



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://waikato.researchgateway.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Maori Social Identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i

Linda Waimarie Nikora

Maori Social Identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the

Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Waikato

by

Linda Waimarie Nikora

University of Waikato
Te Whare Wananga o Waikato
2007

Abstract

This research is comprised of two narrative interview studies of Maori in two different settings, New Zealand (n=20) and Hawai'i (n=30). The data was gathered over the 1994-1996 period. The two settings have some commonalities and differences. In both settings Maori are required to make decisions about the continuity of their ethnic Maori identities and hereditary cultural identities of iwi, hapu and whanau, and the part that they wish these identities to play in their daily lives. The focus of this research was about how Maori create meaning in their lives and maintain their social identities across and within those contexts they move through.

The findings of this research suggest that Maori in New Zealand continue to value and gain meaning and satisfaction from their cultural collectivities and the social identities derived from them. However, the results tend to suggest that there are changes in the ways that individuals conceptualise these identities and concomitantly, how they see of themselves.

For New Zealand participants, conceptions of hapu and iwi appear to be converging with an increasing focus on the physicality of marae, its environment and symbolism, and the social events and relationships negotiated in that space. New Zealand participants saw some hapu and iwi maintenance activities as more legitimate than others. More value was placed on returning to hapu and iwi homelands however irregular these returns were. In contrast, conceptions of hapu and iwi held by participants in Hawai'i seemed less intense. There were few opportunities to engage with other hapu or iwi members. Being Maori had greater meaning and was understood, probed and valued by others in the culturally plural context of Hawai'i. For New Zealand participants, being Maori was enacted in the context of being a discriminated, negatively constructed minority. All were aware of the defining effect that the presence of a dominant majority could have and countered these effects by engaging in social justice and in-group solidarity activities.

The changing identity conceptions held by members of Maori social groups will have implications for a sense of community and social cohesion, for tribal asset management, service delivery and crown settlement processes. If Maori are redefining and renegotiating their social identities to achieve greater meaning and satisfaction then these changes are important to respond to and recognise.

Acknowledgements

Many people have made this work possible and I am indebted to all of them. I begin by acknowledging my grandfather who inspired me to higher learning, my parents, Tamaro and Makere Nikora and siblings, Tumau, Raewyn and Mark for their unconditional love, support and continuing faith. I am relieved that you are all still here for me.

As a teacher, I know that the supervisory relationship is critical to all student research endeavours. They are relationships of trust, respect, faith and hope. To my forever gentle mentors and guides, Jane and James Ritchie and David Thomas, my sincere gratitude and appreciation.

The field work for this thesis would not have been possible were it not for the research assistance of Angeline Harawira, the network opportunities and support afforded by Alice Unawai and Debbie Hippolite-Wright who made the Hawai'i study possible, and the willingness of every participant to take part in this research. I particularly want to acknowledge the late Nhipora Wallace whose courage and strength to remain fiercely Tuhoe continues to be an inspiration in my life.

To Pi'ikea Miyamoto, Emma and Grandma, malama pono. Since my short stay in Ka'a'awa, life has never been the same!

To my work colleagues and friends who have over the years formed the Kaupapa Maori Management Committee, your staunch patience has always motivated me.

Lastly, Ngahuia, thank you for having always been there.

na,

Waimarie

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Appendices.....	viii
Overview.....	1
How this thesis is organized.....	1
Chapter One Theories about Social Identity.....	5
Social identity theory.....	5
Social categorisation theory	8
Social interactionism	8
Intersecting identities.....	9
Spacial theories of identity.....	10
Moscovici and cultural identities	10
Summary	11
Chapter Two Revealing Aotearoa	12
Scientific Voyages.....	12
Commercial Voyages.....	12
Missionary Voyages	15
Treaty of Waitangi 1840.....	18
The passage of the Treaty of Waitangi through time	20
Maori Social Identity pre-1900's	33
Chapter Three New leaders and Assimilation	35
The Young Maori Party	36
Ngata's legacy	39
Chapter Four Urbanisation	46
Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945	46
City lights.....	49
Emigration.....	51
Life in the Cities	52
Detribalisation	55
Chapter Five New Zealand Scholarship: Approaches to Understanding Maori Social Identities	58
Psychological anthropology.....	58
The Kowhai Study	61
Rakau Studies.....	66
Inherited Wisdom	76

Social Anthropology.....	77
Maori university graduates in the late 1960's.....	79
Studies of Maori communities.....	81
Mixed Marriages.....	84
From Kotare to Auckland.....	87
Formal Rituals and the Marae.....	93
Maori Health and Development.....	98
Chapter Six Maori in Hawai'i.....	105
Pacific voyaging.....	105
The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS).....	106
Maori and the LDS Church.....	108
The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC).....	111
New Zealand and Hawai'i : Similarities and Differences.....	113
Cosmologies and Values.....	119
The present study.....	120
Objectives.....	121
Chapter Seven Methodology.....	122
Overview.....	122
Research Questions.....	122
Subjectivity versus objectivity.....	124
Critiques of the Western research paradigm.....	126
Maori approaches to research.....	137
The nature of knowledge.....	146
Chapter Eight Study One Aotearoa.....	148
Introduction and overview.....	148
Recruitment of participants.....	148
Participants.....	150
Interview questionnaire and schedule.....	151
Piloting of demographics questionnaire and interview schedule.....	156
Procedure.....	157
Ethical issues.....	159
Using a Research Assistant.....	160
Data analysis.....	161
Chapter Nine Study Two Hawai'i.....	164
Why Hawai'i?.....	164
Recruitment of participants.....	165
Criteria for participation.....	167
Collecting demographic information.....	168
Procedure.....	178
Ethical Concerns.....	179
Data Analysis.....	179

Chapter Ten Being Maori in New Zealand	181
Being Maori	181
Important things about being Maori	187
Hapu and Iwi connections.....	190
Maintaining hapu and iwi identities	209
Maintaining Maori Identities.....	229
Chapter conclusion	236
Chapter Eleven	
Being Maori in Hawai'i.....	238
How participants came to be in Hawai'i	238
Being Maori in Hawai'i.....	241
Comparisons with being Maori in New Zealand.....	252
Negotiating a Maori identity	257
Maintaining Maori Connections.....	261
Maori focused activity	263
Reasons for Maori focused activity	266
Frequency of participation in Maori focused activity	270
Facilitators of Maori maintenance activities	271
What makes maintenance activities harder.....	278
Feeling like an outsider.....	281
Coping Strategies.....	285
Maori Social Identities: Whanau, Hapu and Iwi	287
Conceptions of whanau.....	288
Conceptions of Hapu	291
Conceptions of Iwi.....	294
Maintaining Connections with others	298
Whanau	298
Hapu.....	307
Iwi.....	314
Home Focused Thoughts.....	320
Motivation and purpose	321
Emotional support	322
Social networks	323
Distractors	324
The option of home.....	324
Homeward bound	325
Chapter Twelve Discussion and Conclusions.....	329
Summary of findings	329
Discussion	335
Possible implications	342
A unique contribution.....	344
Areas for future exploration.....	348
References.....	350
Appendices	369

List of Tables

Table 1	Distribution of total population by ethnic group, New Zealand, 1769-1945...	23
Table 2	Parallels in Cosmology – Maori vs Hawaiian.....	115
Table 3	Examples of self-contained individualism.....	135
Table 4	New Zealand Sample Characteristics	152
Table 5	Hawai’i Sample Characteristics	170
Table 5	Hawai’i Sample Characteristics (continued)	171
Table 6	Ethnicity of Hawai’i participants, their parents and partners.....	172
Table 7	Participant’s household characteristics.....	174
Table 8	Participant’s iwi and hapu affiliations	175

List of Figures

Figure 1: Ritchie's five most dominant aspects of valuing	68
Figure 2. Map of Hawai'i	118
Figure 3 Building a Maori sense of identity	346

List of Appendices

Appendix 1	English Version of the Treaty of Waitangi.....	370
Appendix 2	Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi.....	372
Appendix 3	English Translation of the Maori Treaty Text.....	374
Appendix 4	Study One Information sheet.....	376
Appendix 5	Study One Demographic Questionnaire.....	380
Appendix 6	Study One Interview Schedule items.....	383
Appendix 7	Study One Consent form.....	387
Appendix 8	Study Two Information sheet.....	389
Appendix 9	Study Two Demographics Questionnaire.....	393
Appendix 10	Study Two Letter to Participants.....	399
Appendix 11	Study Two Contact Information Sheet.....	401
Appendix 12	Study Two Interview schedule.....	402

Overview

In 1985, I sat in an introductory social psychology lecture by Dr Michael Hills of the University of Waikato. I was excited by the content of the lecture. Dr Hills said something like: An identity is a good thing to have for if it were not for an identity many of us would be lost to suicide, mental illness, and not have a very positive sense of being in the world. This agreed with my thinking, but, as a first year student, Dr Hill's explanations and theories did not quite satisfy the questions spinning in my head and my yearning for concrete examples and rich detail about me as Maori, as a tribal being, as a minority being, as an indigenous being, moving forward in a modern world. I longed to attend lectures where I did not have to forever convert the lecturer's examples and explanations of behaviour to my own Maori experience. I found some relief from this in courses taught by Professors James and Jane Ritchie and David Thomas on 'working in the Maori world', 'cross-cultural psychology' and 'growing up in New Zealand'. They had lived experiences that resonated with me and allowed my thoughts to fall on lines of enquiry helpful to unpacking my life and my experience of the worlds I was moving through and of others I was moving with.

These early encounters with psychology spawned, for me, a continuing interest in Maori social identities, culture change and resilience. Through this PhD study, I have had the opportunity to explore how Maori conceptualise and enact their social identities in a New Zealand context and to explore how the same is achieved by Maori living in Hawai'i. These are the topics that this thesis is concerned with.

How this thesis is organized

Of necessity, I have broken my review of literature into five separate chapters. The first deals with social identity theories. My intent in this chapter is to demonstrate that psychological theory helps to answer some questions about Maori social identities, but also raises a whole host more. I raise some of these questions as a first step towards exploring the detail, drama and complexity of Maori social identities.

The second chapter, called ‘revealing Aotearoa’ reviews how the inhabitants of these south sea islands were discovered and revealed to the world, why the ‘world’ came to New Zealand, and the responses made by its inhabitants. Differences in cultural understanding, worldviews, technologies and beliefs systems are significantly to the fore when culture groups encounter each other. From my 21st century position, reviewing the culture clashes of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries reveals much about the progression and development of Maori social identities, over time.

Central to this review is the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. The signing of the Treaty marks a significant transition period in New Zealand history. Traditional leadership, community cohesion, resources and identity were to become increasingly pressurized by large numbers of migrant settlers to New Zealand, hungry for a slice of ‘gods own’ and expectant that they would receive. Settler arrivals were so many that, by 1858, Maori had become a minority within their own lands. No amount of resistance, active or passive, could stem the demands of the settler government, the spread of disease, or the alienation of resources and land. Tribal leadership had to make sense of these developments and negotiate what it meant to be a tribal being at a personal and collective level, and at an emerging pan-Maori level. These changes gave rise to new forms of leadership that sat alongside traditional forms. In this connection, I review the emergence of the pan-tribal movements of Kingitanga, Paimarire and Ringatu. While there were others, a selective review of these movements is enough to demonstrate the capacity of Maori leaders to merge their own worldviews with that of Christianity to effectively sustain followers in the face of severe adversity.

The third chapter is called ‘New leaders and Assimilation’. At the turn of the 19th century, the Maori population was at an all time low, so low that the commonly held view was that Maori would become extinct. Assimilation was seen as the way forward and remained as the solution to the ‘Maori problem’ until the late 1960’s when more culturally plural views began to come into vogue. Up until that time, new Maori leaders like Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare, Peter Buck and others had to uplift a people depressed by the events of the previous century. A focus on their strategies lets us learn something of the strength of relationships within and between tribal groups, and the resilience of spirit, culture and identity during this period.

In chapter four, titled ‘Urbanisation’, I examine the literature about the adaption by Maori to city life. The alienation of land from Maori during the 19th and 20th century meant that there was an inadequate land resource to sustain a largely rural Maori population. Maori had no choice but to leave their tribal homelands to find new lives and ways of surviving in towns and cities. Reviewing how Maori configured their cultural selves and collectivities in these new environments allows us to learn something of the adaptable nature of Maori people, culture and identity, or what Ritchie (1963) describes as a contra-acculturative tendency.

The fifth chapter, is titled “New Zealand scholarship: approaches to understanding Maori social identities”. Here, I review three major academic strands. The first is that advanced by psychological anthropologist Ernest Beaglehole, and later by his students James and Jane Ritchie. The rich and detailed ethnopsychological studies of Kowhai and Rakau provide an insight into communities undergoing rapid social and cultural transformation. Fundamental to these studies is an attempt to understand the individual in context, to search for and identify those things that characterized Maori, be they personality traits, values, beliefs, or behavioural patterns. The second strand reviewed is that led by social anthropologist Ralph Piddington, and concerns, more especially, the studies of urbanisation and acculturation that interested both his Maori and Pakeha students. The last strand is the more recent work of Mason Durie, champion of the field of Maori development and architect of the Maori social identity profiles produced by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team. These three academic giants, their graduates, and academic associates have significantly influenced the emergence of what I see as the most meaningful and relevant studies of Maori social identity to date.

In the sixth introductory chapter, called “Maori in Hawai’i”, I turn my focus to set the stage for the fieldwork component of this PhD study. Here, I review what little material there is about Maori in Hawai’i, and, more generally, the Hawai’i context itself. I conclude chapter six by stating the aim of this present study.

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted here in New Zealand and in Hawai’i. Chapter seven deals with general methodological issues and is followed by the methods employed interviewing Maori here in New Zealand (chapter eight) and in Hawai’i (chapter nine). In both chapters eight and nine, I describe the procedures I followed, the interview schedules used and the general characteristics of the samples obtained.

In chapters ten and eleven I present the results of each respective study and follow these with a discussion of similarities and differences in findings between each sample (chapter twelve). Also in this final chapter I discuss what has emerged as the major findings and implications of this research before concluding with ideas for future investigation.

Chapter One Theories about Social Identity

Social identity theory has been drawn upon to inform research across a range of fields, mostly to do with groups and group processes. It has been used to explore problems such as organisational mergers (Terry, Callan, & Sartori, 1996); communication patterns (Suzuki, 1998); minorities in the work place (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999; Skevington & Dawkes, 1988); intergroup behaviour (Marcus Newhall, Miller, Holtz, & Brewer, 1993; Oaker & Brown, 1986; Rothbart & Lewis, 1994); work place turnover (Mael & Ashforth, 1995); and prejudice (Lutz & Ruble, 1995). Where social identity theory has been often applied has been to the issue of groups, and inter-group relations (Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade, & et al., 1986; Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Ghosh & Kumar, 1991; Gough, Robinson, Kremer, & Mitchell, 1992) in particular to understanding group maintenance strategies, as well as inter-group collaboration.

Given its broad use in understanding social identities and group processes, the helpfulness of social identity theory in understanding Maori might be anticipated. In this section I briefly review three classic social psychology theories: social identity theory, social categorisation theory, and identity theory; and comment on more recent directions in theory development. In reviewing these theories, I am not so concerned with their validity, or with support for any particular theory found in subsequent studies. Rather, I am more concerned with the questions and issues that these theories may direct focus upon in this study. These things are highlighted progressively through this section.

Social identity theory

A social identity is comprised of all of the roles (and associated social identities) a person occupies and enacts in the course of a given stage in life (Young & Arrigo, 1999). It is the socially determined answer to the question, "Who am I?" According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the self-concept encompasses a personal, and a social identity. A personal identity is based on idiosyncratic characteristics including appearance, abilities and traits, a set of values and beliefs, and personal experiences. A social identity derives from people's

knowledge that they belong to a certain social group and the subjective meaning associated with this knowledge (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). "People tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories" to define their "personal identity" and the extent to which they relate to and identify with others in their social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20). Furthermore, our social identity influences how we perceive and present ourselves, as well as how we perceive and treat others (Hopkins, 1997).

Social identity theorist Henri Tajfel (1981) posits four views that result from the recognition of identity in socially defined terms. First, Tajfel (1981, p. 256) argues that

an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of the individual's social identity; to those aspects of it from which they derive some satisfaction.

Of this position we might ask: What contributions do Maori social groups make to the positive aspects of the individual's social identity? What is it about being a member of an iwi or hapu, or of a whanau, or kapa haka group, or of any other kaupapa Maori based group, that makes us feel positive about ourselves? What do people do to maintain their sense of affiliation, connectedness and belongingness within Maori social groups?

The second position that Tajfel maintains is that: if a group does not make a positive contribution to an individual's self-esteem or regard for themselves, the individual may respond by choosing to leave the group unless

leaving the group is impossible for some 'objective' reasons, or it conflicts with important values which are themselves a part of the individual's acceptable self-image (Tajfel, 1981, p. 256).

As membership in Maori social groups is mostly dependent upon whakapapa or descent, an individual's ability to make a total escape from such groups is almost impossible. Somewhere in the expansive Maori relational network, someone will recognise, reclaim and reinvest within the individual, which membership and identity that they are seeking to avoid. Of the individual wishing to leave or rid themselves

of a Maori social identity, we may ask: What is hard about being Maori or belonging to an iwi or hapu group? Why would anyone desire to escape from their heritage groups and identities? What Maori values are valuable to an individual? What benefits do these values afford them? What attractions lie elsewhere?

For the individual whose options to leave a group are limited, Tajfel (1981) theorises two possible strategies. They are

...to change one's interpretations of the attributes of the group so that its unwelcome features (eg., low status) are either justified or made acceptable through reinterpretation; or to accept the situation for what it is and engage in social action which would lead to desirable changes in the situation (p. 256).

As a non-dominant group within Aotearoa/New Zealand society, Maori occupy a low status dominated minority position. Following Tajfel's position we might ask: How can the low status position that Maori hold of themselves and of their group as a whole be justified or reinterpreted? How can Maori reinvent ourselves, our culture and social groups? What are those things within the Maori world that we wish to hold up as symbolic, positive and desirable? How can we invest pride in who we are? What social actions can be engaged in to institute positive change?

A further strategy may be to reduced identification with the group (Cassidy & Trew, 1998). This may occur if the individual is unable to positively evaluate their membership of the group and also unable to escape membership. As noted above, Maori have a limited ability to leave those social groups ascribed on the basis of culture and ethnicity, and particularly those groups premised on whakapapa. Even though some individuals have some success in achieving this escape by migrating (Metge, 1964) or passing (Breakwell, 1986), I argue that it is more likely to be achieved over generations through intermarriage (Harré, 1966), through acculturating to the culture of the dominant group (Fitzgerald, 1972), and by decreasing enculturation emphasis upon the group(s) from which an escape is being sought. Evidence that such a pattern exists is scattered through literary works that deal with the topic of being Maori (for example, Brown, 1993; Cram & Davis, 1994; Ihimaera, 1998; Ilolahia, 1996/97; Stewart, 1993) and is reflected in their search for self-worth, belongingness and identity.

The last position asserted by Tajfel (1981) is to do with the situated reality of social groups and individuals, and more importantly, the comparative process that occurs between social groups.

No group lives alone - all groups in society live in the midst of other groups. In other words, the 'positive aspects of social identity' and the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social action only acquire meaning in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups (p.256).

Social categorisation theory

Maori social identities are relative. The whanau is relative to other whanau as well as to other familial arrangements (eg, nuclear family, sole family), and to those hapu of which the whanau are a fundamental group. In the same way, hapu are relative to other hapu, and to those iwi that allied hapu constitute. The same is true of iwi as they sit alongside other iwi, and of the much broader Maori ethnic group as it is positioned aside others. Social-categorisation theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, & Wetherell, 1987) extends Tajfel's thinking by positing that group members will generally seek to approximate their understanding of the way in which a 'prototypical' member of that group would behave. A prototype is a representation of the features that best define the ingroup (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1998), and individuals evaluate themselves to determine how well they match the group prototype, that is, self-prototypicality.

The idea of prototypicality raises a number of interesting questions. For example, what are prototypes for Maori social groups? Upon what basis are they constructed and defined, and by who? Through what processes do Maori individuals come to display prototypical behaviour? What happens when they don't? How do people cope when group influences serve to highlight the differences between those who display prototypical behaviour, and those who don't?

Social interactionism

What of the individual who is able to claim multiple social identities? Do different social identities come into play in different situations? Stryker's identity theory

suggests that this is so. Like those within the social identity tradition, Stryker (1987) and Stryker & Stathan (1985) assume that people possess multiple identities that comprise the self-concept and that identities are a product of social negotiations between people. To explain why different identities assert priority, Stryker & Stathan (1985) propose that identities are hierarchically ordered into a structure according to behavioural salience. Identities near the top of the hierarchy are more likely to be acted upon in a particular situation and hence are more self-defining than those near the bottom. Invoking one identity over others is a function not only of its salience, but also of the level of commitment to that identity. The stronger the identity commitment, the more individuals perceived the identity as instrumental to their wants (Cassidy & Trew, 1998). At the same time, the more a person is committed to a particular identity, the higher the probability of role performance consistent with the role expectations attached to that identity and the greater the probability that he or she will seek out opportunities to perform consistent with the identity image (Franke, 2000).

In a world of changing situations and ongoing negotiations of meaning, what does being Maori actually mean, and how do Maori find and affirm meaning between themselves? The same can be asked of whanau, hapu and iwi identifications. In line with Stryker's thinking, we might interrogate the place that competing identifications occupy, the reasons why and situations when some identifications are more salient over others.

Intersecting identities

Beyond a capacity to claim multiple identities, is the issue of intersecting identities or 'intersectionality' (Howard, 2000). Much research still remains to be done on this topic and, for methodological reasons, has tended to mostly focus on the intersection of two identities only. However, early theorising points to the need to acknowledge the political nature of claiming and maintaining multiple social identities, and recognise "structural inequalities and the recognition of multiple (dis)advantages" (Howard, 2000, p.328). Identity is political. On one hand, it is about uniqueness and difference, and on the other, about belonging and meaning. What does this mean for Maori able to make claim to multiple hapu and often iwi groups? Is the ability to 'claim' enough to justify membership and bring about a sense of belonging, or are

their other processes involved? And what of the negative? Is it possible to just want and to only claim the positive without regard to resolving the negative?

Spacial theories of identity

Both Tajfel and Stryker emphasise the situated reality of social identities. Place identity, well known in the discipline of geography (Cuba & Hummon, 1993a, 1993b; Hay, 1998a; Tuan, 1996), refers to “identities based on a sense of being at home” (Howard, 2000, p.382). This area of identity research tends to be concerned with place affiliation, place stratification, and mobility. When Hay (1998a) wrote of a ‘rooted sense of place’, this struck a cord with me. Rootedness conjures up images of being tied to, and emerging from a place that nurtures and sustains people and their identities. It is an identity “based on cosmology and culture, which rooted [Maori] to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally” (Hay, 1998a, p.245). History, therefore, contributes to the meanings we ascribe to places and the people that emerge from them. Of social identities associated with place we might ask: Do tribal homelands and geographic symbols continue to play a part in how Maori social identities are configured? If they do, why is this the case especially for those generations removed from their tribal homelands?

Moscovici and cultural identities

Most theorists agree that through culture meanings are made (Moore, 2004; Womack, 2005). In his theory of social representations, Moscovici (2001) proposes that fleeting notions are arrested, objectified and represented to ourselves and others, circulating through mediated processes leaving images opened to be questioned, contested and negotiated. Sometimes these representations are confirmed and reinforced; but often new meanings evolve or old meanings are re-presented and begin again the cycle of arrest, objectification, circulation and negotiation. In this way, culture as the atmosphere through which we live our lives gives us meaning and at the same time we evolve culture through the meanings we create. Moscovici’s ideas are akin to those of social categorisation theory except that the social categories or representations are not rigidly fixed. They can and do change even if earlier representations persist as part of newly formed representations. This idea is helpful

in that it highlights the contribution of ‘historic’ representations, to the present day. For example, Tuhoe, as a tribal group, are sometimes seen as quaint, naïve, lacking the trappings of modern society, and less developed than other tribes. This view results from an earlier reluctance by Tuhoe to engage the broader world, preferring, instead, to remain ruralised within their own iwi homelands. Irrespective of how true or false this representation is, relative to other iwi, the framing of Tuhoe as ‘nga tamariki o te kuhu’ (the children of the mist) by Elsdon Best (1972) continues even today (for example, see newspaper article titled *Through the Mists of Time* 2005). But what of other iwi? Are their similar kinds of representations evident in how Maori individuals and groups think about and represent themselves? How are these representations framed and communicated? Are these representations common knowledge, or only known to a select few?

Summary

This brief review of theories about social identities is helpful in so far as it provides some feel for the complexity and fluidity of social identities and behaviour. Although manifest through the individual, social identities are equally a product of within group, inter-group, and situational processes, as they are of the individual. As a result, attention to the historical, cultural and social institutions, and those processes that may serve to positively enhance or exasperate an individual's experience of being Maori, is in order.

In the review of literature that follows, I have deliberately chosen to explore literature that focuses on Maori, most, inevitably, emerging from research by New Zealand social scientists, many themselves Maori. Few of these works are concerned directly with Maori social identities, in the way that interests social identity theorists, but all treat with Maori social identities in some way or another allowing me to reveal a view unique unto the New Zealand context, a view rooted in this history and this place.

Chapter Two Revealing Aotearoa

Scientific Voyages

In 1642, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman happened upon a Pacific archipelago which he named 'Zeelandia Nova', later to become known as New Zealand. Arriving at Taitapu, now known as Golden Bay, his was the first known arrival of European explorers. His reception by Maori at Taitapu was hostile with both sides suffering fatalities, hastening Tasman's departure from our waters (Salmond, 1991, 1997).

The Englishman, Captain James Cook, was the next European explorer who found his way to Aotearoa in 1769 (and again in 1777), 120 years after the Dutch expedition. The French were also in our waters that same year, 1769, and later in 1772. All of these early expeditions followed the record and maps of Tasman. Although these excursions were viewed as:

...scientific voyages, equipped for systematic observation and enquiry ...in the eighteenth century, European science was often an imperial instrument, investigating the world for glory of monarchs and the interests of the state (Salmond, 1997, p.32).

Just as Tasman exposed our isles for subsequent scientific exploration, these same excursions allowed the expansion of other activities with captains of commerce using Tasman's maps to find their way through the South Seas.

Commercial Voyages

In 1788, the British began shipping their convicts to penal establishments in New South Wales and Norfolk Island. New Zealand and its inhabitants were considered far "too dangerous and bloodthirsty" (Belich, 1996, p129) for the conveyers of such criminal cargo and was therefore avoided as a prison colony – but not so for those who sought the ocean bounty to light the streets of London and to reinforce its corsets. Whalers, sealers and opportunists from Britain, France and America turned their vessels toward New Zealand to hunt whales and seals and to trade with Maori.

When these ships returned to their home ports, their hulls were filled with goods marketable in Britain, Europe, America, India and China. Whale and seal oil, skins, timber, water, food, cloaks, weapons, carved houses, images, art, upoko tuhi (inscribed heads), and the live versions themselves, were amongst those commodities found to be exotic or to have currency for captains of commerce. With this interest, and particularly for whalers and sealers who were often at sea for long periods of time, the Bay of Islands became a major South Pacific trading and ‘stop over’ port and often the destination of escaped or ex-convicts.

As much as foreigners were interested in and driven to acquire and exploit resources found in New Zealand, Maori were just as keen to exploit and acquire all manner of things from foreigners. Historian, Paul Monin (2001), has written about modes of exchange between Maori and Europeans providing a perspective that questions the earlier work of Firth (1972) and Salmond (1991, 1997). According to Monin (2001), these earlier writers posited that Maori understood ‘trade’ within a system of gift giving, the exchange process being about “social rank, social obligation, and inalienability (ownership of the gift in some respects remaining with the giver)” (Monin, 2001, p.33). In contrast, Monin, after reviewing exchanges between Hauraki Maori and Europeans seeking to reprovision and repair their ships, believes that the historic record suggests that Maori had a far more sophisticated paradigm of exchange accommodating gift giving on one level, and commercial production and exchange on another. With regard to the latter, Monin writes

The chief commonly ascertained the needs of the ship, negotiated a return for that supply and set his people to providing it. It involved far more than the movement of goods, as the chief also afforded the ship protection during its visit and possibly hosted the crew when ashore. Through establishing social relations with the visitors, Maori seem to have integrated a new economic opportunity into their existing social framework. This system came to be known as ‘hiniki no hiniki’, or give for give (Monin, 2001, p.34).

‘Pakeha Maori’, as Bentley (1999) terms them, who choose to, or who were captured into Maori communities were, initially, highly valued by Maori. Those Maori communities that had Pakeha Maori had an advantage over those who did not. Pakeha Maori could translate English, explain European customs and events, the meaning and use of new technologies, and act as intermediaries and “trader go-

betweens” (Bentley, 1999, p.32). They were also, on occasion, marketable. For example, once Maori were aware that whaling and sealing ships required a crew, runaway convict sailors, Pakeha Maori and Maori war prisoners were often rounded up and traded for arms (Bentley, 1999, p.16). Indeed, the evidence suggests that Maori were canny traders long before Tasman and Cook reached these shores, their arrival simply extending the groups that goods could be marketed to, or obtained from.

When reading the literature, the overwhelming impression one obtains, is that the consequences of the early voyages of Tasman and Cook was the eventual and inevitable revealing of New Zealand to the rest of the world. Once ‘Zeelandia Nova’ was mapped by Tasman, it was recorded and accessible to Europe, and the rest of the world, and particularly to the next wave of interest - the commercial and convict worlds. Equally, the world began to open to Maori.

Scientific ventures were few in comparison to the massive commercial undertakings by Britain and America and, later, France. Tens of thousands of seals were slaughtered for their skin and oil, and whales, too, both for their oil and bone. But these commercial ventures were also dangerous with many sealing and whaling gangs braving hostile seas and locations. Belich (1996, p131) writes

No novelist has yet imagined a worse voluntary existence than sealing on a subantarctic island, freezing works in which the workers froze and the dead meat rotted. Ships left three or four gangs or half a dozen men at what it was hoped were seal rookeries, and then returned some months later to pick up the gang and its hundreds or thousands of dried or salted skins. The ships did not always return. One gang was marooned on the Snares Island, off Stewart Island, for seven years.

It is no wonder that many in these gangs preferred to take their chances with a purported cannibal people than try to live in such hostile environments. Maori were also quick to take advantage of these voyages and commercial activities, helping to fill in as ships crew or to foot it with sealing and whaling gangs. Anne Salmond (1997) writes of the experiences of Ruatara and two other companions who on various ships voyaged to different places around New Zealand. In 1806, Ruatara visited Port Jackson, Australia, subsequently returned to the Bay of Islands, and in 1807, made the Bounty Islands as part of a sealing gang. There, the gang was

marooned for almost a year surviving on seafood and rainwater. They were eventually rescued in 1808 and returned to Port Jackson. Ruatara then travelled to London in 1809 determined to see King George the III. He returned unsuccessful to Port Jackson in 1810 and eventually to the Bay of Islands in 1813 after spending a great deal of time at Parramata, Australia, with the missionary Samuel Marsden. While I comment further on this relationship later in this chapter, it is worth highlighting that Ruatara was not the only Maori abroad during this period and that Maori did not shy from long distance voyaging something that formed part of their cultural history anyway.

From the enforced celibacy of voyaging, whaling and sealing, women were a serious part of the attraction for Europeans. It was during reprovisioning stop-overs, or from those seamen who choose to “go native” and settle down that new blood lines were introduced into the annals of Maori whakapapa (genealogy).

Missionary Voyages

Maori aggression and cannibalism, and the sad plight of the Boyd in 1810, did not stop the plans of the Reverend Samuel Marsden who at that time resided at Parramata, outside of Port Jackson, Australia.

I knew that they were Cannibals - that they were a savage race - full of superstition, and wholly under the power and influence of the Prince of darkness; and that there was only one remedy which could effectually free them from their cruel spiritual bondage, and misery; and that was the Gospel of a crucified Saviour (Samuel Marsden in Salmond, 1997, p.406).

Unable to come himself, Marsden sent the missionaries Thomas Kendall and William Hall to Aotearoa in 1814. It is of interest to note that leading up to, and including the voyage of Kendall and Hall to Aotearoa, Maori had also taken the opportunity to voyage to and from Australia, and further to Britain. They found their way mainly as humble ship crew even though, as Kawiti commented to Samuel Marsden, their actual status in their home communities was often far greater.

I a King at home, I a cook at Port Jackson (cited in Salmond, 1997, p.420).

Travellers like Kawiti, Hongi Hika, and Ruatara, all from the North, were not simply carted off by passing ships as involuntary parties – they actively sought intelligence about these foreigners, their ways, technologies and what they valued from New Zealand. Certainly Belich (1996) identifies Ruatara, who spent a significant amount of time with Marsden at Parramatta in Australia, as responsible for the establishment of massive intensive gardening programmes in the North. These, in turn, impacted so significantly on customary food growing, harvesting and storage cycles, especially white potatoes which totally supplanted taro and nearly kumara too, that Hongi Hika and the iwi of the North were readily able to engage in long distance warfare with other iwi. They had food, they had arms, and they had time. They also had Pakeha Maori, and, now, the missionaries who served their purposes well.

Marsden's purpose in sending Kendall and Hall to Aotearoa was to lay the initial foundations of the Anglican Church, and to pave the way for subsequent voyages and arrivals organised by the Church Missionary Society. Indeed, they were the advanced guard for the establishment of a British colony in Aotearoa.

These early voyages, the interests of competing monarchs and nations, the search for trade goods, the desire to save the souls of the noble savages of the South Seas all increased the need for land for settlement. At the same time, this was a period of great excitement for Maori. New technologies were being mastered, trade was actively engaged in and different ways of knowing were being considered. Without doubt, Maori actively sought to discover, master and control those opportunities and knowledges that were being made known through encounters with Europeans. As much as Europeans found benefit in coming to Aotearoa, Maori at that time, saw benefit in having them here. Both were in a position to gain. Both stood to mutually benefit from a continued relationship.

But there were also disadvantages. In the decades leading up to 1840, the small number of Europeans living in Aotearoa was steadily added to by arrivals from Australia and Europe, and more were soon to arrive. This created friction between the settler population and Maori, especially in the area of land sales, many of which were highly questionable. Unruly social behaviour, exploitation of women, lack of

respect for Maori lore and custom, and an increasing disregard for Maori authority or rangatiratanga on the part of Pakeha also created tension which motivated Maori towards an instrument of resolution – a Treaty. But this does not fully explain the situation. James Belich (1996, p.179) sums up the colonial plan and motivation for a Treaty in the following way:

In the year of 1839, in the official and unofficial power centres of a great European nation, a plan was devised for the acquisition of New Zealand. Powerful private interests established a 'New Zealand Company', found allies in government and painted a picture of a great future colony in an abundant and temperate environment, ideally suited for Europeans. There was considerable interest in emigrating to this new El Dorado, which it was hoped would reduce disorder among the poor. The plan envisaged a 'wonderful peaceful conquest' of the Maori. The five great agencies of this conversion were to be missionaries, of whom some were already in place; civilisation by land sale and proximity to European settlers; the detribalising and application of European laws and governments; and a treaty that was to transfer sovereignty by consent as well as facilitate the purchase of Maori land. Preparations were made in secrecy, for it was hoped to steal a march on a rival power. Difficulties were overcome ...In 1840, the company's first ship and a government warship, sailing separately, left to plant the colony. They did...(p.179).

Indeed, Treaties were seen as the humane way of embarking upon the colonising mission – an attitude that is probably reflective of an increasing self-consciousness on the part of the British – their past record of treating with other native peoples increasingly coming to be viewed as cruel, severe, inhumane and expensive.

However, leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 Britain was actively trying to avoid expanding the Empire to include New Zealand (Belich, 1996). The British had realised that expansion was very costly, requiring naval ships, colonial forces, policemen, judges and other resources for government, law and order. James Busby was appointed as the first British Resident to New Zealand, “effectively the representative of British Law and order and diplomatic interests in the country” (King, 2003, p. 152). In March 1834, with few resources but many creative ideas, Busby set about assembling Maori chiefs at Waitangi to choose a

national flag, “so that New Zealand built and owned ships could be properly registered and could freely enter other ports” (King, 2003, p. 153). In October 1835, Busby persuaded the same chiefs and others to sign ‘A Declaration of the Independence of the United Tribes New Zealand’, a measure designed to foil the interests of the French who planned to establish an independent state in the Hokianga - a declaration that was neither widely understood by Maori nor endorsed.

The flag, and Declaration, were not viewed seriously by the foreign office in London. Busby’s alarmist reports and demands on both the foreign office and on the Governor of New South Wales were characterised as “whining” (King, 2003). But what was taken seriously, were the reports of, firstly, the increasing volatility between Maori and settlers resulting in numerous petitions to the foreign office for stronger intervention, and, secondly, a plan by a private firm, the New Zealand Company, to formally colonise New Zealand and establish a separate government of its own. Both King (2003) and Belich (1996) concur that it was these two influences that motivated the despatch from London of William Hobson in 1839. It was he who brokered the Treaty of Waitangi.

Treaty of Waitangi 1840

On the 6th February, 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Governor Hobson, on behalf of the British Crown, and 43 northland rangatira. Over subsequent months in various parts of the country, almost 500 more rangatira signified their assent, the notion of ‘consent’ to the advent of Pakeha state and society taken to be the act of “agreeing to the treaty, welcoming agents of the state and selling land” (Belich, 1996, p.198-197). It needs to be noted though that for tribes south of the northland region, that the horrors of raids by northern tribes in the late 18th century advantaged by having muskets were still considered recent history, as it still is for many today. Northern tribes were not to be completely trusted.

What exactly did this treaty say? Again, Belich (1996) provides a crisp summary of the treaty and issues that I have summarized or quoted in part below.

According to Belich (1996, p.198-197) rangatira were looking for a mutually understood device to ensure the protection of tino rangatiratanga, of Maori custom, lifestyles and property. At the same time they were also seeking to encourage and allow for settler control over settler behaviour. They were seeking a way to ensure

mutual and reciprocal benefit through the establishment of a transparent and peaceable relationship - a relationship, often referred now to as a partnership, intended to launch both Maori and Pakeha into a bountiful future. As the dominant majority of the day, choosing to conclude the Treaty can only be viewed as nothing less than honourable and extremely generous. It was also culturally endorsed since negotiation frequently led to resolution of disputes, with or without war.

There were two Treaty documents – the English language version, and the Maori language version¹.

The English language version gave Maori the rights and privileges, and implicitly the duties of British subjects; guaranteed their possession of all their land and property; and specified that if they wished to sell land, they had to sell to the Crown. The British got full sovereignty – the Maori ceded ‘absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty – and there was no mention of continued chiefly power (Belich, 1996, p. 194).

The key differences between the English version of the treaty and that of the Maori language version are:

The English version was that it split the powers with which it dealt into two: ‘kawanatanga’, or governorship, which went to the British; and ‘rangatiratanga’, or chieftainship, which was retained by Maori. Chieftainship was not mentioned in the English version, in which all sovereign or governmental rights and powers went to the British, though Maori property rights were guaranteed unless voluntarily alienated. ...The English version was not easily compatible with the Maori written version, but there was also a tension within the latter. The British received ‘te kawanatanga katoa’, or complete government, perhaps better translated a full governorship. The Maori received ‘te tino rangatiratanga’, the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship – not easily compatible with complete government on the face of it (Belich, 1996, p 194).

¹ The English and Maori texts of the Treaty along with an English translation of the Maori text can be found in Appendices #1, #2, and #3 respectively.

The passage of the Treaty of Waitangi through time

Deteriorating relationships

From the work of Hargreaves (1959, 1960, 1961) we know that during the 1840's and 1850's the economies of many tribes particularly in the Waikato, Hauraki and Auckland regions were booming. They were the primary suppliers of agricultural goods and labour to many European settlements, their goods also found in Australian markets. Maori readily purchased flourmills, agricultural implements and ships to transport goods and some, like Te Kooti Rikiranga, were canny traders.

Rangatira, by and large, still retained authority and leadership within their own communities with most tending towards less exacting measures against offenders and rivals, than of earlier times. Some rangatira welcomed Her Majesty's officials such as resident magistrates who could decide a limited range of criminal cases and civil claims, and encouraged their communities to abide and be judged by settler laws (King, 2003). However, others were less hasty, viewing the presence of settler authority and the lack of regard on the part of settlers as infringing on their rangatiratanga (Belich, 1996; King, 2003). In 1861, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, the then Governor of New Zealand, wrote:

Some of the most populous districts, such as Hokianga and Kaipara, have no magistrates resident among them; and many, such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape, have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and they have little reason to think that the Government of the Colony cares at all about their welfare (Gorst, 1974 pp 41-41).

Between 1840 and 1860 the idea of indirect rule through the tribal system gained some currency irrespective of growing settler and commercial resistance. While Maori and settlers might have initially made an effort to keep to the bargains struck by the Treaty of Waitangi, both had different understandings of what the Treaty meant in practice. For the settler and settler government, the Treaty was an instrument through which to make laws to advantage themselves in the process of acquiring land to establish the British colony of New Zealand and to realise the "myth of empire" (see Belich, 1996, p123-127). For rangatira, it was an affirmation

and guarantee of their rangatiratanga and mana, not simply over their own communities that were largely separate from those of settlers, but also, over those of settlers as well. In reality, settlers were viewed as living within, as opposed to outside and independently, of the domain of respective rangatira (see Belich, 1996; Ward, 1973). Indeed, the often referred to Kohimarama conference of 1860 is frequently referenced (Williams, 1999) as an example of a gathering between the Crown and rangatira that embodied the spirit of partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, even if key tribal groups like Taranaki and Waikato who were opposition to settler government were uninvited. Perhaps this is why many southern tribes still view the Treaty of Waitangi as a northern “thing”.

In retrospect, with good faith and positive mutual regard on both sides, such an arrangement could have worked, and a unique and innovative configuration of relationships between Maori and settler could have resulted. But this was not the case. With such conflicting positions things very rapidly deteriorated.

The extent of deterioration of relationships between Maori and settler, and the determination of settlers to have their way is reflected in the mass relocating of colonial forces to New Zealand. The settler government was well aware of the threat posed to them by Maori as an armed majority. Belich (1996) writes

...the governor's military resources increased in four steps: a hundred or two imperial infantry (to 1845); a thousand or two (1845-60); over 3000 (1860-63); and over 10,000 (1864-66) (p.191).

Rangatiratanga and resistance

Although the treaty allowed for settler government or kawanatanga, Rangatira were to retain authority and leadership over their own people, that is, rangatiratanga. The problem with this was that the settler government had no intention of sharing their authority with Rangatira, “...especially in the Waikato, where leadership had adopted the title of King with an objective of withholding land from sale” (Orange, 1995, para 11), something that under article two of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Kingitanga movement had every right to do. Through the 1860's fighting over land spread from Taranaki to the Waikato, after invasion by British troops, and further to the Bay of Plenty and other areas. Maori were constructed as rebels in turn

justifying colonial force. “ In effect, it was a war to assert British supremacy and it was increasingly fought by colonials as British troops withdrew” (Orange, 1995, para 11).

The price of resistance for Maori from these regions was extremely high, and the long term consequences for Maori throughout New Zealand, devastating. Major tracts of land were confiscated and Maori were moved off their lands and deprived of an economic base. Other methods of alienating Maori from their lands were also implemented. The Native Land Act (1865) established the Native land Court, referred to also as “te kooti tango whenua” (the land taking court) (Williams, 1999, p1). David Williams (1999) has explored the processes employed by the Native Land Court and its widespread and consistent impact on Maori land ownership. Ostensibly, the function of the court was to determine title to Maori lands. However, the individualization of title, assuming that it was correctly allocated, inevitably resulted in large scale land purchases by settlers. In effect, the Native Land Court ended the idea of Crown pre-emption encapsulated within the Treaty of Waitangi.

The collective interests of a tribe or hapu (sub-tribe) were undermined by the individualization of land interests, making land easier to sell... A series of legislative enactments and amendments through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued to provide the structures for separating Maori from their lands. By the 1870s the South Island had been almost completely alienated; by the early 1890s, about two thirds of the North Island (Orange, 1995, para 11).

In a very short period of time, the tables had been turned. Maori had shifted from being a self-determining dominant majority with a population of about 70,000 in 1840, to an increasingly landless and subjugated minority of about 48,000 in the 1870's (See Table 1 on following page).

Table 1 Distribution of total population by ethnic group, New Zealand, 1769-1945

Year	Population at Census			Percentage of total population	
	non-Maori	Maori (a)	Total	Non-Maori	Maori
1769(b)		86,000	86,000	0	100%
1840(b)	2,000	70,000	72,000	3%	97%
1858(c)	59,413	56,049	115,462	51%	49%
1874	297,654	47,330	344,984	86%	14%
1878	412,465	45,542	458,007	90%	10%
1881	487,889	46,141	534,030	91%	9%
1886	576,524	43,927	620,451	93%	7%
1891	624,474	44,177	668,651	93%	7%
1896	701,101	42,113	743,214	94%	6%
1901(d)	770,313	45,549	815,862	94%	6%
1906	886,000	50,309	936,309	95%	5%
1911	1,005,589	52,723	1,058,312	95%	5%
1916(d)	1,096,228	52,997	1,149,225	95%	5%
1921	1,214,681	56,987	1,271,668	96%	4%
1926	1,344,469	63,670	1,408,139	95%	5%
1936	1,491,486	82,326	1,573,812	95%	5%
1945(d)	1,603,586	98,744	1,702,330	94%	6%

Adapted from Pool (1985)

a) Of half or more New Zealand Maori origin.

b) As estimated by Belich (1996).

c) New Zealand's first official census

d) Excluding persons in armed forces overseas on census day.

Massive immigration, lack of immunity to disease, famine, poor living conditions and colonial force had ensured this reversal. Indeed, one may be forgiven for asking: what happened to the treaty? Orange (1995) puts it plainly.

As land loss struck hard in the 1870s Maori debated treaty promises at numerous conferences. Land, law, and authority were the issues. The inroads on the treaty's fishing rights through the expansion of settlement—rights less defined and easier to lose—were also noted. Various strategies were adopted in an effort to stem the tide and regain control of Maori affairs. Several deputations (in 1882, 1884, 1914, and 1924) appealed unsuccessfully to the British Crown and government—the 1840 treaty-makers—to intervene on Maori behalf. The New Zealand Parliament, responsible for internal affairs since the 1860s, denied breach of treaty terms and clearly had no intention of assuming responsibility for upholding the treaty as Maori understood it. Nor could four Maori members of Parliament, allowed after 1867, exert influence on the floor of a house dominated by settler politicians (Orange, 1995, para 13).

In 1877 the Treaty was declared by Justice Prendergrast to be a ‘simple nullity’ (McHugh, 1991) leaving rangatira with absolutely no redress or avenue to have any grievances against the settler government heard. It remained that way for almost 100 years. The treaty promise of tino rangatiratanga, the unqualified exercise of chieftainship, was completely disregarded. At this point, given the challenges faced by rangatira it is appropriate to consider the adaptive nature of rangatiratanga and Maori leadership.

Maori leadership

In reading about Maori in the 19th Century, what becomes apparent is that, irrespective of extremely destitute conditions ...

the cultural richness of the Maori world remained intact, supported in part by a continuity of leadership, in part by an educated elite who were now participating comfortably in both Maori and Pakeha communities (Orange, 1995, para 14).

Consistently and persistently, Maori leaders questioned and tested the position of the Treaty of Waitangi post 1840 and 1877, the fairness of the new settler government, and the justness of an absent sovereign, sometimes suffering dire consequences such as, death, imprisonment, and land confiscation (see for example Binney, 1997). Yet, within a radically transforming social environment, Maori leaders and leadership also had to adapt to survive. Bronwyn Elsmore (1999) provides a comprehensive description of the leaders of Maori religious movements, and Maharaia Winiata (1967) an analysis of the changing role of the leader in Maori society.

The Rangatira of the 19th Century passionately led their communities through the early contact, settlement and treaty periods and through the colonial land wars. This latter period also saw the rise of Maori religious prophets and their movements such as Pai Marire and Ringatu. These movements were primarily attempts to affirm spiritual and racial worth in the face of rapid cultural change and many served as vehicles for social protest and resistance. Along with religious movements, pan-tribal movements also emerged and converged in the mission of resistance.

Before considering some of these movements, it is worthwhile pausing slightly amidst this change and upheaval to consider those things that remained constant and those things resistant to change. If rangatira living in the 19th century were to be invited into the 21st century, what things would they recognize as being Maori, as reflecting them? I believe that they would recognize familiar aspects of their 19th century world in customary practices such as rituals associated with encounters, death, mourning and remembering, and birth and name giving. They would recognize practices associated with the separation of bodily functions and food; with respect for elders; and with caring for visitors. While I think that there would be much that would confuse, amuse, entertain and perhaps sadden them, I think that they would have some understanding of why certain values and ideals are pursued in the present, like 'Maoritanga' – a concern for being Maori; and kaitiakitanga – a concern for the environment; and oranga wairua – spiritual wellbeing. My observations here suggest that the source of cultural continuity for Maori, tribal and hapu groups resided in the ordinary customary life of Maori communities, in their routine daily lives, that was reinforced and protected by customary leadership. The advent of religious and pan-tribal movements and their

leaders are, therefore, worth examining for their contribution to continuity and to change.

Kingitanga

Firstly, the King be set up to hold the mana or prestige over the land; secondly, mana over man; and thirdly, to stop the flow of blood. The Maori King and the Queen of England to be joined in concord. God be over them both! (Wiremu Tamihana cited in Jones, 1959, p.223).

The Kingitanga movement was established in 1858 with Potatau Te Wherowhero as Maori King, a position constructed to parallel the English Monarchy, to unify the tribes, and to give “New Zealand Natives a matching sense of brotherhood and confidence, a view of themselves as ‘Maori’, and of Maori as something worthy of respect” (King, 1977, p.21). The Kingitanga is sometimes viewed as a Tainui phenomenon. This is not so. Belich (1996) writes:

But from the outset, tribes from elsewhere supported the King Movement. During the Waikato War, a minimum of fifteen or 26 major North Island tribal groups are estimated to have sent contingents to fight for the King, and several others provided some kind of support. It was clearly not kinship, traditional alliances or immediate self-interest that drew in most of these tribes (p. 232).

For example, some hapu of Tuhoe allied proactively with the Kingitanga to stop the advance of colonial and imperial forces to their homelands. Prior to the 1864 defence of Orakau near Te Awamutu, Piripi Te Heuheu in addressing a hui of Tuhoe at Ruatahuna, expressed this perspective:

Listen to my word, O Tuhoe! The island is in anguish. I propose that Tuhoe here assembled do greet the land, that the men may be in advance, while the land lies behind (cited in Best, 1972, p. 566).

With the wish to shelter Tuhoe, and to stop the advance of colonial forces into Te Urewera, some of Tuhoe joined with others of Kahungunu, Ngati Whare, Raukawa, Ngati Te Kohera, Tuwharetoa and Waikato, under the command of Rewi

Maniapoto, to stand against the colonial and imperial troops at Orakau over the March/April 1864 period with serious casualties (for accounts of the battle, see Best, 1972; Grace, 1959; King, 1977). It was at this battle that Rewi Maniapoto allegedly “called out defiantly to Major Williams Gilbert Mair, ‘E hoa, ka whawhai tonu ahau kia koe ake, ake, ake’ (Friend, I shall continue to fight you for ever and for ever)” (King, 2003, pp 214-215).

Potatau served as King for a very short period, about a year. He was in his mid-eighties and was a reluctant recipient of the role. However, in the Waikato, he achieved much. Amongst other things, he: continued the evolution of a system of local government with communities by setting up runanga; designated Ngaruawahia his capital; established the newspaper called Te Hokioi; and “was committed to peaceful and cooperative development of the country in cooperation with Europeans” (King, 1977, p. 25). “Potatau’s followers also sought to pay off all debts to Europeans and to prohibit further land sales” (King, 1977, p.24). Tawhiao Matutaera succeeded his father after Potatau’s death in 1860 and reigned through a period of tension, war and despondency, not only for Waikato but for Maori generally. It was he who carried the Kingitanga movement from an ideal into an institution, giving it structure, precepts and strength (Ritchie, 1992).

It is important to note that although Potatau and his successors were and continued to be leaders of a pan-tribal movement, they were and continue to be Rangatira in their own right, their mana accruing from “genealogy, current standing, and their ability to act as hosts for large and representative Maori gatherings” (King, 1977, p.23). Added to this were other qualities, such as skill in combat, alliances with other iwi and with Pakeha, capacity to mobilise people, and wealth (Jones, 1959). These things other iwi saw when they settled upon Potatau as the most appropriate candidate for the mantle of King. Indeed, “the chiefs who had raised him up had made him a repository for their own mana and tapu and for that of their lands, ...in turn intensifying his prestige and sacredness” (King, 1977, p.25). With Tainui iwi, Tuwharetoa and many other tribal groups in attendance, in November 2006 at Pukawa, on the southern shores of lake Taupo, history was repeated and again created. This four day event served as a memorial service (kawemate) for the recently deceased leader of the Kingitanga movement, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu; a welcoming for her son, the new Kingitanga leader, Tuheitia; and the opening of the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) ‘Nga Manunui a

Ruakapanga’, a name that captures the origins of the Tuwharetoa hapu Ngati Manunui, and remembers upon the earth and in history the raising up of Potatau as King in 1858. This form of leadership, its persistence and relevance, along with events of this nature contribute to the continuity and reinforcement of customary practices, institutions, leadership and identities.

Pai Marire

The Pai Marire movement, founded by Te Ua Haumene in the 1860’s, emerged from Taranaki and, through emissaries to other regions, rapidly took root amongst other iwi. Roger Neich writes:

Te Ua himself blended the peaceful teachings of the Bible with traditional Maori practices into a ritual that included incantations around a tall niu pole that enabled him to communicate with the gods of the Pai Marire. He taught that through this communication, Maori people would be able to set up ordered communities enjoying the benefits of European technology but without forsaking Maori autonomy. (Neich, 1993, p.110).

Pai Marire also found its way to the Waikato and was adopted by Potatau Te Wherowhero. His son, Matutaera, was baptized with the name ‘Tawhiao’ by Te Ua Haumene, the name meaning “holds the people together” (Neich, 1993, p.110). Tawhiao continued his own version of Pai Marire, “...which he called Tariao after the morning star” (King, 1977, p. 27). As did most Maori prophets who emerged in the 1860’s, Tawhiao

...absorbed and expressed an Old Testament view of himself as anointed leader of a chosen people wandering in the wilderness, but who would one day be delivered into their inheritance (King, 1977, p.27).

Most studies of New Zealand history (for example Belich, 1996; King, 2003; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990) make mention of the Pai Marire, or ‘Hauhau’ movement as it became known. There appear to be four lines of inquiry and fascination. The first is what Walker (1990) refers to as the movement’s “cultish” manifestations in the form of “gibberish like prayers” and the practice of erecting ‘niu’, a structure “rigged like the mast of a ship, and expected to be endowed with

the gift of tongues and knowledge of science” (Walker, 1990, p. 130). The second are the actions that instilled fear and hysteria into settlers and colonial forces, alike, by more determined Pai Marire followers such as Titokowaru of Ngati Ruanui, and Kereopa Te Rau of Rangiaowhia. The third were the brilliantly inventive passive resistance strategies, such as ploughing up the fields of those settlers who had wrongfully obtained land, and pulling up surveying pegs. The fourth, and perhaps most heart breaking, are the consequences meted out not only to those tribes with followers in such movements, but also to those who chose to be neutral towards colonial government and settlement. Neutrality did not guarantee anything.

The Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan faiths had done little to preserve the undisturbed possession of the enjoyment by Maori of those things that they owned. What I observe from reading about conflicts between Maori and settlers, is that missionaries appear to quite willing to desert their flock for they seem quite absent from the historic accounts (eg., Scott, 1975; Williams, Williams, & Porter, 1974). It is not surprising, then, that Maori were moved by those who prophesized the prevailing of Maori over Pakeha, rather than a good life in an afterworld, who encouraged the raising up of Maori practices and beliefs, rather than the putting aside, and who encouraged resistance and optimism, instead of submissiveness and forgiveness, in the face of adversity.

In reading of the activities of the Pai Marire movement, it is clear that their resistance strategies, however passive or violent, were in response to the ever persistent desire of settlers and government for more land (Scott, 1975). The latter not only employed strategies of invasion but hatched up various legal instruments (some still in effect) to alienate Maori from their lands. These strategies included the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, where any Maori who resisted the Crown could be constructed as a rebel and imprisoned with no right of trial. In addition, their lands and those of their tribe could be, and were, confiscated. The New Zealand Settlement Act 1863 validated the confiscation of three million acres of land and severely impacted the iwi of Taranaki and Waikato. One of the more calculating pieces of legislation was the Native Land Court Act of 1865 which was designed to determine ownership of land. If Maori did not show up to defend their title, or were unable to show up because they were deemed rebels, they lost their ownership rights. For a comprehensive review of the role of the Native Land Court in alienating Maori from their lands see Williams (1999).

Ringatu – The Upraised Hand

The founder of the Ringatu Faith, Te Kooti Rikirangi, was a land owning individual who was actively exiled and prevented from returning to his homelands. Judith Binney (1979, 1997) has written extensively about the Ringatu movement and its leaders. Te Kooti Rikirangi can be described variously as an astute entrepreneur, an innovative house and community builder, an effective guerrilla war campaigner, a song writer, a constant resistor and creative integrator of Maori and Christian belief. As with the Pai Marire movement, followers of Ringatu were inspired by Te Kooti, finding solace in his words, a hope for a better tomorrow, and a resolve to resist. On Te Kooti, as a leader, Binney (1997) writes:

As a Maori leader his was not a tribal figure. Te Kooti saw himself as one who had been rejected in his homeland, by Maori as well as by Pakeha. He lived always in exile. He was protected by many and claimed by many; but in reality belonged to no one. His relationship with Tuhoe, who gave him shelter in his time of great need and who mostly became his converts, was profound, but he also chose not to live with them despite their wishes. Probably above all other 19th-century Maori leaders, Te Kooti transcends any tribal claims (p. 6).

That he drew a following from Maori of the East Coast, Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay iwi supports the position that the Ringatu movement was pan-tribal. The formation of pan-tribal unity might be said to have been founded, firstly, by the shared incarceration of leaders of not less than 13 tribes, many converting from Pai Marire to Ringatu; secondly, by Maori resistance to land confiscation and colonial invasion, particularly in the Poverty Bay and Bay of Plenty regions; and thirdly, by a need for hope provided by prophetic leadership. Indeed, during his term of wrongful imprisonment on Wharekauri (1866-1868), Te Kooti created a religion of mercy, and of war (Binney, 1997, p.78) in turn, giving confidence and commitment to those who took up the Ringatu faith.

Te Kooti was also an active meeting house builder and urged his followers to follow the practice. Neich (1993) writes:

Ringatu has also been credited with ensuring the continuing development of the meeting house at a time when its very existence was in doubt. ...By building their 'churches' to the scale of the large Christian churches but incorporating the traditional arts of carving, painting and tukutuku, the Ringatu fused the two functions of church and meeting house into one structure serving all the needs of the community. But the Ringatu encouragement of meeting-house development went even further than this. In his efforts to bolster Maori nationalism and self-esteem, Te Kooti consciously promoted the arts of the meeting house in order to install a special sense of pride and achievement in the minds of his followers (p.115).

Te Whai-a-te Motu, opened in 1880, is a house that still stands at Mataatua at Ruatahuna in the Urewera. It memorializes what has been described as the “longest manhunt in the history of New Zealand” (Walker, 1990, p.132), that is, the pursuit through Te Urewera by government troops of Te Kooti after he and his followers escaped from Wharekauri in 1868 and exacted revenge on those who had stolen his land at Matawhero, and on those who had earlier double-crossed him, leading to his incarceration. That pursuit was particularly devastating for Tuhoe, with many killed, their villages burned and their crops destroyed as the government cruelly exercised its scorched earth policy. Although initially unwelcome, Te Kooti eventually made his home in the King Country forming a linkage that persists to this day. Te Kooti finally died in 1893, aged 61 years old, after ‘an insignificant accident’ which he long ago predicted would be the cause of his death (Binney, 1997).

There were other prophets and religious leaders who followed after Te Ua Haumene, Tawhiao and Te Kooti, like the notable Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana (1873-1939) who established the Ratana church and political party (Newman, 2006). For the purposes of this review it is sufficient to have mentioned these first three leaders to demonstrate how and why traditional Maori leadership was in transition through this period. Traditional Rangatira felt the pulse of the people and converted this energy into purpose. Unity was always a motive and contributed an additional layer to complement existing social group identities. In the face of adversity, these religions and their leaders provided strong psychological faith based survival mechanisms, affording new supports when old dreams and aspirations dimmed (Harris, 1999). These leaders responded to the presence of missionaries and settlers. They decided a place for these alien peoples and their ways within their domains.

They energetically learned about, and adapted, new technologies, new ways of learning, and new systems of justice. They invited these things into their lives and into those of their followers. This, in turn, increased their mana and the richness of their domains over those of other Rangatira. But this invitation was conditional and plainly set out within the Treaty of Waitangi. Rangatira were to retain control over their domains and their resources. When this did not occur, Rangatira and their leadership were compromised. With settlers and a settler Government becoming increasingly unreasonable, domineering, conniving and eventually inhumane in their actions, new leadership solutions were required. The context was ripe for the rise of the Kingitanga, Pai Marire and Ringatu movements and their respective leaders.

