does a Māori identity look like for those who have grown up in Southland, away from their tribal area and the key foundations within which a secure, positive Māori identity is said to be best formed? There is no definitive answer; there never can be. The experiences highlighted in this research prove this to be so. These people are comfortable with their version of their Māori identity, which may or may not be defined along tribal affiliations, *whakapapa*, *marae*, language and culture. Is this a bad thing? If so, for whom? Certainly not for those who grew up away from their tribal area because they could not know any different. This type of Māori identity is becoming more commonplace with every generation born in urban areas. However, it is also representative of the fluidity of Māori society as it adapts to the needs of its members. It is perhaps an apt time that we also adjust our thinking of what is 'right' and 'wrong' and allow things simply to be what they are.

Waiata

Because this is a Māori Studies thesis it is appropriate to end with a *waiata kīnaki* (song of support) for all that has gone before. I chose a poem by Hone Tuwhare who, like the fathers I spoke to, emigrated southwards and decided to stay here. This poem is about bittersweet memories of tribal homelands that have been left behind.

The Old Place

No one comes
by way of the doughy track
through scraggly tea tree bush
and gorse, past the hidden spring
and bitter cress.

Under the chill moon's light
no one cares to look upon
the drunken fence-posts
and the gate white with moss.

No one except the wind
saw the old place
make her final curtsy
to the sky and earth:

*and in no protesting sense
did iron and barbed wire
ease to the rust's invasion
nor twang more tautly
to the wind's slap and scream.*

On the cream lorry
or morning paper van
no one comes,
for no one will ever leave
the golden city on the fussy train;
and there will be no more waiting
on the hill beside the quiet tree
where the old place falters
because no one comes anymore
no one.

Hone Tuwhare (1977:21)

Glossary

<i>āhuatanga āko</i>	teaching practices within schools
<i>atua</i>	ancestor of on-going influence, god
<i>awhi rito</i>	supporting leaves that protect the centre shoot of the flax bush
<i>haka</i>	posture dance
<i>hāngī</i>	earth oven
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hōri</i>	derogatory term used to describe Māori people, especially those who belonged to a lower socio-economic class
<i>hīanga</i>	mischief, play around
<i>hui</i>	large-scale gatherings
<i>ira</i>	genes
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kai</i>	food
<i>kaimoana</i>	seafood
<i>kaitiaki</i>	guardian
<i>kākā</i>	forest parrot, <i>Nestor meridionalis</i>
<i>kanohi kitea</i>	the seen face
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori performing arts
<i>karakia</i>	prayer
<i>kaumātua</i>	elderly person, household head
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori ideology, a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
<i>kaupapa whānau</i>	group of people mobilised under a common cause
<i>kawa</i>	protocol
<i>kina</i>	sea urchin, <i>Evechinus chloroticus</i>
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	Māori language immersion early childhood centres
<i>kōrero Pākehā</i>	to speak English
<i>koroua</i>	elderly man
<i>kōwhaiwhai</i>	rafters, painted scroll ornamentation
<i>kūmara</i>	sweet potato
<i>kuia</i>	elderly lady
<i>kupu</i>	word
<i>kura</i>	school
<i>kura kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori language immersion primary school
<i>mākutu</i>	sorcery
<i>mana</i>	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma
<i>mana o te whenua</i>	supreme ancestral authority of and over the lands
<i>manaaki</i>	hospitality, to protect
<i>manaakitia</i>	capacity to care
<i>manuhiri</i>	visitors

<i>māori</i>	normal
Māori	indigenous person of New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
<i>marae</i>	meeting place, building complex
<i>marae-ātea</i>	open area in front of the <i>wharenui</i>
<i>mātua tīpuna</i>	principal ancestor
<i>matatau i te reo</i>	knowledgeable in the Māori language
<i>matauranga Māori</i>	Māori knowledge
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
Murihiku	southern South Island, Southland
<i>ngā hau e whā</i>	the four winds, a phrase commonly used in Māori society when referring to the pan-tribal make-up of Māori communities whose members come from the four corners of New Zealand
<i>ngā iwi</i>	the tribes, the people and relationships with the community
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pākehātanga	identity derived from being a New Zealander of European descent
<i>parapara</i>	a type of tree
<i>pepeha</i>	motto-maxim, tribal sayings
<i>pipi</i>	a common edible bivalve with a smooth shell found at low tide just below the surface of sandy harbour flat, <i>Paphies australis</i>
<i>pōwhiri</i>	welcoming ceremony, rituals of encounter
<i>pupuri taonga</i>	capacity for guardianship
<i>rāhui</i>	restricting the access to and gathering of certain food sources for part of the year to enable the restoration of these supplies for the following season
<i>rito</i>	centre shoot of the flax bush, undeveloped leaves
<i>taha Māori</i>	Māori ancestry
<i>taha Pākehā</i>	European ancestry
<i>taiaha</i>	a long weapon of hard wood with one end carved
<i>tangata māori</i>	human being
<i>tangata whenua</i>	local people, hosts
<i>tangi/tangihanga</i>	funeral wake
<i>taonga</i>	treasure
<i>tapu</i>	sacred, restricted, forbidden
<i>taro</i>	a plant with edible, starchy corms and large, edible, fleshy leaves, <i>Colocasia esculenta</i>
<i>tauhou</i>	stranger
<i>te ao Māori</i>	the Māori world
<i>te ira tangata</i>	human essence
<i>te reo</i>	the language
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language

<i>te ao</i>	the world or environment the children engage with
<i>te tino uaratanga</i>	the desires and outcomes of <i>kura kaupapa Māori</i>
<i>tikanga</i>	custom
<i>tikanga-ā-iwi</i>	tribal customs
<i>tikanga Māori</i>	Māori customs
<i>tipuna/tīpuna/tūpuna</i>	ancestor/s
<i>tohatohatia</i>	capacity to share
<i>tohunga</i>	priestly expert
<i>tōpuni</i>	A <i>tōpuni</i> is a dog-skin cloak worn primarily by women of high rank. This term is used in the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement to represent the metaphorical laying down of the <i>tōpuni</i> over areas of particular cultural and historical importance emphasising the need for their continual preservation.
Tūhoetanga	identity derived from being a member of the Tūhoe tribe
<i>tūi</i>	parson bird, <i>Rosthemadera novaeseelandiae</i>
<i>tukutuku</i>	ornamental lattice work
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	descent based affiliation to an area
<i>tūturu</i>	authentic, true, real
<i>urupā</i>	cemetery
<i>wai māori</i>	fresh water
<i>wai tai</i>	salt water
<i>waiata kīnaki</i>	song of support
<i>waka</i>	canoe
<i>wānanga</i>	residential style of learning
<i>weka</i>	woodhen, <i>Gallirallus australis</i>
<i>whaikōrero</i>	oratory
<i>whakaiti</i>	to belittle
<i>whakamana</i>	capacity to empower
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy, ancestry
<i>whakapapa whānau</i>	family grouping related by descent from a common ancestor
<i>whakatakoto tikanga</i>	capacity to plan ahead
<i>whakatini</i>	capacity for growth
<i>whānau</i>	family, extended family
<i>whāngai</i>	adoption, adopted person
<i>whare</i>	house
<i>whare kai</i>	dining hall
<i>whare nui, whare whakairo, whare puni</i>	ancestral meeting house
<i>whare tupuna, whare tipuna, tipuna whare</i>	ancestral meeting house
<i>wharekura</i>	Māori language immersion high school
<i>whenua tipu</i>	ancestral land

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