Throughout the period 1840-1890's, the differences in Maori and Pakeha understandings of the Treaty were clearly demonstrated. Rangatira and the new prophetic leaders demonstrated a clear understanding of those things promised to them and their people. They understood that Rangatira would retain their rangatiratanga over all those things within their domains (Article Two), but they would also allow for the establishment of government, laws and justice (Article One). Article Three was of little relevance as the Maori and settler worlds were still miles apart. Settlers and settler government understood the same document differently and acted accordingly, even though the terms were breached repeatedly. In their eyes, the establishment of settler government was viewed as the highest authority in the land. Any resistance by Rangatira was sufficient reason to punish and plunder, that is, to imprison or exile resistors and to confiscate their land. The authority and domains of Rangatira were to be subject to Pakeha laws, however devious or unfair. It was in the law and political process that a new form of Maori leadership was to next emerge.

Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mo koutou i muri i ahau, ko te Ture, ma te Ture ano te Ture e aki

The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law. Only the Law will correct the Law.

(Te Kooti Rikirangi, 1882, translated by Rev J.G Laughton and cited in Binney, 1997, p. 490).

Maori Social Identity pre-1900's

Before moving on, it is worthwhile reflecting on the nature of Maori social identities. In the pre-contact era, the primary unit of social organisation was the hapu – a territorial and resource holding group consisting of whanau aligned together under an eponymous ancestor symbolising their relatedness and solidarity. The hapu consisted of the allied whanau at the time of their coming together and after the decision was taken to remain together for mutual benefit. The hapu was, therefore, most likely to have come together as a concrete entity many years after the passing of the ancestor whose name the group has taken, like Ngati Manunui referred to above. For hapu members, their primary social identity would have been built around genealogical kinship relations, and the everyday activities, politics and interactions of hapu.

In the contact period, Christianity, commerce, and conflict emerged as synthesizing forces, transcending, but not eliminating, hapu identity. Hapu still remained central and essential in an environment of increased inter-hapu and inter-tribal competition, and often times warfare, for that is where the action was. Those were the groups that mattered. The small but increasing arrival of foreigners was exciting but not the major focus of ordinary hapu life.

In the colonial period, the new and ambitious settler population was quickly repositioned from the periphery to the centre of hapu and allied hapu (tribal) attention particularly as their aggressiveness, greed and violence increasingly came to be imposed on hapu and more broadly, tribal territories, resources, leadership and lives. Through this time, tribal and pan-tribal identities emerged as a counter force through political movements, like the Kingitanga, and were led by the religious leaders of the Pai Marire, Tariao, and Ringatu religions. While resistance was the response of these religious movements, other tribal groups like Ngai Tahu in the South Island had little choice but to follow the path of assimilation to the intrusive settler culture (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992); and some Te Arawa and Ngati Porou hapu, often referred to as kupapa (Maori who were loyal to the settler government), chose to work with the settler government joining with their militia (for example, Ropata Wahawaha and, the Te Arawa flying column) to fight other Maori (Cowan, 1955).

With a dispossessed and seriously depressed Maori population, a new form of Maori political leadership surfaced. The Maori university graduate emerged and quickly entered into national politics. It was probably during this time that a pan-Maori identity began to solidify, both in acceptance of new leadership models, and in reaction to continuing culture change. This was clearly a 'them' versus 'us' identity marked by defining cultural characteristics celebrated by Maui Pomare, Peter Buck and especially Apirana Ngata, a descendant and understudy of Ropata Wahawaha referred to above.

These 19th century upheavals changed the emphasis of Maori social organisation, leadership and identity. Identification with kin-related hapu and iwi still remained and served as an anchor and touch-stone for a broader pan-tribal Maori identity. However, through the 20th century, attention turned to maintaining a positive Maori identity in the face of continuous pressure to assimilate (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

Chapter Three New Leaders and Assimilation

In the 1890s, the Kotahitanga movement of the Northern tribes and the Kauhanganui of the Kingitanga set up separate Maori parliaments to discuss Maori issues and to advise and make requests to the government. These were easily ignored given the exploding numbers of settlers, dominance of Pakeha politicians and the fact that the Treaty of Waitangi had simply been rejected as irrelevant (Sheehan, 1989).

Although these Maori parliaments stopped sitting in the early part of last century, their political sentiments and aspirations continue in part, for example, with the modern day Kingitanga movement and the Maori political party. In some ways, things have not changed much. Resistance is a continuing pattern and project, one that I continue to describe below.

In the 19th century, Maori were not completely outside of the new Government and political systems. As of 1853, Maori men, like Pakeha men, provided they held an individualised title to land, were entitled to vote. Because of the custom of holding land communally, most Maori men were disqualified and, due to disillusionment with and suspicion of the system, many who could, choose not to. Indeed,

European colonists generally welcomed this state of affairs, because they did not think Maori were yet 'civilised' enough to exercise such an important responsibility. They were also worried that if large numbers of Maori were enrolled, they could 'swamp' the votes of settlers in many North Island electorates (Elections New Zealand, 2004, para 4).

Yet some politicians, for example Henry Sewell, argued that for as long as Maori were outside of the political mainstream, efforts to assimilate them would be difficult, and lasting peace between the two races an unreachable goal (Walker, 1990). In 1867, four Maori electorates were established. All Maori men over 21 were eligible to vote (and stand for Parliament) and those who held individual land titles were also allowed to vote in the European electorates. Very few Maori took part in the first elections, held in 1868, but interest began to grow in the 1870s and 1880s. Law changes in 1893 and 1896 saw the almost total separation of the Maori and European electoral systems with Maori (except 'half-castes', that is, a European

parent, and a Maori) prohibited from standing in European electorates until 1967. Only 'half-castes' were allowed to choose which seats they wished to vote in.

In contrast to Maori men, both Maori and European women were denied the vote until 1893, this being probably more of an issue for European women than for Maori women particularly after some 50 years or more of extremely aggressive land wars and laws, even though New Zealand was the first country to permit women to vote.

The separation of Maori and European electorates mirrored what had been happening in education. The 1867 Native Schools Act enabled primary schools to be established at the request of Maori communities. Many schools were established with Maori communities providing land for school activities. Interestingly, these schools were supervised by the Native Department rather than the Department of Education furthering the idea of separation. Many Maori secondary schools, for example, Te Aute College (established in 1854), were founded by the Churches specifically for Maori. At that time, secondary school education was neither free nor compulsory although some scholarships were available. Only the very fortunate gained this type of education, the majority being withdrawn from school to contribute to the subsistence economy of their own communities.

With these educational and political opportunities, the emerging 'new leaders' that Michael King writes of below found their footing.

Patterns of leadership were changing. Increasingly the way was opening for men and women with acquired vocational skills, quick wits and eloquence to make bids for community and tribal leadership against or alongside those whose claims were hereditary, especially for those who had received secondary education or trained for church ministry (King, 2003, p.327).

Indeed, the criteria for effective Maori leadership in a Pakeha defined and controlled environment were shifting.

The Young Maori Party

Since 1868 there have been four Maori electorates and corresponding seats in the House of Representatives that Maori candidates could compete for (Parliament

Visitor Services, 2004). Those who won seats in 1868 were Frederick Nene Russell (Northern Maori), John Patterson (Southern Maori), Taraha Te Moanui (Eastern Maori), and Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi (Western Maori). In 1887, James Carroll won his seat in the Eastern Maori electorate. In 1893, he subsequently, on the strength of his father's Irish ancestry, stood and won the general electorate seat for Waiapu/Gisborne which he held until 1919. Unlike the present day system where Maori can compete for both Maori and general seats, Maori were not allowed to stand for general seats until 1967.

Perhaps the most applauded Maori MP's, by Maori and Pakeha alike, were those who formed the Young Maori Party in 1897. Most were educated at Te Aute College in the 1880-90's and left the college indoctrinated with the view of Revd John Thornton, the school's headmaster, that: "When a weaker nation lives side by side with a stronger one, the weaker poorer and more ignorant one will die out if it does not emulate the stronger" (cited in King, 2003, p.329). What gave credence to his assimilationist view was the fact that in the closing years of the 1890's, the Maori population had declined so dramatically that the population was thought to be heading for extinction. Education was seen by the Young Maori Party to be the salvation of both, their own lives, and of Maori. Even before leaving Te Aute, one of the first issues they turned to was health education believing that Western medicine, hygiene and sanitation practices would stem the plague of illnesses visited upon Maori communities and break the influence of tohunga (Maori healers and spiritual leaders) (Schwimmer, 1966, p.123). During their school breaks, they visited Maori communities, educating Maori on what is now recognised as basic public health practices. The more ambitious of Thornton's pupils, Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck, went on to graduate from university with law and medical degrees.

It did not take long for them to subsequently enter into politics. Ngata was the first to enter Parliament in 1905, Buck in 1909, and Pomare in 1911 (Parliament Visitor Services, 2004). The issues of concern to them included Maori land development, health, education and the preservation of Maori cultural heritage.

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu

One of the more notable achievements of this group was the formation of Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu, the Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War. When war

broke out in 1914, Maui Pomare became the minister in charge of Maori recruitment and chaired a committee made up of other Maori MP's. Each was charged with the responsibility of recruiting able bodied Maori men from their respective districts. Most MP's experienced success in their initial recruitment activities and, subsequently, for reinforcements. Peter Buck, the Member for Northern Maori, lead by example and "was one of the first to volunteer for service and he sailed with the first contingent" (King, 1977, p.79).

Pomare, having earlier sought the support of the Kingitanga to win the Western Maori seat, collided with the Waikato leader and anti-conscription campaigner, Te Puea Herangi. Waikato's refusal to serve was a major embarrassment to Pomare and the Maori members – a reflection of "their frequent inability to win full acceptance from their own people at the community level" (King, 1977, p. 81). Confiscation grievances and Tawhiao's pacifist injunctions contributed to the stance taken by Te Puea. Indeed, "the system had given nothing when Waikato asked; why should Waikato give anything when the system made demands?" (King, 1977, p.82). That same demanding system literally carted away and imprisoned those young Waikato men who passively resisted.

Unlike other Battalions, at the behest of Maori leaders and MP's, Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu was formed mostly by Maori organised into tribal divisions. In 1915 they left as a unit and were later supplemented by reinforcements. A total of 2,227 Maori men and women served with the unit in its many forms; 336 died in active service and 734 were wounded. Members of other New Zealand units and Pakeha and Pacific Islanders who had served with them

...had discovered the Maori were like themselves, with all the strength and weaknesses that make New Zealanders New Zealanders. But this was not recognised at home, where few understood the real achievements of the New Zealand Division. They did not recognise the strengths of the bonds that had been forged among its members in those years overseas, nor did they see the Maori Pioneer Battalion for what it was: an outstanding unit, not easy to command but responsive to good leadership ...[It] was important in forcing a recognition of Maori worth on a complacent and unresponsive Pakeha society (Pugsley, 1995, p. 78).

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu had achieved Pomare's dream, even if Waikato served as a thorny reminder to tribalism, a concept that Pomare saw as a "debilitating handicap" (King, 1977, p. 80). The Pioneer Battalion had demonstrated to the world that Maori were "the racial peer of any man on earth" (cited in King, 1977, p.80) but it would seem that such was lost on those who had invaded their own homelands (Pugsley, 1995). Indeed, Maori servicemen who returned after WWI had hoped to have achieved some parity with their fellow country men. Such was not the case. The benefits of the Rehabilitation Scheme, such as assistance in farming, were reserved for Pakeha servicemen only. In this regard, Ngata never lost an opportunity to highlight the debt the country owed to Maori who had served or died in the empire's foreign war (Ngata, 1943).

The failure of Maori leaders to secure benefits for Maori servicemen reflects the vicious political and public environment they had to contend with at the time. Te Puea Herangi's earlier ironic views about foreign wars and demands of an unjust system seemed to ring true.

Ngata's legacy

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o to ao.	Grow tender shoot for the days of your world.
Ko to ringaringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha hei oranga mo to tinana.	Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha for the wellbeing of your body.
Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga o o tipuna hei tikitiki mo to mahuna.	Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.
Ko to wairua ki te Atua, nana nei nga mea katoa.	<i>Give your soul to God the author of all things.</i>

Na Apirana Ngata (cited in Walker, 2001, p. 397).

Unlike Pomare, Buck and Carroll, who manifested an ambivalent and apologist attitude towards being Maori, Ngata was far less compromising. Ngata was most adamant that Maori should retain their unique cultural heritage; be active in land development; and through education, own the world. These were the three areas where he sought to make the most impact.

Land Development

In the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Sorrenson records that Ngata's iwi of Ngati Porou, as loyalists, largely escaped the confiscation of land suffered by other iwi, but they were not immune to government legislation and policy. They had large tracts of land that could be developed but needed finance to do so. During the period 1880-1900, they leased some to Pakeha, and on the remainder had started sheep farming. They invested heavily in pasture improvement, buildings and equipment, including mechanical shearing machines. Ngata took over these initiatives from his elders and mentors, Ropata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata, and developed his own system of incorporation that kept the title of the land in tribal ownership and paid a dividend from any net profits. Ngata also experimented with the consolidation of individual fragments of land to form economic farms, run as single units, so its owners could be eligible for loans. He later developed the concept of the incorporation where communally owned land could be farmed by a manager with owners becoming share holders. So successful were these initiatives that Ngati Porou developed their own butter label – 'Nati' from their own factory and store (Walker, 2001). While overall tribal ownership of land was retained, shareholdings, rather than individual title, found currency. These could be exchanged, sold, or gifted to others (King, 2003). While the dividends paid were viewed as valuable, what was to later become of greater value was the capacity of shareholders to claim continuity with the land, and a sense of belonging.

Ngata's land development schemes were eventually formalized in 1929 when he became Native Minister. Ngata's legislative achievements in Maori land reform enabled other iwi to develop their own land schemes like those at Horohoro, Tikitere, Maketu, Waiuku, Tai Tokerau, and Te Kao. As Minister of Natives Affairs, Ngata sought to oversee the development of these initiatives and, where needed, intervened to ensure their success. For example, when Te Puea Herangi of Waikato complained to Ngata of difficulties with a Patrick Barry, a Pakeha farm supervisor for the Waiuku scheme, Ngata resolved to sack the Pakeha supervisor and appoint Te Puea in his stead. He repeated the empowerment of Maori community leaders to farm supervisors and lived with the backlash that his actions caused. By 1931 forty one schemes had been established, and by 1934, when Ngata was aged 60 years, there

were at least 79 schemes, the majority making a significant contribution to reducing Maori unemployment, relieving poverty, and giving the scheme beneficiaries a sense of tribal cohesion, achievement and pride (Walker, 2001).

While Ngata's efforts clearly increased the productivity of Maori lands and the welfare of Maori generally, his efforts were not viewed so positively by the broader public or by the Public Service, a service that was to eventually turn on Ngata. In 1934, a Commission of Inquiry was conducted into Ngata's handling of Native Affairs and his land development schemes. This inquiry, in due course, resulted in Ngata's resignation as Minister of Native Affairs in November 1934. In his biography of Ngata, Walker (2001) dedicates two chapters to the progress of the inquiry, the vilifying media attention, the indignant reaction of iwi, Ngata's defense of himself in Parliament and his perception of the inquiry as a 'witch hunt', and subsequent recommitment by him to fighting the Maori cause. Walker (2001) concludes his examination of this period of Ngata's life by writing:

The genius of Ngata survived the surrender of Ministerial office to continue his life of service to the people in other ways. More important, his genius lived on long after his demise as an inspiration to subsequent generations to continue the cultural renaissance and to aspire to education as the pathway to equality (Walker, 2001, p. 300).

Education

Without doubt, Ngata found his own education at Waiomatatini Native School, Te Aute College and Canterbury University of enormous worth and value, not just for his own personal and professional development, but vital to his "role in reviving the Maori people" in the new world (Sorrenson, 1988, p.14). Ngata considered education to be essential to succeed in the modern world and contributed enormously to the development and administration of Hukarere and Te Aute Colleges. He saw these colleges, and others, like St Stephen's, Queen Victoria, Turakina, and Hato Paora, as the training grounds for future Maori leaders who, like him, would be bicultural, and would participate in all facets of New Zealand life to improve the prosperity of their own communities.

But all was not plain sailing. Ngata noted the extent of subversion of Maori culture by a monocultural, monolingual system of education, concluding that there was nothing worse “than a person with Maori features unable to speak the Maori language” (Walker, 2001 p.222). Ngata noted the following in the report to the Young Maori Conference of 1939.

It explains the case of thousands of Maoris old and young, who entered the schools of this country and passed out with their minds closed to the culture, which is their inheritance and which lies wounded and slighted and neglected at their very door ...There are Maoris, men and women, who have passed through the whare wananga (Universities) and felt shame at their ignorance of their Native culture. They would learn it if they could, if it were available for study as the culture of the Pakeha has been ordered for them to learn. For such the journey back to the social life of the Maori is not so far, or so difficult. It is possible to compromise with it as many of us did sixty years ago, to select those elements in it which should be as satisfying and elevating as the art, crafts, the music and literature of the Pakeha, while living according to the material standards of the Pakeha and joining with him in the work of the country. It is possible to be bicultural just as bilingualism is a feature of Maori life today (p. 9).

Although Maori and Pakeha populations remained, by and large, separate from each other, Ngata was a strong advocate of integration, which flew in the face of his Pakeha contemporaries. The policies and practices in vogue at the time were those of assimilation. This perhaps explains the lack of support Ngata received in his campaign to have Maori included as a subject in the Bachelor of Arts degree, a campaign, begun in 1926, that took almost “twenty years to translate into action” (Walker, 2001, p. 224). Maori as a subject was offered first at the University of Auckland.

Cultural Heritage

As a politician, Ngata was extremely successful in the development of legislation affecting Maori land. However, along with Buck and Pomare, Ngata was also a scholar. Butterworth records that “in 1911 Pomare, Ngata and Buck had agreed to divide between them aspects of the study of Maori history and ethnology”

(Butterworth, 2003, para 29). Pomare worked on Maori cosmological stories (Pomare & Cowan, 1930), Buck on Maori material culture (for example Buck, 1962) and Ngata on the arts (see Nga Moteatea 4 volumes by Ngata, 1972 and others).

Schwimmer (1966) suggests that out of these scholarly achievements and other activities...

A somewhat romantic and idealised image of the Maori past was built up, such that it appeared admirable in European eyes and a proper object of pride for the modern Maori. This pride was encouraged by the new leaders who encouraged the fostering of this remodelled Maori culture (p. 124).

Ngata's arts programme was not simply academic, as Schwimmer suggests above; it was also intended to revive a sense of Maori pride, achievement and continuity with previous generations. Concerned with the decline of carving and associated skills, Ngata established Te Aomarama – The School of Maori Arts & Crafts based in Ohinemutu, Rotorua, under the guidance of experienced carvers and adze men from Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Tarawhai (Neich, 2001). The students and graduates of this school, and others within those communities they visited, worked on whakairo rakau, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai for whare nui, whare kai, whare karakia and school halls throughout New Zealand and further a field to places like Hawai'i, completing over 100 projects (Neich, 2001). It was a safe area to develop and met with little dominant group resistance, although Ngata at times encountered a purist attitude when attempting to integrate Maori art with European church design and Christian tradition (see Walker, 2001, pp 377-378).

These and other activities became known as “Maoritanga”, what Ritchie (1963) described as a contra-acculturative tendency. He records eight components of Maoritanga listed by Apirana Ngata. They are:

*The Maori language
The sayings of ancestors
Traditional chant songs
Posture dances
Decorative art
The traditional Maori house and marae
The body of marae custom, particularly that pertaining to tangi and the traditional welcome
The retention of the prestige and nobility of the Maori people
(Ritchie, 1963, p. 37).*

Schwimmer (1966) also notes that the ‘Maori revival’ could not have been achieved if there was not a growing material prosperity. Maori were increasingly being drawn into the rapidly expanding Pakeha economy, a century after their tipuna controlled and directed that same economy. They were also being drawn into the towns and cities that their lands had earlier been provided to found (Metge, 1964).

Of Apirana Ngata, Claudia Orange writes:

Most prominent was Apirana Ngata, MP for Eastern Maori from 1905 to 1943, who initiated government-funded development schemes for Maori land and the consolidation of land holdings into viable economic units. For the 1940 centenary, Ngata shrewdly encouraged the building of a carved meeting house at Waitangi—to be a symbol of the partnership of the two peoples in the one land (Orange, 1995, para 14).

The effect of Ngata’s work here was to focus public attention on Waitangi and on the Treaty. February 6 has eventually become New Zealand’s national day and a public holiday. On the one hand, February 6 provides an opportunity for the expression of national identity, and, from a Maori standpoint, an opportunity to shake in front of the Government and the nation, the forever growing list of treaty breaches and broken promises.

By no means was the Treaty of Waitangi forgotten during their time. While Ngata, Pomare and Buck were active on the national scene, they were constantly reminded of, and pressured by, tribal leaders and communities whose dispossession, as a result of resisting colonial invasion was a raw everyday reality. One hundred years after its signing, the Treaty of Waitangi still lived, despite various petitions to the Crown to honour its Treaty guarantees. It was a bitter reminder of settler and government treachery and greed, yet it was also a focus of Maori hope for Maori autonomy, self-determination, and redress (Ritchie, 1992). These things became the catch cry of protest movements of the late 20th century. Yet, Ngata and Maori leaders of his time had already discovered the Treaty as a leverage point way before them.

Ngata, Pomare and Buck were some of the more fortunate graduates of Te Aute College to benefit from professional tertiary training in turn going on to occupy

national positions of leadership holding mostly Pakeha defined Maori portfolios – that is, they were handed (and wanted) what might be described as the ‘Maori problem’. They sought to address this challenge by harnessing the strengths of a Maori people who in the face of extreme spiritual and material hardship responded by taking advantage of:

1. the health and hygiene practices advocated by the Young Maori Party, and Maori health officers;
2. the political and legal instruments that Ngata put in place for land development
3. the strength and unity that continued to be found in hapu and iwi leadership;
4. practices, activities and events that strengthened tribal cohesion as well as shared Maori cultural identities; and
5. mass education.

While some positive achievements were realised by taking advantage of those things listed above, Maori cultural and social institutions, practices and identities were not immune to an active government philosophy and settler expectation of assimilation. This policy sought to detach Maori from their lands, to usurp and replace Maori institutions of education, health, justice, social organisation and leadership, and to churn out a placid and agreeable English speaking underclass for an increasingly industrialized society. While many resisted, and continue to do so, many succumbed to assimilation and got on with life in a new society choosing to adopting English as the language of the future, rugby, hockey and netball as the new contests of strength and vitality, suburbia as a location for anonymity, and individualised labour settings, for example factories, as a pathway to independence from Maori social obligations and responsibilities. The ordinary, mundane daily customs of Maori life and living were shifting and changing.

Chapter Four Urbanisation

The emptying of rural tribal areas, and the flood of Maori to towns and cities that began in the 1930's, has been repeatedly described as extremely rapid (Durie, 1998b; King, 2003; Metge, 1964; Pool, 1991; Schwimmer, 1968a; Walker, 1990). The Government of the day was unprepared for it, and Pakeha urban dwellers, particularly landlords, did not like it (Wanhalla, 2007). Many new migrants ended up swamping the homes of relatives who had moved before them, or occupying dwellings and sometimes slums (Schrader, 2005) that no one else wanted (King, 1991). By and large, Pakeha and Maori, even though co-existing in the same country for over a century, had lived in separate realities and experienced very limited interaction. The process of industrialization and the two World Wars rapidly change this situation.

Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945

The two World Wars in the first half of the 20th century further opened Maori to the world. For 100 years, the world had been steadily arriving in New Zealand, but only a few Maori were gaining a first hand experience of foreign places and peoples. The Wars gave Maori the opportunity to travel overseas. Most Maori would have known of people who left for the Wars, and would have listened keenly to radio transmitted news, read newspapers or shared letters from abroad. Many would have encountered servicemen from other nations, particularly Americans, who were based in New Zealand between 1942 and 1944 (Swarbrick, 2006). For those who remained at home, the Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) became a significant structure through which to make a meaningful local contribution to a global activity – World War II.

Many authors who have written about Maori politics, autonomy and self-determination (Durie, 1998a; Pearson, 1990; Walker, 1990) have skimmed over the activities of the MWEO choosing, instead, to focus more on urbanisation, Maori tribal committees, Maori Wardens or Welfare officers, or the plight of the leaders of the 28th Maori Battalion on their return to peace time activities. While these activities are of interest, the rapid formation and effectiveness of the MWEO appears

quite remarkable and deserves closer inspection, particularly as it seems to have been the 'last chance' that any government ever had, to easily harness the energies and possibilities of tribal organisation, self-management and advancement.

The protective functions that tribalism plays in the life of the group and individual are reflected in the continued persistence of tribal membership. Of these protective functions, Ritchie (1992) writes that tribes:

...conserve culture. They have provided a psychological sheet anchor for the identity of hundreds of thousands of people through deeply troubled times. They are a means to get things done, to mobilise Maori energy, to solve problems (p.115).

WWII was one such troubled time. The War brought about not only a demand for service men and women, but a labour demand in essential industries. Identifying Maori eligible for war-related service was made difficult since official systems, like the Maori electoral roll and social security registrations, were seriously incomplete. The Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) was approved by the New Zealand government on the 3rd June 1942. The organization was instituted to help overcome the aforementioned hurdles and to facilitate military recruitment and war-related service. As a result of political inadequacy and miscommunication (King, 2003), conscription was not imposed on Maori but low enlistments, particularly from districts earlier impacted by land confiscations, like the Waikato, were noted (Walker, 2001). Paraire Paikea, Chair of the Maori Parliamentary Committee who devised the MWEO, won favour with Maori by stressing the organisation's short and long-term political potential, particularly with regard to Maori leadership and tribal-governance (Orange, 2003).

The MWEO successfully demonstrated capacity for tribal leadership, autonomy and collaboration as well as human resource mobilisation and management. According to Orange (2003) the country was divided into 21 zones and 315 tribal committees were formed with one or two members from each committee participating in one of 41 executive committees that approximated iwi boundaries (Ritchie, 1992). Coordination of committee activities was assisted by the appointment of Maori recruiting officers, selected by the executive committees.

The Maori parliamentary committee insisted that the MWEO follow Maori custom in the selection of 20 Maori recruiting officers to help coordinate the activities of its committees. In July 1942 Cabinet agreed that this principle of tribal leadership should be extended to territorial units in New Zealand and to the Home Guard (p.307).

The advice of tribal committees was sought on all manner of things including education, health and welfare issues, particularly as Maori flooded into factories based in towns and cities (Walker, 1990). Tribal committees were also charged with encouraging local food production and the responsibility for registration of Maori for war-related service. The tribal committees could enforce registration and recommend the type and locality of employment. They also handled a range of organisational issues: employer–employee relationships, absenteeism, and finding workers (Orange, 2003).

The War came to an end, and eventually, so did the MWEO. The organisation had been too effective and had spawned fears of Maori nationalism (Orange, 2003). The Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 swallowed the tribal and executive committees into the Department of Native Affairs but excluded any specific provision for Maori leadership or tribal organization, instead, turning former Commanders of the 28th Maori Battalion, and other exceptional war time leaders into Native Welfare officers and Land Court clerks.

Of Maori tribalism and Maori nationalism, Ritchie (1992) observes a:

...pervasive and deep seated Pakeha wariness about it, in varying degrees from outright antagonism to vague unease. Muddlement arises when, in the minds of some, tribalism is equated with notions of racial purity. The confusion is compounded when pro-tribal advocacy gets equated with racism or reverse-racism, anti-colonialism and anti-white attitudes, apartheid or romantic, idealistic desires to turn back the clock (pp 114-115).

It is therefore unsurprising that once the MWEO's system of tribal organisation, leadership, monitoring and enterprise had served its purpose, those same attitudes described by Ritchie, rose again to prevail in national politics and society, and in urban settings to where Maori were flooding.

City lights

Metge (1964) records that, in 1936, there were about 10,000 Maori living in urban regions, making up about 13% of the Maori population. In 1951 there were 27,000 Maori living in urban regions, making up 23% of the Maori population. By 1981, 80% of Maori were living in urban regions (Metge, 1995). In one generation New Zealand experienced the sudden emptying of its Maori communities from their rural homelands into towns and cities. Nobody was really prepared for this sudden rush and the factors that contributed to it are worth noting.

Maori had experienced a century and more of complex land legislation designed to separate Maori from their land. Land confiscation, dubious dealings of the Native Land Court, long term land leases for pitiful return, particularly in the South Island and Taranaki regions, a reluctance by lending institutions to give mortgages over land in multiple ownership, these things all had a toll. Dispossession bit hard. The land that remained was seriously fragmented. In spite of Ngata's influence, political contribution and success on his own Ngati Porou tribal farms and Incorporations, land continued to be alienated from tribal ownership. The harsh reality was that the remaining tribal land base could not support even a small population (Belshaw, 1940), let alone one that was to more than double in size between 1936 and 1961, mostly by natural increase but aided by a decreasing mortality rate, particularly infant mortality (McCreary, 1968).

In a country that was becoming increasingly industrialised, many Maori were directed by the MWEO to work in essential industries in the towns and cities but many moved of their own accord, some attracted by higher wages and some simply by the availability of work (Metge, 1964). Exposure to a lifestyle, different to that in their rural homelands, with more diverse social activities were for some, simply irresistible (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). This first ripple of urban migration set off during the World War I & II period, generating a 'snowball effect', with relatives and friends encouraging those at 'home' to move. Some moved for professional training opportunities like teaching while others took advantage of 'on the job' training, and later, the Maori Trade Training Scheme and other educational opportunities. Of course, some moved to simply escape or avoid conflicts at home particularly as housing, work, and access to subsistence resources became increasingly scarce (Hohepa, 1964; Metge, 1964; Ritchie, 1963). Joan Metge (1964)

in her study of Maori migration during the 1950s, summarises the characteristics of Maori migrants of this time in the following way.

The city attracted as immigrants a high proportion of country Maoris who were: (a) between the years of sixteen and thirty, and especially those who were unmarried, both male and female; (b) unskilled and un- or under-employed; (c) well-educated or interested in occupations for which there was little scope in the country; (d) eager for adventure and new experience; (e) social misfits or delinquent. As a result, the urban Maori group was imbalanced by a preponderance of adults in those age-groups which have the highest crime-rates in all societies and were associated in Maori society in particular with an emphasis on good-time patterns and individual autonomy. In comparison, elders were few (Metge, 1964, p. 251).

Of Maori urban residents, Metge (1964) records the generally held view by Maori elders and broader Pakeha society, that Maori migrants would lose their attachment to traditional values and patterns of behaviour and would become assimilated to Pakeha ways. Social disorganisation, with increases in marital instability, and in crime and delinquency, were viewed by them and New Zealand society generally, as the consequences of Maori urbanisation.

While elders may have dreaded the assimilation of Maori to Pakeha ways, it might be said that Pakeha dreaded the encroachment by Maori into Pakeha towns and city life. Maori migrants smashed straight into blatant, and not so blatant, Pakeha prejudice. Some “Maori were refused service in hotels, accommodation and employment on the grounds of their race” (Sheehan, 1989, p.34). In 1956, James Ritchie and colleagues at Victoria University attempted to research the nature of prejudice in New Zealand (Ritchie, 1964b). Of the participants in their study, they found that some (10-15%) were so deeply prejudiced they would act in a discriminatory manner, but most simply wanted to avoid the issue. As Ritchie commented

They thought that Maori were just part of history, losing their separate identity through inter-marriage and assimilation, that Maori culture was no longer viable or real, and that this general decline would decline until being Maori ceased to be important (Ritchie, 1992, p. 194).

Emigration

Although not as rapid as the internal migration of Maori from rural areas into towns and cities, Maori were also travelling and emigrating to countries much further field from New Zealand. Makareti Papakura of Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, first travelled to London when she led a Maori cultural group to the Festival of Empire celebrations in 1911 (Papakura, 1986). Later, in 1912, after marrying an Englishman, she settled in Oddington, enjoyed travelling in Europe and relished the intellectual stimulation of Oxford University. She returned to New Zealand for a brief visit and passed away in 1930. Makareti is buried in a small church cemetery at Oddington. She neither was not the first or the only one to tour Maori cultural groups to destinations around the world nor was she the first to be attracted by further education offered by higher learning institutions abroad, or to be fascinated by the exotic experiences of Europe and other places. These same things, along with a love of anthropology, had attracted Peter Buck into the Pacific and eventually to Hawai'i in 1927 where he worked for the remainder of his life (Condliffe, 1971). Following his death in 1950, his cremated remains were returned from Hawai'i to his home at Okoki, Taranaki.

Membership of religious groups like the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) facilitated travel for Maori as missionaries to places in the Pacific and further a field to Salt Lake City, Utah, and other places in the USA. For example, Koziol (2003) writes of Hirini Whaanga Christy of Ngati Rakaipaaka and Ngati Kahungunu, who, in 1894, travelled to Utah with his grandparents and other relatives. While Hirini attended university, his grandparents worked in the Salt Lake City Temple recording and affirming iwi genealogies. Many others of the LDS Church have since made and continue to make journeys to LDS centres around the world.

While Maori certainly travelled to Northern Hemisphere destinations, Sydney, Australia has remained the most favoured destination. By contrast, it is closer, cheaper, and perhaps more familiar in that the general flow of people between countries is much greater than other places (Lowe, 1990).

Life in the Cities

When Maori moved into urban areas, they did not just arrive with a suitcase of belongings and aspirations for a better life; they also brought their culture and sense of being Maori with them, albeit in an often hostile city environment.

I became a member of Ngati Poneke and was enjoying my new-found happiness. I will always be Ngati Poneke until I die. I owe the club so much – for its protection; for the joyous things we did together; and for the warmth I never got anywhere else. We hung onto each other. It was our whanau. Ngati Poneke was our turangawaewae, our rock and strength, our protection. Without it we would have gone around like people with no heads. We'd have been lost. At Ngati Poneke I could stop pretending. 'No body can touch me here', I thought. It was our Maori house, where I could be where I belonged. I was a different person away from Ngati Poneke. As soon as I was out those doors I put my iron coat on (Mihipeka Edwards in Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001, p. 90).

Ritchie (1992) records that Ngati Poneke of Wellington had its genesis in the 1930's when Apirana Ngata and a team of carvers and weavers from the East Coast went to Wellington to decorate the Maori Affairs room in Parliament Buildings. Looking after the team was a challenge as the few Maori, and tangata whenua who were in Wellington were scattered all over the district. While tangata whenua groups had their own patterns of interacting and finding each other, many new arrivals connected with other Maori in Wellington through monthly attendance at what they called the 'mission' – St Thomas's Anglican church in Newtown (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). Eventually, the newcomers and tangata whenua groups decided

That there needed to be a regular meeting-place, a welcoming place – a marae – for the city. So they formed themselves into a synthetic tribe, Ngati Poneke. Among other things they set about fund-raising with a concert party (Ritchie, 1992, p.15).

Of the original members of Ngati Poneke, their memories, experiences, circumstances and reasons for moving have been recorded in a recent publication by Grace, Ramsden and Dennis (2001) titled 'The Silent Migration – Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948'.

...migrants were an average age of seventeen years old when they began their journeys from home. ...By the time of the 1945 census the Maori population of Wellington City was still 780. The total population of the city was 123,771 people (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001, p.1)

The overwhelming sense that one gleans from reading the accounts recorded by Grace et al (2001), of early movers to Wellington is one of young people, still in their teens, leaving rural kainga and small townships, and arriving in Wellington with very little money, few belongings and limited skills. Some were fortunate enough to connect with family and friends, both Maori and Pakeha, and to find accommodation and work. But there was also a different set of Maori who had come to Wellington as politicians and public servants, and might be described as belonging not only to a Maori social elite, but to Wellington high society. And there were those few who were furthering their education at training college and university.

The Wellington region was not simply waiting for rural Maori migrants to arrive. There were long established Maori communities of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa around which the urban environment had either grown around or displaced, for example, those kainga of Porirua, Kaiwharawhara, Kumutoto, Nga Uranga, Pipitea, Piti-one, Te Aro, and Waiwhetu (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). Ngati Poneke did not displace these tangata whenua kainga; rather, it would seem that Ngati Poneke developed as a city focus for all Maori and relied upon reciprocal relationships with, and the goodwill of, tangata whenua groups.

Ngati Poneke seems to have afforded its members a bubble of protection – a ‘culture space’ that engendered a sense of confidence to confront the lonely, strange and often racist realities of city life. It brought Maori into contact with other Maori who were enduring the same conditions. It gave them companionship, news, information, memorable experiences, social networks, support and excitement. Ritchie (1992) and the foundation members of Ngati Poneke (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001) all record the exhilaration of Ngati Poneke dances, visits by politicians – Maori and Pakeha – the privilege of entertaining dignitaries, and the anguish of fare welling, and joy of welcoming home, military service men and women. Haka party performances, sporting exchanges, picnics and excursions to various marae and hui made Ngati Poneke known way beyond the Wellington region.

Although Ngati Poneke claimed to be non-tribal, the reality was that tribal identity and social networking were perhaps its strongest assets aside from people.

But I soon realised that no one left behind their tribal identity and that, within the structure of the club, tribal affiliation was one of the most important internal networks – one from which, by blood, I had to accept exclusion. However much accepted, I was still, in that sense, manuhiri (Ritchie, 1992, p.18).

While, tribal identity may have been important, it also appears that whanau identity and networks were equally important. Whanau names like Tahiwī, Love, Pomare, Jones, Ngata, Carroll, Broughton, Mitchell, Potiki, Smiler and Ramsden are still well known names associated with Maori families and individuals, even today.

While members enjoyed the culture space, support structure and networking system of Ngati Poneke, not all Maori who migrated to Wellington became part of Ngati Poneke. Perhaps it was perceived as too Maori, too regimented, too disciplined, too Pakeha, not Maori enough, or as simply being ‘those city Maori’. Alternatively, those of Ngati Poneke, and of other Maori clubs and associations, like the Maramatanga Maori (Catholic) Club, or the Maori Club at Petone, may have simply been the lucky ones, as the work of Mairatea Tahiwī (nee Pitt) suggests.

Mairatea Tahiwī in writing of her experiences in Grace et al (2001) tells of her work as a voluntary census officer in the Wellington region. Her job was to track down as many migrant Maori women as she could and record their name and tribal affiliation. While not her brief, she also noted their living circumstances, and, as a nurse, could not help but recognise various health ailments. She looked for Maori women in tearooms, restaurants, factories, and out on the streets. What she found was grim. Some Maori women, often with their children, were living in very crowded situations often in slums, sometimes in houses of ‘ill repute’, suffering from venereal disease and other ailments, and many were not in work. Mairatea’s work resulted in a letter signed by Fred Katene of the then Native Department to the Hon P. K. Paikea (16 November 1942). Katene’s recommendation to Paikea was the appointment of female welfare officers to the Native Department who, in turn, would attempt to deal with those circumstances afflicting Maori migrant women through the system of tribal committees. The advocated solution was clearly a tribal response to

an urban problem. The problems highlighted by Mairatea in the Wellington region became the genesis of the Maori Women's Welfare League – a national organisation, organised to harness the power and autonomy of tribalism in the same way as the MWEO (Szaszy, Rogers, & Simpson, 1993).

It is important to point out that the challenges that Maori migrants had to face in finding work, accommodation and in dealing with the Pakeha dominated culture space of towns and cities, was not unique to the Wellington region. Neither were the developments of clubs and associations like Ngati Poneke. Maori migrants to Auckland faced the same challenges and developed similar 'club' and 'social network' like responses, for example, the Auckland City Mission, and of course sports clubs.

Detribalisation

Before moving on, one important concept needs consideration as it a central part of assimilationist thinking through the 1800's and best part of the 1900's. Ralph Piddington (1968) reviews the concept of detribalisation, a term first used to "describe the initial effects of the impact of European influences on primitive peoples" (p.257). Detribalisation results in:

Marked conflicts and tensions within the community, the disintegration of indigenous authority, the weakening of traditional sanctions to morality and the breakdown of tribal institutions generally (Piddington, 1968, p. 257)

While these outcomes may be heralded as signs of a detribalised group, Piddington (1968) poses the question – detribalised from what, and to what? Earlier writers, according to Piddington, saw the following as the goal of detribalization.

To a form of socio-economic organisation similar to our own, and lacking any of the fundamental features of the pre-European culture which it will replace (p. 258).

Piddington (1968) sees this conclusion as too simplistic. From Piddington's perspective, culture change implies 'disorganisation', that is, that a culture group "has changed and is changing" (p. 258). The negative slant placed on the term

‘disorganised’, is viewed by Piddington as “obscuring the possibility that, in spite of manifest changes, positive processes of cultural development and reintegration may be at work” (p.258).

The need for and development of institutions like Ngati Poneke clearly illustrate what I think Piddington refers to as reintegration. While Ngati Poneke had a non-tribal charter, it was clearly organised along hapu lines, stratified with rangatira, kaumatua and rangatahi. Rules, expectations and standards were clear and members were admonished if they acted in a contrary fashion (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001; Ritchie, 1992). It would seem that Ngati Poneke, while not a traditional hapu, carried a name akin to a hapu/iwi, and provided its members with those benefits (and disadvantages) that they might have expected from belonging to a hapu, albeit in a modernised and urbanised form. Even so, members of Ngati Poneke still retained their tribal identities, a fact that Ritchie (1992) was well aware of.

The same pattern is evident in the later proliferation of urban marae across all major cities and towns in New Zealand from about the 1960s and 70s onwards. For example, Nga Hau e Wha in Christchurch, Kirikiriroa in Hamilton, Mataatua in Rotorua, Hoani Waititi in Waitakere, Te Kotuku in Te Atatu, Awataha Marae on the North Shore, Te Piringatahi o Te Maungarongo in West Harbour, Mataatua in Mangere, and Tira Hou in Panmure. While individual members of these urban hapu still retain both strong and sometimes tenuous links to traditional hapu and iwi their changing circumstances have demanded creative adaptations to new environments and situations.

Although the charge of artificiality may be levelled at these urban hapu and marae, this may be countered by looking at how hapu were traditionally constituted. As mentioned earlier, hapu were founded upon the desire of whanau to coexist together for mutual benefit; that is, for the benefits of a common and protective culture space, a sense of solidarity, enhanced social support and networking, leadership and representation, and a sense of rangatiratanga; of being self-determining and in charge of their own destiny in an urban environment.

The Maori rush to urban settings in search of work or higher wages undoubtedly reflected an understanding and adoption of a new socio-economic system. But to say that these migrants were totally devoid of any “fundamental features of a pre-European culture” (Piddington, 1968, p. 258) is arrogant and ignorant of Maori having always been active participants in their process of culture

change, this subject being a topic of underlying interest in the next section on understanding Maori social identities.

Chapter Five New Zealand Scholarship: Approaches to Understanding Maori Social Identities

The academic literature that addresses Maori social identities can be organised around three ‘strands’ advanced by the work and influence of three academic giants: Ernest Beaglehole (1906-1965) who, in the tradition of the Culture and Personality Movement established in New Zealand the fields of psychological anthropology or ethnopsychology; Ralph Piddington (1906-1974) who led the development of social anthropology and Maori Studies at Auckland University, and, more recently, the Professor of Maori Studies at Massey University, Mason Durie, who has become a renowned advocate of Maori health and development. These three academics, their graduates, and academic associates have significantly influenced the emergence of what I see as the most meaningful and relevant studies of Maori social identity.

Psychological anthropology

While the career of Ernest Beaglehole and his influence over the development of psychology in New Zealand has been briefly documented by Jane and James Ritchie (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998, 2003) a comprehensive biography remains to be completed. It is from those articles written by the Ritchies that the following sketch on Beaglehole is drawn.

Ernest Beaglehole was formally trained in psychology at Victoria University College, Wellington, but his early fieldwork was definitely ethnographic in nature. After completing his doctorate at the London School of Economics, he later studied with Edward Sapir, the founder of psychological anthropology, and became excited by the work of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and others of the culture and personality movement. He found a balance between his formal psychological training and the fieldwork opportunities that were presented to him and to his linguistically gifted wife, Pearl. Between them, they completed fieldwork drawing on the American cultural anthropology tradition that looked first at custom and then sought the motives which led to various practices. They worked amongst the Pueblo Indians of north-eastern Arizona (Beaglehole, 1936), the atoll-dwellers of Pukapuka

in the Cook Islands (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938), in Pangai in Tonga (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1941), in modern communities in Hawai'i (Beaglehole, 1937) and New Zealand (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). After pursuing his Pacific interests, Beaglehole returned to Victoria University College where, in 1937, he took up a senior lecturer post in mental and moral philosophy. In 1948, he was appointed to the chair of psychology and philosophy, becoming the first professor of psychology in New Zealand.

Theoretically and methodologically, Beaglehole was greatly influenced by the culture and personality studies. Scholars in this movement employed a diverse range of theories and techniques including ethnography, projective personality tests, comparative studies and life histories (Ingham, 1996). Their approach to research was characterised mainly by their ethnographies of cultural groups within which they observed, inquired, described and measured as much as they possibly could with the view to reaching a

holistic understanding of a given way of life in relation to the ideal personality that seemed to be most valued by the culture, whether this ideal was a calm, cooperative and self-effacing person; a sly, suspicious, and self-aggrandizing individual; or a proud, violent type (Bock, 2000, p.33).

The results of their efforts, especially their ethnographic work, were extremely detailed rich portrayals of the lives and communities of those under focus. Levine (2001), however, points out that, from its early beginnings the culture and personality field was “deeply divided” and “had no orthodox viewpoint, or centralized leadership, or coherent training programme or centre” (p. 808). LeVine (2001, p.808) suggests that most participants in the culture and personality movement would probably have agreed with the three following propositions.

1. All adult behaviour is “culturally patterned”;
2. Childhood experience, also culturally patterned, has a long-term influence on adult personality;
3. Adult personality characteristics prevalent in a community have an influence on its culture, institutions, patterns of social change, and forms of psychopathology.

These propositions are readily apparent in those early New Zealand studies conducted by the Beagleholes in Kowhai in the 1940's and with their students in Rakau in the 1950's. They took the thinking and approaches in vogue at the time and applied them to the task of understanding what they called "Maori character structure", that is, "that organization of needs and emotions in the life of the Maori which provides the psychological basis for the adaption of the individual to the demands of Maori social life" (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946, p. xix).

It is important to point out that the studies of Kowhai and Rakau were completed at a time when the culture and personality field was coming under increasing scrutiny, eventually resulting in various guiding assumptions of the field being rejected. These assumptions and their rejection are summarized by Bock (2000, p. 33) below.

1. The continuity assumption held that childhood experience led to predictable adult characteristics and thus to cultural patterns, neglecting negative evidence.
2. The uniformity assumption led students to find one-to-one relationships between personality type and culture, ignoring variability within societies.
3. The causal assumption often inferred personality and cultural variables from the same data, leading to circular reasoning.
4. The projective assumption placed excessive faith in Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) results, ignoring difficulties of translation and interpretation.
5. The objectivity assumption permitted anthropologists to ignore their own racism and ethnocentrism, leading in many cases to biased results.

While these criticisms can be levelled at the work of Beaglehole and his students, the Kowhai and Rakau studies remain as major ethnographic works that are seldom referred to today. Indeed, contemporary scrutiny (Stewart, 1997) with the arrogant benefit of hindsight has simply dismissed these studies without inquiring of the detail that they present. I now turn briefly to look at each of these studies in turn, to see what can be learned of Maori social identities.

The Kowhai Study

Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole report their research in Kowhai in their book titled *Some Modern Maori* (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). While expedient at the time to disguise the location of this community, we now know that Kowhai was a pseudonym for Otaki (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998), a small town situated north of Wellington and south of Levin in the Kapiti region. *Some Modern Maori* is a candid if not blunt description of life in a depressed Maori community undergoing extremely rapid change. The Beagleholes wrote of what we might now view as a culture of poverty, of a community struggling to retain a sense of identity as they went about the fundamental daily tasks of finding shelter, food and meaningful social relations. They also wrote of a people under going what I suspect David Ausubel (Ausubel, 1960) would describe as a great deal of ‘acculturative stress’, that is, pressure to assimilate to Pakeha lifestyles. Indeed, the modal Kowhai Maori was described in the following way.

Works for a living at a Pakeha occupation, lives in a Pakeha style house, sleeps in a bed, eats many Pakeha foods, wears Pakeha-style clothes, is familiar with the telephone, telegrams, taxis, and electricity, uses European calendar, observes the Sabbath, can recite church prayers, is baptized, married, and dies with rites of the church (p.270).

This description was probably true of most Maori living in similar types of communities. However, the Beagleholes in their chapter on ‘Being a Maori’ noted a great variety of persistent patterns that still concern Maori today. Below, I briefly review the patterns identified by them with a specific interest in recognising those patterns relevant to understanding Maori social identities.

Language and middle-generation anxiety

The Beagleholes noted an anxiety amongst the ‘middle generation’, those who are usually parents, are middle-aged, and poised to be handed role responsibilities related to customs associated with the marae, and with kaumatua status. They were anxious about learning te reo Maori and those customary practices associated with the marae and other rites. From what the Beagleholes have described, we can learn a number

of things. First, is the continuing expectation held by those generations above and below the middle-generation to move up to eventually take on those leadership and guidance roles expected of older tribal members in an age stratified culture group. Second, is the brave recognition by some of the middle-generation of the need to take steps to ensure that they are adequately prepared for such responsibilities. The last thing we learn about Kowhai Maori and Maori language is that at the time of the study (1940's) English had become the language of everyday life with Maori increasingly viewed as a dying language aside from its formal ritualistic function on the Marae. The challenge for the middle-generation was to grasp hold of their hereditary language and customs in the absence of readily accessible Maori language and culture spaces and formal learning programmes and in an attitudinal environment where English was considered the language of the future.

Attitudes to Authority

I think the Beagleholes missed something when they went in search of Maori leadership and authority in Kowhai. It seems like they were looking for a 'super-leader' in the educated and privileged mould of those early Maori Parliamentarians like Ngata, Buck and Pomare. In any case, they did not find what I think they were looking for. Instead, if one reads the detail, what they observed is a leadership and authority style of 'convenience', if you like, a pragmatic leadership style that was found, or appeared, when it was needed. While the 'packaging' of leadership may not have met all the characteristics (age, knowledge, genealogy, language, wisdom) that Maori in Kowhai may have desired, the fact that they had someone to line up behind, or to seek wisdom from, or to discuss genealogy with when the need arose, is possibly more significant.

The Beagleholes do not discuss the absence of people who may have provided tribal leadership. Te Rangihiroa Buck, in his foreword to 'Some Modern Maoris' was also critical of this observed lack of leadership. Indeed, the refurbishing of the carved whare whakairo called Raukawa in 1936 as part of Ngata's carving revival programme (Walker, 2001) should have acted as a strong signal of community coherency and leadership. Moreover, that the town of 'Kowhai' is presently home to Te Wharewananga o Raukawa, a contemporary tribally focused university, is also testimony to cycles in tribal leadership.

A sense of belongingness

The Beaglehole's descriptions of life in Kowhai show a clear awareness on the part of informants that, for them, Kowhai provided what Hay (1998a) has described as 'a rooted sense of identity' – a type of identity that results from people being less residentially mobile and often tied to the land through ancestry and/or family farms. Hay (1998a) writes that a "Maori sense of place was based more on their cosmology and culture, which rooted them to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally" (p.245).

In their examination of tribal cohesion, the Beagleholes described a squabbling and feuding community, its sense of cohesion and integration threatened by gossip and petty differences. Recent theorising suggests that the primary function of telling rumors, gossip and urban legends is not to simply impart information to a listener but to entertain or keep the listener's attention, thereby enhancing social relationships (Guerin & Miyazaki, 2004). Indeed, the Beagleholes' observation that these differences were put aside when greater things were at stake takes on a different meaning. Gossip served to maintain social relationships, the possibility of a socially cohesive response occurring becoming not so rare, particularly in the case of preserving hapu or iwi mana, and especially in the case of tribal rivalry. It is frustrating that, aside from research supporting claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, few contemporary day researchers choose to investigate the inter-tribal and inter-hapu dynamics that create and sustain internal group cohesion and identity.

Being Maori

The Beaglehole's summary of being Maori in Kowhai is interesting as it may well read as a description of many contemporary day Maori rural communities. Of course, some things have changed, but many of the values and patterns of community living still remain. With the move by Maori to more urbanised settings, these same values and patterns are still held but enacted differently, albeit in a modernised and adapted form. Moreover, while the Beagleholes write of the detail of being Maori, the broader values framework developed by their student James Ritchie (1992) can

be readily applied to highlight an emerging pattern of culture. As I will refer to this framework later, a look at the detail described by the Beagleholes is worthwhile.

Being a Maori obviously means many things to different Kowhai Maoris. To one it may mean having an old grandmother, tattooed on lips and chin, a pipe held uneasily between her yellow broken teeth but always indulgent and helpful in time of need. To another it may mean lending your bicycle a second time to the same man even though on the first occasion he left it carelessly in a ditch and you had to spend the morning repairing it before you could get belatedly to work. To a third it may mean an uneasy familiarity with spirits and ghosts and an underlying fear of sorcery. To a fourth it may mean having dreams in which your father figures prominently, letting you know that something is wrong, someone is going to die, or that sickness and evil are brewing. To others it may mean being sensitive to the criticism of friends so that their friendliness, the agreeableness are what you value above all things. To all, however, so long as you think of yourself as specifically Maori, it means belonging still to a social life that supports in a very positive fashion such values as those we have mentioned: easy-goingness, mutual help in time of trouble, the bearing of many economic responsibilities co-operatively, enjoyment of rhythm, dancing, laughter, and friendliness (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946, p. 297-298).

Maori Thinking of Pakeha

The Beagleholes described in some detail how their Maori informants saw their interactions with Pakeha living in their community, or with Pakeha they came in contact with in their daily interactions. Informants demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of discrimination by Pakeha employers and Police. They noted the lack of meaningful interaction between Maori and Pakeha households. They described the way that Pakeha men sexualised Maori women. They analysed the more economically powerful position that Pakeha occupied in their environment. How Maori informants thought of Pakeha and their impact on Kowhai Maori was undoubtedly political, sophisticated and sharp which should not be surprising considering the preceding 100 years of colonisation. Indeed, more recent research on the effects of colonisation and discrimination point to non-dominant group members developing a heightened sense of awareness and sensitivity to discriminatory

stressors (Feagin, 1991). This sensitivity allows non-dominant group members to respond to discriminatory stressors in ways that are self-preserving (Breakwell, 1988). It is a shame that the Beagleholes did not analyse in more depth the dominant group influences upon Maori and Maori responses to it.

Some Modern Maoris provides a rare insight into the life of a Maori community under going significant change. There are few other studies like it. The detail is rich, entertaining, at times baffling but always begging the contemporary reader to ask more questions. While the content examines some processes relevant to understanding Maori social identities in Kowhai, the obvious information available for my purposes is limited. What is relevant and important is the Beagleholes underlying rationale about how Maori come to have a particular “Maori character structure”. Clearly they believed that culture is learned, something that most contemporary social scientists agree upon (Harris, 1983). We come to have culture through the processes of enculturation. Parents, grandparents, uncles, aunties and peers are key transmitters of culture, and Maori social identities, that is, whanau, hapu and iwi are encouraged and supported by those processes.

Te Rangihiroa left New Zealand in 1927 and had only returned on two occasions prior to 1945. His foreword to ‘Some Modern Maoris’ indicated that he was disturbed by some of the observations, conclusions and recommendations made by the Beagleholes. For example, he was disturbed to learn that some Pakeha businessmen were allowed to engage in ritual of welcome as orators. He disagreed with the idea that Kowhai Maori were ‘forever using money to buy security within their tribe’. He believed that Maori children should attend schools where they were in the majority to better guide them towards Pakeha cultural standards, a view informed by his own attendance at Te Aute College. He supported the idea of working with 18 to 30 year olds to improve parenting, that is, enculturation skills, but did not support the view that a complete change over to a Pakeha character structure was desirable. He still valued tribal loyalty, the marae, the meeting house, and the tangi as measures of self-respect and felt that there was a place for Pakeha culture to learn from Maori.

Rakau Studies

While the Rakau studies were significant in that they were the first serious endeavour by a team of researchers to attempt a holistic understanding of a community under assimilative and technological pressure to change, their real contribution has been as a building block for studies that came later. For this reason, I have chosen to only briefly refer to some aspects of the Rakau studies before moving to describing later developments.

At the simplest level, this book tells us how a group of people live, but it attempts more than just this. It is also an account of how a culture has persisted through changes over time and how its folk are facing a rapidly changing world. It is an essay in demonstration of the fact that a community can be divided without being destroyed; that individuals may be autonomous without being alone; that as a people move along the folk – urban continuum the culture of the whole becomes subordinate to the culture of the individual (Ritchie, 1963, p. xi).

The book *The Making of a Maori* (Ritchie, 1963) is the report of a series of studies conducted in and about Murupara during the 1950's, a time when the forestry industry was forcing technological change on a whole community and region (Ritchie, 1992). The research field team was lead by James Ritchie but the overall project was overseen by Ernest Beaglehole. Over a five year period the researchers spent 20 months in total in the field employing a variety of data gathering methods and tools, including psychological test batteries, projective techniques and field observation typical of those used in the Culture and Personality movement of the time. They collected, counted, analysed and theorised a series of positions. These positions included hypotheses about childhood and adolescent development, basic personality and personality development, urban adjustment, mental health, deviant adjustment, and achievement motivation (Beaglehole & Ritchie, 1958).

Reviews of these studies (Ausubel, 1964; Metge & Campbell, 1958; Mitcalfe, 1964) or, I should say *The Making of a Maori*, tended to appreciate the descriptions of Maori life in Rakau and I agree with Ritchie (1992) that this descriptive material still stands. Like the Beagleholes' work, *The Making of a Maori* is detail rich, sufficiently so that it has allowed James and Jane Ritchie to re-evaluate and with continued research experience, to plot a research programme that over 30 years has

progressively built upon and learned from itself. Four research areas, relevant to understanding Maori social identities have emerged. They are a) a values approach to understanding people and behaviour in the Maori world; b) an ongoing analysis of Maori childrearing patterns; c) understanding and responding to discrimination and prejudice in Aotearoa; and d) developing an action approach to research and Maori concerns. I describe each in turn below.

Maori values frameworks

While the initial theorising about ‘basic personality’ and Maori character structure may have been somewhat askew and heavily influenced by the thinking of the culture and personality field, it is clear that this is the foundation upon which James Ritchie has built what I have come to view as one of the most sophisticated Maori values frameworks for operating in the Maori world (described by Ritchie as his ‘credo’) and for understanding Maori culture (what Ritchie calls ‘five aspects of valuing’) (Ritchie, 1992). Other frameworks like those of Metge, (1976, 1995) and Salmond (1976) tend to be too closely focussed and descriptive the effect being the isolation of central culture concepts rather than an emphasis on their relationality. Ritchie’s Maori values framework – recognisable in many of his published works, is most comprehensively detailed in his book *Becoming Bicultural* (Ritchie, 1992). Ritchie’s work provides a bridge from the earlier search for behavioural motives and character structure by those in the Culture and Personality movement, to values as influential in the choices people make and the meanings they attribute and derive.

But what are Maori values frameworks? Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck (1961) provide an answer. They proposed that cultural value systems are variations of a set of basic value orientations that flow from answers to basic questions about ‘being’, for example, what is human nature?; how do we relate to nature or the supernatural?; what is the nature of time?; what is the nature of human activity?; what is the nature of our relationship to others? Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck proposed that for each society a few central or focal values can be used to constitute a mutually interdependent set of what makes for the ‘good life’ (Oyserman, 2001). In some respects, the purpose of the Rakau studies was to discover answers to those questions posed above; however, those researchers failed in their first rush at the data to crystallise a coherent holistic view. After a myriad of encounters in Ngati Poneke,

Ngati Porou, Ngati Manawa, Tainui Waikato, to name a few contexts, this is what James Ritchie achieved almost 30 years later in *Becoming Bicultural*.

In *Becoming Bicultural* Ritchie identified what he views as the five most dominant aspects of valuing present in the Maori world. They are presented in the figure below and then briefly defined according to Ritchie's descriptions (Ritchie, 1992, pp67-84).

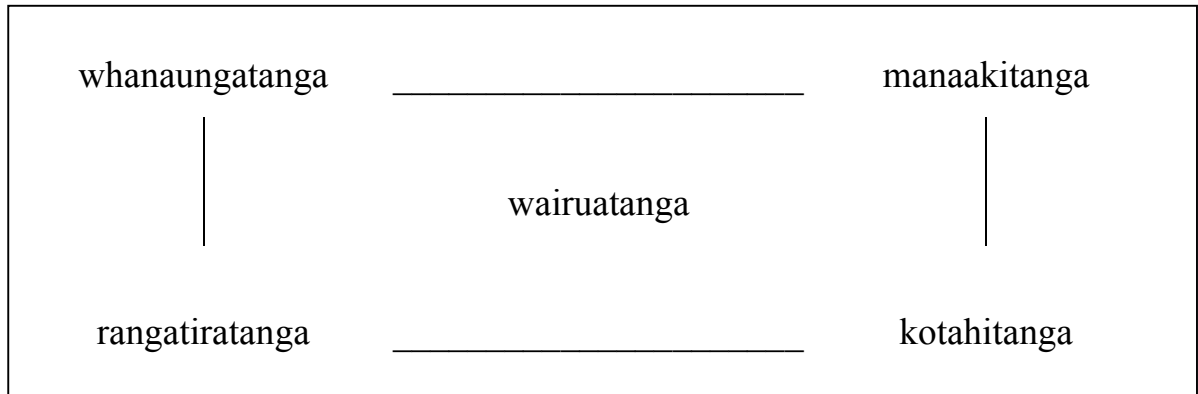


Figure 1: Ritchie's five most dominant aspects of valuing

Whanaungatanga refers to whanau or body of close kin whether linked by blood, adoption or fostering. It is a process concept concerned with everything about relationships between kin. It ties people together in bonds of association and obligation. It affirms and transcends tribal identity. It locates individuals and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. Whanaungatanga assists people to determine and recognise rangatiratanga by drawing on whakapapa (genealogy) to determine *mana* or status.

Rangatiratanga has two dimensions. The first is related to whanaungatanga and is determined according to kinship lines. They are the person or people who hold the mana for certain events, roles or communities. The second dimension is related to effectiveness, to being good at doing things or getting things done. Rangatiratanga is often referred to as leadership and authority.

Kotahitanga refers to the search for unity within the complexity of status, history, kinship, the human need for affirmation and esteem, and recognition. Kotahitanga might be loosely translated as 'unity', described by Ritchie as the Holy Grail of Maoridom – rarely found. It does, however, explain a tendency towards inclusiveness and the balancing of powerful opposites.

Manaakitanga is the process of reciprocal, unqualified caring. Caring for another and each other affirms the sense of all of us being a part of one another. The reciprocated obligation need not be immediate. There is simply faith that, one day, that which one has contributed will be returned.

Wairuatanga acknowledges that all aspects of the Maori world have a spiritual dimension. Wairua is not separable metaphysical stuff; it is soul permeating the world of both things and not-things. It is an attitude towards the world that makes the use and application of Maori concepts work. To ignore wairuatanga is to reject the Maori sense of respect, wonder, awe, carefulness, and their application to everything in an orderly way.

In proposing only five aspects of valuing some may argue that James Ritchie has subsumed too much detail. Yet the framework proposed is actually far more complex than what might first appear; the real challenge is to understand the ‘stuff’ in between, that is, the interaction of values with each other, and within the contexts that they emerge from. This is where the framework gains its explanatory worth enabling the scholar to analyse, make sense of Maori culture, Maori people, the Maori world and of concerns and behaviour.

A cultural values approach to understanding the Maori world is inherently social and formative. Culture and its values are in a continual state of flux, forever debated, negotiated and restated. While it is possible to name a cultural value, it is very difficult to fairly represent it in a concrete and continuous fashion. As James Ritchie himself writes of culture...

But the real stuff of culture in any of its meanings is messy, confusing, paradoxical, ironical, unclear, allowing alternatives and interpretations on some occasions but not on others. The headstuff gets mixed up with the heartstuff, the realities with the ideals and ideologies. All that gets hopelessly intertwined with the personal motivations of individuals, which may have cultural foundations or relevance, but which may be purely idiosyncratic, the leachate from the deposits of personal histories, the garbage heap of private experience (Ritchie, 1992, p.99).

While the complexity of culture is impossible to refute and will remain, a cultural values approach does help to reduce the messiness of it all, as evident in the Ritchies’ later work on child-rearing.

Child-rearing patterns

Another area that emerged from the Rakau studies and has continued on the research agenda of both James and Jane Ritchie for over 40 years is that related to child rearing patterns in Maori communities, New Zealand society and, more broadly, patterns across Polynesia (Ritchie, 1957, 1964a, 1977; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1970, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1990, 1997). Their research has painstakingly yet progressively built an impressive and continuous research base that has stretched and tested the initial observations of child-rearing made in Kowhai and later in Rakau leading to them being able to affirm a pattern of child-rearing peculiar to the Pacific (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985). Given its significance to the development of Maori social identities, the child-rearing pattern that emerged from the Rakau studies and took form over later studies is elaborated below drawing from descriptions detailed in the monograph titled *E tipu e rea : Polynesian socialization and psychological development* (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985).

The community context: Of ‘community’, the Ritchies write:

‘Community’ is those with whom one lives, who are also one’s kin with whom one shares common understandings of a moral and ethical nature that govern the ordinary course of life...At the symbolic level, community is the hook which one’s identity hangs, the group from which one draws one’s membership and for whose community one longs even when they are not around. Wherever you are, even thousands of miles from its geographic location, the community that socialized you, retains its emotional strength, and within it, the socializing effect is continuously apparent (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, pp. 36-37).

For the child, his or her immediate community is identified as their household, or whanau – extended kinship network. The kinship network is simply defined in terms of generation. Those in the parental generation are termed *Matua*, those in the grandparental generation termed *kuia, koro, or kaumatua*, those fortunate enough to be beyond the aforementioned generations are simply termed *tipuna*. Those members of these three generations carry a parenting responsibility, the child developing a capacity for a range of emotional ties.

Multiple parenting: The strain of responsibility on individual parents is reduced by the process of multiple parenting. Multiple parents expose the child to a variety of personalities, quirks, moods, times of reliability and unreliability inducing social awareness through social experience. While bringing relief for parents, such a parenting approach also brings relief for the child who is able to move from one parental relationship to some other. An individual, child or parent, can enhance their well being by contributing to the well-being of others.

Early indulgence: An infant enters into a world of many parents who delight in its existence and presence. The infant is treasured and lavishly indulged until it demonstrates a capacity for independence, that is, it shows a maturity into childhood and away from infancy.

Early independence training: While the infant may have been constantly indulged, the child is less so; sociability with their own peer group is encouraged. When the shift from early indulgence by parents begins the children can turn to others, not always or even commonly to adults, to fill the parenting role. Independence training and attendance to ‘social signalling’ results in someone who will go it alone but at the same time develops the skills of social vigilance, the opposite to social caring.

Peer socialisation: From the golden world of infancy, the child turns to his/her peers, a group with which they will share a common status. Common status with one’s peers is a horizontal principle of structure that qualifies and mitigates the harshness of what might otherwise become a rigid authority structure. For the child, status rivalry refers to the enhancement of one’s peer group and of oneself within it. While it can lead to conflict, and often does, it can also result in an appreciation of consensus, a feeling of being together, and of being inclusive.

As the Ritchies built upon their Rakau studies, they noted that Maori mothers who had moved from their rural communities and kinship groups persisted in seeking out their ‘parenting’ peers across distances and resources, and encouraged their children to befriend cousins or other Maori living nearby, consistent with the child-rearing pattern they had earlier identified (Ritchie, 1964a; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1970). So persistent and resilient was this pattern that, in 1997, they wrote, having observed four decades of assimilation, integration, migration and change...

Our research has shown that for all the difficulties, urban Maori families retained a style of child-rearing from which has now emerged a variety of urban lifestyles which in various ways continue to express basic Maori cultural patterns. The emergence of migrant urban marae has been a late development which Maori have undertaken for themselves. In other locations, less obvious Maori networking has developed. But even in the case of so-called gang communities, the cultural values have continuity and continue to be effective. Even where there is no demonstrable kinship, kin-like bonding is strong. Tribe-like, in-group loyalties are 'staunch'; parenting responsibilities may be shared to promote a sense of 'we' rather than 'me'. Working together for community purposes, particularly to celebrate rites of passage such as first and twenty first birthdays, marriages and deaths all take place within this newest transformation of the historical climate (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997, p.192).

It is easy to get engrossed in the Ritchies' work on child-rearing, and later on violence (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1981, 1990). It is gripping stuff, brilliantly crafted and deserves much more consideration than I allow here. They have taken earlier studies, criticised and built upon them. They have looked for patterns and found them. And, they have checked and double checked, just in case they got it wrong. Indeed, in this area, they are perhaps the harshest critics of their own work. But they have provided an enduring pattern that is mobile across distances and generations and that over a 40 year period Maori parents have sought to maintain that pattern and to enculturate their children accordingly.

The relevance of this work to the maintenance of Maori social identities is clearly apparent. Maori and Maori culture are dynamic, flexible, adaptive and mobile. Constructions of social identities that are particularly Maori are not necessarily dependent on location or physical environment. While these are important, the Ritchies' research suggests that child rearing and enculturation processes are possibly more important to a Maori sense of 'me' and 'we'.

Cultural contact, change and discrimination

While 'patterns' are what the Ritchies have sought, throughout their work they have always been concerned with the effects of time and the impact of change. Their work always occurs in a well described context, in turn allowing them to develop a

consciousness that lead James Ritchie with colleagues at Victoria University in the 1950's, to mount a research programme into what I describe as dominant group attitudes towards minority group peoples, in this case Maori (Ritchie, 1964b). To launch a study of dominant group prejudice was asking for trouble, especially in the 1950's when New Zealand was viewed by the Pakeha majority as 'Godzone' or 'pavlova paradise'. As expected, their research found Pakeha to be prejudiced, some deeply so and were prepared to say so, others probably so but simply in denial (Ritchie, 1964b). During this period, the American Fulbright Scholar David Ausubel brought to New Zealand the notion of *acculturative stress* (Ausubel, 1960) and further affirmed the work by James Ritchie and the Victoria University group on prejudice. Of Maori youth and the discrimination faced by them, Ausubel wrote:

The denial of equal occupational opportunity to Maori youth constitutes the most serious and prognostically least hopeful factor impeding Maori vocational achievement, since colour prejudice is not only deeply ingrained and increasing in the pakeha population as a whole, but its existence is also categorically denied by both the people and Government of New Zealand (Ausubel, 1961, pp 168-169).

Unlike their work on child-rearing, neither the Ritchies nor their Victoria University colleagues continued an obvious programmatic approach to prejudice and dominant group attitudes, yet it was a theme that persisted in all that they did. Perhaps this was due to the interface between Maori and Pakeha being an integral and 'taken for granted' part of their work. In fact, in all their works, there is always a chapter, a comment, or discussion on acculturative stress and discrimination, or on responses made by Maori to the negative attitudes of dominant group members and to the broader dominant society.

On discrimination and prejudice, like the Beagleholes, the Ritchies clearly note the existence of what might be described as 'a hostile environment'. More interesting though, is their identification of adaptive responses to having to exist within a hostile environment. For example, the Ritchies (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, p. 48) write of the adaptations made by Maori mothers in small town communities, commenting on the sensitivity of mothers to community opinion and how child rearing patterns adapted accordingly. They also comment on structural and institutional discrimination like the impact that compulsory schooling has on peer

caretakers noting that schools “demand very compliant, adult-dependent behaviour and a level and style of verbal skill which children who have grown up Polynesian style ...may not possess” (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, p. 49). Moreover, in the field of tribal development, James Ritchie repeatedly highlights the extent to which Maori were enabled or disabled by the policies of successive governments, and by “the ignorance, disinterest and occasional hostility” of Pakeha (Ritchie, 1992, p. 193). On the threat of Pakeha backlash, Ritchie notes that “while some Maori tread cautiously in this situation, others simply ignore the threat and get on with making the new tribal arrangements work” (Ritchie, 1992, p. 200).

While the Ritchies have been persistent in recognising, addressing and attempting to bring about changes for Maori within the hostile environment of an acculturating society, other New Zealand researchers have also engaged in this endeavour (for example, Archer, 1975; Forster, 1975; McCreanor, 1997; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Spoonley, 1993; Spoonley & Hirsch, 1990; Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 1991; Thomas, 1988, 1991; Vaughan, 1972, 1988). The Victoria University group simply opened the area for others to pursue.

Action Research

For the Ritchies, the leap from ‘basic’ research to ‘action’ research, in my mind, was an inevitable result of researching social issues for which answers could, and had, been found, yet nothing was being done. It was a move from simply observing, documenting, describing, analysing and reporting, to incorporating an ‘action’ component that saw the Ritchies actively involved in designing and implementing interventions, contributing to policy making, and, particularly for James Ritchie, strategic development especially in the tribal world. The Centre for Maori Studies and Research, established in 1972 at the University of Waikato, provided the setting for their move in this direction. Indeed, one of the guiding principles of the centre was “no research without development and no development without research” (Ritchie, 1992, p.45).

An example of their action research approach is what has been described as the precursor to the modern day Kohanga Reo movement, the Te Kohanga project. Jane Ritchie built on their child-rearing research and established Te Kohanga, a pre-school for Maori children disadvantaged by urban living (Ritchie, 1978). A language

based structured learning programme carefully charting the conceptual development of each child on an individual basis, the objective of Te Kohanga was to “identify skills related to successful school adjustment and performance and to equip Maori four year olds with these skills so that they would enter school ready to profit from the school learning situation” (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1978, p. 45). With four staff, the project engaged children in expanding their life experiences, their exposure to books and concepts as well as developmental activities. They recorded everything – the teaching style, the performance of children, effects on the home, and the efficacy of different learning tools. All of this is reported in a series of research reports culminating in their book *Chance to be Equal* (Ritchie, 1978). Te Kohanga was successful in that project children were better prepared for and able to reap the benefits of the school environment making better progress in reading and mathematics than Maori children who had no pre-school experience. Like many action research studies, while successful the Te Kohanga project was seen too much as a ‘service’ and the academic masters did not want to be engaged in service delivery even though the potential of Te Kohanga as a training base for teachers was apparent (Ritchie, 1992). This aside, the Te Kohanga project “later had a direct effect on national policy when Kohanga reo – Maori language pre-schools – were instituted by the Department of Maori Affairs” (Ritchie, 1992, p. 46).

The Centre’s action research approach was also taken into the tribal development arena. Ritchie summarised the work of the Centre as follows:

About a third of the programme concerns requests from Tainui/Waikato to do with their tribal development plan, actual or potential resources, training and management requirements, claims and negotiations. Another third is similar consulting work with other tribes...The remaining time is devoted to policy work for departments of state, local bodies and a wide variety of other agencies, such as New Zealand Maori Congress and the Commissioner for the Environment (Ritchie, 1992, p. 48)

So, what has action research got to do with Maori social identities? This is what I suggest. To understand the Maori person as a social entity, one needs to understand their social realities, ecologies and spaces, and how that identity has been shaped for survival. Everyone has to deal with the pragmatics of adjustment, or to put it another way, of cultural sustainability. One needs to understand how the

individual and their social group arrived to their present position. If one desires to impact or influence the social positions of Maori, through research or other intervention, one has to be part of the 'action', so to speak, and action has to be part of identity itself.

Inherited Wisdom

Much of the early work, particularly in Kowhai and Rakau, the Ritchies now reject, and have done so for years.

Of the rest, the Rakau studies, I no longer make any defence. They were in the research mode of the time. They attracted much attention overseas. They contributed very little to Maori advancement or well-being. I left that all behind (Ritchie, 1992, p.38).

While Ritchie and his colleagues may have moved on, I suspect that they took a great deal of learning with them, the echoes of their experiences resonating through their lives and into other facets of their work. While their work can be read in such a way as to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Maori social identities, it equally is valuable simply because of the emergent experiential wisdom. This is worth trying to make succinct sense of. My summary of this wisdom is:

1. Detailed ethnographic description allows for reassessment and re-evaluation. Detail enhances usefulness.
2. Theory and conceptual frameworks provide a clear rationale against which to understand and measure the thinking of researchers and scholars. 'Scholarship' without research is not scholarship. 'Research' that has no plan, is not research. 'Theory' without research, is not theory.
3. The job of the researcher is to collect and make sense of data and engage in interpretive analysis. For what is the use of research without it!

4. All research and action occurs within and is influenced by a historical and socio-political context. Research must be read and criticised against this backdrop.
5. Never get married to your research. It may not be the life partner you are looking for.

In the words of James Ritchie (personal communication, 11/02/2007)...

What did I drop? [I dropped] the technical methodological tricks; the tests and such; the elaborate theoretical framework; the positivist model of hypothesis testing. But I kept the 'experience' of fieldwork, the technique of searching for patterns, and empathy for the people.

Social Anthropology

The fields of psychological anthropology and social anthropology are very closely aligned, so much so, that it is often difficult to tell the two apart. Yet there are essential differences worth elaborating here due to the contribution that social anthropology scholars have made to understanding, directly and indirectly, Maori social identities in context (Hohepa, 1964; Kawharu, 1975; Metge, 1964, 1995; Salmond, 1975).

Early precursors of social anthropology in New Zealand focused on the reconstruction and recording of traditional Maori society and culture. Publications of the Polynesian Society hold true to this position (see for example the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*). However, from about the 1930s onwards, the work of social anthropologists increasingly moved from a preservation agenda to become increasingly interested in change and contemporary situations. While change is an important interest of social anthropologists, so too is the structure and organisation of society, particularly 'primitive contemporary' society (Moore, 2004). One of the most influential academics in this field in New Zealand was Ralph Piddington.

Piddington, Ralph O'Reilly (1906 – 1974)

As an academic discipline, the field of social anthropology was established in New Zealand by Ralph Piddington (1906-1974). Piddington was influenced by A R Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) and later Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) who brought to anthropology the theory of functionalism and pioneered the methodology of participant observation, as well as by functionalist Raymond Firth who wrote *The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1959). Functionalists hold that culture exists to satisfy the basic biological, psychological, and social needs of individuals. Every part of a culture, its material and subjective elements, fit together to meet the needs of individuals in the culture as well as the broader collective (Moore, 2004). According to this model, every element of society has a function.

Piddington wrote a PhD thesis on 'Culture and neurosis' in 1936, and in October 1949 he accepted the chair in anthropology at Auckland University College. In the 1950s he launched the teaching of social anthropology, Maori Studies, physical anthropology, prehistory and linguistics, and presided over the development of all branches to postgraduate level.

Active in supporting Maori aspirations, Piddington and his staff nurtured the scholastic achievement of a whole generation of Maori scholars and scholars of Maori society. Indeed, this is perhaps his most significant contribution to Maori development. They include: Pat Hohepa, Rangi Walker, Robert Mahuta, Wharehuia Milroy, Richard Benton, Bernie Kernot, Tamati Reedy, Peter Sharples, Parehuia Hopa, Bill Tawhai, Koro Dewes, Merimeri Penfold and Margaret Mutu, among many others (Pawley, 2000). All of these achievers have made significant contributions to the academy as well as to their own professions, communities and broader New Zealand society and most were influenced by Piddington's style of social anthropology (Piddington, 1950) which guided them in their various field settings from which they produced their doctoral and subsequent work. More importantly, though, is emergence of a group that Fitzgerald (1970) labels "the first generation of Maori University graduates". Given their contribution to the literature about Maori and Maori social identities, understanding the nature of their social identities and positioning between Maori society and that of broader New Zealand is appropriate. This was the subject of research conducted by American anthropologist Tom Fitzgerald (1977a) in the late 1960's.

Maori university graduates in the late 1960's

Culture change and identity is what interested Fitzgerald (1970, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1977a, 1977b), and, in particular, how Maori graduates of the 1960's saw themselves, their culture and identity within a context of change. Fitzgerald argued against the *gradient hypothesis of acculturation* made popular by Spindler (1952) which posits change along a gradient - Maori culture at one end of the continuum and contemporary New Zealand culture at the other. These two polar 'cultures' are assumed to be equally weighted and are viewed largely as static entities. Fitzgerald, like contemporary acculturation theorists (for example, Berry, 1997) saw this position as too simplistic, choosing in his study to position Maori culture as a micro or sub-culture of a broader, more general New Zealand culture, or macro-culture. In contrast to earlier studies, 'culture' had become 'cultures'. By positioning Maori culture as a sub-culture, the dual socialisation process required of Maori is more plainly seen. On one level, Maori are socialised into a sub-culture and on another, into New Zealand culture through engagement with the usual societal socialisation institutions such as school, church and work places. Socialisation into Maori culture takes place according to the opportunities presented through hui, tangi, weddings, parties, and generally in an extended family context. Fitzgerald captures the complexity of this situation in the following way.

Yet, as we have suggested, in a culturally heterogeneous society, such as New Zealand, the picture is vastly more complex. Modern Maori culture must be seen as part of an ongoing complex, adaptive social system, composed of several cultural dimensions and different levels of organization... Analysis must allow for different levels of socio-cultural integration. It must allow for a complex interaction between the dominant and subordinate social systems. Otherwise, such an analysis ignores active, selective reactions of one culture (socio-cultural segment) to another and, hence, must fail to appreciate the role of cognitive choice in culture change. In short, one must not underestimate the individual's adaptive flexibility and creative capacity to shuttle between two cultures or cultural levels or, for that matter, his ability to reorganize and recreate from the juxtaposition of tradition with non-traditional cultural elements. Studies of culture contact have

tended to overemphasize the unidirectional borrowing of cultural items as the major process of culture change (Fitzgerald, 1977a, pp 15-16).

Fitzgerald (1972) introduces the idea of manifest identity, that being an identity "which the 'situation' regards as relevant in a given situation" (p. 51). A latent identity is one which the 'situation' defines as "being irrelevant, inappropriate to consider, or illegitimate to take into account in the same context" (p.51). With regard to Maori cultural identity, Fitzgerald (1977a) writes

The distinction between manifest and latent culture is, we feel, a useful one for clarifying the Maori situation in New Zealand. We may distinguish between a culture which grows out of a natural interaction of individuals in group contexts, and hence is expressed as a living phenomenon, and a culture which, from the individual's standpoint, is no longer functional in everyday life adjustment. The latter is a latent as distinguished from the former, which is a manifest culture (p. 5).

The idea of a latent cultural identity is a useful one and corresponds with identity theories (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995) that explain the pattern of reclamation by minority group members of cultural and ethnic identities that they had earlier rejected, seen as negative or had simply lay in a latent state, being seen as unimportant or insignificant to the contexts lived through.

The overall conclusions that Fitzgerald arrives at in his study of Maori cultural and social identity are that Maori often make nominal commitments to general cultural norms (macro-culture), while the source of their values and identification remains with the micro-culture. With many Maori, commitment to micro-culture does not come until later in life for age grading is a social reality, definitely felt by the middle generation described by the Beagleholes (1946) of those in Kowhai, and still significant in the modern Maori context. Maori graduates often become 'mediators', not by choice, but gradually, and by default. Although Maori graduates occasionally respond to the European sphere as an identification group, most are heavily committed to their membership group of modern Maori, as separate and distinct from Pakeha. The source of identity, then, is cultural rather than social. In cases where the Maori sub-culture still offers the individual status and emotional gratification, it is likely that the individual will use this micro-culture for their

reference group of identification. The primary function of Maori identity is, then, this sub-cultural group loyalty expressed as a need for belonging to a cultural group that is still emotionally gratifying.

Given that Fitzgerald published a picture of those Maori graduates who participated in his study (see Fitzgerald, 1977a), it is possible to know the social and cultural roles those graduates went on to fill in more recent times. They became politicians, prominent tribal leaders, academics, businessmen and women, lawyers and judges, and teachers. Most have made significant leadership contributions to both the Maori and Pakeha worlds, and while many are now in retirement, they still remain influential. Each one's life history is interesting in and of itself; however, I am presently more interested in their contribution to the academic record about Maoridom and Maori social identities. What have they, and other students of Ralph Piddington contributed?

Studies of Maori communities

Some of Piddington's graduates, like Pat Hohepa and Hugh Kawharu, and those he influenced, like Maharaia Winiata went 'home' and studied or wrote about their own communities and experiences in typical social anthropological fashion. Unlike their Pakeha colleagues, these graduates were insiders to their own communities. They had the opportunity to elaborate an important emic position.

Maharaia Winiata (1967) wrote of *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society* drawing on his experiences as a Methodist minister, a school teacher, and an active member of the Kingitanga movement. "He moved freely in the social circles of Government, the Missions, and the University" (Professor Kenneth Little in Winiata, 1967, p.8). The study, itself, is probably best described as a critical self-reflective piece that brings to bear a functionalist frame upon the role and institution of 'the Maori leader'. Moreover, it is a pivotal text in the rather scant literature about Maori leadership and change. Like the later work by (Fitzgerald, 1977a) reviewed above, Winiata postulated that Maori traditionalist society is a sub-system of the wider New Zealand society, involving a dual framework for organisation, and that contemporary Maori leaders essentially occupy an intermediary role and position. In occupying this position, Winiata asserted that the Maori leader moves and has his being in two worlds. He also operates within two distinct and often conflicting

systems of value spawning specific sentiments, values and beliefs that in turn influence their behaviours and leadership roles. We can see this same conclusion elaborated in Fitzgerald's 1977 study.

Pat Hohepa's (1964) work titled *A Maori Community in Northland* was a study of outwards migration from his community of Waima. While not nearly as intensive as those by the Beagleholes (1946) or Ritchie (1963), Hohepa's study reflected a community beset by economic and social problems, its members trying their hardest to get by, but, at the same time, having to assess their situations in view of the possibility of more favourable opportunities alongside those who had previously migrated to towns and cities south of Waima. Hohepa found that many people migrated from Waima to escape the "demands of having to contribute to supporting the wider whanau and being "subject to the decisions, interference and whims of the household elders" (Hohepa, 1964, p. 64). I also suspect that many move because they are eager for opportunities or new experiences; some just to escape! Interestingly, of those who remained in Waima, Hohepa noted

Those who do not emigrate often inherit what exists of community economic opportunities. In Waima, those who remained take up from where their parents left off. The result in the community is that the majority of those who remain or are persuaded to remain are the least likely to succeed in most competitive occupations in the city. They are the farm labourers and constitute the second generation of farmers, remaining in the community because of restricted ability, inadequate education, and satisfaction with their present existence (Hohepa, 1964, p. 69).

While I might debate Hohepa's inference that in contrast to the 'movers' those who remained in Waima had restricted ability, the point is made that by contrast to the city, very few real opportunities were available for Waima community members at home. Moreover, while Hohepa may have been an insider to his own community, he was clearly hampered by the requirements and frameworks of his discipline, for nowhere in his work does he really depart to choose an insider's position, preferring instead to adopt the scholarly cloak of 'objectivity'.

In contrast to Hohepa's study is that by Hugh Kawharu, the field work for which was completed in 1964, the report published in 1975. Kawharu clearly occupies the emic position within his own community, Ngati Whatua at Orakei - a

community smothered by the affluent surrounding central Auckland suburbs. Indeed, the physicality of the environment that surrounds Orakei is perhaps a metaphor for a community history fraught with struggles against Crown greed, arrogance and duplicity. Kawharu reports that in 1964, the majority of Orakei community members had been moved off their papakainga lands into near by low cost housing. The Crown had taken possession of their marae, the land surrounding it with the exception of a church and cemetery. From a privileged emic position, Kawharu succinctly captures the trauma, desperation and crippling effect of these indignities upon his hapu community.

While the fact of these events for Ngati Whatua ki Orakei might be described as no less than catastrophic, social disintegration of the hapu was not the outcome as one might expect. Kawharu clearly documented a persistent network of people still bent on being a community, affording leadership, political and social cohesion, and a sense of identity for its members. He describes a number of acculturation patterns employed by community members as a result of having to adapt to changing circumstances, the key question being the type of balance or imbalance created as a result. The patterns noted by Kawharu are: *curtailment* – where members cease customary practices and the grooming of people for customary roles due to restricted or no access to institutions vital for the practice or role, for example, land, marae; *replacement* – where members replace customary practices with those of the broader society, for example, individualised rights in housing, the use of the English language, individual economic independence; and *consolidation* – which refers to the continuity of customary practices albeit in an adapted form.

Had Kawharu had access to the current literature on acculturation, he may well have adopted a different conceptual framework for understanding the patterns of adaption employed by the Ngati Whatua ki Orakei community. Irrespective of this, of the future of children in this community he noted their paradoxical situation.

It therefore seems that somehow he must achieve like a Pakeha, but remain a Maori. Yet nobody, at home or at school, has been able to show him the genesis of this paradox and how he might resolve it (Kawharu, 1975, p182).

Kawharu's solution is to, firstly, turn to the elders of the community who in his view possessed

...the requisite knowledge of Maori and Ngati Whatua lore and have already displayed some enthusiasm for passing it on. Organising time and pupils and using ceremonial occasions for instruction are not insuperable obstacles (Kawharu, 1975, p.182).

Secondly, to change the nature of schooling to better incorporate Maori language and culture courses. He concluded

...What is at stake is the children's ability to determine their own individual and community identities in such a way as will allow them and their children to carry into the wider society the fruits of a bi-cultural heritage. Helping the elders develop this ability could be the most creative role school could ever fill for the people of Orakei and those with whom they live (Kawharu, 1975, p. 183).

Kawharu's conclusion and pathway forward is clearly different to that suggested by the Beagleholes in their study of Kowhai. Perhaps this reflects the period and prevailing attitudes of the 1940's contrasted against a researcher emerging from his own community in the 1960's with a commitment to cultural preservation and development, rather than 'detrribalisation' and assimilation (Piddington, 1968). Now, in the 21st century, having, through persistent leadership and high profile protest (Hawke, 1998), successfully resolved some of their historical grievances against the crown (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2006), Ngati Whatua ki Orakei enjoys a renewed tribal assertiveness. Their rapid transformation from a marginalized stain in the middle of affluent Auckland in the 1960s, to a marae-based, land holding, affluent and influential tribe is no less than dramatic. Ngati Whatua and its members have grown in confidence and capacity, and, know they have the ability to do more.

Mixed Marriages

So far, none of the literature reviewed has seriously considered the home environment and cultural identity development of children of mixed marriages. One study by John Harré, a Piddington graduate, stands out in this regard. His study, a

revision of his PhD, was published in 1966 in a work titled *Maori & Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand*. He attempted to identify the most significant features of Maori-Pakeha intermarriage and their relationship to the general race-contact situation. Using mainly qualitative data gathering techniques, Harré interviewed 104 couples and documented information from key informants the majority of whom resided in Auckland. While Harré describes courting patterns and marriage ceremonies, the major contribution of the work to this present study is his discussion of kin and community relationships and the cultural development and identity of children.

Ethnocentric belief was the foundation for kin reactions towards potential culturally different marriage partners. As Allport (1954) theorised, Harré found that these attitudes rapidly changed as a closer association formed and partners became spouses. Harré puts this down to two things.

This is possibly because the stereotype has not been built up as a reaction to competition for jobs, prestige or women. What prejudice there is against Maoris is more a reaction to their overall position of low socio-economic status than a device for maintaining this position. Another important feature of the stereotype held by Pakehas is that it is seldom translated into action in the form of discrimination. This is one reason why the expectation of adverse reactions from parents is greater than the experienced reactions (Harré, 1966, p.144).

Harré reports that there was no tendency for the formation of a special ‘mixed race’ or ‘mixed heritage’ social group. While the term ‘half-caste’ may have enjoyed some significance, its meaning was largely unclear, with cultural orientation considered more important on a daily basis. He puts this down to most individuals being able to gain a sense of belonging in groups that include Maori, Pakeha and mixed heritage persons, irrespective of how they looked. If they did encounter a prejudiced attitude, they could configure their relationships in an ‘outrigger’ fashion, that is, a couple, and individual partners, maintained relationships with their respective social groups without kin groups necessarily interacting.

Harré also noted a tendency for one partner, to some extent, to acculturate to the cultural pattern of the other, the outcome for their children being a cultural orientation premised on the dominant parental pattern. Parent and children still had

to deal with reactions of others outside the home towards their children. Any anxieties that grandparents had about how their grandchildren and how their peer group might think of them and their grandchild, seemed to melt away when the child entered the world. All grandchildren were largely indulged and treasured by both grandparent sets. The influence of school teachers seemed to only be of account in so far as it supported or opposed that of parents. In relation to the child's pre-school group, Harré noted a strong tendency, particularly for children who appeared strongly Maori, to mix with a predominantly Maori play group, thus supporting a cultural orientation. Harré had difficulty identifying any strong patterns in relation to the experiences and cultural patterns of older aged children. However, what is clear is that children who appeared stereotypically Maori were treated as such by those they came into contact with outside of the home, sometimes reinforcing their cultural orientation and identity as Maori. But for some children, having Maori ancestry positioned them as targets of negative discrimination leading them to actively reject a Maori ethnic identification, choosing instead to disassociate themselves from things Maori and Maori people, including their Maori ancestry. On this point, Harré wrote...

Both Maoris and Pakehas tend to agree that a small amount of Maori ancestry makes a Maori (in racial terms), but whereas for the Pakeha this tends to act as an excluding device, for the Maori its effect is inclusive. It is, in part, because of this that when opposition to a mixed marriage does occur amongst Maoris it is usually expressed in a positive form ('We would prefer you to marry a Maori') rather than in a negative form ('We don't want you to marry a Pakeha') (Harré, 1966, pp. 144-145).

What Harré's study confirms for me is the persistent inclusiveness of descendents irrespective of joining descent lines that have their genesis outside of Maori cosmology. By proof of whakapapa, they are Maori and for Maori social groupings, 'flesh and blood' cannot be denied. While the cultural orientation of a descendent may be an irritant to those who expect ethnic and cultural identification to be synonymous, the more important variable over whakapapa is a group loyalty reflected in a commitment to identifying consistently as Maori even if that identification is 'part Maori' or 'both Maori and Pakeha' (Thomas, 1986, 1988; Thomas & Nikora, 1994) again reflecting inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness.

From Kotare to Auckland

Joan Metge's doctoral thesis (1964) was a comparative study conducted in the early 1950's of 'Kotare', a rural Maori community situated in Northland, and the other situated in Auckland. Maori in Kotare were under similar pressures to those in other Maori communities all over New Zealand. Metge describes a similar situation to that described by the Beagleholes (1946) of Kowhai, by Ritchie (1963) of Rakau, and by Hohepa (1964) of Waima. Few employment opportunities and a shrinking land base were simply inadequate to support the Kotare population; those able had to find work in places outside of Kotare, becoming commuters or emigrants.

But many people remained in Kotare. The reasons are various but the strongest reason by far was attachment to Kotare as the land and community of their ancestors, reinforced by childhood and, sometimes, lifetime associations. There, by virtue of descent and land ownership, they enjoyed the rights reserved by Maori custom for tangata whenua, rights which they could claim in few other places. They chose to live in Kotare because they belonged there (Metge, 1964, p.43).

If tangata whenua status and landownership were important contributors to a sense of belonging, then, as noted by Ritchie (1992), kinship or whanaungatanga recognised by whakapapa was found to be the binding substance that held the respective strands of belongingness together (Metge, 1964, p.46). Metge reported that it contributed to a sense of social cohesion and relatedness within and beyond the physical locale of Kotare, serving to connect migrant groups across rural and urban settings.

Unsurprisingly, participants in Metge's study held economics to be the primary force in motivating migration from Kotare. But there were other reasons, similar to those found by Hohepa (1964). Metge found that migrants aspired to a higher economic status and refused to accept a lowered standard of living as the alternative to moving. Attachment to land and community was an insufficient reason for staying. Yet this was not necessarily the *prima facie* reason for moving; rather, other events tended to spark decisive action, for example, family quarrels, social misdemeanours, eloping with lovers or leaving with a spouse who did not feel at home in Kotare. Other reasons were to forget the sorrow at the death of loved ones,

to escape an unhappy marriage, nagging relatives, or degraded living conditions. The pursuit of adventure and independence were also reasons for leaving.

Although Kotare emigrants could have moved to a variety of destinations, Auckland seemed to be the most popular. Auckland was attractive to Kotare emigrants because it provided opportunities for: work, money, pleasure, medical services and education. Auckland provided diversity, and in contrast to other major cities, it was the nearest to the main areas of emigration. Wages were higher than those in smaller centres, and upward mobility was more likely. If someone did not like their employer, or employment circumstances, for whatever reason, finding another job was not too much of a problem. Pleasure activities were numerous. Not only did the city provide dance halls, hotels, sports clubs, and shops in huge variety, but it also provided an exciting range of companions to do things with. Constructing one's own social milieu and pattern of social activity, on relatively neutral tribal territory, where one could choose to join or avoid social relationships, was, for some, a powerful position.

While Metge found that economics were a significant motivator for migrants, she also noted that it was actually part of a much wider search for a fuller, modern and exciting life, symbolised by the enjoyment of modern urban civilisation. Migrants held their futures in their own hands and were free to exercise their own choices. They were also free from poverty, economic hardship, authority of parents, from traditional ways of doing things, from the monotony and boredom of rural life. These were the ideals sought after by migrants. But, having exercised their self-agency, many migrants continued to seek out and associate with their kin folk in the cities, to find opportunities to be Maori, with many frequently returning home for visits.

Few people made lengthy preparations for their move from rural areas to the city. Metge reported that once a final decision to move had been made, the move usually occurred within a few days; only personal belongings were transferred. Most departures from Kotare were to kinsfolk in the city in whom movers had complete faith in being favourably welcomed. Few had jobs arranged, choosing, instead, to 'look around'. Metge puts this rather casual approach to moving down to three things. The first was that movers were willing, at least temporarily, to accept a low standard of accommodation; secondly, that they could always return home; and thirdly, that they felt assured that kin in the city would assist them.

According to Metge, the new immigrant tended to manifest ‘horizontal’ rather than ‘vertical’ mobility. Horizontal mobility refers to the pattern of migrants to circulate around networks, jobs, accommodation, and social activities of a similar kind as if they were ‘sampling’ what Auckland had to offer, trying out new and novel activities and settings. It was not until this “post-immigration fever” had abated that immigrants showed any tendency to vertical mobility, that is, seeking a better job, better living conditions and a stable social life (Metge, 1964, p. 134).

Of significant relevance to this study are those people that Metge (1964) refers to as ‘city born’ or ‘passive’ immigrants. These were those who had been born in the city, or who had moved as young children and knew little of their rural roots. Of this group, Metge noted a number of differences to the ‘active immigrant group’. Most could claim membership in more than one tribal group, their claims a product of inter-tribal unions as a result of migration. They were also more likely to be children of interethnic unions. Those who were of age, tended to contract similar marriages, in turn repeating the pattern of their parents. Metge found that the association of the city born with the home lands and communities of their parents was a rather abstract construct – somewhere and something that their parents belonged to even though parents attempted to engender a sense of connectedness and ownership of these lands and communities in their children. The scaffolding for this construct was built upon stories of home, visits and involvement with relatives, as well as return visits for holidays or hui, and, in some cases, longer stays from a few months to one or two years. Because of the intertribal nature of their parent’s union, many had more than one rural community to which that they were encouraged to relate. Metge (1964) reported that they either “became sentimentally attached to only one, or their vacations and affections were divided between them” (Metge, 1964, p. 138). Of those who did not maintain contact with any rural communities, Metge noted that one of the parents was non-Maori, inferring a preference towards the non-Maori parent’s orientation rather than that of the Maori parent. Of the city born, Metge concluded:

The city born were, then, aware of having origins outside the city, in specific rural communities, though their links with those communities in terms both of subjective feelings and of personal relations with kin living there were less strong than those of ‘active’ immigrants (Metge, 1964, p. 138).

Furthermore...

As long as immigrants continued to come into the city, the city born and the city bred would never be cut off from the traditions of Maori rural society (Metge, 1964, p. 140).

The most relevant chapter in Metge's book *A New Maori migration: rural and urban relations in Northern New Zealand* is the chapter on kinship and descent. In this chapter she surveys kinship in the city and the nature of whanaungatanga or social cohesion amongst Maori migrants and their relatives.

While Metge found that Auckland Maori professed the same kinship ideals as those in Kotare, many Auckland informants recognised that they fell way short of rural standards in their manifestation of kinship ideals conditioned by city life. Unlike those in Kotare, Auckland Maori tended to lock their homes, or rooms, because of the risk of theft; they had learned the 'courtesy' of knocking before walking in on kin in shared accommodation; and visiting other kin, was conditioned by distances and availability of transport. While most attended hui in Auckland that included other kin, many complained about the reluctance of kin to contribute either practically or financially, leaving these obligations to a small yet committed group of people who were increasingly comprised of non-kin. While the obligation to attend tangi was still strongly felt, only those of fairly close-kin were attended. Too much time off from work could mean the loss of a job. An increase in selfishness and a decrease in cooperation between kin living in Auckland seemed to characterize comments made by Metge's informants.

Metge writes of 'kinship privilege abuse', the pattern of taking for granted or abusing kinship privileges. Referring briefly to Ritchie's (1992) five most dominant aspects of valuing framework, referred to earlier, Metge's idea on kinship privilege abuse can be differently understood as an offence against those things that Maori value. Metge reported that when such offenders were challenged the retort was often that the victims were being unreasonable and un-Maori. According to Ritchie's framework, positioning victims in such a way appeals to the values of manaakitanga and kotahitanga, of care and unity, in spite of the offenders diminished valuing of whanaungatanga. Offences included, amongst others, failure to repay money or goods borrowed, staying indefinitely with kin, failure to contribute to household

expenses, the bringing home of unwanted beer parties, and failure to offer general help and assistance. Metge further noted that the city was on the side of the offender, who could simply reappear on the doorstep of some other obliging relative.

Metge reported that the participants in her study were scattered with little sense of community. While most had kin within the city, they equally had large numbers of close-kin living all over New Zealand. Contact with kin outside of the Auckland area was inevitably affected by this physical separation yet relationships were still maintained through letter writing, phone calls, periodic visits, second-hand messages, occasional presents, exchange holidays, or attending hui involving each other. As might be expected, contact with kin in Auckland was more frequent and more easily maintained.

Interest in whakapapa and, therefore, ‘relatedness’, was not strong amongst Metge’s Auckland participants. Most had left Kotare as teenagers uninterested and indifferent to “things of the past” (Metge, 1964, p. 158). Interestingly, participants over the age of 40 years appeared to increasingly express an interest in these matters perhaps feeling the pending expectation that they take up unfamiliar roles expected of those in the older age groups. While ignorance of whakapapa and cultural practices may have characterised this group, they were somewhat more conscious of their tribal membership, especially when contrasted with those from other tribal groups that they come into contact with; tribal differences were a frequent topic of conversation (Metge, 1964, p. 179). Tribal solidarity, at that time, remained abstract and unformalised; the hapu was almost entirely disregarded with few knowing more than the name of their hapu.

One would have expected the Auckland setting to have been ripe for a rise in pan-Maori organisations such as Ngati Poneke in Wellington, yet Metge reports few formal initiatives gained widespread favour and support at the time of her study. Most had difficulty holding members and those that “catered specially for the young and unmarried tended to break down after starting with a flourish” (Metge, 1964, p. 210). The following excerpt illustrates the difficulty that Maori experienced in attempting to maintain their customary practices and coherency as a group within Auckland.

Large-scale gatherings suffered from the lack of marae and meeting-houses in Auckland. Their ceremonial features were

curtailed by the exigencies of commercial catering and hired halls, guest lists had to be placed on an invitation basis, and visitors could not be accommodated all together in the one place for the night. The one-day gathering, with visitors dispersing to sleep in their own homes or those of friends, was the rule. Working conditions – the forty-hour week, the abundance of over-time, the insistence of employers on punctuality and the minimum of absenteeism – restricted most social activities to the weekends; this was, however, no novelty to most immigrants. Scorn, disapproval or (worst of all) amusement on the part of Pakeha caused Maoris either to discard those things which aroused these attitudes or, more often, to practise them only when Pakehas were not present. Pakeha curiosity had banished the greeting of the hongi (pressing of noses) from the streets and caused mourners to postpone much of the traditional wailing over the dead until they reached the rural marae. Only at the most superficial level, that of casual entertainment, did Pakeha influence encourage interest in the Maori heritage (Metge, 1964, p.224).

Clearly, Maori in Auckland in the 1950-1960's lived and worked in what might be termed a 'hostile environment' – a socio-cultural environment where the power to define appropriate and 'normal' behaviour was held by the dominant cultural group, in this instance, Pakeha, a reality that continues for all non-dominant groups in New Zealand society, even to this day. While such a socio-cultural environment may be experienced as discriminatory, what is perhaps more important are, the ways that Maori adapt and continue to achieve their hopes and aspirations.

One further aspect of Metge's 1964 study worthy of review was her discussion of what makes Maori people different from Pakeha, or what unified Maori as a group. In this regard, all ethnic groups need to distinguish themselves from others. Metge makes a number of points about the behavioural patterns of participants in her study. Descent was the most important defining characteristic. If someone had a Maori forebear, then they could refer to themselves as Maori irrespective of 'blood quantum' or census definitions. Metge noted that those with a far distant Maori ancestor and none of the other following characteristics usually were absorbed into the Pakeha population. Adhering to certain common patterns of behaviour, certain forms of social organisation, and a constellation of value orientations, which were not shared by, or were at variance with Pakeha were seen as typical of Maori. Pride in being Maori, in Maori history and achievement, and

conversely, resentment over past injustices and discrimination were seen to be shared by Maori. While these characteristics of being Maori may have been unique at the time of writing, they do not depart too much from definitions of ethnicity present in the current canon of academic literature (for example Spoonley, 1993; for example Thomas, 1986; Walker, 1989).

The contribution that Joan Metge's work makes to our understanding of the evolution of Maori social identities over a period of major rural-urban migration is significant. *A New Migration* is comprehensive, replete with detailed descriptions and examples, which are rigorously and insightfully discussed. It far exceeds the efforts by other researchers of the day, for example, those of Fitzgerald (1977a), Hohepa (1964), and Kawharu (1975) and should be a 'touch stone' book for all scholars interested in Maori identity, urbanisation, and adaption to urban life (see also Metge (1976; 1986; 1995) and Metge and Kinloch (1978)). While *A New Migration* is a riveting read, one of Metge's most relevant findings for this study is the fact that, while adaptations were made, Maori tended to 'accommodate' Pakeha culture and people, making use of new technologies, value positions, people, and life ways, in turn expecting Pakeha society to respond accordingly to their cultural practices. Their adaption strategy was one of accommodation, rather than assimilation or integration; at the same time they kept aspects of their lives exclusively Maori in orientation. Pakeha were welcome, but on Maori terms. Interestingly, she does not ask 'how do Maori learn to do such things?'

Formal Rituals and the Marae

Authors like Metge (1964; 1986), Kawharu (1975) and Fitzgerald (1977a) all comment on formal marae rituals. Metge (1964) found that many of her participants went to extraordinary lengths to return to their rural communities to fulfil marae based ritual obligations, especially tangi. Moreover, she found that beneficiary status in land corporations further cemented ties and facilitated frequent trips back to their rural communities. While these authors were mainly interested in migration patterns and impacts, Anne Salmond studied Maori ceremonial gatherings, the results of which were published in her book *Hui*. She attended a great variety of hui ranging from tangi to meetings of Maori organisations. In total, she attended 72 hui over a two year period (1970-1972) in both urban and rural settings.

Salmond (1975) reported on the marae setting, the staging of hui, rituals of encounter, central marae activities and different types of hui. Her rich descriptions and detailed examples are typical of anthropology – qualitative and ethnographic in nature. However, her major conclusions are of interest here. Salmond found that hui were occasional and their nature, context dependent. She found that hui are occasions where Maoritanga was in its sharpest definition, whereas in other situations, especially in cities, it played, at best, a background role. Salmond is quick to point out that it is not unique to Maori. She writes:

In contact situations everywhere, minority groups maintain their distinct identities in episodic sub-cultures, which carry over from one special occasion to the next. In everyday life, in schools, offices, and even to a large extent the family, the sub-culture is no longer adaptive, but it continues to flourish in gatherings where members celebrate its significance in their lives. This 'occasional' quality of such sub-cultures is also their best protection. Since they are only reaffirmed among members, the attempts at assimilation are by-passed (Salmond, 1975, p. 210).

Continuing with the 'episodic' theme, Salmond found that the nature of many social institutions is essentially episodic. By way of example, Salmond refers to the way in which daily life might be divided up.

A man divides up his life among his family, his place of work, his friends and organisations such as clubs, sports teams or the church. The family comes into focus as a group only when the family is together, at the margins of the working day or at weekends and holidays, while for more distant kin its is activated at weddings or funerals...Some people spend more time in some settings than others (Salmond, 1975, p.211).

Salmond suggests that Maori society might be viewed as a complex of settings; categories of people overlap or flow at intervals staging and enacting a wide variety of scenes. As movement occurs between scenes, actor behaviour changes in patterned ways as they adapt to a new set of rules and take up different roles. She asserts that appreciation of such behavioural sequences can bring about a better understanding of life in a particular culture. An ecological or a systems approach (Orford, 1992) to understanding human behaviour should throw into relief such

behavioural sequences. However, the important point here, although methodological, is that one needs to observe behaviour of the same actor across many settings and over time to appreciate the full complexity of social and cultural behaviour. For example, the kaumatua who during his work life is a humble truck driver or cleaner may well be an esteemed and high status orator within the marae context. This illustrates that people can and do have different roles across contexts, and can be perceived differently in each.

Salmond points out that in Maori situations basic assumptions about how the world is constituted radically shift from what mainstream Pakeha society holds to be true; this illustrates the context dependent nature of behaviour, beliefs and values.

Salmond wrote:

In 'European' situations, most Maori people follow a dominantly European conception of reality, one they have learned at school and in church. The dead go to heaven, buildings are inanimate, New Zealand is divided into counties and governed by Parliament, and its history traces back to Britain. In 'Maori' situations, however, ...the dead go to 'Te Po or Underworld to join their ancestors, the meeting-house is addressed as a person, New Zealand becomes Aotearoa, divided into tribal districts, and its history traces back to Hawaiiiki (Salmond, 1975, p.211).

So, for Salmond, roles and status can and do change across contexts. So, too, can values and beliefs, in turn leading to different behavioural patterns.

Salmond's final conclusions relate to the marae as one of the last bastions of Maori pride and autonomy. She noted the absence of an adequate number of marae in urban settings and recommends the establishment of new urban marae as a means to arresting deteriorating race-relations.

There are powerful elements active in both national and local politics who would argue that assimilation of the Maori ...and eventual eradication of their cultural differences would be the best possible solution for a bi-racial New Zealand. The past thirty years of urban experience, however, directly contradicts this point of view. ...If an explosive disintegration of race-relations is to be avoided in New Zealand, Maori culture should be accorded respect, and actively fostered in the cities. One natural way of doing this would be to offer financial support for the construction of

that locus of Maori pride, the marae, in as many urban settings as possible (Salmond, 1975, pp 212-213).

In the 1970's, Salmond noted that there were six established marae in the Auckland region, and seven in the planning stage (Salmond, 1975). Interestingly, of the six established marae noted, at least two; Tira Hou and Nga Hau E Wha, were established by non-tangata whenua tribal groups. While Salmond does not appear to comment on this, it is a rare event for a tribal group to establish a marae over which it claims ownership outside of its tribal boundaries unless they have a concentrated and motivated population who aspire to such an outcome.

Neither Salmond nor Metge nor any other researchers that I know of have followed up on the urban marae phenomenon. Metge (1976) is probably the latest comprehensive attempt at documenting the evolution of marae and marae type institutions. We do know that new carved houses and marae have mushroomed across the urban landscape to the point now that many educational institutions from primary school through to universities and polytechnics have marae facilities. Even Auckland Airport has one! While I am somewhat taken aback by the enthusiasm for urban marae facilities, the vast majority appear to be institutional, that is, they are financially supported and cared for by institutions such as those in the government sector or the church, or, in the case above, an airport authority. Their institutional nature means that they are usually well resourced and maintained; some have salaried marae managers and some have kaumatua who are paid to perform vital ceremonial roles. In this way, they contrast markedly with rural tribal marae which often suffer from lack of funds and resources, and, increasingly, an absence of people due to issues, for example, of urbanisation and the need to work.

This mushrooming of marae and the willingness of institutions to actively support their establishment, maintenance and activity schedule may demonstrate a shift in thinking by both Pakeha and Maori. For Maori, the thinking may have shifted from the marae as an expression of 'mana and pride' or the epitome of what it means to be Maori (Walker, 1998) to one that I term 'convenience and show'. By this I mean that it is much more convenient to have access to a marae facility where you know that the appropriate rituals will be performed because people are paid to do so. A new well maintained facility with contemporary carvings and art works, under floor heating, comfortable bedding, night time security, hot water and first-rate

shower and kitchen facilities, is a far more attractive proposition than some tribal facilities that are often tired and drafty, their essential systems temperamental, and people resources scarce. For Pakeha, I might suggest that their thinking rests around ‘convenience and accommodation’. Convenience aspects include a facility within a broader familiar institution (eg., school, university), within the city limits (where one can still find espresso coffee or go home for the night), personed by ‘staff’ who can be sent a memo, and that accommodates Maori demands for cultural appropriateness, the use of customary practices, and cultural spaces.

The above remarks are simply thoughts that can benefit by future research, yet the point I wish to make is that Maori society is changing – change is the only real constant in the broader scheme of things.

To conclude this section on the contribution of the Piddington graduates and associates to the literature on Maori social identities a number of comments can be made. Studies of changing Maori communities often leave the reader with the impression that once the anthropologist was ‘finished’ with the group of interest that at that point, those groups remained static and unchanged, having done all their changing prior to or during the period of the research. While I recognise this to be untrue, naïve readers are not likely to ask the question – what have become of participating communities or groups or of social institutions and formal rituals? Instead, they may be looking for descriptions of a past that they or their parents or grandparents emerged from, for example, of Kotare or Waima. They may also be in search of details that would assist them in learning, or, in some cases, resurrecting something of formal marae rituals such as in the descriptions written by Salmond (1975). They may also be in search of explanations for what they perceive as culture loss, or, alternatively, culture retention within their own families such as can be found in the work by Harré (1966). Detailed answers to these questions will be found in the work of the Piddington graduates and associates but the picture that will not emerge is how the lives of Maori migrants and their respective communities of interest and cultural institutions have changed since the period of the research through to the present day. The reason for this is that few of the researchers mentioned above have completed follow up studies, choosing, instead, to pursue other research interests or career directions. Moreover, few of the next generation of researchers have chosen to focus their efforts in this regard. The literature is therefore incomplete and lacks continuity.

Nevertheless, the Piddington graduates and associates contribute much to our understanding of Maori social identities. The major conclusions that a reader might make are that migrants to urban centres shifted their primary Maori social identity from a rural whanau and hapu based orientation to a pan-Maori urban orientation. Their prior orientation and pan-Maori orientation lies latent within Pakeha dominated contexts but is reactivated in the company of other Maori. Reactivating processes include visits by whanau, or return visits home, or when contrasts are drawn with other hapu or iwi. While mixed marriages amongst urban migrants were common, most tended to marry Maori mainly from tribal groups different to their own; the Maori social identities of their children were mainly of a pan-Maori orientation. However, children of tribally different parents had the benefit of two tribal orientations; their experiences were mostly vicarious and romanticised. The literature reviewed reinforces Salmond's (1975) observation of the episodic and occasional nature of social institutions and provides an explanation for this pattern. Maori respond to their socio-cultural environments in a context sensitive manner, adapting and changing their roles, behavioural patterns and narratives to best suit the circumstances they find themselves in. While these researchers attempt an understanding of the values that guide Maori thinking and behavioural patterns, none develops a sophisticated coherent conceptual organising framework such as that provided by Ritchie (1992). This would have been of benefit to them.

Maori Health and Development

The most significant body of literature to emerge in recent years to inform our understanding of Maori social identities is that produced by Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Maori) and Professor of Maori Research and Development at Massey University, Mason Durie. In contrast to Beaglehole and Piddington who were trained in the social science tradition, Durie's training was a mix of both medicine and psychology.

Durie attended Te Aute College and later studied medicine at the University of Otago, graduating MB ChB in 1963. He then travelled overseas to McGill University, Montreal where he completed a D.Psych. While Durie was more than qualified to practise in the primary health area he chose instead to pursue an interest

in Maori public health and policy development concerned with altering the determinants of Maori health rather than dealing with the consequences of such.

Durie is a prolific writer across a huge range of topics and any summary of his work is bound to overlook something. His early work focused on Maori perspectives of health arguing for a more holistic approach to health than one based simply on the biomedical model. To advance the argument, he represented Maori health as having four dimensions: physical, mental, familial, and spiritual (Durie, 1984, 1985a, 1985b). While not a new idea, and indeed a concept that I find to be somewhat simplistic, it gained currency across the health, social and education sectors.

He built upon this early work by questioning the nature of professional health training programmes (Abbott & Durie, 1987). He observed the absence of Maori students in the academy, and the need for training programmes to significantly revise their curriculum to attract Maori to training and to build a health workforce better able to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse clientele, something he is still passionate about today (Durie, 2003).

Durie's inclination towards the policy field became widely apparent after he served as a commissioner on the Royal Commission on Social Policy from 1986-1988. Since that time, he has appeared on numerous decision and policy-making committees across the health, welfare, education and research sectors, for example, the National Health Committee; Foundation for Research, Science and Technology; Te Papa Tongarewa - the Museum of New Zealand; the Law Commission (Maori Advisory Committee); the Mental Health Foundation; Alcohol Advisory Council; the NZ Board of Health; and the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Maori Health. He was also Chair of Te Runanga o Raukawa and, between 1990 and 1995 was secretary to the Maori Congress (Public Health Association, 2003).

Whether Durie is attending to Maori health, a topic upon which he has written prolifically (Durie, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1994a, 1998d, 1999a, 1999b) or to topics related to social or health policy (Durie, 1988, 1989, 1994a, 1994b, 1998b, 1998d, 1998d; Fitzgerald et al., 1996) or those related to Maori development (Durie, 1995a, 1995b, 1998d, 1999a, 1999b) his keen concern with a secure and healthy sense of being Maori is always a central focus.

While all the books that Durie has written are concerned with Maori social and cultural identities, in one way or another, two of them are probably more

relevant than the others. The first, *Whaiora: Maori Health Development* (Durie, 1998d) deals with Maori identity as informed by issues of health and wellbeing. A key point that he makes is that a secure Maori identity correlates with good health and wellness. He argues that to achieve good health outcomes for Maori, consideration of issues and circumstances that impact and contribute to the erosion of Maori identity must be addressed. In his second book *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The politics of Maori self-determination* (Durie, 1998b) Durie argues that Maori autonomy, or tino rangatiratanga, is the key pathway for Maori to fully participate within the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Again, a secure Maori identity is seen as vital in realising Maori autonomy.

In the 1990's, Durie established Te Pumanawa Hauora, a research centre based in the Maori Studies department at Massey University. The aim of the centre is to...

contribute to the advancement of the health of Maori people through quality research activities on the ways in which health services are delivered to Maori, the promotion of health within Maori communities, and the development of health policies for Maori (Massey University, 2005, para 7).

While many research projects have been initiated by Te Pumanawa Hauora, a project established very early in the centre's life was the 'Te Hoe Nuku Roa - Maori profiles' project. Here, Durie and his colleagues set out to explore...

what it means to be Maori in the 1990s and beyond, and examines the impact of policies on Maori at a personal and family level. For the first time information on Maori households covering all aspects of life will be brought together so that planning for the future can be more solidly based on the actual circumstances and aspirations of Maori people. The central aim of the project is to provide a database that reflects the current situation of Maori individuals and families. By linking Maori aspirations with these realities a sound base for planning and development will be established (Massey University, 2005, para 8-9).

Fundamental to this research endeavour was establishing what exactly a Maori identity was. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa study is longitudinal in that it tracks the

progress, problems, aspirations and circumstances of Maori people over a 10-15 year period.

Although other ideas are examined, cultural identity is one that has an important priority in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study. Durie (1998b) defines Maori cultural identity as

An amalgam of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge, and participation in Maori society. Particular attention is focused on self-identification, knowledge of whakapapa, participation in marae activities, involvement with whanau, access to whenua tipu, contacts with other Maori people, and use of Maori language (p. 58).

According to Durie (1998b) the first marker of a Maori cultural identity is an ethnic identity indicated by a person choosing to identify as Maori. A second marker is cultural knowledge and understanding indicated by knowledge of one's tribal history, whakapapa, tikanga, and social arrangements. The third marker is that of access and participation, that is, participation in Maori institutions and society, and access to Maori resources such as land, forests, the environment and fisheries. The last marker of cultural identity is te reo Maori, a capacity to speak Maori.

Durie et al (1996) have reported on a sub-section of data collected as part of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study. Their report documents the preliminary findings from a survey of 134 people aged more than 15 years old, from 102 Maori households in the Manawatu-Whanganui region. The measurement of a Maori cultural identity is central to the project. Examination of the questionnaires used in the study cast further light on those markers of a Maori cultural identity described above. While I accept the majority of these markers as valid, I would argue that the idea that access to Maori land - whenua tipu, as measured by determining ownership or beneficiary status – is an inadequate marker of Maori cultural identity. Clearly, the recent documentation that has supported claims to the Waitangi Tribunal (see Ward, 1999), the role of the Native Land Court (Williams, 1999) as well as the will of those passing on land has resulted in many Maori being landless, or without land ownership or beneficiary status. In my view, this is evident in a later report by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team (1999) where they found that only 56.1% of people in 655 Maori households could claim the status of having Maori land interests

or beneficiary status. This means, that an extraordinary large portion of their sample are excluded from claiming a secure Maori identity! What I would argue to be a more reliable and perhaps fairer marker of Maori cultural identity is a psychological measure of connectedness with tribal land and landmarks, irrespective of ownership (Hay, 1998a, 1998b). Those, through no fault of their own, who occupy a landless position yet still retain a psychological connectedness to land or landmarks, can and should, therefore, be included. A measure of such a marker could be attained through investigating the extent to which a person knows about, or is engaged in, activities that nurture such a connection, for example, visiting such places, and, where possible, participating in their care. The Waitangi Tribunal record abounds with such examples.

By examining the types of questions posed to participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study it is obvious that the project is overwhelmingly quantitative in design. Triangulating the design by the inclusion of qualitative data gathering methods would serve to elaborate participants' responses. For example, the project inquires of participants' ancestry, that is, the number of forebears a participant can name. There is no attempt to seek information to explain how the participant has arrived at such a capacity, and the fact of capacity is assumed to be contributory, that is, whakapapa capacity contributes to a secure Maori identity. While a possible contributor, how a person acquires whakapapa capacity is probably a better indicator of the nature of an individual's cultural identity. Moreover, I argue that an ability to work with lateral connections in whakapapa, rather than lineal descent, is of greater importance and of more use in the Maori world, than exclusionary lineal lines of descent, as it serves to connect people to each other rather than to simply attest to their existence in a lineal fashion.

In this regard, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study (Durie et al., 1996) might be viewed as a project that seeks to determine rather than explain the positions occupied by participants at various points/stages their lives. This is reflected in their developing four Maori cultural identity profiles:

Secure identity: If a participant scored highly in regards to four of six of the following characteristics, they were included in the profile of those described as having a secure identity. The characteristics were: knowing their

whakapapa, marae participation, whanau involvement, access to whenua tipu, contacts with Maori people, and an ability in te reo Maori.

Positive identity: A positive self-identification as Maori and a medium/moderate response to three out of six characteristics was used to assign participants to the positive identity group.

Notional identity: A similar approach to that taken to determining a positive identity was used to establish the notional identity profile. Participants who scored low on four of the six characteristics described above were allocated to this group.

Compromised identity: If participants choose not to self-identify as Maori irrespective of participation and access to Maori institutions and society, they were considered to occupy a compromised position.

Having developed these profiles, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team (Durie et al., 1996) set about reporting the performance of each profile group according to variables such as education, health, employment and the like.

I have already criticized this project's focus on determining 'position' without seeking explanation, and have alluded to flaws apparent in questions posed through the study. Having laid out above those profiles that the project team have developed, the positioning effect becomes significantly clearer. Although scores on related variables may tease out a broader picture of those circumstances associated with each profile group, I cannot help but notice the rather static image that is beginning to emerge. Maori are a diverse group, their diversity and capacity to change, adapt and accommodate being an important strength.

Research on Maori identity, its social, cultural political and contextual dimensions is desperately needed to inform future direction not only for Maori, but for New Zealand society in general. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa project continues, even today in 2007 and we are still yet to know the fullness of that research and whether the issues I raise above are resolved.

Maori Diversity

A further idea that Durie has spoken and written about extensively, again not new, is the notion of Maori as a diverse population. Anyone familiar with the histories of Maori peoples will recognize the heterogeneous nature of Maori society. While it is tribal, and maintains a number of institutions that facilitate different socio-cultural identities (for example, whanau, whakapapa, marae, turangawaewae) each individual within a group is just that, an individual with their own agency and capacity to take steps to master their own directions in life. But individuals find themselves in shared contexts and often exhibit similar behavioural patterns with related consequences such as those described by the Ritchies of child socialization processes, and by Salmond of episodic contexts. Behavioural patterns (eg., lack of exercise) or their consequences (eg., obesity) can be used to define individuals as a sub-group of the broader Maori population. Durie draws on this organizing facility to write about Maori diversity and disparities with and between Maori and other ethnic groups. Rather than review all that Durie says about Maori diversity I simply wish to highlight two significant and important points.

The first is that Maori live in and between two worlds (at least) – Te Ao Maori, the Maori world, and the world at large. Some choose to situate themselves differently in either world, and some give up trying to live in either world and create their own (eg., gangs). They are nevertheless, by virtue of descent, Maori. The second is that Maori live in a dynamic, ever changing context that presents exciting and positive directions – usually. One such direction is to places overseas. In the next chapter I turn to explore Hawai'i, a culturally rich and diverse setting, that, for a number of reasons, Maori have found their way to.

Chapter Six Maori in Hawai'i

The participants in this study of Maori social identities came from two different contexts: Hawai'i and New Zealand. In this chapter, I focus mainly on the interface between Maori and Hawai'i, and, in particular, the impact of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) on the movement of Maori to Hawai'i. I also briefly review some of the similarities and differences between Hawaiian and Maori history before concluding this chapter by describing the aims of this study.

Pacific voyaging

Polynesian oral narratives tell us that Pacific peoples were constantly engaged in long distance ocean travel (Buck, 1954). Some voyages were return trips between islands. Others were not. To the Maori mind, the idea of boarding a long distance ocean going vessel would not have been a strange one (Howe, 2006). If Omai of Tahiti could find his way here on Cook's 1769 voyage, and Maori, like Ruatara, to Australia and England on various ships in the early 1800s (Salmond, 1991, 1997), then it is not beyond the imagination to think that Maori, over that period, also found their way to other ports like Hawai'i, just as Hawaiians were finding their way to New Zealand.

Hawaiians frequently visited New Zealand as sailors in American whaling ships cruising the Pacific, and some of these men settled among the Maoris on the Auckland east coast. They were called 'Oahu men' (Cowan, 1966, p.60).

Since the late 19th century through to the present day, Maori have travelled to Hawai'i for work, as part of Maori concert touring parties, as university students, on route to other northern hemisphere destinations, and as tourists. More frequently, Maori have travelled there as Mormons, that is, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS).

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS)

Mormons are a product of a religious movement begun in 1830 by Joseph Smith. Amidst the apostasy of New England Christians, Joseph Smith received a vision from God telling him that there were no true religions on earth. Later, from the angel Moroni, he received a calling to lead God's restored church on earth, to turn the hearts of fathers and children, and to avoid a calamity of judgement upon the earth (Davies, 2003). Like Moses, Joseph Smith received a similar yet different set of tablets that became the Book of Mormon. He went on to found the LDS Church (Brooke, 1994; Davies, 2003).

Brooke (1994) who wrote about Mormon cosmology, the official website of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (see <http://www.mormon.org>), and other writers on Mormonism (Ludlow, 1992; Persuitte, 2000) all refer to the 'Plan of Salvation'. The Plan of Salvation, or cosmology of the church has a familiar yet different shape. It describes humanity's place in the universe and the purpose of life. Pre-existence is a place, existing prior to mortality, where all of life was created in spirit form. God proposed spirits be sent to earth to be proven and, if worthy, receive added "glory". Competing with God, Satan proposed that every soul would be saved, that Satan would receive God's power, and human agency would be eliminated. When God rejected that plan, the war tore heaven apart resulting in Satan and a third of the spirits becoming devils. For the remainder, Gods' plan prevailed. The LDS Church teaches that upon death, the spirit goes to a spirit world until resurrection. A spirit can be resurrected to one of three kingdoms. The celestial kingdom is reserved for those who accept Jesus Christ and receive all LDS saving ordinances, either as a mortal or by proxy; the terrestrial kingdom is reserved for righteous persons who refuse to accept the tenets of the Church, and for those who do not keep the covenants they commit to; and lastly, the telestial kingdom is reserved for the wicked. There is another place, called outer darkness that is reserved for Satan, his associates, and for those who after coming to know God choose to reject God. He or she denies Jesus Christ and the Plan of Salvation. Those in the celestial kingdom through self-development and pursuit of virtue, progress to become joint heirs with Jesus Christ; becoming gods and goddesses that participate in the eternal creative process of having spirit children. The Church teaches that the

family is the basic unit of the kingdom of God on earth with Church activities designed to help the family as a unit progress towards eternal life. According to Walsh (2007), to attain eternal salvation, families are expected

To proclaim the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people;

To perfect the Saints by preparing them to receive the ordinances of the gospel and by instruction and discipline to gain exaltation;

To redeem the dead by performing vicarious ordinances of the gospel for those who have lived on the earth (para 9-11).

Families are the basic unit within the Church. It has a variety of levels of priesthood; geographically defined wards or congregations led by bishops; stakes or regions led by stake presidents; the quorum of seventy who serve as area presidents around the world; a quorum of apostles; and the Prophet, form the Church structure (Davies, 2003). Presently, the headquarters of the LDS Church is in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.

While the Church is hierarchically organized, Walsh (2007) has noted that:

Mormonism is a way of life and not a Sunday-only religion. Latter-day Saints are encouraged to dedicate themselves, their families, their substance, their time, their talents, and everything they have upon the face of this world to furthering the purposes of God. While Sunday worship services only last three hours per week, a typical family is likely to spend many hours each week in Church-related activities, meetings, and service (Walsh, 2007, para 16).

Erving Goffman (1962) uses the term “total institutions” for wholistic life systems of this sort. Personal struggles are relieved or just never arise so long as the person accepts the prescribed pattern of life (Goffman, 1962). Although converts to Mormonism accept this way of life establishing the LDS Church was not an easy matter (Ludlow, 1992). Joseph Smith and his early followers were persecuted for what was perceived at the time as radical departures from the standard Christian story. They were considered heretics. They were chased out of community after community. To illustrate the strength of victimization and marginalization that the

LDS Church was subjected to, Joseph Smith was killed for his leadership and views. His followers were systematically made unwelcome or expelled from those places they congregated and for the religion they promulgated (Ludlow, 1992). Even when, in 1890, the Church officially did away with the practice of polygamy, the stigma continued (Van Wagoner, 1989). This history also conditioned the Saints to steel themselves against non-believers, to seek out safe places and to know who their friends were (Gedicks, 1999). They chose isolation and withdrawal to reinforce and pursue their beliefs, and, as a missionary church, to test and strengthened the commitment of members through the process of bearing testament, and proselytizing (Gedicks, 1999).

According to the official LDS Church website, membership is approaching 13 million world wide with about 96,000 members in New Zealand (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2007). I suspect that the statistics released by the Church also include non-practising members as Statistics New Zealand records only 39,912 affiliated with the Church in 2001² (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Though initially founded on a rural agricultural ethic the church moved to become a financial and powerful business organization but still with an emphasis on work and material success as evidence of virtue.

Maori and the LDS Church

According to Mormon cosmology, Maori fall into the same category as Native Americans.

Mormon doctrine teaches that American Indians are remnants of a Book of Mormon people – the Lamanites – a race descended from a migrant band of ancient Israelites with a tarnished past but with great promise and a specific mission in the Mormon millennial scheme. ...Mormons teach that Polynesians are likewise descendants of a Book of Mormon peoples, and missionary efforts have been

² The statistics on religion from the 2006 Census are yet to be released.

remarkably successful among the Maori of New Zealand and in Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawai'i (Eliason, 2001, p71).

The primary LDS motivation for seeking converts amongst Maori was to spread the word of God and to offer redemption to a 'lost tribe of Israel' (Eliason, 2001; Ramstad, 2003). The Church had earlier launched a major mission amongst Native Americans in the 1830's, and in the 1840's and 1850's turned their attention to the Pacific (Eliason, 2001; Ramstad, 2003). The first missionaries to Hawai'i arrived in 1850, and to Maori communities in the 1880's after their earlier and largely unrewarded efforts at conversion amongst New Zealand settler communities (Hunt, 1971).

By about 1900, after about a decade of concerted Mormon missionary outreach in Maori communities, the LDS church was said to have nearly a tenth of the Maori population amongst its members. Underwood (2000), in his examination of why Mormonism was so popular with Maori, concluded that it provided a cosmological world view aligned with Maori history of migration from Hawaiki, and with Maori lived experience of colonial subjugation. Maori questioned the part that the Anglicans, Catholics and other colonial churches played in colonization through the 1800's. The LDS missionary work in Maori communities occurred later in the 1880's and they were not so tainted with this earlier colonial history. Moreover, the coming of the LDS church to Maori was said by Hunt (1971) to have been earlier prophesied by Toroa Pakahia in 1845, Tawhiao in 1879, and Paora Potangaroa in 1881. All these things smoothed the way for the acceptance by Maori of Mormonism. Eventually, Mormon Maori communities were established at Bridge Pa (Hawkes Bay), North Auckland, and Porirua, and finally in Hamilton in the mid-1950's.

One of the practices of the LDS Church of the day was the desire for members to gather in Zion, that is, Salt Lake City, Utah, to participate in Temple ordinances. I have already mentioned, in chapter four, Hirini Whaanga Christy and his family's visit to Salt Lake City in 1894. In 1913, Stuart Meha and five other Maori men are also reported to have travelled to Utah "to receive their endowment in the Salt Lake Temple" (Cowan, 1990, pp109-110). Recognising the hardship caused to members by this expectation and concerned to ensure that all the privileges of the church were extended to its Pacific members, church leader President Joseph F Smith

declared, in 1915, that a Temple be built at Lai'e, Hawai'i, later dedicated in 1919 (Cummings, 1961).

As part of its doctrine, the LDS church placed a high premium on education. Through the 1800s they engaged in building libraries and education facilities that, in the early 1900's, formed an elaborate church school system of three university colleges, nineteen academies and eight seminaries around the world (Hunt, 1971). Hunt (1971) records that in New Zealand, the Maori Agricultural College, for the education of Maori boys, was built and opened in 1913 near Hastings. Eighteen years later, in 1931, the college, like many other buildings in the Hawkes Bay region, suffered severe earthquake damage. The College was subsequently closed; however, in just under twenty years of operation the graduates it had trained were to become influential church and community leaders much like those graduates of the nearby Church of England colleges of Te Aute and Hukarere. LDS church leaders recognized this potential and realized that the church itself would need the leadership of educated youth in the future (Hunt, 1971). To fill the gap left by the destruction of the Maori Agricultural College, the LDS church later built the Church College of New Zealand at Tuhikaramea, Hamilton, and, on the adjoining campus, situated the New Zealand Temple. They were both dedicated in 1958. Tuhikaramea, or Templeview, as it is presently known, became the educational and spiritual center of the LDS Church in New Zealand and served as a magnet for members in New Zealand and the South Pacific. Having served its members for 49 years, Church College is in the process of closing its doors as a secondary school. The Temple remains.

As mentioned above, the Hawai'i Temple opened in 1919; later, the Church College of Hawai'i opened in 1955. The Church College of New Zealand remained a secondary school facility while, in 1974, the college in Hawai'i evolved to become a branch campus of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Today, BYU-Hawai'i is a four-year liberal arts school with about 2,400 undergraduate students (Brigham Young University Hawai'i, 2007). These building projects corresponded with the Church's 20th century view that members of the church should refrain from "gathering to Zion" in America, and encourage "the faithful to stay and strengthen the church in their own lands" (Cowan, 1990, p.109). While this is so, BYU-H attracts students from all over the world, especially from the Pacific (Brigham Young University Hawai'i, 2007).

Church building projects in the Pacific were not restricted to New Zealand and Hawai'i. During the 1950's the church developed a process for harnessing the significant energy and commitment of its members. Known as 'labour missionaries' members were 'called' to serve on building projects across the Pacific. These callings re-vitalised the Church and offered a model of cooperative effort as a basis for community, loyalty and faith. Cowan wrote

...all of the construction was done by volunteer labor. Beginning in 1950 the church had devised the labor missionary program to build badly needed chapels and schools in the Pacific. Experienced builders, responding to mission calls, acted as supervisors. Young men, from the islands, also serving as missionaries, donated their labor, learning valuable skills in the process. The local saints did their part by feeding and housing these missionaries. Most of the volunteers were Maoris from New Zealand although each of the other Pacific missions agreed to provide four workers throughout the period of construction despite having extensive building projects of their own (Cowan, 1990, p.115).

Just as 'outside' members were serving in New Zealand, Maori were also serving in other parts of the world, including Hawai'i.

The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC)

In both New Zealand and Hawai'i, the LDS church sought to provide employment through some commercial development that would sustain community members. In the early period, a farm maintained the Temple View community, and a plantation, the Lai'e community. In the case of the latter, it became apparent that plantation farming was inadequate for the needs of students and their families attending the then Church College of Hawai'i. According to the PCC website (<http://www.polynesia.com/>) fund raising activities took advantage of visiting tourists and during the 1940's church members in Lai'e started a 'hukilau', a fishing festival with food and entertainment highlighting the Pacific connections of its community. During the 1950's, students at the college put together a show of South Pacific island songs and dances, which bus loads of visitors would come to see; a

well organized tourist business activity. In the early 1960's, work began on permanent show facilities.

Over 100 "labor missionaries" again volunteered to help build the Polynesian Cultural Center's original 39 structures on a 12-acre site that had previously been a taro (plant whose roots are used to make poi) patch. Skilled artisans and original materials from the South Pacific were imported to ensure the authenticity of the village houses; and on October 12, 1963, the Polynesian Cultural Center opened its gates to the public (<http://www.polynesia.com/>).

Many Maori participated in the construction of 'the Maori village' at the Polynesian Culture Centre (PCC). From my own observations of the PCC complex, the Maori village is comprised of: an external wall; forecourt area; of absolute and unexpected excellence is the whare whakairo carved by Hone Taiapa and students from the NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute; a large canoe pavilion; and highly decorated carved pataka or food store.

It is, mostly, a site of tourist engagement, but occasionally becomes a ritual centre. One memorable occasion was the visit of a significant Maori delegation led by the late Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu and Dr Henare Tuwhangai in 1978, homeward bound from the opening of the NZ Consulate in Washington DC (Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, personal communication 2007). Similarly, the author, in 1996, observed a welcome to the travelling haka group, Ngati Rangiwewehi.

Today, the LDS community in Hawai'i is characterised by three institutions: the Temple, the BYU-H University and the Polynesian Cultural Centre. These institutions, in my view, reflect four 'drives' central to the LDS church: faith, education, community and activity, the latter being related to work, industry and endeavour (Davies, 2003).

Whanaungatanga, that is families and relationships, and whakapapa (through genealogical study for the baptism of the dead) remain consistent tenets of the Mormon faith. Relationships between people and within communities, and the understanding of social responsibility and familial obligation, underscore the endurance of this hierarchic church, and its appeal to Maori, something recognized by Schwimmer (1968a). Through family ties and networks sustained by church doctrine and the valuing of the individual within the context of the family, a

structured lifeway of safety, rewards and security may be realized and enjoyed (Schwimmer, 1968a). This is reinforced by whakapapa, which has been refined to an arcane scholarly discipline within LDS tradition, informing sacred practice and particular ritual, namely baptism of the dead, or temple baptism (Davies, 2003). Recitation of family names, their specific narratives and memories, the mana they invoke, the significance of place and personality, all made immense and immediate sense to Maori on their first encounter with Mormon teachings; it was a gentle and automatic confluence of beliefs and related values. People knew their places, the scheme of things was safely and clearly delineated; through hard work and conscientious application, the world could be yours. As Schwimmer (1968a) put it,

The Church is concerned not only with spiritual, but also with social and economic welfare. It directs the whole of life, in the same way as Maori social groups try to direct the whole of life (p.54).

New Zealand and Hawai'i : Similarities and Differences

It is important to write something about the parallels between Maori and Hawaiian peoples, and the New Zealand and Hawai'i contexts. Dubbed the 'meeting place' of the Pacific, Hawaiian history is rich in parallels with that of Maori and New Zealand. My own observations, reading and discussions with Maori and Hawaiians, have allowed me to form some impressions of the parallels and differences between cosmologies and colonial history, relative to each context.

It is not my purpose here to complete a rigorous review of this area. What I do want to do, though, is to make the point that such things may well provide Maori with some leverage into what is referred to, in Hawai'i, as 'local' culture. This term needs some definition, especially as the idea of 'local' in Hawai'i is referenced beyond Hawaiian culture. Official Hawaiian statistics are unclear about the actual ethnic mix of the population in Hawai'i, but a frequently repeated claim on tourism websites (eg., <http://www.hawaii.com>) is that the Hawai'i population is comprised of over 200 ethnic groups, creating a unique mix of histories, customs, cuisines, languages, and life ways. Local culture, as it is referred to, is derived from familiarity and adoption of these diverse ways, particularly those of the native

indigenous population. For example, knowledge of Hawaiian cosmological characters like Pele and Maui and of Hawaiian monarchs are taken for granted aspects of local culture. So, too, are foods like poi, ahi, aku and laulau. Hawaiian pidgin is a mix of languages (English, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese) developed to facilitate communication between plantation workers. Knowledge of Hawaiian pidgin is one way to identify ‘locals’ from ‘others’, as is adherence to local customs, like the sharing of food or removing one’s shoes before entering a home. Being ‘local’ means that one has learned the appropriate behaviour norms, expectations, customs and attitudes of living in Hawai’i. In contrast, the term ‘Haole’ is similar to Pakeha in New Zealand, and is usually used to refer to white Americans from mainland USA. It can also be used descriptively, sometimes in a derogatory way, and in contrast to ‘local’ culture, to highlight culture patterns typical of mainland USA.

Parallels in Cosmology

All Pacific cosmologies have many characters and terms in common. The table below lists common cosmological places, gods, demi-gods, roles and significant practices. Maori believe that, on passing from this world, the spirit returns to Hawaiki, the place from whence we came, and join with those that have passed on before. Throughout the Pacific there are places known as Hawaiki, for example, Savai’i in Samoa, and Hawai’i, the Big Island, in the Hawai’i chain. Hawai’i is probably not the Hawaiki that Maori refer to, but the fact that it carries such a name is enough to engender a reference to this tradition in the Maori mind. Under Hawaiki in the table below, are listed deities held in common by both Maori and Hawaiians, even if there are differing accounts of what each character may have achieved. These go down to Maui, often described as half god, half human. Maui is followed by two role/leadership related entries, and then the list concludes with whakapapa. Maori and Hawaiians are described in the anthropological literature as engaging in ancestor worship. By examining the lists in this table, it is easy to see that there are many parallels making for easy recognition, by Maori, of characters, narratives, roles, and, to a certain extent, values (Kanahele, 1986).

Table 2 Parallels in Cosmology – Maori vs Hawaiian

New Zealand	Hawaiian
Hawaiki	Hawai'i
Mahuika	Pele
Rata	Laka
Tiki	Ki'i
Tangaroa	Kanaloa
Tumatauenga	Ku
Tane	Kane
Rongo	Lono
Haumietiketike	Haumia
Rangi (atea)	Wakea
Papa	Papa
Tawhaki	Kaha'i
Hinemarama	Malama
Maui	Maui
Tohunga	Kahuna
Ariki	Ali'i
Whakapapa	Mo'o kupuna

Parallels in Colonial History

Captain James Cook, who was in New Zealand waters in 1769 and 1777, was killed by the Hawaiians in 1779 a point made much of by Hawaiians I have met, they, believe that Hawaiians finished off the job that Maori should have done first.

Hawaiian colonial history has a similar pattern to that of Maori, but differs in many regards. As in the New Zealand case (See chapter 2), first discovery of the Hawai'i islands in 1778 was followed by commercial voyages and traders (Dudden, 2004).

Guns were introduced to the very powerful leader Kamehameha (Morrison & Kiefer, 2003), who was differently motivated to the Maori Hongi Hika, a name that still sends shudders through the Maori world (Wilson, 1985). Kamehameha made the

Hawaiian islands and their peoples subservient to him, or, in the more popular accounts, unified Hawai'i (Morrison & Kiefer, 2003). In contrast, Hongi Hika's intent was revenge, not subjugation, always retiring after warring with others to his tribal homeland in the north of the North Island (Cloher, 2003). Plantation cropping was established in Hawai'i with immigrant labour and a trader government put in place in 1840 (Dudden, 2004). As exposure to outsiders increased, introduced diseases took their toll. Congregational missionaries used Hawaiian language translations of the bible as the basis of literacy and set down the foundation of modern day schooling (Grimshaw, 1989). And like the New Zealand case, traditional land tenure systems inevitably began to be disrupted (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

In Hawai'i, the colonizers were initially British, and then American (Silva, 2004). In 1898 the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to America after the earlier overthrow and imprisonment, in 1893, of Hawaiian leader Queen Liliuokalani, who was subsequently forced to abdicate her throne in 1895. Hawai'i continued to receive immigrants, often people of colour (English, Hawaiian, Portugese, Japanese, Phillipino, Chinese), mostly to serve as plantation labourers. As most were men, many found wives and established families with Hawaiian women (Lal, Munro, & Beechert, 1993), although Beaglehole (1937) reported that in subsequent generations, particularly amongst Asiatics, an ingroup preference for same group marriage was re-emerging.

With American involvement in Hawaii, growth and modernization accelerated. Critical to the strategic position of America in the Pacific, the U.S. Navy set up its giant Pacific headquarters at Pearl Harbor and the Army built a huge garrison at Schofield Barracks (Landauer, 1999). Hawai'i continues to play host to thousands of military personnel and their families. In both World Wars, and the Vietnam War, Hawai'i was used as a mission launching point, a recreational and recovery space, as well as becoming itself, that is, Pearl Harbour, the target of enemy fire (Landauer, 1999).

Hawai'i has been a tourist destination since the time of the early commercial voyages. Tourism publications, like the Lonely Planet Guide to Hawai'i, lure visitors by highlighting Hawai'i's warm tropical/subtropical climate, soaring mountains, rainforests, sandy beaches, crystal clear waters, tropical sea life, 'friendly natives' often sexualized, and 'aloha spirit'. These ideas of 'paradise' (see Buck,

1993), continue to attract people from all over the world. Those aspects of Hawaiian culture that outsiders valued were given attention, appreciated, and, by default, evolved, for better or for worse. For example, Hawaiians now have an amazing musical arts industry. However, just as the Maori language was undervalued in New Zealand, so too was the Hawaiian language.

In 1937, commenting on the assimilation of Hawaiians to American culture, Ernest Beaglehole wrote

The degree to which this already large participation in the values of American culture will increase with the passage of time depends upon whether or not there develops in Hawai'i a renaissance of Hawaiian culture and a resurgent Hawaiian nationalism. There are some who see, as through a glass darkly, the beginnings of such a movement in the territory. There are others, Hawaiians as well as whites, who see nothing in the mirror but the bald reflection of the present. The matter is not unimportant. Is the future of the Hawaiians to be complete assimilation to dominant patterns of American culture or will there arise Hawaiian leaders to urge the merits of cultural nationalism and lead a following to a cherished land? Depending on the answer to this question lies a judgement as to the claim of Hawaiian language, arts, crafts, to a place in the syllabus of school and university study (Beaglehole, 1937, p148).

Since 1937, things have changed, and unlike the New Zealand situation, Hawaiians had no equivalent to the Treaty of Waitangi against which to gain leverage for their concerns. In fact, since being annexed to the USA in 1898, Hawaiians had no other avenue to have historic grievances heard than to petition the US Congress. Given the levels of US Government, petitioning Congress is an extremely difficult task, just as petitioning the British monarch has been a fruitless task for Maori. In 1993, the successful passing of a resolution of Congress to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, was extraordinary (U.S. Public Law 103-150 (S.J. Res. 19), Nov. 23, 1993).

Hawaiian language and studies are taught as university level subjects, a preschool Hawaiian language programme known as Punanaleo has been widely established ('Aha Punana Leo, 2006), and health services are organized in ways more responsive to the needs of Hawaiian peoples (Papa Ola Lokahi, 2004).

Hawaiians are concerned for their own voice and future as recent publications attest (Barker, 2005; Dudley & Agard, 1990; Greymorning, 2004; Kanahele, 1986; Trask, 1999). And protest has also been successful, one recent success being the return of the island of Kaho'olawe from the US military in 1994 (Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, 2007). The island had previously been used as a penal colony, for ranching, a forest reserve, and for military target practice. It can now only be used for: preservation and practice of all rights customarily and traditionally exercised by native Hawaiians for cultural, spiritual, and subsistence purposes; for the preservation and protection of its archaeological, historical, and environmental resources; for the rehabilitation, revegetation, habitat restoration, and preservation; and for education.

There is, of course, a State department, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs which like its New Zealand equivalent sits uncomfortably between the desires of Hawaiian activists, the State bureaucracy, and Hawaiian aristocracy.

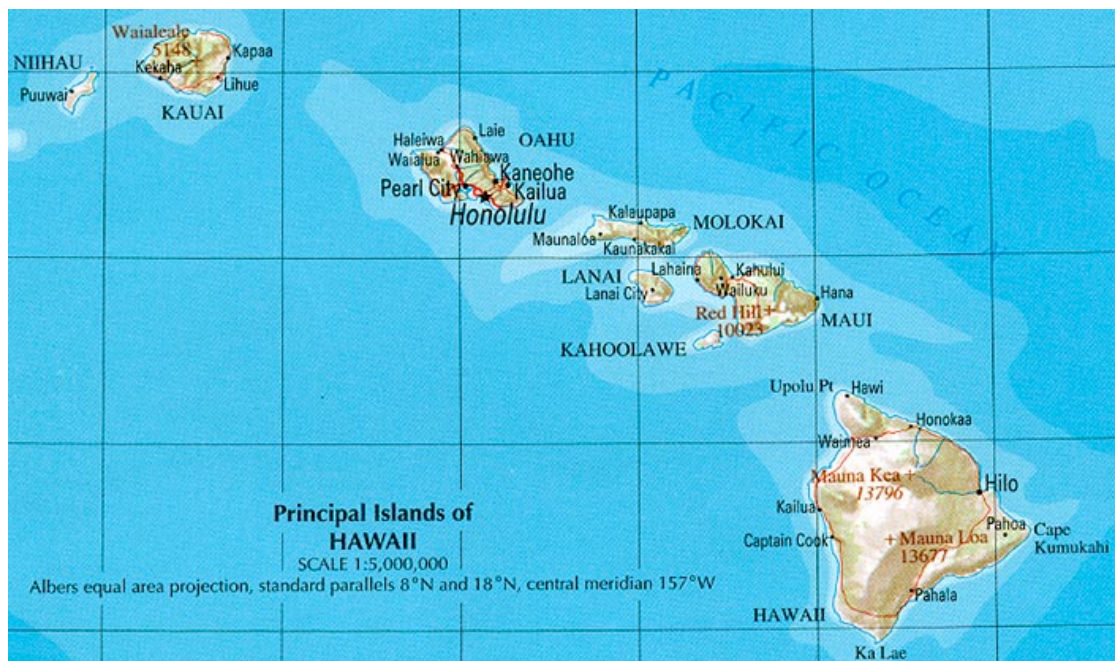


Figure 2. Map of Hawai'i

Source: *National atlas of the United States [electronic resource]*. (1997). Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://www-atlas.usgs.gov/>

In 2000, Hawai'i was populated by about 1.4 million people, and of this number, about 160,000 were visitors to the islands³. Honolulu is the State Capital of Hawai'i and is situated on the island of Oahu. Oahu is 1555 square kilometres in size and was populated by some 877,000 people. The heaviest concentration of residents (some 372,000 people) on Oahu was in the Honolulu cosmopolitan area. Places on Oahu with more than 30,000 residents of were Kailua, Kane'ohe, Pearl City, and Waipahu. By comparison, La'ie had a small resident population of about 4,800 people and it can be described as a small town with very big attractions. La'ie is home to the Polynesian Cultural Centre, Brigham Young University of Hawai'i, and the LDS Church's Hawai'i Temple. It is also where most Maori in Hawai'i live and the site where I completed most, but not all, of my interviews for the second group of participants in this study.

Cosmologies and Values

Religious or cultural cosmologies seek to explain the existence of the universe, our purpose in it, and what will become of us. It seeks to answer the questions: Who am I? Where am I going? Culturally, for Polynesian groups, these questions can be answered within the framework of cosmological and historic precedent. Such precedents explain and position Pacific peoples as tribal or island or village beings, who explore lives together before returning to Hawaiki at death. But cosmologies do more than structure human existence. They also provide meaning, value and morality.

In chapter five, I reviewed a values framework developed by James Ritchie (1992). In that framework, he presented what he saw as the five most dominant aspects of valuing present in the Maori world. They were the values and processes of wairuatanga (spirituality), manaakitanga (care and regard), kotahitanga (unity and

³ My field work in Hawai'i was conducted in 1996. The statistics provided here are taken from the State of Hawai'i Data Book (2000). This data book provides comparisons between statistics for 1990 and 2000.

cohesion), rangatiratanga (chieftainship and leadership) and whanaungatanga (relationality, responsibility and obligation). If I do as Ritchie urges (1992), that is, to use his framework to understand the interaction of values with each other, and, within and across the social contexts they play out in, the framework gains interpretive strength. We can begin to understand why there is an attraction for Maori to convert to Mormonism, and to move to Hawai'i. The attraction lies in familiar cosmologies – in the beliefs, histories, and, in present lives and promised futures. It helps to answer questions of identity and purpose without departing too radically from what might be in essence a very Maori way of viewing the world. Mormon values and principles, in my view, correspond very closely with those of Maori, being far more convergent than divergent.

The present study

The preceding chapters have set the scene for this present research. It is comprised of two narrative interview studies of Maori people in two different settings, New Zealand and Hawai'i. The two settings have some commonalities and differences, but, in both, Maori are required to make decisions about the continuity of their ethnic Maori identities and hereditary cultural identities, that is, iwi, hapu and whanau, and the part that they wish these identities to play in their daily lives. Some may make identity choices based on exclusive either/or categories, and some may want the best of both worlds and make both/and choices. The latter seems to be the mode supported by the literature earlier reviewed.

The patterns I have identified in the literature surveyed suggest that Maori have used a range of strategies to accommodate, rather than assimilate to, pressures and changes in the New Zealand, and later, for those who moved, the Hawaiian social environments. They integrated into the Maori world new technologies (guns, agriculture, industrial technology) that allowed the evolution of different patterns of interaction between themselves and with immigrant settlers. They actively met colonial incursion by adapting traditional leadership forms to evolve new religious and resistance movements. When that did not work, they turned to other forms of more settled resistance through political and legal mechanisms. Even when urbanization became a necessity, and allowed 'movers' the benefits of capitalism,

living among Pakeha continued to highlight ethnicity and difference especially at times when cultural expectations were hard to deny (eg., tangi).

In more recent years, as evident in the work by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Jane and James Ritchie, Ralph Piddington and his graduates, and Mason Durie, it is clear that Maori do not wish to 'give up' their social and cultural identities. Instead, they wish to enjoy all the benefits of citizenship as promised in article three of the Treaty of Waitangi, including the option to choose their own life ways and expressions, and to be self-determining as individuals and as members of collectivities. To this end, persistent Maori renaissance and resistance activities, begun in the time of Apirana Ngata (Walker, 2001), continue with strength in the 21st century. The Maori vision has expanded beyond tribal boundaries and urban settings overseas to distant shores, like Hawai'i, continuing perhaps our distant voyaging traditions away from Hawaiki, those places we left behind. How we create meaning in our lives and maintain our social identities across and within those contexts we move through is the focus of this research.

Objectives

This study explores both the old and new places Maori find themselves in and how we forge our social identities within them. It is about coming to know how Maori view themselves and their connections with and conceptions of 'whanau', 'hapu' and 'iwi'. This is what this thesis is about.

Chapter Seven Methodology

Overview

I start this chapter with a discussion of where this study is positioned with respect to the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology. This is followed by a short discussion of the subjectivity vs objectivity debate where I draw upon Patton's (1990) "paradigm of choice" to give substance to the conceptual and methodological decisions that I have made. Challenges and criticism of the Western world view and the Western paradigm of research are reviewed to highlight the need for care and alertness in conducting Maori focused research, in particular, I stress the importance of being wary of biases that stem from deterministic thinking, ethnocentrism and self-contained individualism. Lastly, I examine that literature produced primarily by Maori writers on Maori approaches to research. I conclude with an assessment of my methodology with those steps that Bevan-Brown (1998) sees as important for successful research with Maori. In the following two chapters I present the procedures I used to collect the data for this project.

Research Questions

As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, this study is about the new places Maori find themselves in and how they forge their cultural identities within them. It is about coming to know how Maori view themselves and their connections with and conceptions of 'whanau', 'hapu' and 'iwi'. More exactly, the research question of concern is: How do Maori conceive of their various socio-cultural identities?

The research questions I have posed fall within what Patton (1990, p.153) describes as *basic research*. Basic researchers within the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology seek answers to questions such as:

Anthropology: What is the nature of culture? How does culture emerge? How is it transmitted? What are the functions of culture?

Psychology: Why do individuals behave as they do? How do human beings behave, think, feel, and know?

Sociology: What holds groups and societies together? How do various forms of social organisation emerge and what are their functions? What are the structures and processes of human social organisation?

In contrast, applied research seeks to discover new ways of doing things. Applied researchers are interested in the *how*s of a process. Patton (1990, p.154) provides examples of applied questions as they relate to the same disciplines.

Anthropology: How can the culture of a small minority group be preserved when that group is engulfed by a larger or more powerful people with a different culture?

Applied psychology: How can individuals become aware of, take control of, and change dysfunctional attitudes and behaviours?

Applied sociology: How can people of different races, religions, or socio-economic statuses live and work together productively within a community?

Clearly the central questions of this study are positioned within the basic research interests of anthropology in that I am interested in the nature, emergence, maintenance and transmission of culture, and also of psychology, in that I am interested in describing and explaining how people behave think, feel and know. Although I have a partial interest in sociological questions, I am more occupied with people's conceptions and perceptions of themselves within a system of human organisation. I am not particularly focused on social organisation or on structures and processes.

This research does not have an explicit *applied* intention even if the outcomes of this work have application to understanding a range of issues within the Maori world. The important characteristic that defines this work as *basic* research, rather than *applied*, is its focus on describing and explaining what is, rather than seeking to change what is.

In summary, this research is clearly positioned as both anthropological and psychological in nature, and *basic* in focus.

The pathway to knowledge has and continues to be controversial and constantly debated by methodologists and philosophers. At the centre of this debate are two competing inquiry paradigms. The first is that of *logical-positivism*, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalizations, and whose end objective is prediction and control. The second is that of *phenomenological inquiry* which uses qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. Understanding may involve prediction and control but does not require it. One can find in most methodology texts a review of this debate (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Meyers, 1997; Miller & Fredericks, 1994; Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch, Parker, & Watson, 1998; Patton, 1990; Robson, 1993; Silverman, 1997; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). I do not intend to do that here; however, it is important to highlight aspects so that the reader might understand how I have arrived at the approach taken to this research. From this debate I have selected to discuss the following as they are the issues that are most highlighted in critiques of research on or about Maori.

- Subjectivity vs. objectivity
- Critiques of ‘the Western’ paradigm of knowledge
- Maori approaches to research

Subjectivity versus objectivity

Central to the qualitative vs. quantitative debate is the very nature of knowledge itself. Logical positivism posits that: if it exists, it can be measured; if it can be measured, it can be modelled and predicted. Knowledge, therefore, is quantifiable and representations of it can be made numerically. The objectivity of the researcher is therefore a necessary requirement and is controlled through adhering to the *scientific method* (Young & Arrigo, 1999). This comment is particularly pertinent to my own discipline of psychology, one that has sought legitimation of its authority to control and predict variables through the use of the scientific method. If the control of variables for predictive power and authority is the objective of the scientific method, then where is the place of understanding and meaning making? In this

regard, the objective of ‘understanding’ is necessarily subjective, being social in nature and meaning.

In contrast to logical positivism, phenomenology asserts that humans create scientific categories and social facts. Social facts are created by first proclaiming the existence of some social form (phenomena) and then, through their own efforts, creating that reality (noumena) (Kant, 1976). This view maintains that the researcher and their values are an integral part of the research process and of creating knowledge. Subjectivity is part and parcel of the research process.

In their comprehensive review of the qualitative research methods literature, Murphy et al (1998) are of the view that logical positivism is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain, especially given the evidence that the

...social world is different and that the parallels between the study of nature and the study of human beings and their society cannot be exact. ...The idea that human actions are governed by laws of behaviour, may be superficially attractive but [logical positivism] has found it hard to resist the consistent demonstration that human action may be better understood as a creative act of rule-orienting rather than an automatic act of rule following. The latter points towards inductive rather than deductive approaches as likely to yield more satisfactory results (Murphy et al, 1998, p. 32).

Having read the debates about logical positivism versus phenomenology, the position that appears most sensible to me is that advocated by Patton (1990). In what might appear to be a somewhat non-committal stance, Patton asserts a paradigm of choices.

Rather than believing that one must choose to align with one paradigm or the other, I advocate a paradigm of choices. A paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality. The issue then becomes not whether one has uniformly adhered to prescribed canons of either logical-positivism or phenomenology but whether one had made sensible methods decisions given the purpose of the inquiry, the questions being investigated, and the resources available. The paradigm of choices recognizes that different methods are appropriate for different situations. Situational

responsiveness means designing a study that is appropriate for a specific inquiry situation (Patton, 1990, p.39).

This means that in some sciences (physics, chemistry, biology etc) researchers may well respond to a research question by designing an inquiry that relies on the *scientific method*, as defined by logical positivism, as a means of exploration. A paradigm of choice does not exclude the possibility that these same researchers might also choose some other method, that is, rather than making ‘either/or’ choices, they may well make ‘both/and’ choices! The central task in Patton’s paradigm of choice is that the researcher must clearly rationalise the methodological choices that he or she makes as related to the overall research goals and its appropriateness to research context. This also includes the value positions of the researcher. It is by making these choices explicit that others are able to judge the value and quality of the research outcomes.

Inherent to a paradigm of choices is the idea that there are many ways of knowing and many pathways to knowledge. Much of what has been presented in this chapter so far reflects the concerns of researchers trained in the Western tradition. In the following section, I discuss concerns of indigenous writers with respect to research and ways of knowing.

Critiques of the Western research paradigm

A paradigm is a worldview, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners: Paradigms tell them what is important, legitimate, and reasonable. Paradigms are also normative, telling the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological consideration. But it is this aspect of paradigms that constitutes both their strength and their weakness in that the very reason for action is hidden in the unquestioned assumptions of the paradigm (Patton, 1990, p.37).

Many critiques conducted by indigenous and minority peoples challenge the validity of ‘science’ and of the western world view (Bishop, 1996; Durie, 1998a; Indigena & Kothari, 1997; Jackson, 1998; Mutu, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1991;

Trimble & Medicine, 1993; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Wax, 1991). The impact and effects of ‘The West’ and ‘the Western Worldview’ upon indigenous communities are often a major focus of these critiques and it will be helpful at this point to provide definitions before proceeding.

Stuart Hall (1992, p.276-277) defines ‘western’ as a type of society that is characterised by being “...developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern”. In light of feminist critiques of research (Spender, 1985a, 1985b), I might also add ‘patriarchal’. Irrespective of geographic location “... any society, wherever it exists on a geographical map, which shares these characteristics, can be said to belong to ‘the West’” (1992, p.276-277). Hall proposes that the concept of the West functions in ways that (1) allows ‘the West’ to characterise and *classify societies into categories*, (2) condenses complex images of other societies through a *system of representation*, (3) provides a standard model of *comparison*, and (4) provides *criteria of evaluation by which other societies can be ranked*.

In defining ‘the West’ and what is considered ‘Western’, Hall is essentially pointing to the parameters of the Western paradigm of knowledge. That is, knowledge which has been: gathered by ‘the West’ through ‘Western’ validated ways; classified according to categorisation systems meaningful to ‘the West’ and represented to ‘the West’ and to the ‘Other’ through ‘Western’ validated systems; and compared, evaluated and ranked by standards of ‘the West’ as the criteria against what is ‘normal’ and ‘acceptable’. “Western” knowledge is processed by “Western” logic, even though the limitations and inadequacies of this position have been extensively evaluated by critical thinkers, like Hall, and others (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Indigenous critiques of the Western paradigm of knowledge have repeatedly highlighted the falseness of basic assumed truths that inform and guide researchers trained in the western tradition (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Research is undoubtedly a value driven and defined activity that can have both positive and/or dire consequence for participants or ‘objects’ of the research endeavour. Furthermore, it is often the blindness of the researcher to the unquestioned assumptions inherent in a paradigm that lead to such negative consequences.

So, what is it about ‘the Western’ research paradigm that may result in researcher blindness or bias? Three possibilities are discussed below. They are determinism, ethnocentrism, and self-contained individualism.

Determinism

Emerging out of 17th century thought, the Doctrine referred to as the ‘Great Chain of Being’ pictured nature as a ladder of ideal types (Jahoda, 1999). At the bottom of the ladder was inanimate matter, and at the top, immaterial spirit. Between fell all living things. Simple plants appeared first, then primitive animals and fish, then reptiles, followed by birds and mammals. Occupying a middle position of this ladder stood human kind – half body, half human. Beyond human kind came the angels, and above all was God himself. For those with a vested interest in maintaining the traditional structure of human society, the ‘Great Chain of Being’ became a magnet. It explained and justified the inequalities of human kind, and vindicated a society in which everyone knew their place and no one had pretensions to rise. When taxonomies of human groups, namely race categories, were coupled with biological explanations such as those posed by the Great Chain of Being and Darwinian theory (Darwin, 1880), explanations of the diversity found to exist within the human condition became deterministic.

Determinism holds that all phenomena are determined by preceding occurrences and free will is a myth. Human conditions, seen as unchangeable through individual effort, are, therefore, explained by reference to earlier occurring events that are held to be causal. When linked with the Darwinian argument that all creatures are in competition, it stands to reason that those who are the ‘fittest’ will naturally survive (Martindale, 1981). Of course, the group to which Charles Darwin (1809-1882), the proponent of this theory, and his society belonged, were positioned as the fittest group, ‘white’ men being closer to God than ‘black’ men and women. All other human groups occupied inferior positions.

In the writings of European explorers, discoverers, missionaries and scholars deterministic reasoning was clearly used to make sense of whom or what they encountered and to allocate them inferior positions. For example, the indigenous peoples of the Americas were described as “not men with rational souls but wild men of the woods, for which reason they could retain no Christian doctrine, nor virtue nor any kind of learning” (Pagden, 1982, p. 23). Through the 19th century, the cruel result of deterministic thinking was its “justification of European superiority, the

expansion of their Empires, and the christianisation, colonisation, subjugation and exploitation of New World peoples” (Rosman & Rubel, 1995, p. 17).

Darwinian theory led to a number of followers who postulated a variety of positions, often referred to as ‘race theories’ all drawing from determinism and the idea of ‘natural selection’. It is worth devoting space to a brief review of these theories as they are often glossed over in the methodological literature. Martindale (1981) writes comprehensively of scholars who formulated Darwinist theories. I have relied heavily on his work to compile the following brief profiles.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) stood opposed to state interference in private activity and to state welfare arguing that such activity served to intrude upon and delay the process of natural selection. Martindale (1981) suggests that Spencer’s theories were very agreeable to business groups and captains of industry who justified their successful industrial positions as ‘survival of the fittest’.

William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) described as “the most vigorous and influential social Darwinist in America” (Martindale, 1981, p. 166) argued that the human situation was a struggle for existence and that it was through achievement that individuals, classes and societies would surmount survival. Owning the means of subsistence (property), the production of capital, increasing the fruitfulness of labour and making possible the advance of civilisation (Martindale, 1981) contributed to the captains of industry surviving and prevailing. Sumner’s approach provided justification and energy for the enslavement of Blacks, and the ‘reserving’ of Native Americans, to hasten the spread of capitalism in the Americas. It also reinforced the idea of individual effort, achievement and reward, and the ideology of democracy, all considered valuable by American society today.

In France, Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was concerned with the decline of aristocratic Europe (of which he himself was a member). He found race to be the key to history. Deterministic inequalities between racial groups were sufficient to justify the position of the aristocratic families in a superior position. In his view

everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth, in science, art, and civilization, derives from a single starting point, it belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe (cited in Martindale, 1981, p.169).

The work of Houston Chamberlain (1855-1927) strongly influenced German thought and opinion of themselves as the ‘master race’. Chamberlain argued that modern civilisation derived from four sources: Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Teutonic civilisations. To the Teutonics, Chamberlain awarded the prize for the successful fusion of the Roman, Greek and Jewish traditions. That is, he positioned them over all others and claimed for them purity of race that prevented sterility, an understanding of leadership and loyalty to it, which all contributed to Germanic greatness. Here we see the roots of Nazism upon which Adolf Hitler acted. Two other scholars are worth mention especially for their contribution to psychology. Francis Galton (1822-1911), a cousin to Charles Darwin, is described by Martindale (1981) as creating a more scholarly version of the master race theory of Chamberlain. Galton asserted that individual differences were distributed across populations in different frequencies. Mediocrity was attributed to the majority of a population group. Few individuals were *par excellence* in ability. Individual difference was seen as a product of inheritance and education of the mediocre group would not change their position. This same thinking was used to explain the apparent differences between races. In the words of Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994, p. 23),

The theorising was simple: quality breeding stock yields quality offspring. ...The solution was also theoretically simple: give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable.

In the work of Galton, in turn continued by Karl Pearson (1857-1936), we find the roots of the Eugenics movement, that is, the construction of intelligence and its ‘scientific’ measurement. Intelligence testing, sterilisation, and preferential treatment of the upper classes and the superior race, are but a few practices which stand on the foundations built by Galton and his predecessors.

It is clear that the theorising of the above scholars both informed and confirmed the thinking of the Western world. Scholarly thought affirmed societal and social action; as well as class prejudice, ‘race’ discrimination and policies of extermination. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, policies of assimilation and integration were also informed by deterministic thinking (Hunn, 1961). The Western world named their superiority through rational, ‘scientific’ thinking. Through their

expansion into and colonisation of the New World, they claimed what they viewed as their entitlement.

There are important lessons to be learnt from this brief journey through scholarly history. First: that humanity is part of the same family. No one individual or human group is superior to another by virtue of inheritance or entitlement. Secondly, within group and between group differences are more likely to be the product of opportunity, social circumstance, culture or environmental factors rather than determinations based on 'race'. Lastly, although the construct of racial taxonomies has long been invalidated and rejected by the positivistic community as both false and dangerous, such taxonomies remain as 'social fact'. That is, through social use and reference they remain useful in social interactions and to meaning making, however mistaken.

The insidiousness of deterministic thinking in social relations of Aotearoa/New Zealand is just as evident today, as it was when the first colonists stepped ashore with their 'commonsense' view of the world (McCreanor, 1997; McCreanor, 1993). Such deterministic views are evident in media portrayals of Maori (McCreanor, 1989; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006) and Pacific Islanders (Loto et al., 2006) as: good or bad; violent; racially impure; having special privileges; being over sensitive; and trouble makers. While media representations of deterministic thinking may be a simple reflection of persistent racism in society at large, when evidence of such views become apparent in so called reputable research (Gould, 1996), then that is dangerously different. The discussion of cultural bias, stereotyping and drawing false conclusions based on a favourable attitude toward the group that one belongs is treated in the modern literature as ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism in research

That William Graham Sumner (1906) coined the term *ethnocentrism* to refer to "...the view in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p.13). As time and research has transpired, ethnocentrism is now suspected to be a universal cognitive process (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Smith & Bond, 1998; Triandis, 1994). It is suspected that we all have a tendency to be surprised at physical and cultural

differences and to make comparative assessments. In more contemporary definitions ethnocentrism is treated simply as an “evaluative preference for all aspects of ones own group relative to other groups” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2005, p.63). Triandis (1994) identifies four generalizations relevant to an ethnocentric tendency.

1. *What goes on in our culture is seen as 'natural' and 'correct', and what goes on in other cultures is perceived as 'unnatural' and 'incorrect'.*
2. *We perceive our own in-group norms, roles and values are correct.*
3. *We unquestionably think that ingroup norms, roles, and values are correct.*
4. *We believe that it is natural to help and cooperate with members of our in-group, to favor our in-group, to feel proud of our in-group, and to be distrustful of and even hostile toward outgroups (pp.251-2).*

Lonner and Malpass (1994) hold that researchers will invariably bring to the research enterprise ethnocentric views of what is natural, correct, normative, important, legitimate and reasonable, as determined by their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, professional socialization, and training in western methodology, and indeed, Western “science”. They note that manifestations of an ethnocentric bias in the research endeavour are often seen in:

1. A dwelling on what the researcher defines as pathological and the sensational aspects of minorities;
2. The explanation of phenomena outside of their historical, political and social contexts;
3. Interpretations that conclude deficiency, rather than difference;
4. Interpretations that conclude racial, ethnic or cultural inferiority or superiority;
5. Interpretations that conclude loss, rather than adaption;
6. The privileging of western dominant group derived knowledge over non-western, non-dominant group knowledge

Ethnocentric bias is not just confined to dominant group members, or to researchers trained in western methods; researchers who have been socialized in an

indigenous culture are also implicated (as is the writer). However, ethnocentrism is not necessarily negative:

Ethnocentrism gives coherence to collective consciousness by making it relevant - worthy of participation in, worthy of transmitting and defending. When a human population assumes that its collective consciousness-derived identity is not relevant, it generates feelings of inferiority and rootlessness; the group's ability to mobilize resources and organize, particularly against external threats, is inhibited (Stanfield, 1985, p. 393).

Maori, just as all people, need to maintain a sense of collective consciousness, derived through an ethnocentric position, to generate feelings of security, belongingness and identity. This is reflected in indigenous approaches to research. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) maintains that research conducted within a Kaupapa Maori framework must privilege and take for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori ways of knowing and being in the world. This includes Maori language and culture. Given the hegemonic and deterministic nature of the western world view, such an ethnocentric or ‘pro-Maori’ stance on research is not likely to have significant negative consequence, provided that the biases that might result are constantly scrutinized. In the next section I discuss the bias of self-contained individualism before going on to discuss the position of this present study as it relates to Kaupapa Maori research.

Self-contained individualism

Numerous writers have criticised the individualistic value orientation of the Western world view upon which much academic literature is based, particularly that emerging from the United States (Durie, 1984; Fox, 1985; Ho, 1985; Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1994; Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1985; Sampson, 1977; Smith & Bond, 1998; Stanfield, 1985; Thomas, 1991; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Derived from Judeo-Christian tradition, drawn upon by Social Darwinists (Martindale, 1981), and reinforced by capitalism and democracy (Guerin, 2004), individualism “affirms the uniqueness, autonomy, freedom, and intrinsic worth of the individual; [and] ... insists that each one assume responsibility for his or her own

conduct, well-being, and salvation” (Ho, 1985, p. 1215). Individuals are therefore responsible for their own success, and failure. Sampson (1977) uses the term *self-contained individualism* to refer to this value orientation. He defines this as a tendency towards: “... an individualistic social arrangement in which persons wish to be self-contained and self-sufficient in order to be successful” (p.774). The self-contained individual is one “needing or wanting no one, avoiding interdependence and contact with others so as to secure one’s own satisfaction” (p. 778).

Within American psychology, the bias of self-contained individualism manifests in a number of ways. In Table 3 below I have organised in the left column a selection of psychological constructs that are a primary focus of American psychology text books (eg., Hogg & Cooper, 2003). All of these constructs have a bias towards self-contained individualism. In the right hand column I have presented a related construct that stands in direct opposition, to highlight the bias of the construct in the left hand column. Taking the last item in the list as an illustration, many American psychology texts have a chapter dedicated to the discussion and explanation of deviant or abnormal behaviour, presenting explanations mainly at the individual level. Deviancy is behaviour outside the ‘normal’ or ‘acceptable’ range. It might also be described as those behaviours considered characteristic of ‘sub-culture’ groups, like ‘modern primitives’ (Pitts, 2003), gangs (Payne & Quinn, 1997), ‘metallars’ (Snell, 2006) or sexual deviants (Laurie & Evans, 2003). Such behaviour is constructed by psychology as at least strange, if not detrimental to the individual manifesting the behaviour, to others around them, or to society at large. Very little attention is given to the often adaptive and creative nature of so called deviant behaviour, nor to the historical, political and socio-economic back drops against which behaviour is enacted.

Table 3 Examples of self-contained individualism

<i>Constructs with a bias toward self-contained individualism</i>	<i>Constructs without the bias</i>
Autonomous/independent	inter-relatedness/interdependence
self-initiating	consultative
assertiveness	humility
conformity	pro-social behaviour approaches
deviant	adaptive, creative

The bias of self-contained individualism constricts attention to individualistic phenomenon of interest, and individualistic explanations. As the bias is towards viewing the individual as the ultimate unit of responsibility, the likelihood for both readers and researchers to fall into victim blaming and to create self-fulfilling prophecies is great.

A comment on the pervasiveness of American psychology is in order. Fathali Moghaddam and colleagues (Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1985) have been very active in highlighting and criticizing the dominance and negative impact of psychology that is developed and disseminated by the United States. He names this psychology the psychology of the First World. Psychologies that have emerged from Western nations, other than the U.S, he names as ‘the psychology of the Second World’. ‘Third World psychologies’ are those emerging from developing nations. Although he fails to name those psychologies of Fourth World nations, namely indigenous peoples who seek to survive and thrive within First and Second World contexts, his analysis of those Worlds that he has named is still relevant and worthy of discussion.

Moghaddam (1987) insightfully describes how the three worlds “have unequal capacities for producing and disseminating psychological knowledge and for shaping psychology” (p. 912). He describes the ‘industry’ of psychology in the First World as unrivalled and remaining dominant for two main reasons. First, is the availability of resources in the U.S, such as computers, laboratories, sophisticated research equipment, trained personnel, captured samples, university systems and curricula, and an intensive infrastructure, that far outweighs that available to Second

and Third World psychologists. Secondly, the First World not only produces psychological knowledge, but it actively disseminates and exports this knowledge to the Second and Third Worlds who have a lower productive capacity and greater need for imported knowledge. Having control and ownership over publication outlets, for example, publications of the American Psychological Association, further hastens the importing process. The impact of First World psychology upon the Second and Third Worlds is far greater than the reverse.

In addition to those biases described above, it is important to emphasise the monolingual nature of First World psychology (and much of the psychology of the Second World). Because English is the language of First World psychology it remains accessible only to those who understand English. It is also confined by the cognitive forms of the English language and the culture of the First World, in turn, constructing the world in a way particular to that language. English contains encoded western cultural meanings and assumptions. Other languages and cultures produce different cognitive forms that still remain largely inaccessible by First World psychology in spite of the work of cross-cultural psychologists.

Using Moghaddam's (1987) framework, New Zealand/Aotearoa would fall within the Second World. The impact of First World psychology is clearly evident in American text books that are set as compulsory reading in most of our psychology courses; the active Fulbright system that enables researchers from all disciplines in this country and the U.S to interact, and for that matter, with other countries who are able to dedicate resources for such engagement; the predominance of journals edited in the U.S; the attitude that off-shore appointments are more valuable than home grown academics; and in the modelling of course curricula against US standards. As the psychological needs of communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand far outweigh the productive capacity of the local psychology fraternity, the students who are trained become the products and importers, through need, of First World psychology. Before moving on, it is important to point out that the writer is very much a product of a colonial society and education system, and of a psychological discipline that continues the perpetration of Western institutions, attitudes and values. I am constrained by my training just as much as I am constrained by the environment and era in which I have been born. To assert that these constraints are irrelevant because I am Maori is not only inadequate, but dangerous. This idea will be further elaborated in the next section.

Maori approaches to research

The Maori scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century, such as Sir Apirana Ngata (1874-1950) Sir Peter Te Rangihiroa Buck (1880-1951), and Makareti Papakura (1872-1930), have set for Maori scholars of today a standard of research and achievement that, in my view, has yet to be matched. Viewed against the backdrop of improved technology, the ready accessibility of information archives, rapid transport and instantaneous communication facilities, the fact that we are still to surpass their example is somewhat of a mystery. Although this is not the immediate focus of this section, such reflection does turn the spotlight on to a period in our history where work by Maori scholars dominated. Until more recent times, with the exception of the occasional isolated and lonely Maori contribution, the major comprehensive academic works about Maori have been conducted by Pakeha or others from off-shore locations (for example, Ausubel, 1960; Ballara, 1998; Binney, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1977a; Hanson & Hanson, 1983; Heuer, 1972; King, 1977; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Ritchie, 1992; Salmond, 1975, 1991, 1997; Schwimmer, 1968b; Ward, 1973)

Over the last two to three decades there has been increasing participation by Maori as staff and students of academic institutions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Their active participation in both academia and in research with Maori spawned discussion of methodological and ideological issues about conducting research in Maori communities. This discussion was also in response to ongoing allegations made by Maori of researchers, generally. Stokes (1985b) and Te Awekotuku (1991) survey some of these allegations. They include:

1. Maori have been guinea pigs for academic research;
2. Some academics have made successful careers out of being Pakeha experts on Maori, having no ongoing commitment to those communities from which they extract knowledge;
3. Research about Maori has been written in an inaccessible academic framework and language;

4. Maori have not gained a great deal from the research process; research for the sake of knowing is pointless, as is research that tells Maori what we already know.

As debate about research in Maori communities has progressed, a new view of research with Maori has evolved. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* has produced what I believe to be a seminal work on indigenous people and the colonial impact of research, particularly as it relates to Maori. Post-colonial and Foucaultian in flavour, Tuhiwai-Smith profiles indigenous protests and highlights the challenges to Maori who choose to be researchers within their own communities. In her treatment of what has become known as a kaupapa Maori approach to research, Tuhiwai-Smith writes:

One of the challenges for Maori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space – first, some space to convince Maori people of the value of research for Maori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Maori involvement in research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, p. 183).

There is no doubt in my mind that ‘research’, that is: “the work undertaken to increase the knowledge available for utilisation by [Maori] society” (Stokes, 1985, p. 2) continues to be desperately required (Hui Taumata, 2005). Maoridom is changing, adapting and responding to the ecology in which it is embedded at an extremely rapid pace (Hui Taumata, 2005). If we choose not to generate knowledge that allows us to better understand ourselves and the world around us, the adaptations we are making, and the pathways we wish to follow into the future, we choose a position of marginalisation that will border on the eradication of ourselves. The idea that knowledge is power is, of course, central to this argument. However, the greater issue is really who has the power to control the research process and the knowledge generated (Sporle & Koea, 2004). A kaupapa Maori approach to research closely questions the intentions of the researcher, their commitment to those communities

they are working with, and makes salient issues of accessibility, participation and control by those who are the researched.

The other point made by Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) is the importance of employing methodologies and interpretive frameworks that are empowering and critical. In an analysis of Maori research approaches, Jill Bevan-Brown (1998) illustrates the variety of orientations and emphases taken by a range of writers with regard to research with Maori. She presents the outcomes of her analysis around 10 components that she argues can be used as a methodology for Maori research. She suggests that her 10 components “provide a philosophical base on which all Maori research, regardless of its area or subject of investigation, can be based” (Bevan-Brown, 1998, p. 244). In italicised text below, I summarise and present each component that she has proposed. I discuss the merits of each in relation to the current project as one way to consider issues relevant to research with Maori, and at the same time, to assess the robustness of the components Bevan-Brown has proposed.

Maori research must be conducted within a Maori cultural framework

Bevan-Brown argues that research with Maori must be premised upon a Maori value base and within a Maori world view. This project provides space and an open structure for participants to elaborate their experiences and views with respect to their identities. This has the effect of allowing the value base and world view of participants to drive the structuring of the research. That Maori ways of knowing and being have been privileged in this project serves to promote a process that is defined by the participant. My role has been to ensure that the method proposed is agreeable and adequately flexible to accommodate the needs and preferences of the participants.

Maori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required.

In my mind, aside from that of subject and research expertise, the essential issues in this component are what might be referred to as matters of *pacing and matching*. It is important that the researcher is able to locate and position themselves in relation to the participant. If the researcher’s level of cultural knowledge is greater than that of the participant, then it is important that the researcher pace and match themselves

according to the level of the participant to avoid the imposition of unfamiliar cultural frameworks, or of those that make the participant feel inadequate. At the same time, if the researcher feels that they are out of their depth, or if false assumptions are being made by the participant about the researcher's level of cultural competence, then it is incumbent upon the researcher to make this explicit to the participant. More often than not, this is likely to result in the participant adjusting their 'pacing and matching' style.

My research expertise has already been demonstrated through this work as it is presented in earlier and later chapters of this thesis. However, in carrying out this project, it was important that I had a clear idea of my subject area. This enabled me to make appropriate explanations to participants and to communicate to them that I understood the information that they were providing to me. In discussing Bevan-Brown's idea of subject, it seems equally important that the researcher have an idea of context, that is, social, cultural and political. Being embedded in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context required that I had an analysis, broader than my own personal position, of the impacts of this environment upon Maori identities. That I was also conducting research in Hawai'i required that I increased my understanding of the Hawai'i context, and that I assume a position of acolyte to those participants who were far more experienced and knowledgeable of this environment than I was.

Maori research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Maori people and Maori research should result in some positive outcome for Maori.

The importance and concern of this project to Maori has already been discussed in the previous chapter. As Dr Michael Hills put it, in that first year social psychology lecture I attended, an identity is a good thing to have for if it were not for an identity many of us would be lost to suicide, mental illness, and not have a very positive sense of being in the world. The value of this research is in the positive contribution it can make to Maori wellbeing, identity, and understanding culture change and continuities.

As much as possible, Maori research should involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process.

For as much as I agree with this component of Bevan-Brown's framework, the involvement of participants in this project beyond that of informants or interviewees

was not feasible due to distance, time and financial constraints, especially for participants in Hawai'i. Furthermore, that a participant agrees to be interviewed or to be an informant, does not necessarily mean that they also wish to analyse their own data, or that of other people, or wish to be further involved in the project. The researcher should afford to participants an opportunity to become more actively involved in the research process where and when feasible. Here, care needs to be exercised to avoid coercing or obligating a participant into a role that they would prefer not to have. In this project, I have remained open to further participation by informants and participants but have left this over to them to initiate this.

Maori research should empower those being researched. This empowerment should stem from both the research process and product.

The question of identity is a sensitive one. In this project, participants were invited to reflect upon how they came to be the persons they are today and the processes that they draw upon to maintain or develop their sense of selves as Maori. Such a process resulted mainly in participants recognising milestones in their lives, important decisions and pathways they had taken, and life changing opportunities that they had been exposed to. Recognising and dialoguing about these life events seemed to engender in the participant a sense of self-efficacy or empowerment. The participant was provided with an opportunity to 'take stock' of where they were, thus serving as a launching pad to future directions. The research process could have had an opposite effect, resulting in an increased sense of deprivation and dispossession. As far as I am aware, this was not an outcome. Further follow up of participants to establish this would be required, but was not undertaken.

The products of this research are numerous. They include teaching resources for lectures, conference papers (Nikora, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002; Thomas & Nikora, 1996), and, of course, this thesis. These products have allowed Maori students the opportunity to develop similar research directions around the topic of culture change and identity (Gibson, 1999; Goldsbury, 2004; Henry, 2001; Hewson, 2002; Huijbers, 1996; Merritt, 2003; Morrison, 1999; Paewai, 1997; Teddy, 2003; Whangapirita, 2003), and have stimulated audiences to think about the importance of identity, not just to participants in this thesis, but to people generally.

Maori research should be controlled by Maori.

To ensure that research with Maori is “carried out within a Maori cultural framework and that Maori interests and integrity are protected” Bevan-Brown (1998, p. 238) asserts that Maori research should be controlled by Maori. This raises the questions. By which Maori and how? To control, you must have power, something that I possess, but certainly not in great quantities! It seems to me that the importance of this component lies more in the adherence to ethical requirements and the resolution of ethical issues, funding, intellectual property rights, and the ownership and dissemination of knowledge.

I am required to meet those ethical requirements for research as set down by my institution. Although the reviewers of this project found that it adhered to stated research regulations and ethical standards prescribed by the University of Waikato, one still needs to be conscious of the fact that such codes are value driven, and derive from the Western research paradigm. This, in itself, makes a number of dilemmas salient. How does one deal with the individual as an interdependent being? What status does community authority and their value systems have in contrast to those established by institutions and ethical codes? How does one maintain confidentiality or anonymity when the researcher is reliant upon the goodwill of a community to facilitate access to individuals? What are Maori conceptions of ethicality? These are questions that are part of a much larger debate that is occurring amongst Maori and Pacific researchers (Baba, 2004; Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1998).

For this project the most concerning ethical issue for the researcher was entering the Hawai'i context that I was not a part of, and that I only intended to be in for a very short duration (3 weeks). Following my time spent in Hawai'i, distance has compromised the extent to which I have been able to maintain a relationship with those there, although I have made return trips to conferences in 2000 and 2002. With regard to intellectual property rights and the dissemination of information, I have a guardianship role in relation to information shared by participants with me. It has been shared with me according to a set of criteria negotiated with the interviewees. These are: assurances of confidentiality; my ability to use the information for this thesis, as well as dissemination through teaching, conference presentations and academic publications. More important to this contract is the ‘goodwill’ aspect of it. That is: that I will not use the information to bring individuals or communities into disrepute, or to cause harm to them in any way.

Indeed, individuals and communities party to this research should benefit and be empowered by its existence – an outcome that I would argue has, and will, continue to be achieved.

People involved in conducting Maori research should be accountable to the people they research, in particular, and to the Maori community in general.

Bearing a responsibility of caretakership and protection of participants and their information within Maori focused research goes beyond that of ensuring accuracy of information collected, confidentiality, and the product of benefit. The ability to discharge this responsibility is enhanced somewhat by establishing a research whanau of interest (Bishop, 1996), or by having kaumatua as mentors (Irwin, 1994). But these processes often ignore existing accountability systems that are established by whakapapa and interrelatedness structures, by historical precedent, and by reciprocal obligations.

How does this work? Let me use an example. Prior to my father departing for the USA on a Winston Churchill Fellowship in the 1970s, a carved tokotoko (walking stick) was presented to him. This act served to establish not only a relationship between the carver and my father, but obligated me as part of his family to maintain the memory of the act and mutuality with the carver's family. The carver's daughter resided in Hawai'i when I travelled there in 1996. While I was there, she extended hospitality to me on the basis of relatedness and on the actions of her father, serving to reinforce our sense of interrelatedness and, in that instance, my sense of interdependence. Within these interactions there is a responsibility to act reciprocally, with genuine intent, and for the benefit of respective parties. If actions contrary to the expected pattern result, then there are numerous avenues available to both parties to reveal irresponsibility and unaccountability.

I drew upon this system of accountability throughout the research process. With all participants I attempted to establish some point of connection, be that a kin relationship, acquaintances in common, a professional connection, or common historical events. The outcome of this process was the weaving of an accountability web around me that provided to participants avenues for them to air their concerns or hesitations about the research to me, directly or indirectly.

Before continuing to highlight the complexity of issues it raises, it is important to raise the question of 'who is the Maori community in general'? Is it the

community of participants? Is it the Maori community in Hawai'i? Is it the Maori community in New Zealand? Does it include the totality of Maori people, or a subset? And, at the end of the day, who are they? Perhaps the more difficult question is 'How does one remain accountable to such a broad and diverse yet somewhat undefined group? I have offered some answers to these questions as they relate to this research endeavour, but again, much more debate is required before clear answers will emerge.

Maori research should be of a high quality. It should be assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measured against Maori relevant standards.

The rigour of researchers who engage in Maori focused research should not be measured solely against Maori relevant standards, nor should it be assessed only through Maori defined methods. To do so would be to ignore the major, important and exceptionally rigorous contribution by the likes of Te Rangihiroa Buck, Apirana Ngata and Makareti Papakura mentioned earlier in this chapter. These researchers struggled at the intersection of the Maori world and that of Western research traditions. Yet they were able to attain rigour according to both traditions, without compromising the standards of either. I argue that those conducting Maori focused research must measure up according to both Maori methods and standards, and those established by Western research traditions. Choosing to view and measure research endeavour from one perspective, (ie., Maori or Western) risks privileging an approach that may well lead to negative consequence. The availability of a contrasting system aids in establishing rigour, quality and meaning.

A major difficulty in measuring a research project against Maori methods and standards, is that these are yet to be clearly established. The discussion by Te Awekotuku (1991) of research ethics in the Maori community as well as the ethical standards established by her have not been seriously followed, in spite of the fact that her work is frequently cited. The same might be said of standards argued for by Te Puni Kokiri (1999), Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), and by those contributors to the Te Oru Rangahau: research and development conference (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1998). In contrast, the Health Research Council of New Zealand (1997) the major funder of health research in this country, has fared differently. Control over standards, and over assessment and review procedures ensures that researchers at least follow those HRC advised guidelines (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 1997, 1998).

The obvious consequence for not paying heed to the HRC guidelines is non-funding, a strong motivator of compliance.

For this project, little attention was given at the outset to the literature base about standards for Maori focused research. When I first began conceptualising this project and submitted it to ethical review, such literature was very sparse. I passed muster, according to the ethical review process. But I was not confident about how it would be received within the Maori community. As a result, I carried out my own imposed review process that involved consultation with members within those communities that participants would be drawn from, as well as receiving criticism and feedback on my research proposal from Maori colleagues and relatives.

The methods, measures and procedures used in Maori research must take full cognisance of Maori culture and preferences.

It is important *not* to assume that Maori participants will prefer a Maori culturally derived method, measure or procedure. Matching and pacing, as discussed above, are vital. Additionally, it would be wrong to rule out the use of Western derived research processes upon the justification that they are culturally inappropriate and not preferred. This action ignores the potential of Western research processes to be adapted for use in Maori focused research. It also disregards the adaptive quality of Maori as a diverse group, and of culture as an exciting, changing and adaptive dynamic. The preference of the writer is to adopt that position advocated by Patton (1990), that being a paradigm of choices. The method must fit the problem, question, context and people being investigated. I argue that the processes employed in this project are cognisant of Maori culture and preferences, and receptive to, but not ignorant of, Western research paradigms.

Bevan-Brown's (1998) research components are helpful insofar as they point the researcher to important considerations in the research cycle. However, it would be dangerous to consider them as definitive or proscriptive for those reasons outlined above. Such an approach would result in the rejection of non-complying proposals or products that may be of various kinds of value or importance. Ethical review procedures and the 'control' of research should be facilitative and permissive. It should help to make research happen, and valuable research result. Indeed, the issue

of who watches the watchers, and who controls the controllers, still, in the New Zealand context, needs resolution.

The nature of knowledge

Knowledge is power. Those in the Western world were aware of this idea, and so too were Maori. In the Western world, the relationship to knowledge was promulgated around essential characteristics resulting in the stratification of humans (Great Chain of Being) and the subjugation and colonization of people across the globe. The knowledge foundations cumulatively assembled by the likes of, Spencer, Sumner, de Gobineau, Chamberlain, Galton, and Pearson, were, in one sense, an elaborate justification: of the superiority of those with the power to define; of lineage aristocracies, notably in the West, but also in many tribal societies; and of the spread of capitalism across the globe with its concomitant need to subjugate populations (slavery, indentured labour) for commercial gain. The primary beneficiaries were those with a relationship to knowledge that advanced these objectives. Parallels with this relationship to knowledge can be seen in everyday New Zealand and certainly amongst Maori. An often referred to proverb is:

*Ko te manu e kai i te miro, nona te ngahere,
ko te manu e kai i te mātauranga, nona te Ao*

*The bird that consumes the miro berry, masters the bush,
The bird that consumes knowledge, masters the world.*

While received knowledge might be that derived from the West, the purpose for its acquisition may well be different for Maori, that is, mastery of the world may well occur in different ways and for different reasons.

A number of Maori writers (Marsden, 1975; Pere, 1991; Rangihau, 1981; Roberts et al., 2004) have written about Maori epistemologies premised on the nature of relationships, interactions and ensuing moral frameworks, rather than on knowledge as logically linear. A knowledge system of the former kind may well present as circular, contradictory and confusing! But, if we look to whakapapa as a source of explanation we are able to see a sophisticated system of vertical and horizontal lattices that store, evolve, communicate, and give meaning and understanding to humans within their material and immaterial world of inter-

relatedness. The 'power' of such a knowledge system rests in the capacity to trace, give, extract, and harness meaning about the nature of relationships and interactions.

For students and researchers into the field of Maori social identities, it becomes essential that they are cognizant of such a relational and interactive knowledge system and value structure for it becomes vital to understanding the meanings that Maori negotiate and construct for themselves and each other.

Chapter Eight Study One Aotearoa

Introduction and overview

This data for this study was gathered over the 1994-1995 period from Maori resident in New Zealand. I was interested in understanding how Maori living in New Zealand in the 1990s conceive of and perceive those Maori social groups with which they feel a sense of belonging or connection. In this chapter I describe the aim of this study, how I recruited participants, the major characteristics of the sample that I obtained, the interview questionnaire and schedule, and the procedure I used. Ethical issues are discussed and my data analysis procedure presented.

Recruitment of participants

A purposive sampling procedure was used to recruit participants. As the name implies, purposive sampling involves recruiting members from the overall population to meet some purpose. The purpose of the research governs the selection of the sample and thus, excludes members of the population who do not contribute to that purpose (Robson, 1993; Simon & Burstein, 1985).

As my purpose was to glean a better understanding of how Maori think about their Maori social identities I drew upon the purposive sampling procedure to maximise their participation. I also wanted to avoid capturing an atypical sample and therefore used ‘stratification’ strategies (Simon & Burstein, 1985) to increase the diversity of experience amongst those selected. Stratification can be simply defined as process of selecting sub-samples of participants according to a common characteristic (age, gender).

Over the November 1994 – January 1995 period, we⁴ approached individuals who we, or others, knew to be Maori, and who were initially known to me or to my

⁴ A research assistant, *Angeline Rangihakahaerea Harawira*, was trained and supported by me, in recruiting participants, completing interviews, typing interview reports and coding. While she was

research assistant. Angeline or I explained the study to them. We provided them with an information sheet (Appendix 4), discussed any concerns they may have had, and made an appointment to interview them later, at a place that was mutually agreed. None of the participants refused to be interviewed because they did not self-identify as Maori. On concluding each interview, we asked the participant if they knew of anyone else who they identified as Maori, who might be willing to participate in the study – a procedure often referred to as ‘snowballing’ (Patton, 1990). Participants were more than helpful in this regard and kindly arranged for other people to contact us to make known their willingness to participate. By replicating this procedure with participants who had contacted us, we were able to secure our sample.

I was keen to maximise the diversity amongst participants to capture a broad range of issues and experiences, and to avoid recruiting a homogenous group. Towards the middle of the interviewing and recruitment process, I evaluated the extent to which we were obtaining a spread of people across different demographic categories. Where I considered that we needed to increase our efforts to recruit people who ‘fitted’ a particular demographic, we asked participants specifically if they knew of such people, for example, someone who was male, over 40 years old, or was not at university.

After each interview was completed, my research assistant and I discussed the process of the interview along with the nature of issues explored. Once I felt that the content of interviews was reaching a point where they were beginning to have a familiar and repetitive pattern about them I decided to conclude our data-gathering phase. In all, 28 interviews were completed. I completed 8 of the interviews, and my research assistant completed 20. Of these 28 interviews, only 20 were included for further analysis. This was due to two events. Four of the interview audiotapes were inadvertently recorded over, and four were inaudible and could not be transcribed. Of these eight interviews, six were with men and two with women. While we could have returned to the field to interview more men and more

assisting the progress of this study, she was also in the process of completing undergraduate studies at the University of Waikato. She has iwi affiliations to Tuhoe and Ngai Te Rangi.

participants generally, I considered that we had more than enough rich and detailed narrative commentary from participants to proceed to the data analysis stage.

Participants

The demographic characteristics of the sample are summarised in Table 4. The major characteristic of the group of 20 whose interview data was included for analysis, was that most participants were women (15) there being only five men. While most participants were living outside of their iwi region (14), most felt that they had had an iwi upbringing (13), that is, they were brought up with some knowledge and experience of living within their own iwi community.

Six participants were aged between 15-25 years; eight between 26-40 years; and six who were over 40 years old. All but five participants had had children. Most had either one (3) or two children (5) but some had up to eight children.

The number of siblings that participants had ranged from at least two through to 18. The average number of siblings that any one participant had was 5.3; however, this was skewed due to two participants having 9 and 17 siblings respectively. The birth position⁵ of each participant in their respective families was evenly distributed between being the first born (mataamua), born somewhere in the middle of the family, or being the last born (potiki).

Most participants had, or still were participating in formal education up to the tertiary level (16); six had participated through until the secondary school level with three participants still being secondary school students.

The usual occupations of participants included being tertiary students (4), secondary school students (3), a full time mother (4), working in the education sector (4), the social services (1), trades (1), or in the forestry (2) or meat (1) industry.

Many participants were or had been partnered⁶ (16); the ethnicity of all partners being Maori (15) with the exception of one who was Pakeha⁷. Over three

⁵ “Birth position” refers to the birth position of the participant relative to their siblings.

⁶ This includes participants who had separated from their partners or had been widowed.

quarters of the participants still had parents living (16), but only seven had grandparents who were still alive. For most (14) participants, their grandparents were all Maori – two had one Pakeha grandparent, two had two Pakeha grandparents, one had a Scottish grandparent, and one had two grandparents who were Tongan.

The religious affiliations of participants ranged over those religions that Maori are found to commonly participate in. These included Anglican (4), Catholic (3), Presbyterian (1), Ratana (2) and Ringatu (3). Six participants did not affiliate to any organised religious group.

Of the twenty participants, 13 had been raised in their own iwi geographical region, and seven were raised outside. Fourteen participants were currently living outside their iwi geographic region, and six within.

We were generally satisfied that the characteristics of the sample were sufficient to maximise the diversity of responses participants made. The dominance of women in the sample perhaps reflects our use of women as starting points for recruiting participants rather than men. The implication of this imbalance is that the narratives presented to us may be more reflective of the lives of women, than of men.

Interview questionnaire and schedule

Two resources were used to help facilitate the interview process: a structured questionnaire (Appendix 5) designed to gather demographic information from participants; and a semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 6) used during interviewing.

Demographics Questionnaire

The demographics questionnaire was administered prior to beginning the actual interview as the information gathered afforded us a superficial outline of the possible context in which the participant was embedded and likely to respond from. It also

⁷ One participant indicated that they were ‘unpartnered’ but had had a previous relationships with a Pakeha person.

Table 4 New Zealand Sample Characteristics

living in/out of tribal area	n	usual occupation	n	religion	n	no. of children	n	No. of siblings	n
in	6	builder	1	Anglican	3	0	5	1	3
out	14	education sector	4	Anglican (non-prac)	1	1	3	2	2
		forestry	2	Catholic	2	2	5	3	2
partnered or unpartnered	n	freezing worker	1	Catholic (non-prac)	1	3	1	4	3
partnered	12	high school student	3	Presbyterian	1	4	2	5	1
separated	2	mother	4	Ratana	2	5	1	6	2
widowed	1	social services	1	Ringatu	3	6	1	7	3
unpartnered	5	tertiary student	4	No affiliation	6	7	1	8	1
						8	1	9	2
								17	1
									x = 5.3
ethnicity of partner	n	education	n	iwi upbringing	n				
maori	15	high school	6	yes	13				
pakeha	1	kohanga reo training	1	no	7				
n/a	4	polytech	2						
		tertiary	11						
age	n	gender	n	grandparents still living	n	ethnicity of grandparents*	n	parents living	n
15 - 25	6	female	15	1 grandparent	2	m m m m	14	mother only	8
26 - 40	8	male	5	2 grandparents	5	m m m p	2	mother & father	8
40+	6			3 grandparents	0	m m m s	1	both deceased	4
				4 grandparents	0	m m p p	2		
				all deceased	13	m m t t	1		

*m=Maori p=Pakeha s=Scottish t=Tongan

provided a check against which to assess responses made by the participant to later questions. For example, a participant might have indicated a connection with only one hapu but indicated through the demographics questionnaire that their parents were different iwi. This would have entitled the participant to claim affiliation with at least two hapu. If such a discrepancy manifested itself through the interviewing process, we were in a position to investigate this.

Through the demographics questionnaire we sought from the participants typical demographic information. This included age, education background, usual occupation, and religious affiliation. We also gathered information about the number of siblings a participant had, their birthplace, whether or not they were, or had been, partnered and the ethnic and iwi identity of their partners. We also sought information about the number of children they had, whether their parents or grandparents were living as well as their ethnic identity. Lastly, we wanted to obtain some idea of the extent to which they might identify as Maori by asking whether they were raised in a geographic region associated to any of their iwi. We also wanted to know whether they were still living in a geographic region associated with any of their iwi.

Interview schedule

The interview schedule contained 30 semi-structured questions with prompts to explore specific information. The schedule was organised around five thematic areas: conceptions of a Maori identity; coming to know one's identity; thinking about iwi and hapu; maintaining hapu identities; and maintaining iwi identities. Items in the interview schedule and my reasons for their inclusion are described below according to the organising thematic areas.

Before proceeding I wish to clarify my avoidance of using the term 'identity' in questions put to participants. In designing the demographics questionnaire and interview schedule, I took particular care to avoid the use of the term 'identity'. I did this for a variety of reasons. First, my primary interest in conducting this study was to describe how Maori conceive of and perceive those social groups that they feel a sense of belonging or connection. It therefore seemed to be more appropriate to use terminology consistent with this objective. Secondly, use of questions such as

‘Describe your Maori identity to me’ I considered extremely intrusive. In my view, questions of this nature serve to position the participant where they may feel required to justify who they are and their identity as Maori. Lastly, the concept of ‘identity’ is complex. I did not wish to take up a position where participants either asked me to explain what the term ‘identity’ meant, or felt that I assumed a certain understanding when I had not.

Conceptions of a Maori identity

In this section, we attempted to discuss with the participant their conception of a Maori identity. To do this, I first established a framework within which our discussions could begin by posing the question: *Q1. When you first meet a Maori person, what are some of the things that you are curious about, or interested in knowing about this person?* I felt that this question provided an easy starting point to the interview in that most people could easily reflect on interactions that they had had with others they had met for the first time. The question also served to make explicit the curiosities or interests that the participant held of other Maori whom they had met for the first time. Through use of prompts, I explored with the participant the nature of their response to this question. I canvassed explanations as to why such information was important or of interest, in turn seeking to discover possible value positions that they might hold. This question was followed by a discussion about the nature of information that the participant would disclose to another under the same circumstances. In this way, I was able to discover, along with their justifications, whether the participant would have provided the same, or different information to that sought from others.

An exploratory question provided the base upon which to discuss those things that participants felt were important about being Maori. This question directly sought to determine the participant’s conception of a Maori identity and a Maori value base.

The final two questions in this section addressed the iwi and hapu affiliations of the participant and whether the participant felt more strongly connected with any one iwi or hapu. Reasons for a stronger sense of connectedness to a particular hapu or iwi were also discussed.

Coming to know one's identity

This section of the interview schedule contained questions used to explore the process the participant went through to arrive at how they currently identify themselves as Maori. Prior to posing the first question in this section, I made the following statement:

There are stages in our lives when we think differently about who we are. Sometimes changes in our lives (like going to school, going for a holiday, meeting people, getting married, working or having children) help us to come to know ourselves differently.

This statement, designed to have the participant focus on milestones, significant events or gradual dawning of knowledge as a result of involvement in activities, schooling, or interaction with other tribal or ethnic groups, was followed by the following three questions:

- Q5. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were Maori.
- Q6. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those iwi mentioned above.
- Q7. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those hapu mentioned above.

Thinking about iwi and hapu

In this section I asked participants to describe what they thought about when they thought of each of their respective hapu and iwi. I also asked them to identify the differences and similarities between each of their respective hapu and iwi. In asking these questions, I wanted the participants to describe to me the impressions that they held of each of their specific hapu and iwi groups. I also wanted to ascertain whether they were able to discern differences between them. My assumption here is that the finer the distinctions made, the more attuned the participant was to the nuances of each hapu and iwi group.

Maintaining hapu identities

Previous sections in this interview schedule focused on conceptions and perceptions that the participant held about being Maori. In this section, I turned my attention to discussing with the participants ways through which they maintained their connections with those respective hapu they had identified with. The initial questions focused on identifying activities that participants felt were important to maintaining their hapu connections, how often they *felt* they had to do these things, and what they *actually* did.

Recognising that maintenance activities often require resources and support and that engagement in such activities may have varied during their lives, I discussed with the participant those things that made it easier or harder for them.

In line with my questions about those processes or circumstances that might have made it harder for the participant to engage in maintenance activities, I wanted to also explore whether they had at any time in their lives felt as if they were positioned on the *outside* of their hapu. If they had felt this way, I conversed with them about what made them feel on the ‘outside’ and the strategies they used to cope.

Maintaining iwi identities

Questions 22 to 29 replicated those questions asked of the participant with respect to maintaining their hapu connections, but focused on their iwi connections.

The interview schedule concluded with an invitation to the participant to furnish further comments if they so wished.

Piloting of demographics questionnaire and interview schedule

Given the semi-structured nature of the interview schedule and the intention to engage the participants in a conversation rather than a ‘question/answer’ type exchange, the demographics questionnaire and interview schedule were gradually refined after each of the initial four interviews. At the conclusion of each of these interviews, each participant was asked to comment on the interview process, including the ways in which questions were introduced, the order in which they were

asked, and their appropriateness. These participants were also invited to comment on any other ways in which the process or focus of the interview might be improved.

Initially, we had a section similar to those that explored the maintenance of hapu and iwi identities but related to maintaining an ethnic Maori identity. We collected some data around this theme but as interviewing progressed the theme became increasingly redundant and was subsequently dropped from the interviewing schedule. Maintaining an iwi and hapu identity automatically meant the maintenance of a Maori identity, and, as a result, the items did not appear to illicit any new information.

Aside from the section on maintaining a Maori social identity, feedback from these participants resulted in a few minor changes to how questions were worded and ordered. However, the actual content of the questions did not change.

Procedure

As mentioned above, on contacting a potential participant, the study was explained verbally to them and they were also given an information sheet (Appendix 4) that provided information concerning:

- what the study was about;
- who the researchers were;
- the research procedure we wished to employ with them;
- how their information would be used;
- issues that we wanted participants to consider before agreeing to participate in the study;
- contact details for the researchers

We discussed any concerns the participants might have had, and made an appointment to interview them later, at a place that was mutually agreed to. This was usually at the participant's place of residence.

On arriving at the interview venue, the interview was usually preceded by something to drink and conversation about their day or of people who we knew in common. We always took along a packet of biscuits to contribute to the household. We also tried as much as possible to avoid scheduling appointments during the

dinner or lunch periods, as we did not want to oblige participants to provide a meal. Once these initial activities had been completed, the interviews usually progressed. We left it to the participant to indicate when they were ready to move on to begin the interview, which was usually within 10-15 minutes of our arriving.

Once ready to start, we went over the information sheet with the participant again, along with the consent form (Appendix 7) to ensure that they were fully informed about the study. Any questions or concerns that they had were discussed. We also asked the participants to sign off on their consent forms at this stage. We explained that signing the consent form was not only a process of formalising their informed consent, but also one of ensuring their protection. All participants completed consent forms.

In the first stage of the interview, we asked the participants to complete the demographics questionnaire. We allowed the participant to complete the questionnaire and provided assistance if they were not sure about what information to provide. Once the participant felt that they had finished the questionnaire, we checked to make sure that they had provided complete and clear information, before moving into the second stage of the interview.

All participants consented to having their interviews audio-recorded, and allowed us to take written notes. Although some participants showed some discomfort with the tape recorder, this soon dissipated as we moved through the initial questions. To help put participants at ease, we began the interview by assuring them that they had control of the recording equipment and moved the recorder to a position where they could easily turn it off if they wanted to. The advantage of doing this was that we could position the recorder in such a way as to ensure that the participant's voice was being clearly recorded (and still four tapes were inexplicably inaudible). We also assured them that they could refuse to answer any questions that they did not wish to answer, and that we would delete any information from the audiotape, or from our notes that they wish not to be recorded. This information was also provided on the informed consent form.

The actual interview progressed as a facilitated process with the interview schedule providing a guide to our conversation, and the researcher providing prompts along the way. The participant was given a copy of the list of questions and themes that we wanted to cover and participants were encouraged to respond to any part of

the schedule at any time. In other words, they were not required to address the questions in an orderly fashion.

Once it was clear that all areas of the interview schedule had been responded to, the interviews ended. At this point, we reiterated to the participant what would happen to their information. We explained that they would receive a written account of their interview based on notes taken and on the tape-recording. We also explained that we would invite them to make further comments or to write a response to the written account provided. On this note, we thanked the participant for their time. We also encouraged them to make further contact with us if they remembered any further information, or if they wanted to talk about any aspect of the interview or research.

Most interviews were on average around 1.5 hours in length with one taking up to 2.5 hours.

Ethical issues

In carrying out this study, I was guided by the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) that served to highlight ethical dilemmas and provided resolution for the same. A proposal for this study was also reviewed by the research committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Waikato. A number of ethical issues needed to be addressed in this study.

What seems to be an accepted practice in psychological research is to protect participants by taking steps to disguise their real identity in resulting publications and presentations about the research. Often times, the participant is not given the option to actually have their identity made known – the assumption on the part of the researcher being that participants would not wish to be associated with what they say. Indeed, I find this position rather peculiar, especially when in other disciplines (eg. anthropology, history) a contrary practice prevails. Rather than make a false assumption, I wanted to give participants in this study a choice about whether they wanted to make their identity known through publications or presentations that I might write or make. Although an item to this effect appeared on the consent form none of the participants opted to have their identity made known. This result does not necessarily mean that my assumptions about identity are false, as on other occasions when I have used a similar procedure, participants have been more than

willing to make their identity public, for example, in 70 interviews with Maori who had moko (Maori skin adornment). Perhaps in this study participants were a little self-conscious and sensitive of judgements that may be made by other Maori about the strength of their identity commitments.

Normally, participants are afforded the right to withdraw from a study or procedure at any time. I did not wish to deal with the potential eventuality of having to remove a participant's information from my analysis and write up procedures. To avoid this, I indicated on the consent form that the right to withdraw from the study was active up until the stage when participants had been given the opportunity to comment and provide feedback on their interview reports. I decided that the interval since initial contact by us, through until comments from the participants about their interview reports were received, provided ample time and opportunity for them to consider their participation in the study. I felt that if participants remained in the study after this stage, that they were likely to remain in the study through until completion. Only minor comments were received and no one chose to withdraw from the study prior to this stage, and neither were withdrawal requests received after this.

Other than making a small contribution of food to the household, no other koha or payment of participants for their participation was offered. Although I have a cultural preference to provide participants with koha, this was not possible due to an extremely limited budget. I did, however, hope that participants would view my work as affording them an avenue whereby their voices and stories could be heard.

Using a Research Assistant

Having the privilege of working on this study with a research assistant was a beneficial learning experience. While Angeline helped to offset my research load, another set of responsibilities emerged, that is, a responsibility to train, coach, debrief and discuss with her both her progress and that of the research overall. I had to attend to the small detail that researchers often take for granted when working on their own and in an unfunded capacity. For example, I had to arrange for audiotapes, recording equipment, transport, koha, and stationary, all tasks that I would have had to have done for myself anyway. I also had to ensure that Angeline had a thorough understanding of the overall project so that she could respond to participant

questions. Although we used a structured interview schedule, Angeline had to have the flexibility while in the actual interview to make decisions about whether to prompt or pursue or omit a line of questioning. I also had to ensure her adherence to the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) well as her safety, something we achieved through training and working closely together.

Data analysis

Angeline's assistance was invaluable during the data analysis phase of this study. There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis; their advantages and disadvantages have been widely debated in the social sciences literature (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Murphy et al, 1998; Patton, 1990; Robson, 1993; Silverman, 1997). Welsh (2002) discusses three data analysis approaches that might be broadly labelled: 'literal', 'interpretive', and 'reflexive'. The first approach centres on the exact use of particular language or grammatical structure. The second is concerned with sense making and meaning, and the third, the reflexive approach, attempts to focus attention on the researcher and her or his contribution to the data creation and analysis process. The analysis approach used in this study is usually described as 'thematic' analysis and in this instance, combines both interpretive and reflexive strategies.

Thematic analysis focuses on identifying themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour that emerge from a qualitative data set. Research aims tend to be towards the goal of understanding and meaning making, rather than predicting or controlling. It tends to be inductive in that "the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation under investigation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the phenomenon or setting under study" (Patton, 1990, p.44). As an analysis procedure, it involves a number of iterative steps, specifically, collecting, transforming, reflecting, coding, organising and patterning, and not necessarily in the order stated. I will explain what I mean by these steps and link this to the important part that Angeline played in this process.

Collecting data: After Angeline or I completed an interview, we usually sat together and discussed how the interview went, the nature of responses, and the patterns (similarities and contrasts) that we each saw emerging across the interviews. We also discussed possible explanations for these patterns that began our process of

theorising the data. I made notes of our discussions, in particular, emergent patterns and themes so that I could later refer to these as I more formally engaged in the analysis and writing process.

Transforming: Angeline and I took notes during interviews and audio-taped the sessions. I viewed this process as ‘data capture’ but for further analysis we had to transform these into interview reports which in reality were mainly verbatim transcriptions of the interviews. While a labour intensive process, it had the advantage of allowing us to further reflect on what participants were saying and making sense of their conceptions and lives. Again, Angeline and I made notes as we went along.

Reflecting: Listening to audio-tapes, discussing ideas with Angeline, producing transcripts, getting feedback on transcripts from participants and preparing the data for uploading into NUDIST, a software package to assist data analysis, allowed time for considerable reflection that later contributed to building a comprehensive picture of the collective responses of participants.

Coding: NUDIST assists researchers in their management and analysis of text data. While I had used NUDIST in previous research, I found that I was still learning about the benefits and disadvantages of the software as I moved through this project. Some of the benefits of using NUDIST were that we were able to: rapidly code, search and retrieve relevant data; automate clerical tasks; manage and evolve ideas and codes; and continually ask questions of our data and advance our theorising process. For all these benefits, the software does not ‘do’ the analysis; it does not think laterally or creatively, it simply provides a facility for doing so. In this regard, Angeline and I still had to work our way progressively through each transcript to code text and develop themes across the whole data set. While a laborious task, there is a certain amount of excitement to be experienced as a theme is identified and named, or when a theme is reconsidered in light of other emerging patterns. One of the major advantages of working with Angeline, was the clarity of her experience living as Maori, as part of a whanau, and as part of multiple hapu and iwi collectives. She had a clear conception of what those collectivities meant to her and a keen capacity to identify and explain what they meant to others. I, too, brought my own life experience as Maori and explanations to the research project and to the analysis of data. While a good thing, I acknowledge that we needed to stand back from time to time and be challenging and critical of each other and the extent to which we were,

or for that matter, were not overlaying our own values, judgements and expectations on to the data under consideration.

Patterning: Angeline and I often had long discussions about the validity of an identified theme. Was it something that sat within a broader more generic theme (higher order), or was it part of the detail (lower order)? How was it related to or influenced by other things? While coding took us into discussing minute details about how Maori conceived of their Maori social identities, ‘patterning’ allowed us to piece together these details and to describe ‘sub-plots’ in a collective narrative about Maori social identities.

Organising: The final stage of the analysis involved arranging our patterns into a narrative or a ‘story line’ to serve as a vehicle for presenting the findings of this study to others. This involved decisions about ordering of information, the logical progression of information, and its significance. This stage of the data analysis I completed on my own. Angeline’s time was taken up with other demands leaving me alone with the data. While I missed Angeline’s insights and her role as discussant of patterns emerging from the data, I found that I needed independent time to understand the totality of what participants had presented and space to move towards constructing a conceptual framework for presenting my findings.

The process described above is one that is common to most studies that employ an inductive approach to data analysis. ‘Real world’ research, that is, research outside the requirements for PhD researchers, tends to be something that researchers engage in with other researchers, as part of research teams engaged in collaborative enterprise with each other and those communities of interest. My working with a research assistant added reality to what, for the PhD candidate, is often a solitary pursuit. More importantly though, it has elevated the extent to which I have remained reflexive and critical in my work.

Once I completed this Aotearoa/New Zealand study, I moved on to the next stage in this project, a study of Maori in Hawai’i. This study is described in the next chapter.

Chapter Nine Study Two Hawai'i

I chose to complete my second study of Maori social identities away from the New Zealand context in Hawai'i. I set out here the aims of the study and describe those I interviewed as participants. The interview schedule, while related to the schedule used in my first study, is different and oriented to the participant's experience as a long-term sojourner or migrant adapting to a new society. The two studies should rightfully be viewed as independent from each other, rather than a progression. I conclude with comments about the data analysis process and how it varied from the process used in my first study.

Why Hawai'i?

It is difficult to understand the New Zealand context and those things that influence and impact on the construction of Maori social identities when the researcher and the community of interest are embedded in it. It is the classic problem faced by indigenous researchers engaged in the process of trying to understand our own indigenous communities, and, at the same time, ourselves. The advantages and disadvantages of 'insider' versus 'outsider' approaches to communities of interest have been discussed, particularly in the cross-cultural research literature, by Pike (1954; 1967); and Berry (1969). Most contemporary cross-cultural psychology research texts carry a discussion of this dilemma and the problems that stem from it (Berry, Poortinga, & Pandey, 1997; Brislin, 1990; Lonner & Malpass, 1994; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999). To summarise this discussion: the indigenous or 'emic' researcher often has difficulty seeing their own culture and context because it is a part of their own taken-for-granted every day experience. In contrast, the outsider or 'etic' researcher is often in a better position to recognise these aspects of the research field because they are not embedded within that situation or context. Of course, as I discussed in Chapter Eight, this position is not without its drawbacks, and, as a researcher, I need to bear these in mind.

In my study of Maori social identities, I wanted to 'escape' the Aotearoa context and my 'emic' position, so that I could view my subject from a different perspective. I

also wanted to continue my work with Maori people. I wanted to see if, and how, Maori enacted their Maori social identities in a different context. To do this, I chose to 'escape' to Hawai'i and to the small community of Maori who had made their way there. I could have chosen Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane or even London. These cities have a long history of receiving Maori sojourners and migrants, indeed, longer than Hawai'i. However, other things influenced my choice of Hawai'i as a research context. Choosing Hawai'i reflected my perception of Hawai'i as a safe environment for me. I did not want to find myself in a location where my personal safety became an all consuming activity to the detriment of my research objectives. I only had a small amount of time to spend in the field and I needed to be able to move around freely enough to talk to the people I needed to see. I also knew of an academic colleague prepared to assist with participant recruitment, a friend who was willing to host me while I was there. These things influenced my choice of Hawai'i as a research setting.

Recruitment of participants

In contrast to the environment, context and communities that I was familiar with in my first study, I knew very little about the Hawaiian context. I had visited Hawai'i on two previous occasions but for not more than one or two weeks. The first occasion was in 1991 to attend the Summer Workshop for the Development of Intercultural Coursework at Universities and Colleges - East/West Center, Oahu, Hawaii. While I enjoyed my visit, I did not have much time to see anything except the University of Hawai'i campus and Halls of Residence. I returned to Hawai'i in 1995 to attend a conference at Brigham Young University, at La'ie, but that was a short visit (6 days) without much time to learn anything about the Maori community there, other than that it was there. It was however, adequate opportunity to connect with one or two Maori people who would later afford me invaluable assistance in recruiting participants. One was Debbie Hippolite-Wright of the Institute for Polynesian Studies at Brigham Young University-Hawai'i (BYU-H) who had earlier enrolled as a PhD student at my own institution, the University of Waikato. As a lecturer at BYU-H, Debbie was in regular contact with Maori students, and other Maori affiliated with the BYU institution and with the Polynesian Cultural Centre. On Debbie's recommendation, I later made contact with Alice Unawai, whose role as

the President of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Hawai'i often meant that she was in contact with Maori living in Hawai'i, and with those who were visiting (like myself). In 1996, both Debbie and Alice had been living in Hawai'i for over 20 years.

In July 1996 I sent to Alice Unawai an information sheet (Appendix 8) to be used by her to explain the study and my purpose to other Maori in Hawai'i. At the time of contacting potential participants, Alice asked if they would be prepared to receive further information and to be a participant in the study. If they responded positively to this request, Alice recorded their contact details and with their verbal consent passed these details on to me. All of the people that she contacted expressed a willingness to participate. Towards the end of July 1996 she sent to me a list of names and contact addresses for 40 people.

Debbie Hippolite-Wright helped to promote this study to Maori students and Maori affiliated with the BYU institution and with the Polynesian Cultural Centre. She also carried out a similar process of contacting potential participants and forwarded their contact details on to me.

Late in July 1996, while I was still in New Zealand, and after receiving possible participant contact information from Alice and Debbie, I mailed to participants the demographics questionnaire (Appendix 9) with a covering letter (Appendix 10) explaining who I was, the study I wanted them to become involved in, and a contact information sheet (Appendix 11) that gathered details about how and when was the best time to make telephone contact with them to arrange interview venues and times. As I was about to leave New Zealand to travel in the USA, and to eventually arrive in Hawai'i in September 1996, I asked participants to return their questionnaires and contact information in a sealed envelope to Debbie Hippolite-Wright.

When I arrived in Hawai'i in September of 1996, 20 people had returned their demographics questionnaire and contact information sheets. I contacted these people to introduce myself and to make an appointment for an interview. I also contacted those who had not made a response. Many of these people still wanted to participate in the study but had not managed to return their demographics questionnaire or

contact sheets. I was not able to make contact with a few people and I later discovered that they were ‘off island’⁸⁸. Another had become ill and so I decided not to pursue their participation.

In all, I was in Hawai’i for three weeks completing interviews. During the course of contacting and interviewing people, I was also introduced to other Maori people who were not listed on the contact lists that either Alice or Debbie had given to me. Most of these people were relatives or acquaintances of those that I was about to, or had completed, interviews with. I spoke with these people about the study and sought their participation. I completed the demographics questionnaire with these people at the time of the interviews.

Criteria for participation

There were two criteria for selecting people for participation in this study. The first was that potential participants were identified by other Maori living in Hawai’i as being Maori and that they themselves identified as Maori in some way.

Identification by other Maori was achieved through the recruitment process carried out by Alice and Debbie, and other Maori whom I had contact with during the course of completing interviews. The second criterion was that a person had resided in Hawai’i for at least 3 months and intended on residing there for at least 6 months or more. This criterion was based on the assumption that 3 months would be sufficient time to have developed some understanding of what it meant to be Maori in that context. Having to reside in Hawai’i for more than 6 months meant that they were required to engage the Hawaiian context in more than superficial ways.

In all, 28 interviews were completed with 30 people. Two interviews were group interviews with two people in each.

⁸⁸ A Hawaiian colloquialism that refers to someone having temporarily left the island for some other destination.

Collecting demographic information

As mentioned earlier, the demographics questionnaire (Appendix 9) was posted to possible participants to complete and return prior to arranging an interview. I gathered this information before the interview to obtain a general idea of the participant's life circumstances. The information they provided assisted me to organise questions that I wanted to ask them in the actual interview. In the questionnaire I asked the participant to provide personal details about themselves, the household that they lived in and how they came to be living in Hawai'i.

Written instructions highlighted that the questionnaire was not a 'test' and that there were no right or wrong answers. The participant was also informed that they did not have to answer questions that they did not want to and that the information provided would remain confidential.

Prior to posting out the questionnaire I had my supervisor⁹ and three Maori graduates complete the questionnaire to ensure that questions were unambiguous and that the response categories were adequately broad enough to capture a wide range of possible responses. Minor changes to wording were made in line with the feedback from this group. In the final questionnaire drafted, there were 23 short answer questions. For most questions I provided 'tick' box type response categories, or a space for a written response. The questionnaire could be completed within 10 minutes.

The first 5 questions gathered information about birth place, countries lived in, length of residence in Hawai'i, and whether they were citizens of New Zealand or the USA. Responses to these questions allowed me to assess the extent to which a participant was familiar with either the Hawai'i or New Zealand context. Questions 6, 7, 10, 11, 21 and 22 sought information about the participants' age, sex, religion, whether they were partnered, educational qualifications and their main occupation. Questions eight and nine related to iwi and hapu affiliation. The participant was asked to state as many Maori iwi that they belonged to and were also given the

⁹ My Chief supervisor at the time was Professor David Thomas who during the course of my research took up a post with the University of Auckland. Prof Jane Ritchie subsequently took over duties from Prof David Thomas.

option to indicate that such information was unknown to them. With regard to Maori hapu, the same options were allowed. It should be pointed out that, if a person indicated that information about their iwi or hapu was unknown to them, that I did not take this to mean that the participant was not Maori. As gleaned through the interviews, there was usually a very good explanation as to why participants did not have access to this information at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Questions 11 to 14 asked the participant to describe the ethnicity of their partner, their parents and of themselves. This allowed me to make initial assumptions about the exposure that a participant might have had to other ethnic groups so that I could be aware of competing ethnic identities that might be of interest to follow up in the interview.

As I did not have the means to carry out interviews with people who were living on islands in Hawai'i other than Oahu, I also asked participants to indicate what island they resided on. All lived on the island of Oahu. Responses to this question also gave me a good idea of where participants were located in relation to each other.

In questions 16-19, I sought information about the household that the participant lived in and I was particularly interested in whether the participant resided with other Maori people. The assumption guiding this question was that close contact with other Maori may provide a framework within which a participant might more readily maintain their identity as Maori.

Although I asked participants to indicate their approximate income per week, this question was not well responded to even though those with whom I piloted the questionnaire did not find the question objectionable. This aside, it would appear that participants in the actual study found this question rather intrusive. I also suspect that if I had provided a range of responses (eg, \$20-40,000), this might have been better responded to as participants would not be required to be so specific.

The final question asked those participants who had not been born in Hawai'i to indicate the reasons that lead them to reside in Hawai'i.

Participants

The sample of participants consisted of 20 women and 10 men aged between 16 and 63 years. Nineteen participants were partnered, the others still single. This latter

group tended to be those who were studying at University. On average, the participants had resided in Hawai'i for 12.5 years. The longest resident had been in Hawai'i for 35 years, with 3 participants having arrived in the 6 month period preceding their interview for this study.

Table 5 Hawai'i Sample Characteristics

Countries lived in	n	Gender	n
Hawai'i	1	Female	20
Hawai'i & the USA mainland	1	Male	10
New Zealand & Hawai'i	15		
New Zealand, Hawai'i & some other country	9	Age	n
New Zealand, Hawai'i, USA mainland & some other country	4	20 years or less	7
		21-25 years	4
		26-40 years	5
		41-50 years	6
Arrived	n	50 + years	7
3-6 months ago	3		
1-3 years ago	6	Country of Birth	n
4-10 years ago	7	Hawai'i	3
11-20 years ago	4	New Zealand	24
20 + years ago	10	USA	3
Max = 35yrs, min = 3 months, mean = 12.5yrs			
		Citizen of the USA[†]	n
		I intend to in the future	4
		No	15
Religion	n	Yes	11
Anglican	2		
LDS	24	Citizen of NZ[†]	n
Other	1	Intend to be in the future	2
No religion	1	No	2
no response	2	Yes	26

* One participant did not indicate their age

† 7 Participants had dual citizenship of New Zealand and the USA

Locations in the mainland USA were the birth place for 3 participants and a further 3 had been born in Hawai'i. The remaining (24) were born in New Zealand. Eleven participants were American citizens and four intended to gain citizenship in the future. With regard to being citizens of New Zealand, two were not citizens, 24 participants were, and two intended to become so in the future.

Table 5 Hawai'i Sample Characteristics (continued)

Partnered/unpartnered	n	Educational Qualification	n
No	11	Still at school	13
Yes	19	Trade Cert	2
		Tertiary	9
		Other	1
		no response	5
Usual Occupation	n		
Music industry	1		
Assistant Professor	2	Reasons for moving to Hawaii	n
Entertainment Industry	9	To attend university	19
Exporter	1	To find work	4
Sales Manager	1	To reside with partner	4
Seaman, Canoe builder	1	Occupational requirement	3
Security	1	Moved with parents	1
Student	11	To reside with son or daughter	1
Teacher	2	other	3
Unpaid researcher	1	no response	2

* Participants could indicate more than one reason for moving to Hawai'i

With the exception of one participant who had only ever lived in Hawai'i, the majority had resided in a number of different countries that included countries other than the USA.

Reflecting my initial contact with Debbie Hippolite, a high proportion of participants (80%) were affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) which was reflected in where people resided. Most lived at La'ie, the location of the LDS Temple, Brigham Young University - Hawai'i and the Polynesian Cultural Centre. Many of the participants had found work or were studying at either BYU-H, or worked at PCC which has an explicit agenda to attract and employ peoples of the Pacific. However, there were some participants who lived

outside La'ie and the adjacent townships. These people tended not to be so involved with the LDS community, but still maintained contact.

I asked participants what their highest educational qualification was. One was still at high school, and 12 were studying at University. Nine participants held tertiary qualifications, and two held trade certificates.

Table 6 Ethnicity of Hawai'i participants, their parents and partners

Participant's identity	n	Mother's ethnicity	n
Maori	12	Maori	14
Maori - Part	1	Pakeha	4
Maori, American	1	Maori, Pakeha	3
Maori, Caucasian	2	Caucasian	1
Maori, English, Irish	2	Hawaiian, Maori	1
Maori, German	1	Maori, Caucasian	1
Maori, Pakeha	5	Maori, English, Jewish	1
Maori, Samoan, Tokelauan	1	Maori, English, Scottish	1
Maori, Scottish	1	Maori, Scottish	1
Maori, Scottish, German, Jew, Spanish	1	Pakeha, German, Irish	1
Greek, Maori	1	Scottish, German, Maori	1
Pakeha, Maori	1	no response	1
Hawaiian, Maori	1		
		Father's ethnicity	n
Partner's ethnicity	n	Maori	18
Maori	5	Pakeha	2
Hawaiian & other	3	American	1
Caucasian & other	2	Caucasian	1
Hawaiian	2	Greek	1
Pakeha & other	2	Hawaiian	1
Canadian & other	1	Irish	1
Maori/Pakeha	1	Maori - Part	1
Pakeha	1	Maori, English, Irish	1
Scottish	1	Maori, Spanish	1
Tahitian	1	Samoan, Tokelauan	1
		Scottish	1

The pursuit of a university education and to experience life outside of New Zealand were the most frequently mentioned reason for moving to Hawai'i and was usually associated with attendance at BYH-U. However, qualitative responses

indicate that once a participant had arrived in Hawai'i, other reasons for staying became paramount. For example, some participants met and married their partners and decided to stay in Hawai'i. Others valued the wider work opportunities found in the Hawai'i context, in contrast to what they viewed as limited opportunities in New Zealand. For those working in the entertainment industry, opportunities were far greater in Hawai'i than New Zealand. For those wishing to remain in the line of work that they were involved with, they had little choice but to remain in Hawai'i. The reasons provided by participants for moving to Hawai'i are further explored in the results section.

Of the 30 participants in this study, only 12 identified solely as Maori, the remainder identifying with one other ethnic group aside from Maori (15), or more (4). The way in which I have presented the participants' ethnicity in Table 6 is according to the order of ethnic labels listed by participants in their responses to the demographics questionnaire.

Of those participants who were partnered (19), six were partnered to people whom participants identified in some way as Maori, and five were partnered to people whom they identified in some way as Hawaiian. The label 'Caucasian' was also used to describe the ethnicity of the partners of two participants, and others were described as 'Pakeha' (3), Canadian (1), Scottish (1) and Tahitian (1). Although I have not listed the 'other' ethnic labels ascribed by participants to their partners, it does follow a pattern similar to how participants describe their own ethnic labels. This same pattern is also evident in the way in which participants have described the ethnicity of their parents.

In contrast to the New Zealand sample, it is clear that many participants in the Hawai'i sample come from mixed parentage and by descent could rightfully claim membership in a variety of ethnic groups. What is not known is the extent to which participants derived a cultural identity from those groups that they claim membership of.

Participants lived in a private house (12), flat (8) or student dormitory (8). Aside from those who lived in student dormitories, most resided with other family members (19) though one resided with other students in a household that was not a dormitory. All except 6 of the participants' households included one or more other Maori people.

Four participants were unable to identify those iwi that they belonged to. This was not because they did not belong to an iwi, but because they either could not, at the time, remember the name of their iwi, or the information was not immediately available to them. An example of the latter is of one participant whose grandmother was Maori but had since passed away. The grandmother had left New Zealand when she was young and never returned. Her family in Hawai'i knew little more than that she was Maori from New Zealand.

Table 7 Participant's household characteristics

Type of residence	n	Number of Maori in household	n
Flat	8	1	6
Private house	12	2	5
Student Dorm	8	3	3
no response	2	4	5
		5	4
		more than 5	5
		no response	2
Household composition	n	Number of people in residence	n
Students	9	2	4
Partner	4	3	6
Partner & Others	2	4	5
Partner, sons & daughters	10	5	2
Partner, sons, daughters & others	2	6	2
Father, Mother, Brothers/Sisters	1	7	2
no response	2	Dorms	7
		no response	2

Although participants could choose to identify with more than one iwi, the more frequently named iwi identified with were Ngati Kahungunu (13), Nga Puhi (7), Ngati Porou (5), and Raukawa (3), with Ngati Wai, Rangitane, and Rongowhakaata affiliated to by two participants respectively. A range of other iwi were also mentioned by only one participant. These are summarised in Table 8. Only half of the participants (15) named hapu that they belonged to. Two noted the names of families to which they belonged, rather than actual hapu. For seven

participants the hapu that they belonged to were unknown to them, and six participants gave no response.

Table 8 Participant's iwi and hapu affiliations

Iwi*	n	Iwi (cont)	n
Kahungungu	13	Ngati Maru	1
Nga Puhi	7	Ngati Toa	1
Ngati Porou	5	Ngati Whatua	1
Unknown	4	Ngati Whawhaki	1
Raukawa	3	Rongomaiwahine	1
Ngati Wai	2	Tainui	1
Rangitane	2	Tairawhiti	1
Rongowhakaata	2	Te Aitanga a Mahaki	1
Te Arawa	2	Te Ati Awa	1
Ati Haunuiapaparangi	1	Tuhoe	1
Ngai Tahu	1	Tuwharetoa	1
Ngai Tai	1	Grand	61
Ngati Apa	1		
Ngati Awa	1		
Ngati Hinehika	1	Hapu	n
Ngati Koata	1	family names	2
Ngati Kuia	1	Unknown	7
Ngati Mahuta	1	hapu named	15
Ngati Maniapoto	1	no response	6

* Participants could identify with as many iwi as they desired.

Demographics questionnaire and interview schedule

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (Appendix 12) used in this study was a derivative of the schedule used with the New Zealand participants but was designed to be more specific to the experiences of Maori in the Hawai'i context. One theme examined with participants in the New Zealand study, but not in this study, was how participants came to know themselves as Maori. I decided to leave out examination of this area and substitute it with an examination of what it meant to be Maori in

Hawai'i. I also made some changes to the order of questions and made greater use of prompts.

I piloted the schedule with my supervisor¹⁰ and three Maori graduate students at the University of Waikato who had lived in overseas locations to gain feedback on the clarity of questions, on the transitions from one thematic area to another, and on my interviewing style. Again, only minor changes to wording were made.

The interview schedule contained 24 questions, mainly open-ended, with associated prompts that were organised around four thematic areas. They were: being Maori in Hawai'i, maintaining Maori connections; thinking about whanau, hapu and iwi, and maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections. There was one final section of the interview schedule that dealt with general issues. Questions related to each of these thematic areas along with prompts used are described below.

Being Maori in Hawai'i

The first thematic area of the interview schedule focused on how the participant came to reside in Hawai'i, how 'being Maori' was part of their life in Hawai'i, how it was different to 'being Maori' in New Zealand, and the occasions that participants felt that it was important to identify themselves as being Maori. In designing these questions, I felt that these were easy 'openers' that participants could readily relate to and begin to discuss the nature of being Maori, generally, which was the focus of the section that followed.

Maintaining Maori connections

How participants maintained their Maori connections was the focus of questions grouped around this theme. If maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i or New Zealand was not a part of a participant's life, I explored the pathways by which they had arrived at this situation. If it was, then I explored with the participant the specific activities and frequency in which they engaged in such maintenance

¹⁰ Professor David Thomas

activities. Whether or not maintenance activities were difficult to engage in was also discussed, along with those things that make engagement harder or easier.

The last question under this theme explored whether the participant had ever felt like an ‘outsider’ to some Maori group and the reasons why this was the case. Their coping strategies were also sought.

Thinking about whanau, hapu, iwi and Maori

The next thematic area explored with participants in the interview sought to identify the conceptions that they held of their whanau, hapu and iwi. In particular, I was interested in the participant’s conceptual associations. For example, I asked the participant to think about their whanau and to describe to me those things that they thought about – those things that ‘popped’ into their minds. I asked them to do the same thing in relation to their hapu and iwi. In some respects, this was a preparatory line of questioning designed to get the participant to start thinking about issues that I would raise in subsequent areas of the interview.

For those participants who had disclosed in their responses to the demographics questionnaire that they did not know their iwi or hapu, I explored reasons with them as to why this was the case. Sometimes it was still appropriate to pursue questions about iwi and hapu, even if it was only to elicit a hypothetical response.

The final question under this theme attempted to explore the extent to which the system of whanau, hapu and iwi played a part in the participant’s life in Hawai’i.

Maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections

In the actual interview, the thematic area titled here as ‘maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections’ actually appeared as three separate areas. I did this to smooth the process of pursuing questions around each entity, that is, a whanau, hapu or iwi, so as to separate out the responses made by the participant in relation to each. This thematic area concerned those processes and activities that the participant engaged in to maintain their connections with their whanau, hapu and iwi both in Hawai’i and New Zealand. The questions posed closely approximated and followed the order of those asked of the participant about maintaining their Maori connections.

General

Three questions were posed in this section. The first related to advice that the participant would give to a home-sick Maori person who had recently arrived in Hawai'i. The purpose of this question was to illicit coping strategies about how to cope in the Hawai'i context. A further question explored the participant's intentions with respect to returning to live in New Zealand in the future and their reasons for returning or not returning. The final question invited the participant to make any further comments.

Procedure

The procedure for recruiting participants and for the administration of the demographics questionnaire has been described earlier in this chapter. Other than a few minor departures which are described below, the interview procedure for this study was the same as that used for the New Zealand study.

In contrast to the New Zealand study, where most of the interviews were conducted at the participant's home, many of the interviews conducted with participants in Hawai'i occurred outside of their homes. Venues for the interviews included restaurants, the beach, the grounds of BYU-H and the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. This is probably reflective of Hawai'i having a very warm climate that was conducive to such an activity being conducted outside.

Interviews that were conducted in the homes of participants were often preceded by a formal acknowledgement of me as a visitor from New Zealand. At such times, I made a response as appropriate to the occasion. This ranged from a simple 'thank you' to a formal mihi in response. As in the New Zealand study, I left it to the participant to indicate when they were ready to move on to begin the interview.

Most interviews were on average around 1 hour in length with older participants taking up to 2.5 hours.

Ethical Concerns

As in the New Zealand study, the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) informed the study and my behaviour as a researcher. In addition to this, I undertook to abide by the expected behaviour codes that were in place at Brigham Young University – Hawai'i, and at other institutions that I visited out of due respect for the contexts that I found myself in, and for those people whom I interacted with. I found none of the expected behaviour codes personally or professionally compromising.

Although Hawai'i is a Western, English speaking nation, it is culturally different from the New Zealand context. Many colloquialisms abound, Hawaiian and 'pidgin' terms are used continually, and because I look 'local' I was often interacted with on that basis. When I found myself in situations where I was mistakenly identified or expected to act in a particular way, I made explicit my origins and ignorance of the Hawai'i context. I found that people appreciated this response, and were apologetic for making an incorrect assumption.

All participants in this study provided their informed consent either by choosing to complete a process (ie, to return the demographics questionnaire) or by signing a standardised written consent form (Appendix 13).

In contrast to the New Zealand study, participants were given the right to withdraw from the study at anytime. That no one in the New Zealand study withdrew provided me with the confidence that the same would be the case for this Hawai'i study. I have not been subsequently contacted by any participant for this purpose.

A proposal for this study was reviewed by the Research Committee of the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. A proposal was also sent to Debbie Hippolite-Wright and Alice Unawai of Hawai'i to review.

Data Analysis

The analysis approached used for the Aotearoa study, was the same used for the Hawai'i study. But there was a difference. In the first study I had the luxury of engaging the data collection and analysis stages in collaboration with a research assistant. In this study I was more reliant on my supervisors, Professors Jane and

James Ritchie, to question and challenge my assumptions and interpretations. In this respect I was very fortunate. Jane and James had spent significant periods of time in Hawai'i, on the island of Oahu, and between them, they were familiar with the context and its history. My own experiences of Hawai'i were not as extensive as theirs and I have benefited from their insights, challenges and criticism.

Chapter Ten Being Maori in New Zealand

In this first study, 20 Maori people living in New Zealand were interviewed to gain an understanding of how Maori conceive and perceive of those Maori social groups to which they feel a sense of belonging or connection. In this chapter, I report on conversations with participants beginning with the points they raised about being Maori, their hapu and iwi conceptions, and how they went about maintaining those connections. The lay out of this chapter generally follows the order of questions in the questionnaire used with participants. However, this order varies when it comes to describing participants' connections with their hapu and iwi. Here, I have decided to present the findings concurrently rather than consecutively to avoid repetition.

Being Maori

The Māori people trace their origins to eastern Polynesia, where their ancestors set off in canoes and travelled many thousands of kilometres across the Pacific Ocean to New Zealand. Māori define themselves by their iwi (tribes) who each tell powerful stories of famous ancestors and voyaging canoes. The encounter with the European settlers, and the struggle for control of the land and resources, had a dramatic effect on the Māori population, its economy and way of life. Over the centuries the tribes have adapted to new circumstances. Some have combined, while others have divided, and they have moved from place to place in the country known to Māori as Aotearoa. Today, tribal groups support their members in urban centres as well as in their traditional regions (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005, para 1).

Maori, as a social group, is a pan-tribal identity tied to our historic interaction with Pakeha and is given coherency through a common language, Te Reo Maori, and through familiar customary practices that have enabled tribal groups to understand and interact with each other with familiarity and predictability. Our shared commonality in the presence of a contrasting and threatening dominant group has contributed to a sense of solidarity and political commitment as an ethnic group. In

this section, I present the findings as they relate to: a) realising a Maori identity; b) things that participants are curious about when they first meet another Maori person; and c) those things considered important to being Maori.

Realising a Maori identity

Becoming conscious of ethnic and cultural difference and realising one's membership in an ethnic group is a position that most participants came to realise when they were young, most often while they were at school and in contact with ethnically different teachers and peer group. Many of the encounters that raised this awareness were negative. Some encounters exposed the participant to Pakeha racism, others separated the participant from their Maori peers, for example, the streaming of children into different classes based on the expectations of the school of Maori, or in some cases, on IQ testing, often engendering feelings of surprise, frustration, and a sense of injustice. Kura's experience is typical of participants in this study.

Primary school days. It was actually on the first day. For one thing not knowing how to korero Pakeha and having spoken Maori I got rapped over the knuckles for that! It told me that I was different. Different in two ways actually, the colour for instance and the language. I was a different colour (from Pakeha) and I was speaking another language (Kura).

In contrast, Amo felt that she always knew that she was Maori, but this fact was pushed home through particular events and circumstances.

I've always known I was Maori, from birth but there have been incidents in my life, like when I moved to Christchurch and there were no Maori there and I really got a culture shock and it really came to the forefront that I was a Maori. Again at school being in Maori culture groups. You know your close connections with family. I'm from a family of fifteen brothers and sisters so that also makes me aware that I'm Maori. But the first time was when I was in Christchurch and there were no other Maori, ... that freaked me out! Right out! (Amo).

For most of the participants, the outcome of these negative experiences seemed to be an increased valuing of being Maori. It is clear that participants had to deal with the fact of being Maori quite early in life. Although they were required to reference themselves according to the values and norms of the dominant Pakeha society that they were a part of, they also had to give meaning to their minority status and identity as Maori. Miria provides a summary of this process.

It wasn't anything someone told me, I can't ever remember my father saying, "you're a Maori and being a Maori is this, this and this". I learnt that I was different from other people and the way they interacted with me. It was a bad experience until I got to high school where I had a Maori teacher who I guess instilled and told us the positive things about being Maori. The good things about being Maori. I started hearing that it was good to be Maori, that you should be proud of being Maori. I also started learning about things Maori. At the same time I still experienced negative things about being Maori while I was at high school as well. But I was very, very pleased, very, very happy, and appreciative that I had someone there saying that there were good things about being Maori (Miria).

Encountering Maori

After talking with participants about how they came to realise that they were Maori, our conversations shifted to encounters they had with other Maori. I asked them to tell me about those things they were curious about in others, and what they would disclose about themselves when first meeting another person. This proved to be a valuable entry point into understanding how they conceived of themselves and others. All participants could recall, reflect on and talk about interactions of this kind.

When encountering another Maori person for the first time, participants expressed interest and curiosity mainly about how the other was similar to them; that is, where they were from, and, more importantly, whether they had some kin-relationship. To a lesser degree, occupation, physical and personal characteristics, like attractiveness, were thought by some participants to be important enough to mention. While explanations provided by participants about why they were curious

about such matters centred on their desire to establish a base upon which to build and ease the interaction, the overwhelming objective appears to be to establish relatedness.

Locating a person according to geographical regions or places was the initial point of curiosity most frequently expressed by participants. Asking where someone is from questions a number of things all designed to establish the same end goal that is, to encode enquiries into whether the other is, or is not, a member of a mutually shared sub-network of people who at least hold the same ethnicity in common. The information sought through this initial query may refer to the area where the other was raised, where they reside currently, or, more exactly, those iwi regions and groups they affiliate to. A response by Harema illustrates these ideas.

I always want to know where they are from. I want to know lots of things but I'm always curious to know where somebody is from. Usually that's the first question because that breaks the ice with most people you meet. It's at the beginning of a conversation because then you sort out who you might have in common. There is hardly a Maori you meet that you don't jointly share someone in common. Then you've got something to talk about (Harema).

The locating of the other according to place is the most apparent dimension of conversations had with participants. It was the first thing that participants referred to. As they were further engaged, it became obvious that the notion of 'place' was simply an entry point into diverse relational matrices where participants were poised to "hop across the whanau links, through marriages, offspring and adoptions" (Ritchie, 1992, p. 68) to establish relatedness. I would expand Ritchie's list to also include non-kinship networks such as those related to work, sports teams and codes, performing arts, and education institutions.

There seems to be a priority associated with the nature of relatedness discovered. Although participants' expressed enthusiasm if a relationship based on place, activity or work was discovered, this enthusiasm seemed to be less than one established on the basis of kinship. A greater sense of meaning and understanding appears to be associated with the discovery of a kinship relationship. Miria's comment below reflects this idea.

I would have a stronger connection or bond with the person who said they were family, but then if someone came and said to me, "I'm from Rangitane", it would be more distant or probably similar to how I'd feel about Motuahi. Yes there is bond but not as strong as if someone who came to me and said this is how we're related. If they could show me a whakapapa link and I guess the closer the whakapapa link the closer the bond that I would feel. I guess what I'm trying to say is that I identify more with the whanau or the extended family rather than the hapu or iwi. But by them saying I'm Motuahi or I'm from Rangitane as well, that to me is saying something about them and us, and that we do share something. Be it a shared ancestor, waka or whatever (Miria).

What is unmistakable in responses of the participants is the need for a knowledge and experience about places, events, social groups and relationships to be able to place the other in a context relative to their own. Accurate placement of the other depends on the initial information provided during the early stages of an encounter. Perhaps a better understanding of this can be gleaned by what information participants themselves choose to provide in such interactions.

Disclosing to others

In response to asking participants about the information they would disclose to other Maori in an initial encounter, some participants reflected a concern about context variables indicating that how they would respond to another would depend on who the person was, where they were from, and the circumstances under which the parties had met. Beyond these concerns, most participants anticipated disclosing information about or alluding to the places they grew up, their whanau name, the people they know or married, the iwi, hapu or marae they belong to. Indeed, the nature of information participants would disclose is very similar to that information they would want to know of others, as Hineko described:

What I wanted to know about them is what I'd tell them about myself. If it was a person who was from the same iwi I'd tell them who I knew or how I was related to them, how I know their family, how I used to be nice and slim! I want them to know that, because I was different when I was slim! I'd tell

them about my kids, what I've done and my husband (Hineko).

Their rationale for doing so is best illustrated by Miria who highlights the offensive nature of the question “who are you?” She then describes her process of information giving and the reasons why.

Who are you? Well that's a bit of an insult. I don't have many people come to me and say who are you. And I'd think that it would be a bit of an insult that question. I'd have to ask why are you asking and for what reasons are you asking. I guess again it would depend on how they said it, and the way said it. Oh, even then I would find that quite insulting and I'd have to know the reason why they wanted to know (Miria).

It would depend on who it was. If it was a Pakeha then I would say, "I'm from Dannevirke", because I believe they're just asking that question to make conversation. But if it was a Maori asking me 'where I was from', to me that's not just asking me the actual place I'm from, that's where they're asking me 'who I am' but in a different, a nicer, more gentler way I suppose. So I would say to them, Dannevirke but I would also add that however I was born and raised in Taupo because when they ask me who I am and I say Dannevirke, they might say, "well do you know such and such from back there?" or "oh I've been to the marae out at such and such", and that sort of thing and because I haven't been brought up there I'd feel the need to further explain that (Miria).

The information that Makere would provide to others reflects an earlier case of a ‘mistaken identity’ that has conditioned her recent responding.

In recent years people have come up to me and said "What nationality are you?" Because a lot of them think I'm from India. So, I've been telling them, "No, I'm a Maori!" And the more people say, "Are you from India?" the more I say "I am Maori". This is because I think that they are misinterpreting (Makere).

Well, I find different nationalities ask me if I am Indian. I went to a meeting about two years ago with my family and this Indian person tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Excuse me, but where do you come from?" I looked at him and I said, "I'm Maori!" Maybe it's a good way of defending my own identity because you get a chance to say "I'm

Maori". So I'm actually advocating I'm Maori because if they didn't ask me what I was then they would never get to hear the word Maori (Makere).

Those participants interviewed who were of fair complexion also had similar difficulties to Makere and found themselves providing information that asserted their identity as Maori, such as a Maori name, growing up or being affiliated to a predominantly Maori community, associating with Maori sports groups, clubs and the like. This leads on to the next topic which was those things that participants felt were important about being Maori.

Important things about being Maori

In asking participants about the ‘important things about being Maori’, I recognised that some people would be better able to do this than others. The question was a hard one in that it required participants to picture their lives as Maori, and to understand those things that symbolised and contributed to the development and maintenance of their Maori identities. While participants pointed to a variety of things they felt were important to being Maori, three themes dominated their responses. They can be best described as Maori motuhake (uniqueness as Maori), whanaungatanga (relatedness and relationships to other Maori), and kotahitanga (unitedness or solidarity as Maori).

Maori motuhake

Participants mentioned a range of things that can be organised under the theme of Maori motuhake. Maori motuhake refers to those things that make us different and, therefore, unique as a people. They are those uniquely Maori pathways of divergence from how other cultural groups may do or view things. They include language, customary practices and institutions like marae, and customary knowledge. They include those things that Apiranga Ngata described as essential components of “Maoritanga” (Ritchie, 1963, p. 37) and what Durie (1998d, p. 75) refers to as “taonga tuku iho” (cultural heritages). In line with this theme, this is what Whaitiri thought were important to being Maori.

Learning about ancestors, about the reo and Maori culture. It teaches me about mana, learning how to use Maori weapons like the mere properly. Being in the kapa haka is important because we also learn how to stand and do actions properly according to the Tuhoe people. It's our way of holding on to our culture. I think whakapapa is important too. Knowing who you are and where you come from (Whaitiri).

Though some participants held up positive divergences from other cultural groups as important to being Maori, they also spoke about negative interactions and consequences, both historical and contemporary, that set Maori apart from other cultural and ethnic groups. The comments made by participants reflected their shared consciousness and experience as a dominated minority that contributed to their uniqueness. For example, Kanapu refers to a shared history of hurt stemming from “historical crap”.

I think one of the strong things for me is a shared history. I am fairly aware of a lot of the historical crap that has gone down for the people who have gone before us, and that's the sort of thing that I share with other Maori that are here with us now. I feel strong about that and there's a lot of mamae (hurt) there for me when I think of some of the shit things that have happened to our people. That's one strong thing I feel in common with other Maori people. We come from the same place, we've had the same history and that's how it's been for us (Kanapu).

Related to those comments made by Kanapu are those by Hineko who clearly articulates what she sees as the risk of an assimilated future and the need to value and retain those things that make us uniquely Maori.

We were here first, but we get a raw deal from the government and that, ...poor Maori. We don't get the same opportunities, I think, as Pakeha and Islanders. We're not as recognised. We're keeping our culture alive and if we don't do it now, when our kids are our age they won't know anything about it. They'll be like white people running around (Hineko).

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga encapsulates the importance that participants placed on whakapapa, whanau, relatedness and relationships. As Ritchie (1992) explained, whanaungatanga is about those things that tie people together in bonds of association and obligation and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. In line with this, participants told me that knowing one's relationship to other Maori, whether they are immediate or extended family or hapu or iwi connections, are important aspects of being Maori. Knowing one's whakapapa or genealogy was repeatedly emphasised as central to being Maori. While whakapapa was important to Tomairangi, so, too, was the historical dimension of whakapapa. Tomairangi captures this dimension of whanaungatanga.

Family, not just the immediate family but inclusive of the extended family. Where you're from and also the history of where you're from and your people, as in your whakapapa, your waka, your rohe (Tomairangi).

If the lines and layers of whakapapa are viewed as 'scaffolding', then the historical dimension, that is, the narratives of relatedness and relationships over time and place might be described as the 'bricks and mortar' of whakapapa, the stuff that gives whakapapa meaning and contributes to a sense of whanaungatanga. Parehuia elaborates on the importance of this aspect.

The feeling man! That strong, 'know who you are, where you came from, how you got there, where you're going, not being lost' feeling. That's part of that identity buzz. It gives you that sense of identity (Parehuia).

Kotahitanga

The notion of kotahitanga has unity as its ultimate goal but also reflects the processes that people go through to arrive at such a point. These processes may be fiercely political and status or deed oriented, or, alternatively, just a part of the everyday mundane social interactions that people engage in. Participants told me that a sense of 'togetherness' was important to being Maori. This was not just about Maori

motuhake or whanaungatanga. It was about doing those things that allow Maori to live in accord, understanding and solidarity with each other.

I think the most valuable thing is being able to identify with a larger group. You really don't feel like it's just you in this world. You feel like you're a part of a bigger group who share a lot of the same values, and beliefs and I think that when I look at my personality or my nature, the sort of person I am, that includes being Maori. For instance, when you're asked that question it's highlighted more so when you come up against someone who is not Maori. I've worked in a situation where I've been the only Maori amongst three or four Pakeha, and the different values and standards I've had as opposed to those Pakeha, or non-Maori around me, really bring home to me the qualities that I have, that I can attribute to my being Maori. For instance, I'm the only Maori in (workplace X) up here now but the way that I act or react to different, or certain things that are different to the way they react, I attribute to being Maori (Miria).

Even though ‘living as Maori’ and incorporating tikanga Maori (Maori customary practices) into one’s life were mentioned frequently by participants, it was done within the context of seeing strength in belonging to a larger collective, be it whanau, hapu, iwi or Maori generally. From belonging to these collectives, a sense of kotahitanga ensues from knowing that there are positive iwi divergences, hapu divergences and even whanau divergences. The best example of this is in the dialectal differences in te reo Maori, each dialect locating the speaker to a place and iwi.

Having discussed with participants those things they felt were important to being Maori, our discussions turned to focus on participants’ connections and conceptions of their hapu and iwi.

Hapu and Iwi connections

All Maori can lay claim to multiple descent lines through fathers and mothers and grandparents, echoing back to cosmological origins, and rippling outwards across generations to result in inextricably complex webs of inter-relatedness. This is what James Ritchie (1963) observed in Murupara, what Salmond (1975) witnessed in the

cake cutting ceremony, what the Kingitanga movement relies on for continued commitment (Ritchie, 1992), and what the Crown assumes to be ‘proper way’ in their settling of historic grievances with ‘large nature entities’ (New Zealand Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). Even the nuclear family spawns multiple social groups to which a person can claim.

I asked participants to tell me whether they belonged to any particular iwi or hapu and whether they felt more connected to any one group than some other. I also asked them to tell me about: what they thought of when they thought about their respective hapu and iwi; whether they saw any similarities or differences between them; and how they came to realise their iwi membership. In asking these questions, I made the assumption that the finer the distinctions made, the more familiar and attuned the participant was to the nuances of each of their respective hapu and iwi. Being ‘familiar’ and ‘attuned’ to one’s hapu and iwi does not necessarily mean that a participant had a positive sense of belonging or identity with these groups. Rather, it may suggest the presence of an enhanced range of knowledge, experience and relational resources that may serve as tools for engaging their hapu and iwi social environments in such a way that they are more readily included than others. In this section, I present the findings as they relate to: a) naming hapu and iwi; b) strength of connection; c) hapu and iwi conceptions.

Naming hapu and iwi

Seventeen participants could name at least one of their hapu, five could name two, two could name three, and one could name more than three. All participants could name their iwi and 14 indicated that they belonged to two or more iwi. Only four identified only one iwi. Three participants were unable to recall or could not name their hapu when asked. They were the younger participants; the older participants had no problems in this regard. In talking further with these younger participants, the inability to name one’s hapu was not unusual particularly given that these participants were raised outside their iwi and, therefore, hapu areas. While they may have visited or spent holidays in their hapu areas, it would appear that they were yet to learn finer details about their hapu.

Coming to know iwi and hapu

Unlike a realisation of being Maori, which occurred relatively early in life, a realisation of belonging to a particular iwi or hapu happened differently.

Collectively, participants mentioned an array of situations and events that helped to bring about a realisation of their iwi and hapu group membership. Many of the situations and events recalled were marae and hapu focused, that is, they were activities that facilitated, or provided the opportunity for a return to their marae in their iwi homelands. In a strict sense, these activities are more likely to facilitate and maintain whanau and hapu membership and identity. However, because of the interconnectedness of hapu and marae, it should not be considered unusual that participants in this study held such a focus. The curious aspect is the convergence of hapu and marae as the source of their iwi identity. Some of the activities that the participants related are described below.

Whanau reunions facilitate the coming together of whanau members, the strengthening of their relationships and the establishment of new ones, especially if there are new whanau members such as children or partners, the remembering of those who have died, and the simple pleasure and enjoyment of being together. Mihi, whaikorero, the recitation of whakapapa, stories, waiata, 'parties', eating, and quarelling are all vehicles that assist in engendering and cementing relatedness, both positive and negative.

Reunions are usually organised around the descendants of a particular ancestor or tipuna. That tipuna is usually at least three generations removed from the present, but can be up to five or six, depending on the number of descendants there are and how huge the event might become! To limit the expense and logistics of bringing people together, sometimes the tipuna are simply grandparents. The great thing about reunions is the knowledge that all those participating in the event are related. The key to enjoying and recognising the importance of the event is having a desire to find out the 'how' of relatedness.

We did a family reunion on my grandmother's side, ## years ago. We found out that my great great grandmother, I'm not sure how many greats there are - I think she was about an 8th Maori but she was brought up in a Maori community and didn't know how to speak English. She had this liaison with this Scottish sailor, got hapu but realised that they were

different and things weren't working out, so she ran away. She met someone else and proceeded to have about thirteen kids to him. ...It was while we were putting (these stories) together that I found out that there's another (iwi connection) as well, from her mother. Interesting stuff. How interesting those people were, not only finding out who they were, but their lives and how that influenced how I came to be (Manaia).

Tangi serve the function of drawing whanau, the wider hapu members, friends and associates together to play out the myriad of roles and responsibilities necessary for the smooth functioning of the mourning ritual. Everyone has a role, an obligation and a contribution to make. Perhaps this is why participants in this study, when returning to their iwi homelands and to their marae, did so most frequently on the occasion of tangi. It is at these times, when working closely together to complete tasks, to fulfill roles and responsibilities, or to discharge obligations, that the web of relatedness is revealed and given meaning. The revelation of connections may be prompted by simple observations and questions. For example, often I have been puzzled at the presence of a particular person at an event, or of a person performing a role that seems unusual. A simple "why is...?" question quickly clarifies the rightness (or wrongness) of their presence.

The ritual and practice of kawemate involves carrying the memory of someone who has recently died and grieving for that person along with others who have had recent bereavements, or with other whanau and hapu members, or at significant marae where the deceased was from or frequented. This is how the kawemate ritual helped Manaia to reconnect with the whanau and people of her father's hapu and iwi.

When we went back for the first time after my father died, because we hadn't been back in a long time, all the aunties came and saw us and sat down and told us who we were and who everybody was and who our whanau was. We had a sort of a get together about the marae, and the land that the marae was on and they took us all around to get to know who we were and where we came from. It was then that I realised what was so important about that place and belonging to that place. I would say I was fifteen, sixteen. It was sort of like a family reunion (Manaia).

There are other rituals and customary practices similar to tangi and kawemate that engender a sense of whanaungatanga, a sense of connectedness. I have explained above the institution of tangi and an event, but it also exists as a procedure. Here, especially during powhiri, the tangi is part of the whakaeke process that brings to life again memories of those who have passed, events and opportunities missed, and sadness's felt. The whakaeke, process of formal welcome, reaffirms identities and connections and bring those involved in the encounter closer together physically and psychologically.

On another level, the hurakohatu or the unveiling ceremony also serves to remember and memorialise those passed, but more importantly, releases immediate kin from the obligatory period of mourning. It frees them, and others, from the obligation to be sensitive and responsive to the passing of a loved one. Like reunions, tangi and kawemate, hurakohatu are events that present opportunities to gather, reconnect, reaffirm and to remember.

Some participants report taking their iwi group membership for granted - it was a fact of life that initially did not warrant examination or reflection. However, moving away from their iwi area, associating or meeting others from some other iwi or hapu, or attending events where people from other iwi or hapu participate - these circumstances provide contrasting opportunities. What was taken for granted position is contrasted with other positions and can lead to seeking how and why explanations. While the following quote elaborates these processes, it also highlights the danger of over-simplification about structures.

Well, when I was thirteen our Maori teacher at college set us an assignment, she said, "go home and find out your iwi and your waka" and that kind of thing and I went home thinking that was an easy assignment, because I knew my waka, and I knew my iwi. My kuia, my grandfather's sister was staying with us at the time and I wrote it all out for her and I gave it to her to look at and next minute she sat me down and told me that while we do have links into Kahungunu, Rangitane is our strongest. So all of a sudden I was to say I was Rangitane (Miria).

**INT: How did that make you feel?*

Very, very disillusioned. To me it was similar to finding out you were adopted. You know, one minute you know these are your parents, your mum and dad, and you've known that for

years, then all of a sudden someone came up to you and said you were adopted. So I felt quite disillusioned, believing that I was one thing for x-amount of things and then finding out I wasn't. But I've gotten over it now (Miria).

Collectively, people in this study mentioned participating in an array of situations and events that helped to bring about a realisation of their iwi and hapu group membership. They included: reunions, tangi, kawemate and other marae based activities, as well as finding themselves in circumstances that provided the opportunity for information to be sought. Interestingly, participants' conceptions of their iwi tended to focus more on hapu and its physical manifestation, the marae, rather than on how they and their hapu may have fitted into the broader iwi construct. While participants may have related the fact of their connection to different hapu, iwi, places, people and marae, this does not tell us much about how strong these connections were. This is covered in the following section.

Strength of connection

The cohesiveness and strength of a participant's connection or affinity with their respective hapu and iwi appears to be impacted by a variety of things. This includes the influence of inter-ethnic, inter-iwi, and inter-hapu marriage, the extent to which parents maintain connections with their whanau, hapu and iwi, and the extent to which they encourage the involvement of their children.

Although only 6 participants identified as having grandparents, parents or partners who were other than Maori, these significant non-Maori others appear to have influenced the cohesiveness and strength of a participant's affinity with their hapu and iwi. Their influence is at least two fold. Where significant others have acted to embrace the culture of their Maori partners, the outcome for their partner or descendants seems to be a far stronger understanding of where the participant fits into the network of kin that constitutes their hapu and iwi. When I use the term 'understanding', I am not referring to a fluency in whakapapa, or an adeptness in any specific Maori custom, or competency in te reo Maori. Too often these things are taken as the measure of being Maori, and of what it means to belong to a hapu and iwi. Here I use the term 'understanding' simply to mean a sense of comfort in, and commitment to, the activities that are occurring around oneself, in knowing that one

belongs and has a position from whence to say "this is where I come from", "this is where I belong", "this is who I am". Manaia's comments capture the sense of belonging and place that many participants expressed.

...So all we have to do is go back there, you don't know anybody and you just tell them your name and they know who you are. There's just an instant connectedness there. "Oh we know where you come from!" and you may not even know them. You feel as though you're at home even though you don't know them (Manaia).

Manaia's story is particularly interesting as she highlights the dynamics of an inter-ethnic marriage. 'The hand that rocks the cradle' is an apt metaphor to describe the influence over children that one parent, in contrast to the other, can have. The following comments describe Manaia's understanding of her family, the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriage and how it has influenced the respective members of her whanau.

Whereas it's a bit tricky with my mother. For lots of reasons. One I think is because my grandmother was very much a Pakeha. She only had a small bit of Maori. My grandfather was the full Maori but she played the dominant role in the relationship...(and) the dominant role in bringing up the children. They still had the same values because they were brought up with their first cousins but my grandmother was very aloof, very much a snob. So a lot of that translated itself to mum and her family, and in doing so I think they valued a lot of Pakeha things. But in saying that, I think intrinsically all those Maori values were there, looking after the family, the marae, the manaaki bit. I mean, when they go to the marae they're all very much in the kitchen because they're such wonderful cooks and they know how to cater very well, no matter how big the occasion and all the rest of it. We were all brought up in the kitchen. But for them that whole Pakeha bit was different, because they were used to it. Mum doesn't karanga or anything, she just plays the kuia who sits there and just agrees with everything. Her brothers and sisters are the same, none of them can korero. Because my father died when we were young, my mother had a heavy influence. So half my family, a large part of it, my brothers are quite happy to be, well not plastic Maori but not committed Maori. I shall tell you what that means. It means that they're Maori but they don't practise Maori culture, in the sense of going to the marae all the time, in the sense of going to Maori hui. They go to work, earn money, go home

and because they're married to Pakeha they acknowledge that they're Maori and that's about it (Manaia).

Manaia's comments also highlight another influence that inter-ethnic marriage may have. Where being Maori and part of a hapu and iwi network is not embraced by a significant non-Maori other, a possible outcome is a reduction in participation by the partner or descendant in hapu and iwi activities. For Manaia's brothers, the acknowledgement and identification by them as Maori might be referred to as a 'contrasting' position, that is, being Maori explains something (skin colour, relatives, accent) that is different from one's partner. Beyond that difference, all other things (ethnically speaking) are the same.

Some of the participants related accounts and outcomes of being a whangai raised by person(s) other than their biological parents, or the impact upon themselves of parents or grandparents who were whangai (see Metge, 1995 for full account of the whangai concept). The accounts of participants, their parents, or grandparents who had been adopted (opposed to being whangai) were also similar. Mereana, who was raised by her grandparents after her mother died, highlights some of the consequences of such a status. The strength of her connection with her father and his iwi is interesting. Mereana's father left his tribal area, the reason remaining a mystery. One might surmise that the reason may have been related to some negative consequence. However, the outcome of Mereana's circumstance is that she felt far more connected with the hapu and iwi of her maternal grandparents, than with that of her father. Mereana told her story below.

When I was young girl, I wasn't brought up by my father. I was brought up by my grandparents, my mother's people. I went to see my father on weekends. It was a bit like what you'd call visiting rights. He re-married after my mother died, I was only a baby. My grandparents ensured that I kept in touch with my father. In lots of ways all I knew my father for, from that very young age and growing up, right till I reached high school, was that he was my father and he was also the person who gave me my weekly allowance. Which is a crazy way of remembering one's father. But I knew him for nothing else. Of my mother's side I knew a lot about hapu activities because the old people were always down at the marae. With my father's side it wasn't until just before high school, that I discovered that my father came from another tribe ... (not from) down the pa. So, I knew my father came from another tribe but I had no idea which one. It wasn't until

I was quite old, in my late twenties ...that he actually told me where he came from. ...So I found other bits and pieces and long before my father died he talked a little more about his family and those were quite precious times he and I had. That's all I know about that Nga Puhi connection, what he told me and (he) knew very little (Mereana).

Participants often spoke in a 'matter of fact' way about grandparents, or earlier ancestors re-marrying or having more than one husband or wife, or more than one 'family'. However, how participants felt about their own parents remarrying and the presence of a 'step-parent' was more emotively charged. For some participants, like Kanapu, the presence of a step-parent was a positive and valued experience, enabling him to explore who his real family and father were. When prompted about the impact of not knowing or not having contact with his father, Kanapu said...

Well none really to be honest. It's been more of a thing for me to make contact with the whanau. My father knows that I'm back on the scene, he can take that or leave it. I haven't spoken to him, but I'm expecting to see him. He and his wife are going to be coming back some stage soon. I'm likely to meet them. The funny thing for me is that he's got another family and my position right from the start, from when I first made contact with the family, was that I didn't want to upset the apple cart, in some sense. If he feels okay about making contact, I'm fine. But it hasn't been a problem for me. I suppose part of that too is because my stepfather who is with my mum at the moment, they've been together twenty five years or something. I was only seven or eight when he came onto the scene. He's always been a good father figure to me in a lot of ways. So I haven't really had any problems with the fact that my real father hasn't been part of my life. But in saying that I'm not saying that I don't want him to be part of my life (Kanapu).

For Hiko, the experience was similar, yet different. This participant was bought up by his step father and had lived all his life in Tuwharetoa. Of his maternal mother's side, he knows that the family environment that his mother came from was quite harsh given that his grandmother died young and the task of raising other children was left to his mother. His grandfather also married again to a woman the same age as his mother. His impressions of his mother's side is that they were very 'hard'. He described his paternal grandmother's family as very humble and religious. Hiko is quite comfortable residing in Tuwharetoa where his step-father is from.

However, he is conscious of not belonging in the same ways as those who have a kin-connection to the area. This is evident in some interactions he has had with local people.

It's only till Tuwharetoa people start talking and asking where I'm from, ...they sort of change the subject when they find out I'm not from here. Usually, just like when I'm in Tuwharetoa and everyone here, they identify you through who your parents are and all that. You're sort of lost. When they find out your parents aren't from here they really can't identify with it. So you're sort of stuck with nothing you know. Well, that's how I feel sometimes (Hiko).

While not fully investigated, the narratives of participants suggest that if parents or grandparents have a strong connection to hapu and iwi then their children or grandchildren are also likely to develop a similar sense of belonging. Narratives also suggest that a sense of belonging can be compromised, particularly by remarriage, interethnic and inter-tribal marriage, and whangai practices.

I have presented and discussed above those factors that appear to compromise a sense of belonging to hapu and iwi. For this group of participants, these compromising factors appear to be experienced differently. Some spoke about these circumstances with a sense of acute loss and disconnectedness but others were quite philosophical, accepting their circumstance as a simple twist within their life journey – just another hurdle to overcome. It is perhaps this latter attitude that appeared to be adopted by participants in this study as they all discussed with me ways in which they navigated their circumstances to maintain, and in some instances, to reinvigorate their hapu and iwi connections and sense of identity. These issues will be further explored after consideration of the content of participants' conceptions of their iwi and hapu.

Hapu and iwi conceptions

A capacity to make fine distinctions between different iwi and hapu suggests a greater exposure, knowledge and experience of these groups. To illustrate, I draw a comparison with the knowledge gained by short-term versus long-term sojourners. A short-term sojourner might walk away from their experience having learned that

the Maori world is tribally structured and that iwi also consist of sub-tribes or hapu. They might also learn that tribal groups are affiliated with a specific location and that marae are associated with different hapu. In comparison, a long-term sojourner might come to know more about Maori-Pakeha encounter history, about tribal history, and the differences between tribal groups. They may also learn something of customary practices, like, marriage customs, family creation and whangai practices, and discern differences in ‘doing things’ between situations. As marae are salient physical structures, they may come to understand that carvings are not gods, but ancestors, that each marae, while structured similarly, has their own character peculiar to those people and social relationships that make marae ‘go around’. They may also learn that social relationships, lineal and lateral webs of relatedness, form the essential fabric of the Maori world. The important point I wish to make here is that capacity to discern difference between iwi, and between hapu, is dependent upon opportunity, exposure and engagement on either an actual or vicarious level. Coming to know these things takes time and energy. These are the things that were discussed with participants.

Thinking of iwi

Though participants came from a variety of iwi, they tended to think about them in similar ways. For example, whakatauki that epitomized their iwi were often recalled.

I think of the sea and the coast and seafood for some reason. Also I'm reminded of our whakatauki that was told to me about Kahungunu, 'Nga Tukemata O Kahungunu'. It's a whakatauki about Kahungunu. All it would take for him was a flutter of his eyelashes to bed a woman. So he was supposed to be this handsome, strong, warrior. He was handsome and strong and I remember knowing that his expertise was to provide food, so he was a good provider. But he used to woo these women from all over the country and take them to his bed. That's what I think when I think of Kahungunu. Beautiful, beautiful people (Miria).

In Miria's comment, she made reference to Kahungunu being a seaboard iwi. Similarly, when she thought about Te Arawa, she referred to what she saw as its

environmental location, that is, its situation in the Bay of Plenty volcanic and lakes district.

I suppose Te Arawa I associate with Rotorua. With Rotorua comes all the touristy, commercialised stuff. I also think about going to Rotorua when I was a kid, the smell and places like Whakarewarewa where you could see old Maori relics of wharehenui and going and seeing all the hot baths where our people used to bathe and cook their food. So although it is quite touristy it's also quite steeped in culture. So when I think of Te Arawa I think of Rotorua and all those things there (Miria).

While participants made numerous references to place, some also shared their views of tribal custom and perspectives on their relatives that belonged to those iwi they were providing comment on. Kanapu, who was raised in Te Aupouri held this perception of Te Arawa, his mother's iwi.

I think there are things that need to be straightened up back there. Looking at Te Arawa, looking at a lot of the people that I've met from back there, I think a lot of Te Arawa men have got problems aye, myself ...I think they've got a pretty shit attitude towards women aye. I don't know why that is. Maybe that's just the way they are, the way they've always been and the way they hope it will always be. But I don't know, I think someone at some stage has got to go down and lay the wero down. I mean that's one of the things, I'm proud of being Te Arawa but that's one of the things about being affiliated down there that I cringe a little bit about. I'm very aware of that and I'm sure there are a lot of other people too, aware of the sort of crap that's going on (Kanapu).

Other conceptions of iwi included a focus on capacity in Te Reo Maori and preservation of tikanga Maori, like that held by Keita.

The people. The language because Tuhoe are quite renowned for te reo Maori, fluency in te reo Maori. Tikanga. Because they are the children of the mist. This is how I see it, there are a lot of hills and the mist rises from the hills and covers the land. I think it goes like that. When I hear 'children of the mist', I just identify it with Ruatahuna (Keita).

In contrast, Koha thought about the influence of Pakeha upon his iwi of Ngai te Rangi. Of his other iwi, Ngati Ranginui, he thinks about the extent to which it has been dominated by Ngai te Rangi. This is what he said.

I see it as an iwi that has been influenced heaps by Pakeha. Heaps and heaps. Although there have been benefits, in the long term I think they've been detrimental to our people. I can think of a lot of Ngai te Rangi people who in Pakeha eyes hold positions of responsibility and are well educated, like I said before they've had to compromise a lot of tikanga Maori to get to those positions. Of Ngati Ranginui I feel that they are not so much an oppressed iwi but an iwi that has been dominated by Ngai te Rangi. Ranginui have always been staunch in their Maori rather than the values of Pakeha and the advantage of taking that stance in the old days are being seen now. Ranginui is the flag bearer in tikanga and kapa haka now and yet they're the minority (Koha).

The things that participants thought about when thinking about their iwi are perhaps best summarised by Harema's comments.

My iwi Tuhoe ...I see hope for my kids, this may sound all warm and fuzzy and very nineties but it's true. I see that they are going to have a sense of pride that they are Tuhoe. I see an iwi that has survived the ages where everybody was getting caught up in the system. Thank God they were left behind. Thank God they were isolated. They have retained a beauty that no other iwi has managed to retain and I mean that very respectfully. With Tuwharetoa I see geographically a beautiful place. When I think about Whanau a Apanui it's probably the same as Tuwharetoa. I think about the marae there that I don't know. I think about all the whanau there that I don't know. That's what I think about. Whenever I think of Whakatohea it's really straight back to my grandparents I suppose. I think about the marae and that we don't go back there probably because we had our grandparents' homestead. We didn't really go back to the marae (Harema).

Most writers define an iwi as a corporate group comprised of hapu that have aligned politically for a greater collective purpose, primarily for protection and defence of their collective territory and status (Ballara, 1998). Epitomised by some founding ancestor, kinship and descent are tools that identify one's right to membership. In our conversations with participants, they did not start with a

definition of a tribe as one would expect in an academic work; rather, they referred implicitly to those vital elements that they unconsciously knew to be the basis of an iwi. Iwi might share elements in common, but they are not all the same. I asked participants to tell me about the similarities and differences between their iwi so that I could further investigate their iwi conceptions.

Iwi differences and similarities

As might be anticipated, participants referred to differences in the geographic location of their respective iwi, their proximity to urban areas, and their own engagement with their respective iwi groups.

Well, the main differences I see are the geographical location of the two. They seem to be so dissimilar. Ruamata is so close to a main city whereas our marae up north is isolated, it's not active in the same sense that Ruamata is. There always seems to be something going on down there whether they've got wananga reo, just having that kura there makes a big difference. Whereas marae up north the only 'hops' are tangi and things like that, and reunions, we've had reunions up there. But they just seem so different (Kanapu).

Pikihuia referred to her iwi being distinguished by different types of leadership.

As I said Kahungunu have such a vast area that they've divided themselves up into taiwhenua and the thing that is missing is one strong leader at the moment. With Raukawa, the ones who are leading it now were actually taken in hand by the elders so they've had the grounding. I think that's the major difference there because I think it would be unfair to say one is more of a 'go getter' than the other. I think every iwi is a 'go getter'. It's just a matter of trying to get it all together (Pikihuia).

Differences in customary practices dominated responses. This is what Amo said.

The strength of Tuhoe tikanga, reo, Maori values. practicing traditional Maori things and without money. Without having people pay them to do these things, they do it regardless.

Other things are the fact that the Te Arawa, Ngati Awa and Tuhoe have different kawa altogether. With Maori culture their kawa is different. Those are the general things that spring to mind at the moment (Amo).

I also asked participants to consider the similarities between their iwi. Interestingly, they appeared to find this difficult. Kanapu is able to identify fundamental similarities like whakapapa, having marae and a similar if not common tikanga, but like other participants, was reluctant to go much further than this.

I suppose there are if you're looking at them in terms of their structure and composition, like whakapapa ties and the identification with the marae and that sort of thing, but I suppose when I think about the two I see the differences a lot more than the similarities (Kanapu).

If the iwi that a participant was comparing were located close to each other geographically, then participants found it a little easier to identify similarities.

Heaps between Ngati Awa and Tuhoe. They're both on the fine line where the rangatahi are striving to learn a lot of their traditions but there are traditional barriers that they have to get over first. Both Ngati Awa and Tuhoe are proud iwi and they're not about to let their 'ihu hupe' come up and learn a lot of that stuff. Another similarity is the way they learn, their traditions through whakapapa which are really close, that's the same (Amo).

Mostly, participants found this question difficult.

Thinking of Hapu

As mentioned previously, many participants were able to identify as belonging to numerous hapu. Some of these hapu were within the same iwi group and reflected the descent lines of one parent, grandparent or other ancestors. Sometimes both parents were of the same iwi and belonged to various hapu in the one iwi. In the majority of cases, the parents of participants came from different iwi and a participants' belonging to numerous hapu across these iwi regions reflected this.

When participants thought about their hapu they usually had three anchor points: their marae, its symbolism and its environmental situation; the marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics; and the nature of their relationship or that of their parents or grandparents to the marae and its community.

The marae and its structures typically symbolise the genesis of the hapu. The wharenui (be it adorned or not) tends to be the most symbolic structure as it embodies and represents the ancestor that binds the different descent lines of the families that make up the hapu. The way that Amo and Parehuia conceive of their hapu reflects both what exists on a physical level, and what those things symbolise and call to mind.

With Ngati Koura I think of family ties, the wharepuni. I think of mother, my nan and my koroua who have died and then from there I think of all the people who have died away (Amo).

The Tupuna, Tuwhiwhia. Where our line is to him (Parehuia).

Clearly what is called to mind by Amo and Parehuia are ancestors, descent lines and people. In contrast, Keita and Mania think beyond marae structures to the natural environment and its peacefulness. Miria thinks about the prominence of the mountain range behind her marae.

I just think of the environment and how peaceful it is (Keita)

Also the forests up there, Tanemahuta and just the farm land and how isolated and peaceful it is up there (Mania).

I see a river and a mountain range and a marae and an urupa. The mountain range I suppose is the most prominent thing (Miria).

Other participants, like Mania mentioned oceans, lakes, rivers and mountains where their hapu and marae were situated.

I think of Cape Reinga, the lighthouse and where everything all meets. When I go back there I think of beaches, Ninety

Mile Beach and how it stretches right up to the top. And I think of all the other East Coast beaches and just how quiet and beautiful they all are (Mania).

The marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics were also thought of, on the one hand, signalling a sense of togetherness and fun, yet, on the other, signs of stress and dysfunction.

Tradition, tikanga, housie, golf tournaments, haka practice for our kids, we have it in our hall, our dilapidated dining hall. The struggle for money (Amo).

There are negative connotations when I think of my hapu at (...) because my family are involved in a gang (Keita).

A lot of people riding horses. That they're more into their language, speaking Maori than anyone else that I know of (Hineko).

Hatepe's response was significantly more detailed and intimate than others reflecting his involvement in the life of his hapu and marae. Nevertheless, he still referenced his ancestors, their symbolic representation, the importance of inclusiveness and the potential benefits of belonging.

Well like I said we're really trying to struggle setting it up and we're getting other people saying, "why are you using this name? You shouldn't be using this name, you should be known as so and so." We say why should we moan about it when the Kingitanga before them recognised that name, why should we change it now, our whakapapa proves that we come from that line. Just because we're not exposed to the European system of being registered as a trust, people are starting to kick up a fuss. We support that our tipuna be recognised, not so much for us, but for all those people under his umbrella, then they'll get a slice of the pie, whether it's for health, education or social problems (Hatepe).

The most consistent conception related those generations above those people spoken to, like parents and grandparents. Hapu and their respective marae were often referenced through mothers, fathers or grandparents, with the participant's group membership being established through these people.

The people that are there, my grandmothers relations, all her brothers and sisters and their kids (Hineko).

Te Aupouri - It was when dad died and we went to his marae up north. I asked mum where we were and she told me (Whaitiri).

Hapu differences and similarities

When participants were asked to identify differences between their respective hapu groups, the marae was central to their discriminations. Some referred to their ancestral houses being carved or not and to the general state of the facilities (well maintained or otherwise). Some spoke to the people being different, that is, they were different descent groups, had different histories, and were differently related to the participant (eg., mother's family or father's family).

Difference to me were just family wise. Two different families. The ones on the Te Rarawa side, they were sort of humble people and the ones on my grandfather's side, Te Aupouri, they were sort of wild, pretty hard, aye (Hiko).

Some talked about the geographic location of marae.

Well the main differences I see are the geographical location of the two. They seem to be so dissimilar. Ruamata is so close to a main city whereas our marae up north is isolated, it's not active in the same sense that Ruamata is. There always seems to be something going on down there whether they've got wananga reo, just having that kura there makes a big difference. Whereas marae up north the only 'haps' are tangi and things like that, and reunions, we've had reunions up there. But they just seem so different (Kanapu).

Related to Kanapu's comments are those by Mania whose focus is on how different hapu groups use their marae and for what purposes.

Nga Takoto are sort of ultra modern in lots of ways. The marae is like a house. A lot of my cousins up there are the die hard radicals that went to Waitangi every year to protest before it became popular and are still protesting now. A lot of their radical hui were all there. The marae was host to

anything and everything and I know down here it wouldn't be quite so open. It's not really a marae in the proper sense, it's just more a place (Mania).

Keita, whose hapu were closely located to each other, reflected upon the ways in which they helped each other out, given their resources.

More people go to Te Rewarewa because it's flasher and it accommodates more people. Ohotu only has one wharenuī and wharekai and you can't fit that many people there. If they have functions at Te Rewarewa and if there's not enough room for people to sleep they just go across the bridge to Ohotu (Keita).

Similar to when participants spoke about similarities between their iwi, they also found it difficult to talk about similarities between their hapu. Those whose hapu were of the same iwi tended to emphasise the relatedness of people between hapu, in many cases the people being the same. Some referred to the continuing struggle to find finances and some to the effort required to maintain an institution, particularly if they were located in isolated areas. Many participants, said of their hapu, that "...there is no one there now", "...they don't have any kaumatua", "...they've gone away to work", "...there's no one to look after the marae". But to most participants marae and hapu still seemed to matter.

There are a diverse range of issues raised here about marae and hapu. I have touched on most of them but only in a superficial way. I have purposefully avoided their exploration as one issue alone could easily become a major topic of research in and of itself! While I am passionately interested in these issues, their exploration will have to wait for some other future series of studies, for that is what it will take. Some of this work has already started, for example, with graduate work about the changing roles of Kaumatua (Davies, 2006), the changing institution of whangai (McRae, Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Rua, 2006), and the mediating effect of the media on Maori cultural concepts (Groot, Nikora, Hodgetts, & Karapu, 2006). In this regard, the way forward in examining developments associated with marae and hapu, will be to keep the idea of change and adaption central to the investigation.

Maintaining hapu and iwi identities

In the previous section I presented those results that related to belonging to iwi and hapu and their realisation of conceptions and sense of connectedness with these groups. I also described the perceived differences and similarities participants held of their respective hapu and iwi. In this present section, I turn my attention to ways that participants maintain their hapu and iwi connections, that is, their sense of relatedness, belonging and identification with their hapu and iwi. Below I present: the activities they engaged in; how often they felt they had to do these things versus what happened in reality; those things that helped or hindered their engagement in hapu and iwi maintenance activities; and how they coped if they felt like an outsider to their hapu or iwi group. Again, I have chosen to present the findings about hapu and iwi together as the activities engaged in and the facilitators or inhibitors of activities were mostly the same.

Things important to maintaining hapu and iwi connections

Hapu and iwi *membership* are inherited or ascribed positions, however, hapu or iwi *identities* are socially constructed, both acquired through social exchanges with others and dependent upon such for their maintenance and evolution. As a teacher of Maori students I have repeatedly observed Maori students stand and recite their claim to a particular hapu and iwi. I often wondered whether these were the only occasions they had had to make such memberships publicly known or whether there were other things that they did that were hapu or iwi oriented, that provided them with feedback to further evolve their identities. Participants in this study tended to focus their activities around two social settings: the marae or hau kainga and settings that were not of their hapu or iwi (eg., urban centres, social networks).

Te Hau Kainga

People who live alongside or in close proximity to marae and contribute to their physical maintenance as well as to the smooth running of marae activities are firmly described by metaphors such as ‘te wa kainga’, ‘te hau kainga’, or ‘te hunga kainga’, or simply, ‘the home people’. They are usually those who ‘hold the keys’ to marae buildings, are often the first contacted to book the marae for events, often sit on the

marae committee, and are those that you would normally expect to see at any event at the marae. These people perform a function, more than just that of grounds person, head cook or kitchen hand, orator or performer of waiata. For whanau members living away, their members of te hau kainga perform the important function of being the face of their whanau, the keeper of their ahi kaa; their home fire, and an important channel for information, social introductions to other whanau and hapu members, and for more practical things like providing a place to stay when whanau members visit.

Going home often there are the ones you see all the time and they are the ones who draw you back all the time (Pikihuia).

Well I'm pretty much dependent on my family and some of my extended family who actually live in the area, who were born and bred in the area to actually keep me in touch, to keep me posted, I'm very dependent on them. I always go back there when I'm asked to go back there, for whatever reason (Tomairangi).

For many of te hau kainga, making the ultimate commitment to their marae and hapu is not an easy task. Issues of employment and education still plague them and the need to sustain oneself is no different than it is for those who are living in towns or cities. Many survive on government pensions or travel to work in adjoining districts, or simply commute to towns or cities close by, some returning only during weekends. For some participants in this study, the desire to return home to te hau kainga was still strong and was aspired to later in life, once questions of income and self-sufficiency had been solved.

One of my plans is to move back to Hokianga, more specifically to Rawene. Catching the ferry from A to B, on one of my holidays, I realised how I'd forgotten how beautiful and tranquil the place was and how peaceful, and how much I miss the peace and quiet. There's no rush (yet). There's still a lot happening. So I decided in about ten, fifteen years time to move back there and establishing being from their again (Mania).

Going home

Although a desire to return to live in their iwi regions was apparent, making frequent returns to te hau kainga was perhaps the most common activity that participants saw as contributing to maintaining their hapu and iwi connections. The urge to return was particularly felt in the case of tangi and family events.

It's become increasingly important to me to go to tangi no matter what. That importance has become even greater in the last couple of years with the death of my natural father and the father that brought me up. Now I feel a lot of pressure and everybody's telling me that I have to go back. Apart from that I've always known within myself and I've done a lot of things like making sure that I'm part of committees that concern each of those hapu (Koha).

One's physical presence and participation in the events of the marae and working alongside those of te hau kainga were perceived of as contributing to a number of processes and outcomes such as those commented on below and in the following sections.

To go back as often as I can. To help out in the kitchen, setting the tables for the visitors. Things like that, working on the marae (Keita).

It's more important for me to maintain my iwi identities within those two iwi and outside, even if it's just by being there. I've noticed since my father died that even if I don't get up, people still mihi to me specifically. That's made me realise more, that I've got to be where ever our people go. And even if they don't go, it's important for me to be there. I went up to Whangarei to an unveiling of a woman who had been married to one of my relations. My uncle and I went. Out of this big crowd we were picked out. I mean it's only natural that you would but what I'm saying is that just being there is important (Koha).

Recognising relatedness

Related to Koha's comments above is the idea of returning to te hau kainga or one's iwi homelands. One's face is seen and the memory of one's family is revived, even if no one engages a direct conversation where these things are discussed. The real fact of simply being present creates curiosity and a platform upon which a person or

others might inquire directly, or indirectly as to how one "fits in" or how one is related. In Haneko's case, she was known to others, that is, others knew how she fitted in and where she belonged in their shared relational network even if she were still to develop this understanding.

I didn't know anyone when I first went back there, they all knew who I was but I didn't know anything about them and until I got to know them I didn't want to go back there. I didn't like going back there; I thought they were pretty uncivilised. My city upbringing (Haneko).

Without presence, the reality of relatedness is somewhat vicarious and difficult to cement. Participants in this study often spoke about their hapu and iwi connections in a vicarious way, that is, according to what their parents or grandparents or relatives had told them. These issues are addressed further below when I discuss those things that make it harder or easier to maintain iwi and hapu connections.

Ahi Kaa - Rekindling the fire

On one level, presence permits 'a place' for a person to be manifest or to reoccupy. In realising the place of a person within a kinship network, that whole network becomes represented within that one person. Memories of relatives who are absent or who have passed on are rekindled, remembered and events that they were a part of revisited. To be present means that many have been represented the effect being the rekindling and stoking of one's home fire.

Because we hadn't been back in a long time, all the aunties came and saw us and sat down and told us who we were and who everybody was and who our whanau was. We had a sort of a get together about the marae, and the land that the marae was on and they took us all around to get to know who we were and where we came from. It was then that I realised what was so important about that place and belonging to that place. I would say I was fifteen, sixteen. It was sort of like a family reunion (Mania).

With specific reference to the notion of ahi kaa, Miria told us:

Yeah, to go back there and just reinforce the bond or link that I have there. The other proverb, 'a face seen is a face known', sort of go down and do that sort of thing, so that I'm known and so that I can establish my links. And if ever I had children I would definitely make a move back down there because basically I wouldn't want my children to go through what I've had to go through, and that's living away from the area and not knowing, not being brought up around there with your cousins and relations (Miria).

Sharing the load

On a more practical note, the presence of another set of hands, another body, another mind, another knowledge set and practical skills helps to contribute to marae and hapu tasks and roles, even if that presence is for a short time only. There are always things to do at a marae or at the residence of someone living within te hau kainga. Sharing the load may simply mean providing a willing ear for others to sound off to. Or, it may mean preparing food, washing dishes, cleaning toilets, or performing tasks or roles as part of those rituals carried out on the marae. Participation in these activities provides a way for people to contribute and to feel a part of the immediate and ongoing life of a hapu and a sense of ensuring its continuity. Participation in the work of a marae contributes to a sense of belonging to a place. The contribution is tangible and visible and has the effect of sharing the load carried by those of te hau kainga.

For those hapu and iwi that have developed, in association with marae, 'new' institutions like health centres, kohanga reo, and radio stations, new roles are developed. Health centres spawn community health workers, doctors, nurses, and health promoters. Kohanga reo generate bus drivers, teaching staff like 'nanny', 'whaea' and 'matua', and cleaning staff too. Radio stations require announcers, reporters, recording artists, and invited guest commentators. New loads are created. New ways of fitting in and helping out emerge.

Living away

Almost three quarters of those I spoke with lived outside of their iwi regions and away from their hapu and marae. Some were first generation migrants, but most had been living away for more than two generations. This positioning is evident in the comments made by participants above. The majority of comments tend to focus on

going back or returning home. The task of maintaining their hapu and iwi connections without being physically present at their marae or in te hau kainga or iwi region was negotiated in a variety of adaptive ways but did not seem to be as important as returning home. Somehow, returning to re-greet and engage the physicality and demands of the hapu environment was far more meaningful and significant than other activities.

Recognising and being with others

In the absence of the physical presence of their marae, participants emphasised the importance of maintaining their hapu connections through socialising and being with others of their own hapu and iwi. The idea of hapu or iwi was conceptualised more as a relational kinship network, the hapu having 'closer' social significance than iwi. By this I mean that hapu relatives had shared families, marae and experiences in common even if these were primarily with whanau and extended whanau members.

Socialising with relatives and hapu here where I work or else when I go to Auckland going to see all the relatives. Just regularly connecting up with everybody (Manaia).

With regard to iwi, the experiences tended to be more global and less specific, for example, the Te Maori Art Exhibition involved different iwi groups whose members were called upon to provide exhibition guides, oral historians, and to act as hosts for the exhibition. Those who played these roles are able to talk of their experiences and find common iwi ground in this experience. The same is true of other events, like the Tuhoe Festival, or the National Kapa Haka festival.

Keep in contact with the people in Hamilton from Tuhoe, through parties, barbeques, sports and kapa haka. The group is Tuhoe ki Waikato culture group. The festival, we raise money for the Tuhoe festival. It's good too when you go back, in my first year when I got to know everyone up here and when I went back to Ruatoki it was a buzz to see them because I knew they were at teachers college and varsity too so it was good to go back and see them at Ruatoki (Keita).

Making one's self known to others

Like Keita above who participated in a recognised taurahere group (Tuhoe ki Waikato), going to particular schools and participating in specific clubs helped Whaitiri to maintain her hapu and iwi connections. These groups bring people from the same iwi together and help to reinforce an identity, shared sense of purpose, and provide a sense of belonging.

Participate in haka for Ruatoki School. Play in the Tuhoe, Ruatoki netball team for Mataatua games. Play in the school touch team and when speaking Maori drop the 'g' in our reo (Whaitiri).

In Whaitiri's case, the dropping of the 'g' sound when speaking Maori is a way for others to identify her as Tuhoe, and, at the same time, for her to assert her Tuhoe identity. For Kanapu, a university student, participation in the group called Nga Uri o Ohomairangi helped him keep in contact with other law students from Te Arawa, and to also become involved in issues of law that challenge Te Arawa. Of group meetings Kanapu told us:

If we hold them outside this rohe (Waikato) they're always in Te Arawa. We hold hui up here but only because there are a lot of Te Arawa law students. Obviously we're all based up here so it's convenient for us to meet amongst ourselves up here. But if we need to talk with people back home or talk about things we want to get going back home and it's related to people back there, usually we go back (Kanapu).

Urban environments have not always been kind to Maori. First generation migrants to urban settings adopted a number of strategies to 'fit in'. These included denying or playing down their Maori identities. More recent generations have chosen to challenge such adverse environments by being assertive and encouraging others to be so also.

Making my kids aware of who they are, where they're from. Always keeping in touch with people from home. Letting people know who I am and where I'm from. Usually when people ask me where I'm from I say I live in Taupo but I'm Ngai te Rangi. Just not being ashamed to say who I am and where I'm from. With my kids, making them proud of who they are and where they're from, encouraging them to learn

more, teaching them and encouraging them to want to learn more about themselves (Parehuia).

Frequency of hapu and iwi maintenance activities

How often participants felt that they had to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities varied between participants and according to the nature of activities. Some felt a need to engage in activities on a weekly basis. Others saw their engagement occurring only as a result of the death of an immediate family member which necessitated a return to their iwi homelands. It was the act of 'returning' that they held up as actual demonstration of a maintenance activity. In such an instance this might suggest that their hapu and iwi had little salience in their day to day lives and little relevance to their identity. Although true in some cases, this was not always so.

Participants engaged in other activities aside from returning to their hapu homeland. Relatively easy activities, like making a point of talking to people who participants met from their own hapu in everyday settings, or making telephone calls, were more likely to be mentioned by participants, and occurred more frequently than other activities.

Well my work is with a national body. I can get to hear messages up north quite easily. I just ring from work to the office up north. So I connect up during my work. Because I've got a well paying job I can afford to go up north and visit my family a lot. I ring up my family a lot. Being able to have holidays makes a big difference and even the nature of my job where I can have time in lieu so I can have time off makes a big difference (Manaia).

As Manaia suggested, the actual frequency of maintenance activities was influenced by availability of resources, the barriers required to be negotiated, the salience of their hapu and iwi within their own lives, opportunities that facilitated activity, and what I refer to as psychological factors that mediated or impeded engaging in maintenance activities. This latter influence refers to the participants' values, beliefs and feelings about their iwi and hapu which in turn allows us a picture of the extent to which maintaining their connections are desired. With these influences in mind I now turn to describing those things that participants identified as facilitating or inhibiting their engagement in maintenance activities.

Facilitators and inhibitors of hapu and iwi maintenance activities

There were things that made it easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities and things that made it harder. However, sometimes, things that made it easier also could make it harder and vice-a-versa. I describe these things below.

Work and Resources

Many participants commented on their work places. Those that saw their work place as a facilitator of maintenance activities were usually situated in occupational groups with a high density of Maori people either in the work place, or in the client group. They saw their work as providing opportunities to connect with relatives and others of their iwi and hapu group. Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, tertiary institutions and the like all afforded participants opportunities to actively identify themselves as Maori and as belonging to particular hapu and iwi groups, which in turn, allowed others to connect with them and to engage in relevant maintenance activities. As Kanapu had alluded to above, particular professions could also afford similar opportunities, like education, health and welfare, and law.

Work settings that did not have a high density of Maori workers or clientele usually did not afford such opportunities and were often perceived as inhibiting maintenance activities. In this instance, work was seen as a necessary activity. It was a means by which participants could, firstly, obtain resources to support themselves and their families, and secondly, engage in maintenance activities usually of the kind that meant returning 'home'.

Employment provides resources. This is not simply an income, but other things helpful to maintenance activities. For example, work places can be a site where communication technology can be accessed (eg., telephones, faxes, the internet). Sometimes participants, like Manaia above, had the opportunity to travel for work purposes either by air or road allowing face-to-face contact with other hapu and iwi members without the need to deplete their own personal resources.

Participants were very conscious of the need to work and to have continued employment.

Being in paid employment! It limits my ability to go (home to hapu homeland) as often as I want to and stay as long as I want to. Also being aware that the people I want to talk to are getting older and older and that I can't put off seeing them for much longer (Manaiā).

The fact of employment means that a person's time is no longer their own. Although being employed and having a consistent income allows for financial security and independence, not having the flexibility of time to enjoy that independence or to engage in hapu maintenance activities was expressed by some participants as frustrating and inhibiting. While annual leave, tangi leave, leave without pay, and flexible working hours all helped to facilitate absences from work, participants sometimes felt 'guilty' of being 'away' too often. In instances like this, some participants would assist another whanau member with fewer work obligations to attend tangi of their behalf. Inevitably, some just simply blocked out their hapu and iwi obligations and just stayed at work. If a participants' experience of an employer was that they were flexible and understanding of a participants' need to be absent from work to attend to hapu and matters, then this relieved the amount of anxiety that a participant experienced.

Although a person may be in employment and have an income, the extent to which that income is available to support engagement in maintenance activities depends on the portion of the total income that can be devoted to such activities. Maintenance activities are expensive, something participants were acutely aware of. For many participants an ability to drive and access to transportation were integral to engaging in maintenance activities, particularly for those who lived away from their homelands. Of course, having reliable transportation and the finances to purchase fares, or maintain a vehicle or pay for petrol were also contributors to transportation reliability.

Int: What makes it easier to do those things?

Amo: Just having a close relationship with the family. Got to keep in touch with aunties, uncles. kuia, koroua, that way it's easier. Also having transport and a telephone.

Int: What makes it harder to do those things?

Amo: For me personally it would be living away from the area. Having no mod-cons, no telephone, no transport, just living away from home.

Education

Many of our participants were engaged in tertiary education at polytechnic or university. This was similar to being employed in that there were likely to be serious consequences if classes or education assignment due dates were missed. Participants saw their investment in education as an important step towards gaining financial independence so that they could subsequently engage in maintenance activities.

But I foresee that things will get easier because there will be a natural inclination once I start working to actually go back there and do things back there and tie in those things with my work (Kanapu).

Those with children also took their children's education seriously. While there were some occasions when it was appropriate for parents to take their children out of school to attend tangi, hui or other events, mostly participants were reluctant to do so.

Supportive people

Participants felt that having others in one's life space supportive of maintenance activities helped to facilitate engagement. Some participants spoke about the need for their partners to be supportive of their need to connect and be with relatives. They spoke about having family members like parents and grandparents who encouraged engagement in maintenance activities and who could facilitate their connections with others. Kanapu spoke of having a kaumatua supportive of him and others learning about their marae and whakapapa and engaging in broader hapu and iwi activities. Many participants spoke about their need to be comfortable attending hapu and iwi events and that their comfort levels were related to knowing other people in those settings. Attending family organised events like reunions were helpful in this regard. Conversely, not having supportive others or people with an ability to connect a participant with others sometimes made engaging in maintenance activities difficult or uncomfortable. In some cases, it made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, particularly when whakapapa knowledge had passed on with people who had died.

Supportive others might also be described as those who acted as communicators, carrying news (even gossip) of others, events, and happenings going on within the broader network of kin. News of marriages, affairs, break ups, accidents, quarrels, politics, job changes, challenges and achievements contributed to maintaining social relations and networks, serving to keep people 'in the loop'. And this process was not place dependent. It was something that could occur across distances without the need to be where the action was. Digital technology has facilitated the lightning fast transmission of information, and has also allowed for the faster and more efficient transportation of people (air travel, good roads and cars) so that when they need to, they can also be part of the action.

Times in our lives

Participants were asked to reflect on whether there were times in their lives when it was easier to engage in maintenance activities, and, conversely, a time when it had been harder. The objective of my discussion with participants was to have them focus on their circumstances through different phases in their lives and to identify facilitators or inhibitors of maintenance activities.

Growing up

Yeah when I was at school. Because I was bright at school it was boring and I used to be able to con mum into taking me to all the hui. Because of the nature of my stepfather's job, he was a minister and went all over the place. I would want to go to. So, it was easy then, we went all over the place (Manaia).

Significant others played a major role in facilitating participation in hapu maintenance activities, in particular, parents and grandparents. Participants often focused on a younger time in their lives, mostly when they were still dependent. During this phase of their lives they recalled being taken to be with family and hapu relatives, to participate in hapu or iwi activities or to be at marae. They went on holidays and visited relatives both in their iwi homelands and in other places.

Highlighted in these reflections were participants' memories of the activities they engaged in as tamariki or as rangatahi, the people that they met, and the places they visited without the responsibility of having to consider finances, the care of children or work. The roles of those in their company also influenced the extent of activity and the ease in which they were engaged in it, as Manaia's comment above suggests. If a parent, caregiver or grandparent filled kaumatua roles at the marae, or were beneficiaries of land, or acted as an important connecting point in a hapu or iwi relational network then the opportunities that participants had as tamariki or rangatahi to engage in maintenance activities appeared far easier than at other stages in their lives.

Being single

Being unmarried meant for some participants that they were free of the expectations of, and responsibilities to, another. Moreover, being child free meant being more able to engage in maintenance activities without the worry of having to care for dependents, transport dependents, or find others to look after them. Being single also meant that others were of the view that the 'single' participant was more available to engage in maintenance activities. Related to being single is becoming and being an adult responsible for making decisions about coming to know, developing and maintaining one's own social and relational networks. Being single and an adult responsible for one's own decisions sometimes made it easier to engage in maintenance activities. In some cases it made it harder due to the pressure of competing social priorities with friends, work and sports mates. While this was true for some participants, others felt that their work and social activities especially those that brought them into closer contact with members of their hapu and iwi, helped to make engagement in maintenance activities much easier. However, in Parehuia's case, the former was more her experience. When asked about a time in her life when it was harder to engage in maintenance activities, Parehuia said...

Yeah, when I fell in lust. I left my brains between my legs. I suppose it was my choice, I chose it that way. I let it happen. I stayed out of contact with (home). There was one stage when I never went home for two or three years. I stopped fretting for a while. I lost myself for two or three years. There were regrets, not seeing nan and koro for all those

years, not having my (home) fix. I didn't realise how much it affected me until I went back after that long time. All the changes, how people had grown and I wasn't around to see it all or I didn't care at that time (Parehuia).

Being partnered

Being partnered brings with it all kinds of decisions that affect a participant's capacity to engage in maintenance activities. Deciding where to live, where to go for holidays, what activities have a higher priority over others, long-term partnership goals, the place of individual aspirations, whether the partner is liked or disliked by other family members, whether they are Maori, Pakeha or some other ethnicity – the considerations are endless and participants referred to many of them. For example, Pikihuia told me of her negotiations with her husband.

Yes, this might seem contradictory but when my children were growing up and I was always taking them back. It was always a battle with my husband. He saw it necessary to keep the links but he didn't see it as necessary to link up so often. I don't know whether it was because he was letting his own children down from his side, that would have been the only time that I found it harder (Pikihuia).

Being a parent

I have already mentioned those things about being a parent that sometimes inhibited engagement in maintenance activities, but sometimes having children made it easier. Some participants were motivated by their desire for their children to know their relatives and heritage. They wanted their children to know their whakapapa, stories of their hapu and iwi, waiata and moteatea, and to be actively engaged in activities that would facilitate these things. This involved returning home, attending marae activities and iwi festivals – anything that would help cement a hapu and iwi connection for their children. Although parents tended to most often express these sentiments, grandparents also expressed similar desires for their children and grandchildren suggesting that the wish to remain connected is something that persists through the life cycle.

Home and away

Participants felt that being ‘at home’ within the boundaries of one’s iwi homelands made it easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities. Some participants recalled periods in their lives when they had lived at home and how easy it was to attend marae, committee meetings, tangi, and other gatherings. In living away from home, they were able to identify the effort and resources required to do those things that they had previously taken for granted. Perhaps this is where the notion of a holiday or visit comes from. Holidays and visits might be conceived of as planned events that are saved for and organised with others. Having others to visit and holiday with, therefore, becomes important as ‘others’ often provide accommodation, activities, entertainment, and time out from children and partners. Moreover, a holiday or visit to an iwi homeland can provide spaces for recreation, for example, at lakes and rivers, in the bush and sea and at marae. Being in a heritage space also provides opportunity to recall stories, people and events, their recollection invigorating in and of themselves.

Those participants who resided close to their iwi homelands for example in adjacent areas found it much easier to return home more regularly. It was not as expensive or time consuming. For example, Keita told us:

When I was single I used to go back quite often and because I lived near the area anyway I used to travel back there to see the kids, my koro. Even when I lived in Rotorua I used to travel back because it was just an hour away. Now I'm in Hamilton it's a far distance to travel back. When I was single although I still went back I didn't go back as often as I would have liked to. Now, well now that I have a family, that comes first (Keita).

Disconnections

For me, the most poignant narratives told to me by participants concerned their feelings of being ‘disconnected’ from their relational networks. Feelings of disconnectedness stemmed from a range of sources. For some, it had to do with having left home a long time ago and being left in a position where they knew few if any people who resided in their iwi homelands. Not knowing anyone meant that they felt no urge to return. Lacking an urge to return was also related to reasons for leaving. Some participants told me of negative experiences that motivated their

leaving, or their parents or grandparents leaving which meant that they never encouraged their children to return. The negative experiences spoken of related to land disputes, disputes over family homes, domestic violence, the influence of drugs and alcohol, or simple misunderstandings.

What my mother and father did to that (place). Selling all that land gifted to them and I don't think those people like our family, to be quite honest. There's bad feelings (at that place) about us, also towards dad for selling his family land. Suffer the sins of the father they say. Just what the people at () feel about what happened in the past, that's what makes it hard for me to get down and fight, I feel that I can't. I feel like a stranger sometimes when I go back there and I grew up with all those people (Parehuia).

For some, their disconnectedness stemmed from being adopted out of their iwi group and not feeling as if they knew their relatives in their biological homelands.

I seem to concentrate on what's happening here instead of there. Because I've lived in Turangi all my life so I feel more at home around these parts than I do up there. It's only till Tuwharetoa people start talking and asking where I'm from, they sort of change the subject when they find out I'm not from here. I never really go out of my way to go up there and make contact with them. Yeah I'm not close enough to them. I'm not really close to anyone up there (Hiko).

Perhaps the most moving stories related to parents, grandparents or other relatives who had been a significant connecting person for the participant. Such connecting people were those who could facilitate connections with others and position a participant within a relational network that the rest of that network simply affirmed and accepted as their own. They were those people who knew their genealogical connections to others and who were known to others as such. When these people died before such connections could be facilitated, some participants felt somewhat robbed and unjustly excluded, while others were more philosophical and pointed to the connections that they did have. And others, like Tomairangi, just shifted their focus from one obvious connecting person to another.

Yes especially from his death. Getting back to the contact you're supposed to maintain with your people, that was hard the death of my father meant it was harder because with his death a lot of his knowledge went. The communication with the hapu wasn't the same. What helped me cope were the family members who knew me well, my father's brothers and sisters (Tomairangi).

On a more positive note, reconnecting can make a huge difference to how a person feels about their hapu and iwi. For example, Hineko did not know who her mother was. She was raised by her step mother and spend no time with her biological mother's iwi or people until she began to get into trouble and her family decided that it was time that her real mother became involved in her life. Of her relationship with her mother's iwi, Hineko told me "...once I met my mother, she knew everybody and I just felt at home".

The things that people do to maintain their connections with their hapu and iwi might be read as a reflection of the importance of their hapu and iwi to their lives and identities. For those who are living outside of their iwi and hapu regions, their attempts to maintain connections are complicated by distance; the day to day obligations and responsibilities of employment and the care, raising and education of children; as well as the financial and resource demands of communicating and travelling. On top of these are a person's subjective feelings about their hapu and iwi and the environment within which they are situated. Do they feel welcome? Do they have other relatives they know reasonably well enough to act as mediators with other members of their hapu and iwi that they do not know? Are they comfortable and at home with the expected tikanga of their marae, or does this create anxiety? Do they feel as if they have a way to make a meaningful contribution to the life of their hapu and iwi? Whether a person invests time, energy and resources into maintaining their hapu connections seems to depend on their answers to these questions. In the next section I examine these issues more closely by referring to responses made by participants to our questions about times that they felt like an outsider to their hapu or iwi groups.

Being on the Outside

Feeling on the ‘outside’ could mean different things to different participants. However, most participants responded in ways that indicated that ‘outsider’ meant being different, in some way, from the broader group, leading to feelings of awkwardness, if not exclusion. These feelings mostly stemmed from being stereotyped in a particular way. For example, after protesting against the Crown to highlight historic injustices against his hapu and iwi, Koha felt labelled as a ‘radical’ and a ‘militant’. Because of this, he feels that other hapu and iwi members are ‘careful’ in their associations with him for fear of getting into trouble or being stereotyped in a similar way.

Not being able to speak Maori, Keita found herself having to respond to how others viewed her iwi and their capacity in te reo Maori.

Yes, because I couldn't speak te reo Maori. Like when people see you and ask where you're from and if I said my mother was from Waimana and my father was from Ruatoki they say things like, "oh you're from Ruatoki, you must be really fluent in te reo Maori". I'd say no, I wasn't, because I was brought up differently from my older brothers and sisters who were taught the language. I wasn't. I was guided or directed into learning mainly Pakeha things and being educated in Pakeha schools. Te reo Maori wasn't really the in thing at that time (Keita).

Hatepe spoke of when he was not competent in te reo Maori and the anxieties he felt.

If you're not competent in the reo, you're going to feel you're an outsider anyway because most of the communication, sharing at hui, and things like that are in Maori, in the reo. Other than that, obvious signs of not understanding you, I think other people's body language sort of echo those sorts of sentiments. They feel uncomfortable or not really sure about what's going to happen next and what others are actually talking about, whether they're talking about you or someone else or something really important! (Hatepe).

Having left home to attend university, Keita has noticed the difference between those who have remained at home, and those like her who have left.

If you've stepped out of your comfort zone and they've stayed within theirs, they see you as being better educated than they are. It's the look that they give you when you go back. Like when you walk on the marae and you're nicely dressed and everyone else is in bush shirts and that, the way they dress and things like that. They're all in gumboots and they look at you and think "look at her she looks like a snob". They see you as being different. I didn't care what they thought. But once you've been with them for a while you tend to dress the same, speak the same and do the same things and get on better. Then you don't feel like an outsider (Keita).

In Parehuia's case mentioned earlier, her father had sold some land that other hapu members resented. Because of this, Parehuia felt stereotyped into the same 'wrong' category as her father.

Yes, people hold a lot of resentment towards Dad for what he did. Mum, us, we benefited from it and I suppose we were just as much at fault even though we were still kids. I still sort of feel like that now, with the older people, like mum's age, they say really sarcastic things. You just want to slap them and smack them out of that buzz. They don't want to let you forget what happened. Maybe we should never forget it anyway. It should never have happened. I coped by facing it, handling it, I wasn't going to let them get me down (Parehuia).

Hiko was similarly positioned.

They make you feel like they don't want to know you. I think it was because I wasn't brought up in the area. That and being white. Yeah a lot of it was being white. And something my mother did. Something she did that her father didn't agree on. She took off from home and stuff and she had kids along the way. She wasn't married too. In her later years when she used to take us back up there my grandfather didn't want to know us. I remember one time when we were kids up there and he wouldn't even come up to us. He used to just look at us funny (Hiko).

Pikihuia told me about returning to her marae and noticing changes in people and attitudes, causing her to ask questions of the people she was associated with.

I think it was going back and seeing the difference in the people and the different attitudes. That made feel 'is this really my whanau that I'm with?' Their attitudes had changed dramatically. The once closely knit whanau ...well most whanau didn't go home for whanau hui, a case of economics, so you were surrounded by more of the whanau that had left the area years beforehand and had returned with their children who you didn't know. The whole running of the marae on those particular occasions. They weren't the ahika running them. It was like strangers going home to put these things in order. You sort of thought 'is this my whanau, do they really belong here or am I on the outer?' It only happened once or twice (Pikihuia).

Makere, like Pikihuia, spoke to me about going home and asking after people.

I can recall different times when I've gone back and said, "how's the kuia down the road?" and they've told me that she's passed away. It makes me feel like an outsider because during those times I remember when I was living in Taupo and there was not much communication and until you go back and ask how's so and so and they tell you she/he died about a year ago ...it's times like that one feels aroha. And it's not from neglect or ignorance, it's only because of the distance away, and the family failing to let me know. ...It was hard coping because after a while I got a bit scared to ask about people. So, what I tried to do was, rather than wait for the family to get in touch with me, I had to make an effort to keep in touch with them and by doing that it helped me to cope better. So I wouldn't get embarrassed when someone told me that she/he died long ago (Makere).

The passage of time and the lack of connection with people were said by some participants, like Kanapu, to make them feel on the outside.

Well yeah. I certainly felt an outsider when I hadn't made contact with the people back there. That was the thing that really got to me I suppose. Just not making contact. Once I'd made contact it was fine (Kanapu).

While contact was important to Harema, knowing how one fitted in was more important.

Shit yeah, of course I have [felt like an outsider], for all those reasons I said before. You know you belong and that's what

makes it hard because you know you belong and they back there, your people know you belong, but you don't quite know how, you don't quite know where. For us it was harder because dad moved away when he was so young, he came from a small whanau that all moved away too, we've got nobody, immediate family that live there, we've got heaps of cousins and everything, but nobody to touch base with over the years. We would go there and have all the nannies but nobody who we could touch base with. It's knowing, that's the hardest thing. Feeling like an outsider because you know you belong and when you know you belong you start soul searching, you want to know where. You know how but you just don't know where (Harema).

From what participants told us, it would seem that there are many things that caused anxiety, discomfort, or unease leading to feelings of being an outsider. Participants recognised that some of these anxieties can be rectified, like learning to speak Maori or dressing in ways similar to others, or questioning where one belonged and finding a role and sense of purpose in belonging. However, some anxieties are more difficult to address, particularly stigmatising views initially held of parents or grandparents that have been transferred to participants, like being 'land sellers'. Some participants in this situation coped by situating the cause of the stigma with their parents or grandparents or coming to the view that it was the 'holders' problem, not the participants.

Perhaps the most revealing thing for this researcher was how many participants had experienced feeling like an outsider to their hapu or iwi. Almost two thirds of participants had felt like an outsider in some way during their lives. The cause of these feelings were various suggesting that a sense of belonging to hapu and iwi, or in my words, a sense of motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga with hapu and iwi are positions to be constantly worked at and sought after. In this regard, feeling like an outsider is perhaps part of the adjustments and evaluations that each person, relative to their social groups, must make.

Maintaining Maori Identities

To some readers it may have made more sense to discuss the maintenance of Maori identity earlier in this chapter. Instead, I have chosen to place it here to highlight the differences between maintaining hapu and iwi connections, as opposed to Maori

connections. Hapu and iwi maintenance activities were mostly focused on ‘going home’ and ‘home’ activities. Maori maintenance activities tended more towards what participants did or encountered in their everyday lives. Their comments had more to do with practising cultural values and behavioural patterns rather than emphasising relatedness and family heritage. It was in this part of our conversations with participants that relationships with Pakeha and mainstream society significantly entered into being Maori. Although ‘going home’ and ‘home’ activities were still mentioned as important to maintaining their Maori connections, the focus turned towards belonging to an ethnically politicised group of which they were proud to be a member. To avoid repetition, in the following sections I have chosen to mention only those ideas that vary from what participants told me about maintaining their hapu and iwi connections.

Connecting with being Maori

In contrast to hapu and iwi maintenance activities, maintaining connections with other Maori people appeared to be more easily achieved. This is especially true where a participant lived in an area where there is a high concentration of Maori people engaged in activities that primarily involve or benefit Maori people. Although the concentration of Maori is a factor in maintaining Maori connections, it is by no means the only one. It seems that these participants will seek out other Maori and prefer each other's company for a variety of reasons. They include preferring the company of Maori to that of Pakeha who were often perceived as intolerant, impatient, ignorant, class oriented and the like. Related to this is a pro-Maori attitude that reflects a valuing of Maori ways, values, beliefs, customary practices, and life styles. A result of this pro-Maori attitude appears to be an increased motivation to contribute to activities that benefit Maori people. On pro-Maori attitudes, many participants raised similar issues to those of Manaia who was by far the most detailed commentator on this matter.

Well I live with Maori. Then I don't have to justify why I do things. Maori practise the same kind of value base that I do, so I'm practising all the time, just the little things, like going to tangi, looking after each other, the table business. All these little things that actually when you're living with people

make a big difference. Pakeha don't understand where you're coming from, like sitting on tables. I live with Maori because then I can be Maori a lot more easily, and I don't have to justify and explain myself. At work I associate with Maori more than Pakeha, but for lots of reasons. Pakeha are quite hypocritical and snobby and this perception that they're better than Maori. They don't value Maori and no matter how qualified you are they would still have that same thing. It's their way of trying to feel good about themselves when they feel threatened about what they don't understand. That's their problem and it doesn't worry me. My clients are Maori as well. I work with Pakeha because I have to, but I concentrate more on Maori clients and Maori initiatives. I promote things Maori. Things I do for the love of it, which means I don't get paid. I help with Maori initiatives at school, helping them with the development of a number of Maori programmes. I'm also on the trust for Matua Whangai and even though the Resource Centre in town is a general centre there are a lot of Maori around it. Most of my mates are Maori. All my aunties that I go to when I'm in trouble are Maori that understand all the women's issues that come up when you're working in iwi work and for Maori communities. All my relationships since school have been with Maori (Manaia).

On a more personal level, some participants told me of how they had chosen to learn Maori and had taken courses to do so. Some had extended this further and were studying both Maori language and culture at university or polytechnic and were purposefully engaging in Maori activities like work place powhiri to gain further experiences. For them, it was not sufficient to claim an ascribed ethnic group entitlement, they also felt obliged to pursue and give body to the Maori language, values and customs. Hiko told us:

I read the Maori bible. Carving, Maori carvings, I just taught myself. I keep in contact with my mother and sister in Turangi, nearly every week. I take baby to Kohanga. I've got mostly Maori mates. My babies have their grandmothers' names. Natalie's nanny and my nanny (Hiko).

For those participants with Maori names, their names signal a Maori ethnicity. For some this can be problematic especially in a dominant group environment that does not value correct pronunciation.

I tell people I'm Maori, I help them pronounce my name properly. I try and pronounce Maori names properly. I think it's important. Most of the people who can't pronounce the names properly are Pakeha, and actually they're lazy. They're too lazy to pronounce names properly (Korako).

Being Maori and maintaining a Maori identity is probably best summed up by Kanapu.

Just by being proud of who I am would be the easiest way to do it. I suppose it's just doing things as a Maori. It's just a way of looking at life, things that you do, the people you're in contact, Maori and non-Maori, that's how they see you, you identify as being Maori, that's where you're coming from, all the things that you do and the way that you live, the way that you express yourself, you do all that within the context of your Maoriness and people recognise. I hope people look at me and they look at me as a Maori (Kanapu).

Frequency of Maori maintenance activities

Many participants were puzzled by questions about how often they felt they had to engage in maintenance activities. For most participants, it was something unquantifiable because every waking moment was spent 'being Maori'. Here is what Roimata realised when I spoke with her.

Being around Maori people all the time, my colour, the lingo that came out my mouth, what my grandparents used to tell me, my parents used to tell me, when I was young. Going to tangi all over the place. At marae, playing with only Maori people, there were no Pakeha. Taking the Maori language at school, at college. I only had Maori friends. In fact I'm only related to Maori people. I've only just realised that I only associate with Maori! (Roimata).

Some participants felt that living and being with other Maori allowed them to avoid having to justify how and why they behaved or thought in particular ways, therefore providing relief from living within the norms and values of the dominant Pakeha culture. Listening and being involved in the activities of other Maori that participants lived with or were related to was described as having a regenerating and refreshing affect.

Living with Maori makes it easy. This whole thing about justifying yourself and how you do things, at work I have that a lot, so coming home and not having to do that is really good. Also listening and being involved with other Maori issues through what my flat mates are involved in helps to regenerate things for me as well. Socially going out with Maori too. We take for granted a lot of our friends and what they're involved in and what they do, and really it's not like that all the time, so it's good to go out with the Maori I am involved with (Manaia).

But for some, being Maori was not so easy, or, should I say, obvious. They were fair skinned and hair lightly coloured leading others to mistakenly identify them as other than Maori (including Maori people). These participants were conscious of their need to work at being Maori all the time, that is, to articulate, display and demonstrate their ethnic group membership. Some purposefully wore taonga Maori, like manaia and hei tiki. Some carried kete. Some learned and spoke Maori, and others simply made sure that they informed those around them that they were Maori. These participants were aware that the world did not necessarily perceive them as Maori.

Facilitators and inhibitors of Maori maintenance activities

As mentioned earlier, the overwhelming view of what inhibits being Maori is the perceived pressure of belonging to a minority group, living in a Pakeha dominated world. Although their comments related mostly to work circumstances, the challenges to participants' being Maori and inhibitors of their desire and attempts to engage in Maori maintenance activities, were sharply felt across other Pakeha dominated settings such as educational institutions and public places. The following excerpt clearly captures the consequence and frustration of having to live and be within the Pakeha world.

Working with Pakeha all the time. It is hard, really hard, because they're so arrogant about their ability to do things and they're always wanting you to justify. Working with Pakeha makes it hard to be Maori because they don't want you to be Maori. They want you to be the Maori that they want you to be, not the Maori that you want to be. That's the

one who smiles happily, can sing and dance when they want you too and sits in the corner and doesn't push things. Not to be angry about what has happened. They want you to sit placidly and do what they want you to do (Manaia).

But even the expectations of Pakeha dominated environments can change. For example, the public and widespread resurgence of Maori culture and expectations from Maori and non-Maori alike that Maori will and want to express themselves as Maori creates a pressurised atmosphere. Some participants found this atmosphere invigorating and motivating. Others experienced it as inhibiting. Some participants felt that they were expected to adhere to customary practices, or adopt an attitude or have competencies and skills in things they either knew nothing of, or had very little experience of. Manaia also spoke of these issues.

Well it's getting harder every day, more now. Through all those wonderful loud mouthed radicals, Maori are more aware of what they've missed out on and what they've lost. There's this whole expectation that you go from A to Z right away, this 'Perfect Maori', whatever that may be, and because of the expectations now, it's really hard to be the Maori you want to be. You have to be highly successful in the Pakeha world and highly knowledgeable in the Maori world, have the reo, the tikanga, the whole historical perspective. Shit man that's a big responsibility. It's bloody ridiculous. But if we do a little step at a time and pass it onto our kids then one day it might happen. This new generation of people that will have both worlds (Manaia).

And as described in the section below about 'being on the outside', participants not only felt pressure from the Pakeha world to be Maori in certain ways, but also from the Maori world.

Being Maori across time

I have already described when participants became conscious of being Maori - an awareness process that occurred when they were children. The results presented thus far suggest that being Maori is a process of development, dependent upon opportunity, experience and life circumstances. The times in participants' lives when it was either easier or harder to be Maori corresponded with the times when they felt

it was easier or harder to feel a sense of hapu or iwi identity. Perhaps more significantly, participants mentioned most frequently their need to pursue their 'Maoriness' and to transmit this to their children. They wanted them to identify as Maori, not simply as a political statement, but as a vehicle for knowing who they are, where they are from, and how they are connected to others.

Being on the Outside

The things that set us apart from each other as Maori are various and reflect different experiences, opportunities and life circumstances. They also reflect the different ways in which Maori have historically reacted and adapted to the colliding forces of colonisation, intermarriage, assimilation, urbanisation and deprivation. There have been consequences and some of these are reflected in the ways in which the participants in this study spoke about how they have found themselves, from time to time, on the outside of being Maori. Participants often used the phrase 'takahi tangata' to refer to being trampled upon or trampled down by other Maori for not conforming to customary ways or to unwritten expectations, attitudes, behaviours or values of the group. Feeling on the outside is a relative positioning that accords with an ideal of what it means to be on the inside, that is, what it means to be Maori. Those who fulfil all the characteristics of an ideal Maori occupy a central position. Those who do not have the full complement of characteristics, skills or competencies fall in concentric circles away from the centre. In this way a ranking and ordering of people occurs. Their occupying a position provides justification for their actions towards others of exclusion, ridicule, reprimand, exposure, 'help', distancing and the like. For as much as Maori society can be inclusive, it can be also as exclusive.

I have already described how participants have often felt on the outside of hapu and iwi activities. Most of these experiences of exclusion also position such participants as being less Maori than those perceived to be applying the exclusionary pressure, even if that 'pressure' had the intention of being helpful. An inability to comprehend or speak Maori, lack of confidence, knowledge or anxiety about marae protocol or specific cultural behaviours, infrequent contact with other relatives or other Maori, wearing clothing that sets one a part from the group (eg., designer jeans), being privileged beyond the resource capacity of the group (living in a middle

to upper class suburb), 'hanging out' with Pakeha, or representing some family 'wrong', are all magnets for exclusionary comments or attitudes.

There were times when some participants felt on the outside of being Maori. They coped with this in the same way that they coped with feeling like an outsider to their hapu and iwi groups. They either addressed an incapacity (learned Maori or became more familiar with cultural practices) or developed what Manaia called a 'thick skin'. Being "thick skinned" is an apt metaphor that succinctly encapsulates what Dohrenwend (1973) labels as the 'internal moderators' of stress, or what Breakwell (1988) refers to as intra-psychic coping strategies. Both authors are essentially referring to the same processes, that is, those psychological resources such as our values, evaluations, attitudes, cognitions, expectancies and general feelings that allow a person to cope with events or situations that are perceived as stressful. As Heller et al (1984, p.160) explained, "what is a threat (or stressful) to some people may be perceived as a challenge or even of no consequence to others". Stress, therefore, and how we respond and cope with stressful events is dependent upon our evaluation of them and the resources available to us to deal with them. With respect to social identity processes and in the context of this study, the experience of stress is subjective. It threatens an individual's identity structure rather than their physical wellbeing although ill health could well be a consequence.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has reported what participants discussed about being Maori and belonging to hapu and iwi. All participants came to realise that they were Maori when they were children. In their encounters with other Maori, they were mostly interested in positioning others in relation to themselves, particularly with respect to genealogical relatedness. Participants' comments about things important to being Maori centred on those aspects that make us uniquely Maori (Maori motuhake), genealogical relatedness and relationships (whanaungatanga) that engender a sense of belonging and identity; and a sense of group unity, accord, understanding and solidarity (kotahitanga).

All participants could name their iwi and most their hapu. Their hapu and iwi conceptions were mainly focused on their marae and on activities that were marae based, or based in their iwi homelands. Relatives were very instrumental in how

participants conceived of their hapu and iwi. Participants with parents or grandparents who had positive experiences and secure connections with others of their hapu and iwi were actively encouraged by them to do so, also. Anxiety, discomfort or feelings of distance about hapu and iwi was experienced when connections were either not encouraged or were somewhat tenuous, for example, when a parent left their iwi homelands after some dispute, or when a participant was a whangai, or when a participant did not feel as if they knew anyone remaining at their marae or 'at home'.

All could make comparisons between those different iwi or hapu that they belonged to, making comments about wealth, environmental setting, the marae's state of repair, and the nature of relatives, for example, 'posh', gang involved, drug addicted, 'weird', knowledgeable about the sea or bush, politically active, or whanau oriented.

Hapu and iwi maintenance activities overwhelmingly centred on 'going home' and being involved in hapu and iwi activities. There was a clear distinction made between activities engaged in by those who lived away from home (the majority of our participants) and those who lived at home. By circumstance, those who lived away engaged in more activities to negotiate distances and more activities in those locations where they resided, for example, hapu and iwi gatherings, or hosting people from home.

Participants reported engaging in hapu and iwi maintenance activities as often as they could, given the constraints of distance, resources, work and education commitments and time. There were times in participants' lives when it was both harder and easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities. However, the circumstance that seemed to make it easier to engage was having a significant other to both motivate and facilitate connections with others, for example, a supportive partner, a parent or grandparent to visit, or knowing someone 'at home' who could help the participant make connections with others. Conversely, a sense of disconnectedness could result from not having such support.

Maintaining Maori connections rested mainly on how participants maintained their hapu and iwi identities. Being Maori was in some ways synonymous with being of a particular hapu and iwi. But being Maori differed somewhat in that the focus was not so much on kin-relatedness but on belonging to a minority ethnic group and living in a dominant Pakeha environment.

Chapter Eleven Being Maori in Hawai'i

From my investigation of Maori social identities in New Zealand, I turned my attention to Maori in Hawai'i to see how Maori in that context conceptualized their Maori social identities. Over a period of three weeks in 1996, I interviewed 30 people. In this chapter, I report on those interviews and the discussions I had.

In the first part of this chapter, I begin by describing how participants came to be in Hawai'i; what the context has been like for them as Maori; how they went about negotiating their Maori identities in Hawai'i; and the identity maintenance activities they engaged in. Those facilitators or inhibitors of being Maori are then discussed along with times when participants felt on the outside of being Maori and the processes they used to cope. In the second part of this chapter, my attention turns to how participants' in this study conceived of and maintained their whanau, hapu and iwi identities. My reporting of these results follows a similar pattern to that used in the first part of the chapter.

How participants came to be in Hawai'i

Three primary reasons explain how people in this sample came to be in Hawai'i. They are: a) to find work; b) to attend university; and later, c) to be with their partner, children or parents. Other reasons implicit in the comments made by those I spoke with were to do with adverse conditions in New Zealand and Hawai'i's position in the Pacific as a meeting place between Aotearoa, other Pacific nations and the mainland USA.

Six participants had work opportunities that brought them to Hawai'i. Tony was a seaman and literally sailed in, liked the place, married a Hawaiian woman and settled down to have a family. Vicky, like Gary, Hirma, Audrey, and Roseanne were part of or had skills in the entertainment and tourism industry that also enabled them to take advantage of the opportunities that Hawai'i had to offer.

I went to Church College (to escape an adverse home environment) and then, because I was very talented with respect to kapa haka, waiata Maori and tikanga Maori, that became my ticket to getting out of Aotearoa and into the

entertainment industry. That is how I eventually ended up in Hawai'i. I was part of the initial group that came to manaaki to marae up here at the Polynesian cultural centre (Vicki).

Once arriving in Hawai'i, many of the participants went on to improve their education qualifications and therefore their employability. Some, like those described below, came to Hawai'i specifically for that reason.

Almost two thirds (18) of the people I spoke with came to Hawai'i to attend the Church College of Hawai'i (established in 1955), that, in 1974, became Brigham Young University-Hawai'i. As most of the participants (23) were members of the LDS church, it comes as no surprise that they chose to attend a church sponsored university to further their education. BYU-H provides a community of like-minded people, and the opportunity to pay one's way through university by working either on-campus, or at the adjoining Polynesian Culture Center.

Ngahuaia arrived in Hawai'i in the late 1960's.

I got expelled from Queen Victoria and sent home. Everyone was disappointed with me especially my father. My father had applied to send me to school at all these different places. Like Hukarere - they didn't want me, Turakina - they didn't want me. So we applied to Church College. I guess the Mormons were into reforming all the bad kids -- so my father applied and I got an interview. It was a good interview and I got accepted. After a year at Church College, I saw that they had some good things that I wanted to be a part of. So I became a Mormon. I graduated from there and saw the opportunity to travel to Hawai'i to attend BYU which was then the Church College of Hawai'i. PCC had also opened around that time. I guess whenever we hear the word "Hawai'i" it holds adventure. So, I decided that I wanted to go to Hawai'i. I applied to come to college here and was accepted. That's how I got to be here (Ngahuaia)

Of those who had arrived in Hawai'i in the last 5 years, Selena is typical.

I went to Church College in New Zealand. There was a friend of mine from Hawai'i who had come to Church College who influenced me to come to BYU-H. Getting out of New Zealand and out to the world, seeking new opportunities appealed to me. My family thought that it was good as none of my relatives had gone to university - this was an opportunity for me, and indirectly, my family. Some said, "What do you want to go away for", but I think the majority

of them were happy. I had no reservations about coming (Selena).

Similarly, Mary came to pursue higher education specifically to pursue doctoral studies at the University of Hawai'i - Manoa.

I first went to university in California, and then came to Hawai'i to do my doctoral studies after applying to a whole host of institutions. I choose Hawai'i because there seemed to be similar issues to what there were at home. There was a group of indigenous peoples here who I thought needed help. There was quite a good doctoral programme (Mary).

Many participants met and married partners while they were in Hawai'i or the mainland USA. Of those who were partnered (18), a third (6) had married other Maori. Five had married Hawaiians, one married a Tahitian, one a Pakeha New Zealander, and five had married people from Canada, mainland USA, or Europe. In working out their relationships and where they were to reside, Hawai'i was often chosen as a compromise between New Zealand and other world locations. Penny, who married a man from mainland USA, explains that for her Hawai'i "...was still in the Pacific and relatively close to Aotearoa, yet still in the USA and close to the mainland". For Ngahuia, her initial decision to stay in Hawai'i centered on her husband "...because I chose to marry a Hawaiian, I chose to stay here because this is his land - although I miss home". Moreover, as she now has grandchildren, they have

...become a more important part of my life and decisions. I also know that more will be coming along, and some will be in California. So, I thought that I would probably stay in Hawai'i between California and New Zealand (Ngahuia).

Second, third and fourth generation participants, born to parents who were in Hawai'i or mainland USA at the time of their birth, were a small number in this study (n=4). Some have New Zealand citizenship (2), some do not (2).

My parents had come here to go to school and as a result, I was born here. When I was 4 we return to Aotearoa and then returned to Hawai'i when I was 9. We went back again to Aotearoa when I was 12, and then returned again to Hawai'i

when I was 15 years. I have lived continuously here in Hawai'i since 1976 (Jason).

In contrast, and possibly representing a view of future Hawai'i born generations of Maori, Kane's story of arrival in Hawai'i starts with his grandmother.

She was, from what I learned, she was pure Maori. She's from my moms side of the family. She came here and married my grandfather. She had a pretty moko but I never met her. She lived on the big Island. This was around the 1900's. ... We don't even know how she got out here. We haven't even been able to trace the family in Aotearoa which is one of the reasons why I want to go to graduate school in Aotearoa. So, she came and lived here, and the short story is that I'm her grandson (Kane).

Faye's story is used here to summarise this section as it clearly illustrates the extent to which location, work, education, partners and children drew these participants to Hawai'i.

We made the decision to come here in June of 1980. The purpose in coming was first to give our children an opportunity to have a university education. We were just the average working family at home in Aotearoa and we would never have been able to afford to send them to university. The other reason was our daughter, Robyn, was here. She was one of the young adults that were asked to come over in 1972, to hostess in the Maori village. They needed young people in the Maori village at PCC. She had met this wonderful Hawaiian/Norwegian boy, and they married and had three children. We wanted to come over here and be with our children and that was our main purpose in coming (Faye).

Being Maori in Hawai'i

Asking participants to answer the question: "How is 'being Maori' a part of your life in Hawai'i?" required them to consider: what it meant for them to be Maori within a complex and diverse cultural environment; and how they carried their identity as Maori into daily social interactions while with friends, family/whanau and work contexts. They had to reflect on being Maori in interaction with other Maori visiting from New Zealand, and further, to make comparisons between the Hawai'i and New

Zealand locations. Five themes emerged from the analysis and will be presented below. They were: being valued within a culturally pluralistic society; having a sense of identity, pride and roots; acquiring cultural heritage; enjoying employment that contributed to being Maori; being Maori with other Maori; and asserting their identity as Maori.

It seems inadequate to describe Hawai'i as a culturally pluralistic society as it is something more than this. With waves of immigrants arriving in Hawai'i from the 1780's onwards, Hawai'i's ethnic composition is extremely varied. Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, German, Korean, Filipinos, English, Puerto Rican, Samoan, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian as well as peoples of pacific nations and the native Hawaiians, are a few of the groups that are obviously present within the small island state. Inter-marriage has led to people with multiple ethnicities, and the continued interaction of people with each other's cultural practices and beliefs has resulted in the evolution of a "*new and unusual community*" (McDermott Jr, Tseng, & Marezki, 1980, p.1).

From this deeply rich tapestry of diversity has emerged an interest, respect and valuing of people, their cultures, languages and life ways - something that Penny, Davina and others (n=14) in this study felt and responded to. In some ways this might be described as the 'currency' of Hawai'i - people are expected to have a culture, to be different, and to share that difference and be enriched by that of others. Penny and Davina told me that...

Being Maori has helped me in the sensitivities required to live here in Hawai'i. It's a very multicultural society. Being Maori has helped me to understand what is going on here, and to live here. The welcoming of another Polynesian (like myself) by the Hawaiian community - it's quite something. So being Maori has been a great assistance. The things that are important about being Maori are "coming from the heart and having the sensitivity" (Penny).

But I've realised there's other cultures that have their good merits. I've kind of grown to appreciate the Hawaiian culture and even realised that I'm Polynesian. You don't really think of yourself as actually being Polynesian but since coming here I've had to identify myself as Polynesian, and being Maori second. So I suppose I'm not saying that Maori's the best culture in the whole world. But you still are like proud of who you are. You just know that other cultures are just as important (Davina)

One is given the impression that to have a cultural identity and a unique language and cultural ways (that is, to be Maori) allowed many of those I spoke with to enjoy a very positive position for themselves relative to others in Hawai'i. Hare told me about how he had encountered "*people who have got nothing*" and how people from mainland USA "*...often view you with envy and wish that they had a culture like ours*". Nina elaborated on the importance of having a Maori identity.

The things that are important to being Maori here in Hawai'i are knowing your culture especially when others ask about it and you're able to tell them. Knowing where you come from and your ancestry. Knowing where you come from and having an identity is really important. I'm proud of being a Maori. It makes me feel good and proud of where I come from. Socially, by having a Maori identity it's sometimes easier to get to know people (Nina)

Nina also pointed out that it was "*an advantage to know where you come from. It increases your self-esteem*" particularly when being queried about such matters is such a usual and expected interaction between people. As Rachel said: "*Being Maori is interesting to other people. Because other people are interested, it makes you feel good.*"

For Selena, she saw the fact of her being Maori as core to her identity, and to feeling that she "*...belong(ed) to something*". The things that she felt made her Maori were her "*...background, my upbringing, things that my parents, whanau and grandparents have taught me, my traditions*".

In meeting and talking with this group of people (21), what is apparent in how they talk about being Maori is a humble yet infectious sense of pride and fortune in being special, unique and within the Hawai'i context, valued. So much so, that those who did not invest much in being Maori before they arrived in Hawai'i suddenly found their interests and energies being poured into rediscovering and reshaping their cultural identities and into deepening their cultural knowledge base.

Almost two thirds of participants (19), at some time since arriving in Hawai'i, had taken practical steps to increase their knowledge of tikanga Maori as associated with a broad range of cultural practices including te reo Maori. Maori language and culture classes were offered formally at BYU-H, and, informally, by Maori within the broader community. From time to time there were Maori who went from New

Zealand specifically to teach courses in tikanga and te reo at community colleges or at the University of Hawai'i, or who were simply passing through and were pressed into spending time with local Maori keen to measure their learning and to receive feedback. Participants had actively and repeatedly taken advantage of such contributors.

Neva, a student at BYU-H explained how after coming to Hawai'i a year ago ignited for her an interest in investigating her cultural heritage. Ivey who had lived in Hawai'i for 3 years and also attended BYU-H explained how the multicultural and international context made her want to know more and she too enrolled in Maori language classes. Yet this yearning to develop culturally was not restricted to those who were relatively recent arrivals. Of the nine participants who had been in Hawai'i for more than 20 years, almost all of them had continued to learn about te reo me nga tikanga. Jason explains his journey:

I think it helps me a lot knowing that I'm Maori. I've studied more about it since I've been in Hawai'i than when I was in New Zealand and then I got into carving and all kinds of stuff. Every day I think about it. We try and talk Maori to the kids. I think it has been good that we did move back and forth between Hawai'i and New Zealand because I got a real interest in things Maori, where as I think if Maori were all around me, I don't think my interest would have been as strong (Jason)

Cyril, who had been in Hawai'i for over 20 years commented on how newly arriving Maori students at BYU-H were *"just as eager as I am to learn"*. It surprised him no end that *"many of them don't know about our culture. That was a surprise for me"*. He explained that when they graduate and return to New Zealand, they have a background about their culture that they have learnt from Hawai'i. *"They are really excited. You can really see the change come over them"* (Cyril).

I also had the opportunity to talk with two participants, Audrey and Ngahuia, who had both arrived in Hawai'i over 20 years previously. Both were fluent speakers of Maori and had run language courses for others in the community, including students. Audrey did not actually tell me that she had run Maori language courses but many that I spoke with described attending her courses and the patience and compassion that she displayed towards them and their fledgling steps towards

language familiarity and competence. Indeed many learners were adults aged 50 years or more.

At BYU at 7.00am in the mornings I teach the Maori language. That's important to me. Back home when I was raised speaking Maori, it was everyday Maori. Now that I have to teach it, I find myself watching my sentence structure, ...where's the verb, the noun etc. I have to teach Maori properly. So, I teach them the proper way, and then I teach them the slang way. Anyway, I have found that my Maori has really improved. I've found that I've had to do research to make sure that I know what I'm doing. It builds my ego as well. It makes me feel like someone needs me. It makes me feel like I am sharing something of myself and of my Tipuna. I think that the students who come to my class are Maori so far. I think the next group will be Maori who have learnt Maori since Kohanga Reo. Right now I'm getting the group who missed out. They see their little brothers and sisters who are getting the language through kohanga reo so they are quite passionate about learning Maori here. They want to leave my class knowing something of their language and culture so that when they go home they don't feel as if they have missed out or been left behind once again (Ngahuia).

While in Hawai'i in places like Waikiki, Aloha Market, or some shopping mall my ears would be touched by the familiar melodies of Me he manu rere, or Pokarekareana, or Toia mai te waka nei. Curious and expecting to find some Maori troupe or visiting school or a kapa haka team, I would rush off to discover the source of song. What I usually found was one or two professional entertainers backed by guitar, ukulele or some electric device, who specialised in navigating their way through the melodies and dances of Polynesia. These entertainers may have been Maori but I suspect not. Often it was difficult to tell. For me (and others) the most confusing time was while I was visiting the Polynesian Cultural Centre.

The Polynesian Cultural Centre employs more than 1,300 people, about 70 percent of whom are BYU Hawai'i students (<http://www.polynesia.com/>). Added to this are staff who are not students and volunteers who give freely of their time. To run the PCC facility requires a diverse range of skills and competences. These include those in facilities maintenance, financial and HR management, cultural representation and performance, food preparation and provision, IT, event

management, cleaning, advertising and promotion, music and sound, only to mention a few.

Of those that I interviewed many had worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre during their time in Hawai'i. Although one or two newcomers spoke disparagingly of the decontextualised capturing and reproduction by PCC of Polynesian culture, most found that their work experience and environment was a major facilitator of opportunities to discover more about their cultural heritage - the greatest facilitator being the carved house and Maori village at PCC. Worked on by Hone Taiapa and students from the NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, it is a superb and absolutely excellent example of 19th Century carved houses, simply not what I ever imagined to find so far away from its traditional context.

For those I spoke with, being a part of the PCC environment and activities afforded them an environment that they felt ownership and pride in (the Maori village) and another way of being Maori.

Being Maori is interesting to other people. Because other people are interested, it makes you feel good. As an entertainer at PCC, I enjoy performing. I enjoy people who I talk to. I enjoy telling them about my culture and country (Ravina).

Hawaii, I learned so much about my own culture being away from home - working at the PCC, and working on the marae as well. To the tourist that we see at the PCC every day we only do the basics. We only give them a superficial view of what it is to be Maori. But behind the basics we're taught more in depth about what it's all about. So behind the facade we have been able to learn more in-depth stuff about the culture like the meaning and tikanga behind tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, powhiri and the protocols. Maori are coming over to Hawai'i all the time. And many koroua come and tell us a little bit at a time about things Maori. Those are the times when you really learn because when they come and they tell you a little bit at a time. After working at PCC for three years it adds up to how much you really get to know. That includes whaikorero and kapa haka. All this learning is just squashed in and you get to learn quite a bit. So the culture really is a strong part of us being Maori here in Hawai'i (Patrick).

It seemed that the Maori village also provided a learning challenge for those older participants who within the PCC hierarchy occupied managerial and cultural

advisory positions. However, it is more accurate to describe them as occupying kaumatua and kaitiaki roles in that they, along with others, teach and coach those in their charge and keep an eye on things. Two of these people were Cyril and Ngahuia.

When they came to ask me if I would manage the Maori village I said, 'I hope you guys know what you're doing.' I told them I haven't been exposed to my culture for the longest time. Anyway, the challenge for me then was to read about my culture and I'm still learning. I made some mistakes, and as far as protocol was concerned, mistakes were made because I didn't know any better. But the more I progressed, I learned, and I'm learning new things. People come up from home and sit down and talk and tell me things. So we have a good relationship with our young people that have come to learn and to be at school (Cyril).

Ngahuia, appointed as a Maori specialist to support the Maori cultural night show performances, also found the work challenging.

What I do is teach the kids how to do the haka on stage. I teach all kinds, like waiata-a-ringa, haka, singing, poi. I also have to compose Maori shows for PCC. I compose my own songs and every now and then I compose haka - but I prefer to use haka that have been composed by others. Anyway, I work hard at doing things well. You have to consider the themes, values and messages you want to communicate. ...For many students who come here, they get involved with Pakeha education and when they go home they feel like they have missed out on four years of being Maori, unless they are involved at PCC (Ngahuia).

For those who work outside of the Maori village (but still in PCC) the attitudes of tourists might be described as 'trying'. As alluded to before, when situated within a complex such as PCC (or even Hawai'i for that matter) identifying who is and who isn't Maori or Polynesian can be a difficult matter where stereotypes provide no reliable guide.

I think that tourists have this image of who is and who isn't Maori. If you're dark, then you're Maori. If you are fair, then they don't believe that you're Maori. It's obvious when you watch tourist behaviour. They all seem to gravitate towards those who are dark, rather than those who are fair. You see the same behaviour in other villages as well. It doesn't bother me anymore (Neva).

For others who worked outside of the PCC environment and in the broader Hawai'i context - as teachers, academics, and writers, business people and the like - work brought them into contact with a great diversity of people interested in where they were from, in Aotearoa, and in Maori cultural practices. For these participants this attention allowed them to feel special.

Many participants (n=14) spoke about maintaining contact with other Maori as important to being Maori in Hawai'i. 'Contact' was facilitated in a variety of ways. Taking Maori language classes, participating in meetings of the New Zealand Club, cultural evenings, meeting collectively as Kiwi's, helping to host visiting Maori from New Zealand and the like. An interesting development was that of a Hawai'i branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League with a number of spin offs that replicate activities and benefits achieved by the League in New Zealand.

Audrey told me:

As time has gone on, I have got on with doing those things that I would normally be doing at home. In my case I have carried on with starting a Maori Women's Welfare League here. I was a founding member of the group that was started in 1985. It's a great organisation with some good Maori women in it. We started off with about 6 people. There are a little over 200 Maori people living in Hawai'i, so of them, we have 12 stable Maori women in it with others that help out from time to time. Netball has also been an attraction and we run a healthy lifestyle netball team - we hope to send a team to the Kurungaituku (Netball) competition. Netball has had a number of spin offs, especially with those other Pacific nations who play netball - like Tongans and Samoans (Audrey).

Participants reported that Maori from New Zealand were frequent visitors to Hawai'i and that they enjoyed the contact that their visits allowed. Maori sojourners included relatives, school, kapa haka and sports teams, conference goers, people who were stopping over on route to some other destination, teachers, business people, political activists, and the like.

Gary felt that to be Maori in Hawai'i also required that he keep in touch with "everything that's going on in the Maori world". Gary, like others, told me of various visitors who had visited with them in Hawai'i.

I've also taken Maori language classes with (). She's had her people at top level from New Zealand come up - they come up every year. So that keeps us in touch (Gary).

Likewise, Mary told me of an Aunt who visited frequently and that helped her to “keep up” with her Maoritanga although she, like others, felt like they were “playing catch up”.

Most of all, contact with other Maori simply allowed participants to relax in a social and cultural context that was familiar, that is a context where cultural ways were taken for granted, where they didn't have to explain colloquialisms, or historical backgrounds and where they could reflect on the strange and different things that they encountered in the Hawai'i context.

I hang out with Maori people because we can relate to each other much more easily. We have something in common that we can talk about. Being Maori is an important part of my life (Ravina).

Ivey reinforced this view.

It's really good when you get together because you can relate better to each other. You can speak how you usually speak (Ivey).

In addition Rylan highlighted the support that she gained from being in contact with other Maori. This was a view reflected across most participants.

It's good because there's other Maori as well so it's not like you're suffering. I guess you can go to each other. They're always there. ... So it's really exciting to see other people and they've got new news and they know what's going on at home (Rylan).

In Hawai'i, Maori are often mistaken for being Hawaiian, or Japanese-Hawaiian, or Portugese, or French-Polynesian, or any other the vast array of ethnicities found in Hawai'i. In some cases, for Maori who are fair, they can be mistaken as Haole (White American). Although Maori could eventually ‘pass’ as being something other, such aspirations are often exposed by a rather nasal, over

correct way of speaking and pronouncing English, otherwise known as the New Zealand accent.

To others I have an accent, and because of that people set me apart as being different. I could pass as Hawaiian until I open up my mouth (Hirama).

It's like the first thing people notice. Then they ask... where are you from, or are you from New Zealand? It's like your main attachment with home and then like if you lose your accent it's like, I don't know (Rylan).

Some Maori sought to lose their accents and actively cultivate American ones; some successfully mastered Hawaiian pidgin, or at least part of it. But on the whole, having a New Zealand accent was viewed positively mostly because positive things followed from it that reinforced their uniqueness as Maori.

Often people think I'm something that I'm not -- they often may think that I'm from some other pacific island, rather than from Aotearoa. I don't get offended. I just correct them and say that I'm Maori. Then they often ask "what's that?" Often it's not until you open your mouth and start talking that they realise that you're either, not what they were thinking, or that you are Maori. It was strange to know that we had an accent. It's real weird. Every one tends to like it. I'm not self-conscious about it, but I don't want to loose it. I don't want to sound like a plastic American. If I did lose it, then I would hope that I'd maintain the values and learnings that I got from home - then I'd be sweet (Hare).

Rylan also spoke about losing her accent.

I mean the accents are so strong. I've got a friend who's from here. She's a local girl, and another from the mainland. They said that when I came back from home they couldn't understand what I was saying because my accent was so thick. So I kinda thought I must have been losing it (my NZ accent) while I was here, and not knowing it. Even like when I came back I noticed that they all had accents too. We're determined not to lose it (NZ accents) because it's part of home. So you don't want to lose your accent but I guess when you're talking to Americans you have to talk like them so they understand (Rylan).

For this group of people, accents were markers of difference, identity and origins. They facilitated interest and enquiries about their ethnic and cultural backgrounds as Maori. Accents and the interactions that came from having them identified also resulting in positive feelings of being unique and in some ways special.

Although few participants made specific reference to this practice, in those homes that I visited, expressions of being Maori were clearly evident. The photographs of whanau members or marae; the whakairo, kete, and contemporary Maori art; and the music collections, were all obvious and intended statements of being Maori. But expressions of being Maori were not restricted to the home. For some their everyday dress incorporated Maori motifs particularly those who worked in the Maori village at PCC. For those who could not afford such dress, their expressions of being Maori often resided in or were reinforced by the neck pendants that they wore. These ornaments were referred to, by participants, as “taonga” irrespective of whether they were, for example, matau, hei tiki, manaia, or kapeu.

No one mistakes me for being Hawaiian. We wear our Manaia a lot and people assume that I'm from New Zealand, but I'm not born in New Zealand (Raewyn).

Interestingly, different groups in Hawai'i wore 'taonga' that in the New Zealand context would attract a Maori ascription both to the item as well as the wearer. It was explained to me that, when positioned within a Pacific context, a hei matau could be equally claimed by Hawaiians, Samoans, Tongans and Maori thus limiting its value as an identity marker. What is fascinating is that a social understanding seems to have been negotiated around these objects. In the case of the hei matau, participants tell me that these taonga are more likely to be worn by Hawaiians. In the case of Maori, the manaia seems to be the negotiated marker.

Being Maori here in Hawai'i is a proud thing. It makes you really proud. Everyone wants to know you and what being Maori is all about. Everyone just loves us. I've never worn manaia before, and now I wear it everywhere. Now I'm starting to go to Maori classes -- it just makes you feel really proud. It's cool. I love it (Nina).

No one mistakes me for being Hawaiian. We wear our Manaia a lot and people assume that I'm from New Zealand, but I'm not born in New Zealand (Raewyn).

Diana, an academic and a participant, described the relationship between wearing taonga and being Maori.

Diana commented: I think that there is an affinity and recognition of who we are. I can walk across campus and pick young Maori out. If I'm wearing Maori taonga - then I think that they know that I'm Maori. I may not know who they are but I'll say "kia ora" to them, and they'll say "kia ora" back. We may not get engaged in a discussion of any kind, but recognition of who we are is there.

Comparisons with being Maori in New Zealand

To discuss with participants what they saw as being the differences between being Maori in the Hawai'i context versus the New Zealand context, I posed an explicit question: How is being Maori in Hawai'i different to being Maori in New Zealand? When their attention was directed in this way, four major differences were talked about. They were living amongst a diversity of minority groups; not being considered Maori enough; having challenges and opportunities not available New Zealand; and not having to engage the 'down side' or negative aspects of being Maori in New Zealand.

Before presenting these differences, it is important to note that most (n=23) of the participants, of their own volition, chose to leave New Zealand to pursue education or work opportunities, or to be with partners. Irrespective of motivation, all have found themselves in a situation where they have to 'make the most of it'. Returning to New Zealand is expensive. For some, relinquishing their stay in Hawai'i is not an option, and for others a rather remote one. Indeed, almost half of the participants, although hopeful, did not make a definite expression about returning to New Zealand. When people are faced with having to 'make the most of it', it is not an uncommon pattern that people (students, sojourners, migrants, refugees) construct their 'new' circumstances in a more positive light than their 'old'. This tension and construction is evident amongst the responses made by participants in this study.

As discussed earlier, participants talked positively about the far more diverse context of Hawai'i (n=7). The absence of a dominant culture defining group (Tyler, Brome, & Williams, 1991) and the presence of many cultural minorities created what participants described as a far more welcoming and accepting social environment. Penny experienced a "great sense of freedom", in being a part of a multicultural environment and in being able to escape the "social conformities" present in New Zealand that in her view had been caused by British socialism. Touching on a sense of 'pleasantness', Judy highlighted that:

Being in Hawai'i and in the Pacific gives you get a nice feeling. It's nice having Polynesian people around you. It's nice not to feel alienated. It's also nice to be involved with different things (Judy).

Some participants (n=5) when in the New Zealand environment, felt that they were not considered as Maori by others mainly because of their appearance. In the Hawai'i context, most participants mentioned that they often had to actively identify as Maori as the probability of being 'mistakenly' identified was very high. This is discussed below in the section about actively identifying as Maori.

In New Zealand, even when their appearance was in line with what others thought was 'typical', sometimes their behaviour was not. They were still not considered Maori enough. Some of this, in my view, had to do with the extent to which they felt linguistically or culturally fluent. Roseanne, embarrassed by her family's lack of linguistic and cultural fluency, had this to say:

The part that I found hard while I was growing up was the embarrassment of not being able to speak Maori, and not knowing my Maoritanga. I know my father felt the same way. Particular as we've been a prominent family in the community. That's been the underlying thing that we regret missing out on. So, one of the things that I've been looking closely at is that I would like my son to be able to speak Maori. So, I've been learning Maori a little bit (Roseanne).

For some participants (n=9), being in Hawai'i allowed them the freedom to explore what it meant to be Maori. They felt more able to engage in language and culture learning activities. The participants' thoughts on this are reflected in those comments already reported above.

Negative evaluations about being Maori in Hawai'i were very few, but there were some. Four participants referred to being Maori in Hawai'i as a vicarious experience, something that was experienced from afar, or out of context.

When you talk to many Maori people here in Hawai'i about things Maori, much of their comments are made in isolation from an Aotearoa/Maori context. For example, it is very difficult to learn Maori here in this context. When you don't have a context where you are immersed in culture and language, it is difficult to learn. When you are displaced and taken out of the culture, things like language are very difficult to maintain (Mary).

Karen said a similar thing:

The way I am now is that I'm not a rich Maori. I'm not a poor Maori. I'm not doing anything for Maori other than my own children. But I think I'm doing quite a lot for the Polynesians that I'm in contact with here in Hawai'i. I do expose them to some of my Maori culture but I feel that it's the culture of yester-year. There's no way that I could teach them anything of today's Maori songs and culture (Karen).

People I spoke with (n=6) commented positively about the challenges and opportunities offered by the Hawai'i context and economy. For Audrey, leaving the familiarity and support systems of her whanau and iwi enabled her to confront life's challenges directly and in her own way. She only had herself to rely upon.

Yes - because you have more challenges here. In Aotearoa you have the whole whanau and iwi support around you. You tend to sit back and let the rest of the clan do things for you. Here in Hawai'i, you are literally on your own. You have to fend for yourself more; you have to express yourself more. You become more independent and you do more things and you realise more talents. Whether you are a male or female I never would have realised that I would have accomplished half of the things that I do now, had I not met the challenges of living in a different environment here. Had I stayed in Aotearoa I think I would have been more laid back and let the rest of the whanau carry on half of the stuff and I would have only done half of my stuff. I would not have been as aggressive as what I have been here. Because I found out that I could do those things that I had to, I knew that I would be able to do the same things in Aotearoa - without being too

lazy. Basically I would have said that, a long time ago, I was basically a lazy person. Getting a degree never entered my mind - never! (Audrey).

Karen had a similar experience to that of Audrey recognising opportunities not just for herself, but for her children who she had raised in Hawai'i.

When I left New Zealand, my father said to me - remember who you are, and go to church. That meant for me, remember who I am. I'm a (surname). I'm coming here to Hawai'i to get an education so that I can be self-supporting. We had a big family. Farming was going out. This is how I feel about being a Maori here. It seems like I've got better control and that there are more things offered here for my children to advance (Karen).

Some participants carried with them an optimistic belief in the 'American dream', that is: "that all men (sic) are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (Dworkin, 1996). The idea of being justly rewarded for one's efforts and labour is integral to the American Dream. This is apparent in what Hirama told me.

Unless you're educated, in New Zealand you will have a hard time raising your family. Whether you're educated or not, in Hawai'i you can still make a living provided you work hard. I think the American dream is still alive (Hirama).

In general, participants welcomed the challenge of facing life directly and away from the complacency that whanau and iwi were seen to create. Hawai'i, as part of the United States, was seen to provide up opportunities that were there for the taking provided that one developed the appropriate skills necessary to take advantage of them. In contrast, New Zealand was viewed as lacking in opportunity, restrictive and as one participant put it, a 'dead end'.

Participants often referred to the downside of life in New Zealand (n=11). Repeatedly, of the New Zealand context, participants described or made reference to New Zealand 'levelling' behaviour, or 'tall poppy' syndrome, where "criticism of those who are seen to be high achievers...or who stand out too much above the others ...[are] cut down to size" (Thomas, 1995, p.70). Reference to such levelling

behaviour was most often made by describing a story about crabs in a bucket. Fiona told me:

I'm reminded of the story - the crabs in a basket. When one crab tries to get out and it's nearing the top all the others will pull him down...(Fiona).

Judy's experience of trying to start a business in New Zealand highlights the essence of this metaphor. She told me:

In 1986 we went back to Aotearoa. I wanted to start a business. I went to see a number of Pakeha business people and they loved my ideas. When I went to see Maori people, they saw me as a Maori American. That pissed me off. To think that they would look at me like that rather than as a Maori person who was coming home -- that pissed me off. I just found that when I went home that I was 10 years ahead of a lot of people and their ideas. Maori people couldn't visualise things although Pakeha people could. It's a shame, a real shame. There is a tendency back home to not allow people to get ahead. That is a big thing. When they see you trying to do something -- bang, down you go. I think it's a Maori thing. If only they would unify. ... People are always trying to pull you down instead of giving you that push (Judy).

Roseanne had a similar view to Judy, but situated the cause of "Maori negativity" to what one might describe as lack of motivation.

I also came across a certain amount of negativity among Maori people, which I've never had. I don't believe in the chip on the shoulder thing. I believe that we all have potential as human beings to go out and do what we want. We should get out and do it. We should not use our ethnicity as an excuse for why we aren't getting places, because it's not. There are several, many reasons why things might not go your way. You've just got to have the self-esteem to keep persevering. You've also got to know what you want (Roseanne).

Kay expressed disappointment with Maori people generally. She felt that Maori were not furthering their education, and that government 'benefits' simply had the effect of subduing people.

To me they subdue the Maori people but not encouraging them to work. The dole is too readily available, and there is minimal difference for some people between the wage they get when they're working, and the dole. Why should I go to work! To me it's a suppression. I see so many Maori people that should be in school. The other thing is why is filth beautiful? When I was growing up, at least I was clean. It seems now that the dirtier you look, the more grubby you are (that's all the Polynesians), the tougher and the meaner I am. I think why is this? Is it because I've got this free money to stay looking dirty. So, with that I think I don't want to take my kids back to that. My kids are still in school - they're 21 and 22 years old. But at least they have respectful jobs (Kay).

Many participants referred to the hostile social environment that Maori in New Zealand live in. They referred to racism and being treated negatively. Diana provided an insight on this experience.

When I went home for a year in 1994 it was very easy for me to be angry at Pakeha. Coming from this (Hawai'i) nurturing environment where being brown and being Maori is viewed positively -- to go home and feel covert racism and having my mind opened to that, made me angry (Diana).

Negotiating a Maori identity

How a person views themselves is not necessarily congruent with the views of others. In the Hawai'i context, it is too easy to make inaccurate attributions about a person's ethnicity, cultural fluency and country of origin. In talking with Maori in Hawai'i, I discussed with them the occasions when they felt they had to identify as Maori; how they went about doing so; and why it was an important activity for them. Through our discussions, I tried to gather an appreciation of the everyday identity negotiations they were involved with.

Only one person felt that they did not have to identify themselves as Maori and some people (n=4) felt that they had to do it all the time. Most participants fell somewhere in between and the need to identify as Maori usually resulted from particular types of social interactions.

Some participants (n=9) reported that they were often asked whether or not they were Maori, or where they came from, particularly by tourists or by people encountered as part of work activities and settings. Some participants emphasised that this was not a strange or unusual occurrence and would respond to such enquiries without offence. Indeed, they had come to expect such questions within the Hawai'i context, as Peter explained.

On a daily basis I identify myself as a Maori to tourists if they ask me about my background. Consciously I don't think everyday that I'm Maori but there are times when I refer to my culture because there are so many cultures here in Hawai'i that one must do so to differentiate from the other cultures (Peter).

A few participants (n=3) who actively participated and moved within Hawaiian communities often felt the need to make their Maori identity visible.

The major occasions are when I'm at meetings with Hawaiian people. I normally make a silent statement of my ethnicity by wearing my Maori taonga. It's also apparent in the accent that I have. I use the greeting "kia ora". All these things contribute to identifying me as Maori. I find that I don't have to verbalise the fact that I'm Maori -- it's apparent in my presentation (Vicky).

Ngahuia had similar experiences.

During sovereignty gatherings with Kupuna. I go with my husband as his wife. I guess they look at me as Hawaiian. I say that I'm Maori. Often I find that the people that I meet and introduce myself to, like the Kupuna, have actually been to New Zealand and have been (home), so we end up having a good chat to them (Ngahuia).

Participants also said that they often had to identify themselves as Maori to other Maori people. Maori people new to the Hawai'i context (like me) find it difficult to discern a New Zealand accent among those who were Maori.

When groups come from New Zealand, it's good to go and visit and know that I'm part of the group, even though most of them don't think so (that I'm Maori) (Jason).

It's very strengthening and spiritually uplifting when people from home come here and we get to identify ourselves with them. It's great because when we interact, we are interacting on the same level or even higher. We're learning all the time. The whole interaction, for us, is out of this world. It takes us from this environment, to an environment at home. It embraces you and you're lost in it for a moment. When they are gone, you're back to normal again (Gary).

Participants had many ways of asserting and telling others about their Maori identity. Some actively wore taonga Maori such as manaia (n=4), others (n=2) used the greeting "kia ora", or relied upon their accent (n=3) or personal presentation (n=3) to communicate identity. Yet others actively sought out the company of other Maori (n=4) feeling that that was statement enough. For many participants (n=10), their social interactions required some degree of disclosure about their Maori identity particularly when asked directly. HIRAMA's response was typical.

In my type of job I meet people everyday and many ask me where I am from. I tell them that I am Maori and that I'm from New Zealand. It just goes on from there. Most people don't know much about New Zealand. They haven't had that much contact with Maori people. So, when I say I'm Maori, they don't really know what that is. But since Once Were Warriors came out people seem to be much more aware (HIRAMA).

The reference to the movie 'Once Were Warriors' demands a comment. This movie was not so much about 'being Maori' but about a culture of poverty and deprived social status. It profiled low-income housing, vicious violence, gang warfare, alcoholism, child abuse and neglect, suicide, and the subjugation of women. Most participants in this study, I believe, would shy from these portrayals. What I believe they do find inspirational is the resilience of the lead character Beth, that is, her capacity to rise from the grimness of her situation and find a new life for her and her children by returning to rural Maori New Zealand, and to somewhat romanticized Maori customs. I suspect that HIRAMA above is referring to these latter representations, rather than the former.

Some participants described circumstances where they felt the need to be assertive or proactive (n=5) about being Maori as Ravina and Nina described.

Quite a bit. There are a lot of people here passing as Maori. You have students who are not Maori who dance in the Maori group at PCC. They get to the point where they are telling others that they are Maori, or questioning Maori about whether they know their culture or not. I find that it's important for me to identify myself as Maori, especially when there are people around who are trying to sell themselves as being Maori (Ravina).

Yes. When people think I'm from Australia. That makes me feel stink. Other than that I don't feel a real urge to stand up and inform people, only if they ask (Nina).

Given the awkward circumstances that some of the participants often found themselves in, there was a sense of always having to 'come out', to disclose something about themselves that is either overlooked or inaccurately attributed. As Jason has described above, Neva describes here.

Almost all the time because I don't look Maori (Neva).

People in this study saw the task of identifying as Maori as important. They felt that it was "one's identity" (n=6), reflecting who they were and their pride (n=4) in being so. Jerald and Penny captured this sentiment.

It makes me feel proud to be Maori. I am proud of my heritage. So I see that when I find myself in situations where I can actively identify as being Maori, then I do (Jerald).

It's important as a connecting factor between people who share the same spirituality -- it connects you to others. It involves aroha, warmth and spirituality. It's important to me because it's part of my identity. A part of who I am (Penny).

Following from Penny's comments about 'connecting factors', some participants (n=6) identified a place for themselves relative to others in identifying as Maori. Vicky summed this up.

Knowing who you are is important. That that 'knowing' is based on whakapapa is also important. Through knowing oneself in this manner, gives oneself a sense of identity, and a sense of where you come from as a people. When you are able to whakapapa back to 'mai ra ano', then that gives you a sense of continuity -- gives you a much greater sense of being Maori, being from a particular tribal group and being

descendant from specific ancestors and belonging to a specific whanau (Vicky).

There were other reasons regarding the importance of identifying as Maori that were mentioned only by a few. For Roseanne, being Maori was essential to her livelihood...

It's important because it's my identity and it's also my income and what my professional work rests on (Roseanne).

And Raewyn benefited by the learning opportunities that presented:

It's important to identify myself as Maori to other Maori so that I can learn Maori ways and be respectful to other Maori (Raewyn).

Lastly, George highlighted the search by others for the "authentic Maori":

Guests who visit PCC want to know whether you are real Maori or not. They want to know that what they are looking at and seeing and the people whom they are interacting with are in fact the "real" McCoy! (George).

Maintaining Maori Connections

How participants maintain their Maori connections was the focus of questions grouped around this theme. If maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i or New Zealand was not a part of a participants' life, I explored the pathways by which they had arrived at this situation. If it was, then I explored with the participant the specific activities and frequency in which they engaged in such maintenance activities and difficulties encountered.

Only one person felt that maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i had not really been a part of their life in Hawai'i. Maude, who had lived in Hawai'i for 30 years at the time of interviewing, did not see herself as religious and therefore, did not feel that she had much in common with Maori who were. She viewed the church structure in which they lived as too restrictive and limiting for her. Also, she talked of Maori social relationships being quite political. Although grateful for the achievements that political activities and movements had made, such did not appeal to her. Maude was not totally isolated from being with other Maori,

but it did seem that the connections and opportunities she had to engage Maori were few and far between. Also, her conversation suggested that a role identity had far more salience in her life than a Maori social identity.

It's only on the odd occasions that I connect up with Maori people. They are so busy with their lives. I am not connected with other people; I'm not involved with anything unless there is a structured Maori thing that we are going to do.... Often there would be Maori people travelling through that would come and stay with me and I would go out and join in their activities. But that was a while ago. I don't have too many people coming through now and I think it's because of the life I am rarely here. I'm either travelling or working or I'm not available. I'm just too busy (Maureen).

Ten participants felt that maintaining connections with other Maori was not a major part of their life in Hawai'i but that this was influenced by time, distances, busy schedules and opportunity. For example, Penny described how to attend a meeting with Maori in La'ie required that she travel for 1.5 hours from Honolulu, the return trip taking about 3 hours. As La'ie is where most Maori in Hawai'i lived, it is not surprising that most organised Maori activities took place there.

Others referred to the Maori community in Hawai'i being made up of different sub-groups that did not always see eye to eye and who did not always provide the type of social satisfaction that was sought by participants. For others, it was easier and more satisfying to maintain contact with a broader group of people, namely New Zealanders or 'Kiwis' as they were often referred to, as they were in contact with New Zealanders more frequently. The other pattern to emerge related to those ethnic and social groups that partners belonged to. For example, Rachel, who was going out with a Samoan maintained what might be described as 'convenient' contact with other Maori, but tended to seek out the Samoan social contacts of her partner.

Even so, all participants maintained some contact with Maori in New Zealand, some more than others. There were also different reasons for keeping in touch. How participants maintained contact with other Maori and their reasons for doing so are discussed in the following sections.

Maori focused activity

Most people I spoke with engaged in a broad range of activities to maintain their Maori connections, rather than just simply one activity. The activity types that I identified were: organised, opportunistic, purposeful, passive, role related, and social. These are described below.

Organised

Get involved with the Maori Women's Welfare League. If there are any Maori function going we are normally involved in it. People call me. When you get Maori groups coming in to Hawai'i, we get together. Usually there is someone who calls around and let's everyone know who is going to be here and when and we organise to get together (Judy).

There are a number of Maori focused clubs and associations that people were members of. These organisations met regularly, and in some way, had a Maori focused agenda that members sought to realise. One of the frequently mentioned organisations (by 10 participants) was the Maori Women's Welfare League. Other organisations were the student Kiwi Club (n=8) and the New Zealand expatriate associations (n=1). The PCC based Kiwi Club is an association of students at PCC from New Zealand. As many of the students were Maori, it was an organization structure that Maori participated in and supported.

The Kiwi club. That makes it easier because there are such a lot of events and activities. Amongst those events there is usually one set time when we can all get together. We have like a devotional, or a sing song, or a food festival. There are a lot of activities that bring us together (Neva).

These two latter groups tended to be inclusive of all with origins from New Zealand but still provided the opportunity for Maori to come together, socialise and be involved in regular organised activity. Although not a club or association, the marae at PCC served as a centre for Maori focused activity both formal and informal. Activity at the marae involved people beyond those who worked in the Maori village

at PCC and served as a centre for meeting and welcoming people, for weddings, birthdays, celebrations and other gatherings.

Opportunistic

A third of participants (n=10) mentioned activities that were 'opportunistic' in nature rather than formally organised and structured. For example, taking the opportunity to meet and be with Maori from New Zealand who were visiting Hawai'i. Ivey described how she took advantage of opportunities that come her way.

Often people at the Maori Village will put on a hangi -- I really miss New Zealand food. So, when we have a hangi I'm the first one there. It's only been in the last few years that we have hangi and stuff. Often this coincides with Maori groups or new Maori students coming to BYU. So, we'll also have a powhiri to welcome and get to know them (Ivey).

Purposeful

Some activities were more deliberate and considered than others. These were activities where participants (n=10) purposefully set out to achieve a specific Maori focused goal, like learning te reo maori me nga tikanga, or seeking out Maori experts or enrolling in community or institutionally based courses of study. This type of activity might also include activities like participants teaching their children or others about nga mea Maori (Maori customs).

Gary, who was 63 years old at the time of being interviewed, told me that it's never too late to learn:

I am involved with learning the Maori language - through the rakau method. Arahia Unawai comes out here every week and we come together. We are speaking the language and it's awesome.

Passive

Some activities were more 'passive' in nature. Examples are reading books or magazines, watching television programmes and videos, or listening to Maori music

even though the acquisition of such resources may have been quite difficult. Passive activities were mentioned by a few participants only (n=4).

Role related

Many participants occupied work roles directly related to their ethnicity or Maori cultural fluency (n=8). Some were engaged in teaching or leadership roles that accentuated their ethnicity or drew upon their cultural fluency. Some were employed specifically as Maori cultural experts, entertainers or performers where their role in the tourism and entertainment industry was to provide an insight into the Maori world. As such, the roles that they occupied served to attract and keep them in contact with other Maori. Others occupied more incidental roles within the tourism and entertainment industry, like in 'food and hospitality' or management. Nevertheless, they were still expected to be ambassadors for their countries of origin and their cultural groups.

Roseanne, who is a professional Maori entertainer, described how her role facilitated contact with others.

I have connections with the Polynesian Cultural Centre and often perform down there. I go out there and see the young people who are homesick. I say hi and perform and sing for them. Sometimes (we) go out and help with some of the vocal coaching. Outside of Hawai'i I keep in touch with Maori who are in the entertainment industry. It's part of who I am professionally. They're all my friends, so we often have reunions and I often connect up with them when I'm at home (Roseanne).

Social support

Associating and maintaining a Maori focused social network in Hawai'i is a challenge due mainly to the small number of Maori, and their congregation in one particular area in Hawai'i. Nevertheless, participants (n=17) seemed to overcome this barrier to maintain relationships with other Maori, to meet or visit in each others homes, to talk on the phone, and to share resources and information.

I run into Maori people all over the place on a daily basis. From time to time we get involved in various events when the occasion arises. Normally if someone comes here we will get involved. Once a week I may visit some other Maori person. There are just so many here - there lots and lots. I would say that there are about 100 families here (Hirama).

Transpacific connections

I also maintain contact with people in New Zealand. I took a basketball team on a tour of New Zealand. The whole team were either Maori or part Maori -- all born and bred in the USA. We went all over the place. We stayed on marae almost all the way through. The kids loved it (Hirama).

Not only were participants engaged in maintaining connections with Maori who were living in or moving through Hawai'i, many (n=11) were active in maintaining relationships with those living in New Zealand and also in other countries around the world. Some were more active in their engagement than others, making annual or biennial return trips to New Zealand (n=5), phoning or receiving calls from home once or twice a week and bringing Maori resources back into the Hawai'i context (music, news, ideas, magazines, video's). While some were initiators of transpacific maintenance activities, others were less so and for a variety of practical reasons. Some just could not meet the cost of annual or biennial airfares, or international phone calls even though they would have liked to have engaged in such activities more frequently.

In contrast to those participants who were proactive in initiating transpacific activity, there were no participants at the other end of the continuum. In some small way all participants were in connection with those in the New Zealand context, even if it was to send or receive the odd postcard from time to time.

Reasons for Maori focused activity

To organise participant's responses I have drawn off the five types of social support identified by Orford (1992). These types are: esteem, companionship, informational,

emotional and material. They are described below with examples from those I spoke to.

Esteem

For two thirds of participants (n=19), reasons of esteem motivated Maori focused activity. Participants reported feeling a sense of belonging, of pride and solidarity, and self-acknowledgement (as well as from others) of the value of their being Maori. They felt affirmed, valued and acknowledged which led to a capacity to affirm, value and acknowledge others.

Connecting with other people, and carving makes me feel proud (Jason).

It creates an affinity and a recognition of who we are (Diana).

It gives me a reminder that I have Maori in me (Raewyn).

It makes me proud that I have two Polynesian bloods - Maori and Hawaiian. I always knew, but now I have experienced it. It empowers you more. It made my focus both Hawaiian and Maori (Kane).

Companionship

This type of support reflected satisfaction in having and participating in positive social interactions. Half of the participant group (n=15) reported engaging in social activities with friends or relatives. These activities ranged from 'hanging out' with friends at the beach or in town, or 'popping into' each other's homes. Telephone calls, lunch, being together at meetings or events, all contributed to a sense of companionship.

Informational

Informational support involves gaining advice or guidance or feedback on how one thinks about both specific and general things. It also involves having a means through which to access information about those things that matter to an individual.

It keeps me grounded. It gives me a sense of belonging. After living in Utah, there is practically no contact with other Maori people. It feels a lot better to be with Maori people. Being with my people helps me to know my self. Having been away and lived in places where there are no Maori people for so long in the mainland, you forget how Maori people are, and how you should be. So, being around Maori helps me to understand my own feelings and how I think. Sometimes I think that it is just me who does these things- but it's not. It's about being Maori (Jerald).

For Jerald, and others (n=13), their engagement in Maori focused activity brought them into contact with people and resources that could provide them with an array of information. Information included news about the arrival of visitors or Maori migrants to Hawai'i, where and whom to access expert knowledge from, of events and social gatherings, and most importantly for some participants, news from home. For many, having information led to the realisation of other forms of social support like material or emotional support.

Emotional

You get the feeling that you aren't alone. You know that there are other Maori out there. It's not just me. Often you feel surrounded by foreign things and foreign people. So it's good to be able to just identify with other Maori. My boss has been here for quite a while. It's good just talking with him. And when he goes home he brings back Minties and peanut slabs and it's a piece of home. It helps me to not get homesick. It makes me not miss my family so much (Ivey).

For a third of participants (n=10), emotional support was a motivator for Maori focused activity. Overcoming loneliness, homesickness, feeling different and isolated, and simply having to 'make it' were all motivators for connecting with other

Maori. There seemed to be an affinity and expectation of 'sticking together' and persisting and battling on, particularly by participants who were relatively new to the Hawai'i context. Indeed, the reflections of longer residents on when they first arrived were similar.

It allows me to be myself as a Maori person with other Maori. It allows us to share in who we are (Gary).

I also coded here responses, like Gary's, that related to feeling culturally supported, that is, participants gained support by themselves, in that being Maori and Maori ways were taken for granted. They could find relief, for a short while, from the continued fact of their ethnic and cultural difference always being under scrutiny and attracting attention.

Material

The provision of material support is perhaps best described by Patrick when he got married and by Fiona in playing host to Maori from New Zealand.

We do have those occasions of the Maori community coming together. For example, for weddings. Especially for us because we're poor, right. We got married here but it was the Maori community that came together, and they did our wedding for us. That's not uncommon because we all understand especially with students who are poor. So when things need to be done that's when we come together and we know that we have to support each other... otherwise we'd be out on our own. We wouldn't be able to do quite a bit. So it's through those connections and being Maori or from New Zealand that we're able to do a lot more than if those connections were not there (Patrick).

If it were not for our Maori connections, our ties to our Maori people, somehow or other I think we would have gone home. Where we shine in our Maori Women's Welfare League is that we host our people from home and we've had people here come who have taken ill at the airport and because we have been there we've been able to bring them home and look after them. One was for two months I think, two or three months (Fiona).

The above accounts by Patrick and Fiona might be considered by some as large scale examples of material support, but other less noticeable examples were reported. Examples are, people helping each other out with baby sitters; or looking after the kids; or giving each other rides to town; or sharing text books or resources from home, or from each others home. About a quarter of participants described some exchange of material support.

Frequency of participation in Maori focused activity

I asked participants about how often they participated in activities that helped them to maintain their Maori connections. Their responses were varied and often depended upon the type of activity they were thinking about at the time. For example, those who focused on organised activity responded according to when activities were organised. For example, the Maori Women's Welfare League usually had monthly meetings. Opportunistic activity occurred when ever the opportunity arose which may have been anything from monthly to three yearly, and role related activity happened on a daily basis often spilling over into other spheres of a person's life.

Most people engaged in a number of activity types. Two thirds of the sample engaged in up to three activity types, and a third up to six activity types, the latter group usually reporting a higher frequency of engagement.

Overall, of the 24 participants who responded to this question, 12 felt that they were engaged in activity on a daily basis, four engaged often, seven were infrequent engagers, and one felt that they rarely participated in maintaining their connections.

I discussed with some of the participants (n=24) whether they felt as if they had enough contact with other Maori or wanted more. Over half (n=13) told me that they desired more contact with other Maori and wanted to participate more often in Maori focused activity. Seven participants were less ready to provide an unqualified response pointing to the realities of living in a diverse setting, of having to work, and of having a range of activities and commitments. Roseanne explained:

Certainly wouldn't like less. Ideally, it would be nice to have quite a bit more. My lifestyle being what it is, I firstly have

my family to accommodate and they're really important. They're my top priority. After that, I have a career. So there's also the time factor. If there were more Maori groups here, then I would be more than interested. For example, it is really difficult for us to meet as a Welfare League. People are busy and they have work. It is really expensive to live in Hawai'i and a major concern is economics, so people work really hard here to make ends meet. Many people have three jobs! That takes up a lot of your time. A lot of time there isn't enough time to do things that are possibly more social in orientation (Roseanne).

Lastly, four respondents felt that they had enough contact with other Maori, some like Selena, pointing to a need "to be involved with a whole range of people".

Facilitators of Maori maintenance activities

In the previous section, a number of maintenance activities were identified and reported. I organised the activity types around six types. They were organised, opportunistic, purposeful, passive, role related, and social. All these activity types contributed certain outcomes for different people. These included outcomes related to esteem, companionship, information, or emotional and material support.

Most participants engaged in maintenance activities in some way (some more frequently than others) and few felt that they had enough Maori contact, the majority wishing for more. In this section, I consider those things that participants identified as facilitating maintenance activities, or in short, those things that made it easier to maintain their Maori connections.

Finances

Eight participants mentioned that having a secure financial position would help them to maintain contact with other Maori in Hawai'i and in Aotearoa. Work and income are direct pathways to obtaining resources to support social interaction with other Maori and with 'home' environments. These resources include the ability to pay for travel expenses like petrol, having a reliable motor vehicle, or an ability to pay for telephone and fax calls or airfares to make return trips to Aotearoa, or to other destinations where there are other Maori. Hare, a student at BYU-H highlights the simplicity of this equation and a creative use of 'collective' resources.

In terms of Aotearoa, I know that finances would make it easier. Having whanau and friends in Aotearoa who let me call "collect" helps (Hare).

Audrey and Fiona both remarked that a secure financial situation had helped them to keep in touch with others and to participate in Maori maintenance activities. Audrey's pattern of contact with relatives and friends in New Zealand is enlightening.

I have a job that allows me to have a 3 month holiday every year. So, I know that every year I can go home for three whole months - even if it's over winter. I love it. I love to hear that rain. My philosophy is that I work in Hawai'i but I live in New Zealand. The job is here but my home is New Zealand. That's another reason why I'm still here. If I didn't have that 3 month holiday I know for sure that I would not be here. Two weeks is not enough. I feel that you have to go home every year - that's what I've been doing. Going home recharges my battery - it gets flat by the time I get home. The minute I get off that plane and breathe in Aotearoa then I know I'm home. Just landing on the earth charges me up, along with meeting the people again. Going to whatever is going on in the country that also gives me a charge. I just don't go home to see whanau, I move around to see what the issues are and what's happening (Audrey).

Fiona reflected on the attitudes of others towards Maori living in Hawai'i, in that others thought that they were wealthy. She attempts to correct this perception.

The biggest struggle I have found here has been financial. People seem to think because you live in Hawai'i that you must be wealthy to do so. But I have found out that yes, you do have to have a lot of money, but if you know where to go to do the shopping, to get the specials you can survive (Fiona)

What is revealing in Fiona's comments are the cultural 'drivers' for allocating resources in the way that she does. The cultural driver, in this instance, were the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga

A lot of times you have to go without and many times you have to make a decision like am I going to spend this money on this for some frivolous purpose, or am I going to spend it on this because we have a family group coming from home and everybody's going to call in. It was the aroha, the hospitality and the teachings of the old people that enabled me and my husband to grow up this way and we have taught our children to do that too ... (Fiona).

In contrast, the cultural driver in Audrey's case is what Tuhoē dialectually refer to as Matemate-a-one, that is, a yearning for home and home relationships.

Lastly, Diana referred to the convenient Hawai'i location and the comparative expense of living in some other location.

Being in Hawai'i has made it easier and possible, in contrast to say living on the mainland. The fact that it only costs \$US500 compared with \$US1000 to fly home makes it easier (Diana).

Connecting people

Over a third of those that I spoke with referred to the way that other people such as travelling groups, parents, friends, or children helped to facilitate their contact with other Maori in Hawai'i. Ngahuia felt that maintaining contact with other Maori was made easier by others contacting her, rather than by her having to make the effort all the time. Diana drew my attention to the convenient location of Hawai'i and its reputation as a 'meeting place', particularly for Maori engaged in global travel.

The fact that we're in Hawai'i and it's in the middle of the Pacific on the route of all the airlines where people have to stop here has made it more possible for me to make and keep connections with Maori people (Diana).

Maude revelled in connecting with Maori, particularly with kaumatua who affirmed her cultural essence as Maori and as she says, allows her "to connect more readily" (Maude).

When I really connect with the odd Maori person I love it. The memories are indelible. They have affected my life and they will never go away. When we went to the MWWL

conference last year spoke with the old Maori woman about how the youth of today are slowly losing the essence of being Maori. She recognised that I still had the mana of being Maori, and that was a real buzz for me. We were very fortunate to have not lost the mana of being Maori. We were lucky - my mother was a real tiger when it came to quietly maintaining things Maori. She thought that she had walked away from it all but in her own way, many of the things that she did were Maori, and she passed those things on to us. It has not been until later years that I have recognised those activities as being uniquely Maori. Meeting up with Maori elders is really special for me, and allows me to connect more readily (Maude).

The more frequently mentioned type of ‘connecting person’ was the visitor from Aotearoa. Judy commented that when visiting groups come or when her mother visited and wanted to visit others then she would make an effort to engage with other Maori, otherwise “I stay away” (Judy). Raewyn remarked that:

...when other Maori come over to visit us here - that makes it easier. Mom always tells other Maori that the house is open to them. So they always come down to see us (Raewyn).

Elaborating on the ‘visitor from home’ is Mary who makes specific comment on the vicarious nature of being Maori in Hawai’i.

The best connections that I’ve made are when people come here from home, or when I go home. When you’ve been here for a long time, you lose touch with developments at home. So, a lot of what we do, even in this small community here is almost Maoridom a la Hawai’i style. So, it’s a little bit different. Some of these people have been away from home for 20-30 years. So even though their roots and attachments are strong, some of their directions have become different to what is happening at home because of the Hawaiian environment in which they are living. It’s almost like we are Maori vicariously. Maybe we’ll get together on occasion and do a few action songs and things like that but it’s almost like our knowledge of things Maori is a ‘static’ knowledge. The things that we do are based on the things we know and remember. It’s not until people come up from Aotearoa and say here are all the new developments, or when we go home and see what is happening that things change. It is a living micro-culture but when you are at home everything is changing and you’ve got different values and goals and

directions, so when you are out of that, you tend to be focussing on goals and values and things Maori, but they may be ten years old. Then you go home and they say, "oh, we gave up on that - forget about that stuff". It's almost like an artificial existence in some ways (Mary).

People and organisations that make an effort to keep people informed of events, activities and news within Maori communities in Hawai'i and in New Zealand were appreciated. They kept people in contact with each other.

Culture club/Kiwi club - they send out newsletters with newsy bits and pieces about who's getting married and who's having babies. Church. I have a friend who e-mails me in New Zealand and tells me about things that are happening at home. I'm always going into the New Zealand web pages. They have photos of home that I love looking at (Ivey).

Children and partners were important facilitators of connections with other Maori and with things Maori (n=6). Diana spoke to me about the motivating effect her children had on her to learn things Maori and to ensure that these things were passed on to her children.

Trying to impart my Maori values and beliefs to my children is very important to me. When you have children things change. Priorities change. I am very proud when my children automatically bring kai and drink out for our visitors. When they do that I feel as if I'm doing something right. It's not a conscious thing for them. But when I see them doing things automatically my heart feels good that they have picked up something from me - it makes me cry. I think that I'm very conscious of imparting things Maori to my children, more so than some Maori in Aotearoa -- because we are not at home. We read Maori legends as their bedtime stories. So that my children know all about Maui. They know the stories better than I do. My husband also reads these books to them. So, their bedtime stories haven't been 'Hansel and Gretel'. They have been Maori stories. Music -- Te Ku, Te Whe by Hirini Melbourne. We play that and other Maori music -- contemporary, and more traditional sounds -- we play it because we enjoy it. If you listen to some of the traditional sounds, to other people it might sound spooky. But our kids just love it. Just having it in our home helps me and my children. This is stuff we like and this is what we do (Diana).

All these processes, that is, visitors from Aotearoa, making the effort to attend gatherings, producing, disseminating and reading newsletters, sending emails/faxes and making telephone calls all help to connect people with each other.

Time

Most of the people that I spoke with in this study were very busy. They worked or were studying or bringing up a family and had active social lives that included participating in church, sports, or community activities. Some of these activities enabled participants to be in close contact with other Maori, particularly those whose work or social roles focused on teaching or promoting Maori culture. But for a small number, even though they may have wished for things to be different, adding to what they were already doing seemed to be a burdensome request. This is illustrated in what the following participants told me.

The motivation and inclination are there -- it's just the time to do these things. I just don't have it (Mary).

Obviously time and a more regular life style would make it easier (Roseanne).

I guess if I had less commitments (Karen).

Mostly time out of our busy schedules (Penny).

If I weren't studying, and if I had more time and finances then it would probably be easier (Jerald).

Organised activity

Participation in groups such as New Zealand or Maori focused associations (Maori Women's Welfare League and Kiwi Club), or in Maori language and culture courses brought the participants in contact with others and in contexts that they were familiar with. They felt comfortable and motivated to attend and participate in activities. Such activities I refer to as 'organised activities' as they usually require time to arrange, facilitate and schedule.

Organised activities made it easier for some participants (n=12) to engage in activities that helped to maintain their Maori connections. 'Organised' activities included those things that were part of their everyday, ordinary and normal routines. This may have included being in a 'work' setting where they were employed to depict, teach or learn Maori culture, for example, at school or University (n=5).

If I'm going to live and work here then probably the only real way that I'm going to keep my connections with Aotearoa is to work connection activities into my professional life. So, I'm moving to establish some collaborative research programme with other academics at home where I can go home, and perhaps exchanges can be made here (Mary).

Clubs and associations or friendship networks that facilitated Maori focused activities also served as maintenance vehicles. The Maori Women's Welfare League, the Kiwi Club, and the network of Maori students at BYU-H were often mentioned networks (n=4) that frequently organised events and activities.

The Kiwi club. That makes it easier because there are such a lot of events and activities. Amongst those events there is usually one set time when we can all get together. We have like a devotional, or a sing song, or a food festival. There are a lot of activities that bring us together (Neva).

Some participants (n=4) highlighted the fact that activities could be organised until one was "blue in the face". People needed to have a desire to want to engage in such maintenance activities, they needed to be motivated and willing to attend events and occasions.

It's the desire and the will to associate and engage people. If that is there then it shouldn't be a problem. You've got to have a purpose to getting together and people need to be straight shooters. I'm a straight shooter. If they're dedicated to that kind of mind then fine -- but if there are crooks around -- then forget it (Judy).

What makes maintenance activities harder

In as much as there are things that facilitate contact and the maintenance of connections with other Maori people, there are equally things that are inhibiting. Many facilitators are equally inhibitors. For example, the presence of resources such as time, finances, connecting people, and organised activity were identified as facilitating maintenance activities. But the flip side to this is that their absence is seen as a barrier to contact with others.

Two thirds of the participant group identified inhibitors of maintenance activities. From their responses four themes were apparent: community tensions, lifestyle, distances, and resources.

Community tensions

Gossip, back stabbing, politics, arguments, exclusiveness - contribute to creating community tension (n=5). Participants like Judy have chosen to respond to this in the following way.

Often times there is just too much gossip and I don't want to be a part of that. Life is too short to be sitting around gossiping about things. My husband and I are 'do it' type of people. We don't have to get involved with back stabbing communities. In fact, the community that we live in has a nice feel to it. It's a small community. Everyone knows each other. We get involved with different clubs. And so you're establishing your friends. That's important. I walk every morning, and meet people along the way and we all know each other. It's a wonderful feeling to belong somewhere. That belonging feeling makes me feel good. It's important (Judy).

Unlike Judy, HIRAMA recognises that community tensions make connecting with other Maori difficult at times but he does not allow that to bother him.

When we are unsettled as a group. When we have in fighting among our own Maori people here in Hawai'i. But I normally don't let that bother me (HIRAMA).

More specifically, Ravina spoke frankly about the tensions apparent between the PCC Maori village, participants in the PCC Nightshow, and those who are simply students at BYU-H without any involvement in cultural promotion activities.

The politics that go along with it. It tends to stand out more here because there are less of us. Because my room mate works in the village then I get in on a lot of the stuff that they do -- I lucky. If you're not involved with village stuff then it makes it harder to be involved with that lot. There's a lot of crap that goes on even with the PCC village group, and night show group. They tend to be exclusive (Ravina).

I should note that these tensions are not unusual and are an important part of any community or society of people. Community tensions, balanced by community achievements, care and satisfaction, contribute interest and development for its members.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle demands (n=10) such as the need to work or attend to educational goals, to care for family and to meet commitments over and above maintaining connections with other Maori people were the most frequently mentioned needs that inhibited Maori maintenance activities. The people that I spoke with in Hawai'i were extremely busy people. Some held two and three jobs, and many who attended university were also working to finance their education. They therefore felt that their time was rather compressed. Roseanne highlights these barriers.

My lifestyle being what it is, I firstly have my family to accommodate and they're really important. They're my top priority. After that, I have a career. So there's also the time factor. If there were more Maori groups here, then I would be more than interested. For example, it's really difficult for us to meet as a Welfare League. People are busy and they have work. It's really expensive to live in Hawai'i and a major concern is economics, so people work really hard here to make ends meet. Many people have three jobs! That takes up a lot of your time. A lot of time there isn't enough time to do things that are possibly more social in orientation (Roseanne).

Distances

Related to time, is the perceived distances (n=4) that people need to negotiate to be together. Fiona told me about when her and her husband first arrived in Hawai'i and the priority that they placed on having a car.

You have to have a car. You cannot get from point A to B without a car and when we first arrived here my husband had a car. That was one of the first things. We had an opportunity to buy a home at the time but it wouldn't have worked out because the repayments would have far exceeded what my husband was earning at the time. But he made sure that we had a car and I'm afraid we'd be absolutely lost without a car. In fact my husband bought a car, which my daughter uses and she bought a truck, so between her and her dad he has the truck for work and that's how we help each other. That's how we're able to survive (Fiona).

As mentioned previously, the majority of Maori in Hawai'i live outside of Honolulu in La'ie. Penny who resided in Honolulu felt that the distance to La'ie was significant (almost a 2 hour bus ride, about 1 hour by car). To attend meetings or gatherings or to visit people required some forward planning and often could not be a spontaneous event.

Related to distances, was the travelling distance between Hawai'i and Aotearoa. Although only an eight hour plane trip, the perception of distance was made further by the cost of the airfare. Able to relate in person with family and friends in New Zealand and on a regular basis was an unreasonable expectation for most in this group, the majority negotiating this gap through telephone calls, email, faxes and the like.

Resources

Time, money, access to telephones, computers, fax machines, reliable transport - all these resources support the goal of maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i and Aotearoa. For most participants, this was the raw reality of their existence in Hawai'i and tied directly back to the need to work.

Feeling like an outsider

Having discussed with participants the ways in which they relate to other Maori in Hawai'i and in New Zealand and the means by which they maintained their Maori connections, I next discussed with them the idea of 'being on the outside'. I wanted to know if there were times when they felt as if they were different from those groups that they were members in, times when they were positioned on the 'outside', or 'othered'. I also wanted to know how they coped with this positioning and what strategies they employed.

Of the 30 participants who responded to this question, 22 said that there had been times in their lives when they felt like an outsider to things Maori or to Maori groups. Their reasons for feeling this way tended to reflect their experiences with other Maori people, or the circumstances in which they were raised, or adequacy or inadequacy with te reo me nga tikanga Maori. The situations that raised feelings of being an outsider were those where groups, experiences, appearances or competencies were brought into contrast. At these contrasting moments, participants had the occasion to simply reflect on the presence of difference. However, sometimes the circumstances and the resultant contrasts were sharper and more acute often requiring an immediate response (for example, when one is spoken to in Maori with the expectation that they would reply in Maori). These latter circumstances were often experienced as more stressful than the former. I present the reasons why participants felt like 'outsiders' to Maori activities and groups below.

Appearance

How a person appears and presents themselves influences how others perceive and behave towards them. Equally, how others perceive and behave towards us will also influence how we feel and react. Jason's comments to me reflect this.

I know that I'm Maori and I know who my ancestors are. But often when for example, I walk into a marae it's automatic that I know someone is thinking "who's this", because of the way that I look. In that respect, that often makes me feel like an outsider. Whereas I have a brother who is dark and he doesn't have any problems. When people find out that we are brothers, it amazes people (Jason).

Participants (n=4) like Jason and Neva referred to situations where people make inaccurate attributions based on how they appeared. In Jason's case, he was sensitive to the attributions made by others and of the problems that could potentially be created. Neva and Ivey talked about similar situations which contribute to feeling like an 'outsider'.

Because I'm a lot fairer. My husband is dark. So often, Maori people and other Polynesians will only talk to him and not me because they don't think I'm Maori. So I often feel excluded. Most other Maori know who's a Maori. You can tell by the way they dress. The standard of dress is different. We're clean cut. We're not as loud when we talk (Neva).

I am quite fair and sometimes other Maori don't think that I'm Maori (Ivey).

Judgements from outsiders

Judgements made by others contributed to participants (n=4) feeling positioned on the outside. Vicky sometimes felt that Maori visiting from New Zealand passed negative judgement on her and the activities that Maori in Hawai'i were engaged in.

Often when people from home come to PCC and watch us perform, sometimes they will pass negative remarks - like the performance is a "plastic" performance and that those performing (us) are plastic Maori. I get very hurt and offended by this, especially when they don't see the amount of time and energy that is put into working, developing and preparing for performances. They also don't see the investment that is made by the kids in the performances that they do (Vicky).

Te reo me nga tikanga

For the majority of participants (n=10) who described times when they felt like 'outsiders', a large number referred to an assumption that they be competent or engaged in learning te reo me nga tikanga, or at least actively promoting learning. Mary points to a perceived intolerance on the part of advocates of te reo me nga

tikanga and the impact that such intolerance has on those who are perhaps less competent or interested.

Because there is such a push at home to promote Maori language and culture (which I think is extremely important) there comes with it in some instances an intolerance with those who are not up with the play. I would say that a lot of Maori people back home who are not associated with academia are maybe being left behind by those who are associated with academia. The attitude is like: "oh, so you can't speak the language -- oh there must be something wrong with you". It's like there is something lacking with you. I've also spoken with people not associated with academia and their response is: oh well, I'm not going to do it. (Mary).

Many participants felt acutely aware of their lack of fluency with te reo Maori and commented on situations where this lack of fluency had been highlighted. Diana, Maude, Karen and HIRAMA were some participants who passed comment about language fluency.

Another thing that happened at that powhiri was that I was listening to the whaikorero just wishing I could speak Maori. I felt at a complete loss. ...I thought to myself, damn - I feel more comfortable in the Pakeha world, than I do in the Maori world. I don't want to feel like that (Diana).

I felt like an outsider because I can't speak Maori. I feel envious of Maori people who have the opportunity to be doing things Maori. When I see Maori are full of pride, and they carry themselves good I feel envious (Karen).

The only other area where I feel funny is that I can't speak the language. Over the last 10 years or so, there has been a big resurgence in Maori - every man and his dog can talk now. I have nephews and nieces and they can speak - but I can't. I wish that was there when I was a little boy (HIRAMA).

When I can't speak the language and when I'm frightened that I won't do the right thing. (Maude).

Following from Maude's comment is the desire on the part of participants to "do the right thing". Participants spoke of the negative judgements made by Maori

visiting from New Zealand, but this was not the only group of Maori who passed negative judgements. Rylan spoke to me of her experiences with an association she belonged to and feelings of being on the outside because she “wasn’t good enough”.

...I wanted to go to it 'cause I wanted to learn culture and stuff. But the people that were teaching it, made me feel uncomfortable. It was like if you didn't know the poi or the haka then don't be here. Because the people that were teaching that, they've been living here for a long time. They were Maori but they couldn't be bothered teaching you and that kind of made you feel uncomfortable. So a lot of us never turned up (Rylan).

Group dynamics

Groups are dynamic. They will change and adapt as people gain entry or exit groups taking or bringing resources, attitudes or aspirations with them. Also, people will feel more or less a part of a group as they both change, develop and adjust to the social and physical ecologies that they and their affiliate groups are a part of. Certainly, the Maori groups that I became aware of in Hawai’i seemed to me to be no different from any other Maori social identity group. The comments made by Audrey, Ngahuaia and Jerald below simply reflect the reality of belonging to a Maori social identity group and responding to the dynamics involved. Six participants made comments similar to those noted below.

There have been times when I've felt like an outsider to the Maori group in La'ie. I just felt that they were living in their own little world which they decided was their world and not that of any other Maori... I felt that I had a right to be there. If there was a Marae there, then I had a right to be there. It was supposed to be a Marae for all Maori not just one tribe - it belonged to the LDS church. So my persistence in going out there paid off and then I got accepted by the Maori out there. There was a tendency to say that any Maori who was not LDS or involved in the activities out there was not welcome. Those were my hard times there (Audrey).

Sometimes I haven't been invited to events and activities. Or sometimes I haven't been able to attend some events -- I find out after that they have been talking about me. These times I feel like an outsider so I just support from the back. I know that our tipuna would say, 'be involved, go and peel potatoes,

be a part of it". I actually think that it's the best way (Ngahuia).

There are some Maori that I don't know - they are new here on Campus. They tend to hang out together. They don't go out of their way to know me and that sort of makes me feel on the outside (Jerald)

Coping Strategies

Tizard and Phoenix (1993) provide a helpful framework to organise the different types of coping strategies that participants in my study have identified with regard to feeling like 'outsiders'. Their framework employs four categories to describe what an individual might do to cope with a stressful situation: a) mentally defusing the threat, b) avoiding or escaping from the threatening situation, c) tackling the situation directly, or d) taking steps to prevent or reduce the effects of the threat. I present the coping strategies used by participants in my study according to the strategy types identified by (Tizard & Phoenix, 1993).

Defusion

Mentally defusing the threat involves modifying the way in which one feels about a situation in an attempt to minimise its stressful impact. Nine participants mentioned coping strategies that fall within this category. For example, Vicky coped with the negative judgements of others by ignoring them. Jason coped with the inaccurate ethnic attributions made by others by explaining:

Just be myself and let them figure it out. It's more their problem than mine (Jason).

Maude and Rylan coped in similar ways:

In a Maori context, I have to calm myself down. I have to change gears and accept that Maori view me differently and I often think differently about them (Maude).

I don't feel totally outside, you just realise that they're more familiar (with each other, they're) more of a group (Rylan).

Avoidance or escape

Avoiding or escaping from the threatening situation means removing oneself from the situation, or attempting to avoid stressful situations. Four participants indicated that they had used avoidance strategies to cope with events that position them as ‘outsiders’. Maude found it difficult to be in Maori dominated environments and found them to be times of high anxiety and choose mostly to avoid them.

Most of my anxiety comes from not knowing what people expect of me in a Maori context. So I am constantly watching and observing so as to avoid infringing some rule or expectation. I'm always observing myself within those contexts - like how I stand up, sit down, etc. In most Maori contexts I feel like an outsider because there are so many things that I don't know. Until I can psych myself up to attend hui or Maori dominated environments - I don't know if my nerves can handle it. It's a different energy (Maude).

Rylan, like Natalie and Jerald, commenting on a social event where others in the group would make her feel uncomfortable and acutely aware of her inadequacy with tikanga Maori, choose simply not to attend.

Direct action

Taking direct action simply refers to immediate and direct action that reduces or removes the threat or source of stress. Four participants suggested coping strategies of this nature. These strategies involved simply “getting on with people who are different to yourself (Tony)” or “telling people straight, sorry I cant speak (te reo) (Hirama)”, or in Neva’s case, “by asserting myself as Maori”.

Prevention

This strategy involves the individual may taking steps to prevent or reduce the effects of a stressful situation. There are many possible variants to this strategy. The participants (n=7) most likely to use this strategy were those who felt inadequate

about their cultural or linguistic fluency. The suggested coping strategy was to find ways to improve their fluency.

What I would like to do, is to have the time and the opportunity to learn and to speak the language again. I learnt a little bit because I went to a country school. But given my background in language and cognition, I would like to learn again. I think it would be different (Mary).

The next time I went back to Aotearoa, I enrolled in a Te Reo Maori class. I returned to Hawai'i and started talking to other Maori about whether they would be interested in getting into a Maori class. I approached (Ngahuia) about teaching a Maori class. I approached the university about the need for a Maori language class - all self interest of course. I think that just being with other Maori here and talking about the need for being involved with Te Reo was my way of dealing with it (Diana).

Polynesian dance class. I got my friends to teach me. I went and joined the culture group (Ivey).

Maori Social Identities: Whanau, Hapu and Iwi

In my discussions, I sought to explore with participants conceptions of their whanau, hapu and iwi. For example, I asked participants to think about their whanau and to describe to me those things that came into their minds. I asked them to do the same thing in relation to their hapu and iwi.

For one participant I choose not to pose questions to her about her whanau, hapu or iwi. Earlier in the interview she had disclosed that the circumstances under which she left her whanau and New Zealand were not favourable or very pleasant. I considered the line of questioning that I wanted to pursue as simply inappropriate in her case. Others I chose not to ask these types of questions depending on how receptive they seemed to be during the interview. They were those who had not disclosed a hapu or iwi affiliation and who may have been potentially embarrassed by my line of questions.

I also explored with participants the part that whanau, hapu and iwi played in their lives. Participants could choose to respond in three different ways. Firstly, that

these structures played no part in their lives at all. Secondly, that they played a part in their lives in either the Hawai'i context or the New Zealand context, or thirdly, in both contexts.

In the sections below I report on those conceptions that participants had of their whanau, hapu and iwi, and the part that these structures played in their lives. I also report the views held by those participants who felt that either a whanau, hapu or iwi construct did not play a part in their lives in Hawai'i. Later in this chapter, I present the ways in which participants go about maintaining their whanau, hapu and iwi connections.

Conceptions of whanau

Twenty seven participants related to me their conceptions of whanau. Four primary themes emerged from the data gathered. They were: family conceptions; relationships; children; and being Maori.

Family conceptions

Almost two thirds (n=18) of the sample held conceptions of whanau that rested on the nuclear family, that is, parents and children as a social unit. Even though immediate or nuclear families were a large part of their conceptions, for eight participants, extended family also played a part. Extended families included cousins, aunts, uncles and other relatives.

I think of my immediate family and my first cousins. A lot of my first cousins, on my Maori side, live in Utah. We are a really close family. Every little occasion - the family gets together (Jerald).

Relationships

When asked to think about whanau, half the sample (n=15) raised conceptions that highlighted relatedness, that is, relationships with children, fathers, mothers, grandparents, cousins, aunts and the like. Others thought about connections with other more distant relatives and the gatherings that occur from time to time. The

value and closeness of relationships was also commented upon. For Gary, his relationships with his children and his 36 mokopuna were all very important. To Diana, she thought of the “love/hate” relationships she had with members of her whanau and the practical realities of keeping relationships warm and alive.

Love/Hate. The scraps. I feel that it's part of whanau life.We love each other and want to be together and then we can't stand each other sometimes. That's what whanau life is all about. You howl when you have to leave, and again when you see each other. But, if you stay too long together you're at each other's throats. It's because you have a life of your own. ...We really can't always be together because we have our own houses, we live far away from each other, and we don't have a clear consensus because each of us has our own very different and diverse lives. But, we love being together. When I think about our whanau get togethers I think about food, singing, spirituality, an emotional revival (Diana).

Mary speaks about the closeness she feels to her father's family.

My father came from a family of ten brothers and sisters. My father was three quarters Maori, and my mother was about one eighth Maori. On her side they had a very western, Pakeha upbringing. ...most of my connection to family has been on my mother's side, although I'm still quite close to some of my cousins on my father's side. Of the ten families, only a couple of the families I would be close to (Mary).

Children

Although half the sample (n=14) were parents, only 6 participants explicitly mentioned their children as part of their whanau cognition. Ngahuia was concerned that her children “*learn enough skills and that they are doing the right things*”.

Maude reflected on her children being supported by a Maori spirit.

My kids took being Maori all for granted. They have a difficult time coping in the world because that's missing for them. A Maori spirit is important. It's similar to the aloha spirit. It enables you to cope with the rough world.

Tony reflected on the specialness of children.

I think of the good times, the singing, the feeds, the hangi, of those people of a similar age to me and I think especially of the kids and of how you cannot neglect any of them. There is a very soft place in my heart for kids. You know they are my little gifts from the whanau, from the iwi or from the waka.

For these participants, supporting and being aware of their children was an important part of what whanau meant to them.

Present role of whanau

Twenty one participants felt that their whanau played a part of their lives in Hawai'i. Seven participants¹¹ reported otherwise and qualified their responses by providing explanations. Penny, with reference to whanau, hapu and iwi, told me:

No, except that I know that I have them. As I said, I never learnt until late in my life what it meant to be Maori. I never felt whole. And after I found out ... that side of me I felt whole. Knowing that those concepts are there gives you a very secure feeling about your roots (Penny).

On a different note, Maude told me about how she had endeavoured to not be so concerned about her whanau, and hapu and iwi.

Not in the traditional sense. In a strange way they do. I have done everything to release my constant concern for my family. It has been such a part for me and I always think of my mother's constant concern for 'the family'. I wanted to release that because I think they needed to lead their lives knowing that I was always here. They needed to do it to enable them to cope because there isn't anyone else out there. They need to create their own whanau where ever they go. It's a tough world. So I have done everything I could to support them in a different way. More in a spiritual way rather than in a traditional sense (Maude).

¹¹ For one participant I felt it inappropriate to ask questions of this nature.

Other participants, although they maintained contact with their immediate family either in Hawai'i or New Zealand found that contact with their broader whanau group was simply not a part of their present lives.

Audrey, even though she maintained close contact with whanau in New Zealand felt that there was little in the Hawai'i context to support her conceptions of whanau, hapu and iwi. She said:

There is nothing around me in Hawai'i that would reinforce those concepts. In terms of things that would strengthen me, I would say no. I would have to go home (Audrey).

Conceptions of Hapu

When asked to name their hapu on the demographics questionnaire that I circulated to participants prior to the interview, only 14 of the 29 participants did so. I was conscious of this at the time of interviewing and expected that many would not be able to provide an adequate response to this present line of enquiry. This was not the case. Only five of the 28¹² participants did not provide a response to my questions about their hapu conceptions.

At the centre of their hapu conceptions were institutions such as the marae, family and whanau, and whakapapa that connects and binds relationships, in turn providing a sense of place and identity.

Marae

Seven participants had conceptions of hapu that centred upon the institution of marae. As a physical structure, the marae is geographically situated. It provides a location from which people can claim association with others and a place identity in common.

¹² See footnote one.

I think about my connections with my extended family and the area where my marae and family are originally from (Peter).

The marae also serves to embrace and care for people. It was this function that Ngahuia referred to:

In a way we also treat our own home as a Marae. We've had lots of big groups come through - a little too big for our cess-pool to handle! Perhaps a marae would be better so that we can accommodate people (Ngahuia).

Family

Family and whanau were also a central construct within people's conceptions of hapu. Family and whanau were understood to be a part of the larger social structure of hapu but the extent of involvement, knowledge and sense of relatedness to the broader network was sometimes compromised by other processes. Ivey refers to her grandmother that served to connect her to her broader hapu group.

I don't really know much about my hapu at all. My grandmother, who knew all that stuff, has since passed away. She's gone, and so is all that stuff - that information. She knew all the genealogies - she would correct others. My dad wasn't interested. He would just walk out of the room. He thought it was boring. And now, it's all gone. It's gone. When I was at home I had a little bit of contact with our marae but as the generations go down, we've had less and less contact. When we were at the marae for my grandmother's tangi, my grandaunts and granduncles would try and teach us mokopuna about the Maori side of things - but we were kids, and we didn't really listen. Now, I wish we had (Ivey).

The 'family/whanau' construct as part of hapu and iwi is perhaps most simply captured by Rylan...

Like small family and bigger family and biggest family (Rylan).

Whakapapa

Reference to whakapapa, genealogies, relatedness and connections were made by eight participants. Just as Ivey did above with regard to the connecting role that her grandmother played, Gary referred to the importance of kinship relationships and the care and support inherent within those connections.

Your blood line, your relationship with the people of your hapu and the people that you know. There are strong ties with those people, and also to those who have passed on. Some of those ties have been established well before the next generation has come along. We should recognise and observe that. The hapu to me is a crucial part of my life. If you go back there, I know that they will support you - doesn't matter what you do. If your tikanga is forthright then they will support you. You seem to get that embrace, that aroha nui from the hapu (Gary).

Jason also made reference to relational links and his reliance on his parents to make connections, or on explicit enquiries made by himself or others.

I wish I could see them more often. I see a lot of my first and second cousins but there are a whole lot that I really don't know. My dad and mum can figure out the links but I can't do that. I have to ask them how we are related. I would like to put faces with names (Jason).

Engaging in whakapapa in order to establish one's position in relation to others within the broader hapu group is a process that establishes belongingness and identity.

Identity

Ten participants made reference to the identity function served by hapu membership. Judy only thought of her hapu when she had to identify herself to others. The same was true in Mary's case, particularly with regard to "...claiming an identity and an affiliation (to others)". For Penny, her hapu conception was simply stated as "My family, my people, my roots".

Present role of hapu

Ten participants felt that their hapu played a part in the lives in Hawai'i, but the majority (n=18¹³) felt this not to be the case.

Patrick highlighted the most obvious occasion when a person in Hawai'i may refer to hapu but on the whole, felt that there was nothing tangible within the Hawai'i context about the hapu concept.

When it comes to hapu and iwi, there's nothing physical, you know, there's no connection. It's all mental or it's all by word, yeah, from so and so iwi. These are my iwi and that's about it. There's no real link other than what you have inside, that's all. There's no communication between the iwi at home and us, or the hapu for that matter. There's only communication between the whanau (Patrick).

Fiona spoke about the absence of hapu groups as real social entities.

Well for immediate families they're very close. Unfortunately we don't have that much in the way of individual hapu here, you know and so what we relate to really is when the people get together because that's when you get the representatives of all the different tribes and sometimes I feel sad because it's not that we don't want to (get together) (Fiona).

And Hirama reflected on the absence of hapu involvement while growing up.

Not really. I was brought up in a Church environment in Bridge Pa, so I guess I didn't come to know too much about my hapu. Maybe if I was brought up in Nuhaka or Wairoa, then I might know more (Hirama).

Conceptions of Iwi

Twenty seven participants were able to name those iwi that they were members of. One person just simply could not remember at the time of being asked, and the other

¹³ See footnote one.

was deprived of such knowledge due to their Maori great grandparent having left New Zealand and not maintaining connections with their kin folk. Interestingly, this did not prevent these two people from making a response about their conceptions of their iwi groups.

Of those who were not included in this response set, one participant was not posed this question due to the negative circumstances under which she separated from her whanau in Aotearoa. As mentioned earlier, I felt that it was not appropriate to pose such questions to her.

How participants conceived of their iwi group was not too dissimilar to their conceptions of hapu. Conceptions of iwi were anchored around five themes: membership; identity; whakapapa; iwi characteristics; and dynamics.

Membership

The fact of membership and affiliation to an iwi group was mentioned by eleven participants. For Mary, her iwi were membership groups to be claimed irrespective of familiarity or contact with others.

I claim Ngaitahu on my mother's father's side but haven't really been connected to that community or group. I do feel a connectedness with my father's side, to Kahungunu (Mary).

With membership and affiliation comes a desire to know more. For example, Raewyn, was born on the Mainland USA, had never lived in Aotearoa, and had only visited New Zealand on a few occasions.

I'm sure about iwi. I know what tribe I'm from. We have our own canoe and all. It makes me feel important. It always reminds me of my background and makes me want to go into more about my background (Raewyn).

Identity

For some participants (n=5), belonging to an iwi group afforded them a platform upon which they could identify themselves to others. Judy said that: *I only think of*

iwi when I have to identify myself to others. For Kay, her conception rested on her ability to “know what I am and where belong”. She further said that:

Much of my learning about my iwi has come from books. Much of what I read in books I relate to things that my father had taught me. But that information has only come back to me in recent time, through recent learning. I have a tribal history that is not too clear to me at the moment, and I'm proud of it. I don't brag about it -- because that's what I've been told and that's the way I've been brought up. I know what I am and where I belong.

Whakapapa

Eight participants made reference to their iwi conceptions resting on connectedness, genealogies and relatedness to others. This sense of connectedness included reference to eponymous tribal ancestors; relationships with extended whanau members; and the act of finding connections through tracing whakapapa. For Phillip, this involved thinking about her he was descended from, particularly his grandparents.

When it comes to iwi, I think about my four grandparents and their connections because they were all really from four different iwi. So I think about them.

Iwi characteristics

Often, participants (n=7) referred to iwi differences, challenges and their uniqueness.

I think about the different iwi. I like to get to know their kawa and things like that. I don't say too much to many people, just look, listen and learn (Gary).

Diana's thoughts about her iwi were as follows:

That's very clear. Because our iwi is very small, sometimes I think of our hapu as our iwi and vice-versa. It's trying to assert itself as an iwi, but it's very small. Its origins are sort of a break away from a larger iwi. Where I come from there are a lot of small iwi -- and the marae services many of them.

They are all also very integrated in the sense that there has been a lot of intermarriage. I can't say one iwi without refer to the others (Diana).

Dynamics

Clear in some participants (n=5) conceptions of iwi was the notion of iwi as a dynamic interactional concept. Participants thought about the relationships that they had with the broader group and ways in which they could make a contribution to their iwi advancement. For example, Ngahuia thought about “*what I can do for my iwi*”. Diana, whose thoughts about iwi have been presented above, focused on the interaction between hapu, marae, and other related iwi in her region. On a different note, Maude thought about the iwi dynamics of her mother’s “funeral”.

My mother's funeral. Mum was funny. She would always say that we were not to tell “those Maori”, if she died because they would come and take my body. We (as a family) were terrified/mortified. We didn't know what was going to happen, let alone what to do. She was so afraid of what goes on in the Maori spirit world. She was terrified of being buried on the family plot back up north. She didn't want to go there. She had all this stuff in her head. She was very afraid.

Ravina simply told me “*I think of all the issues*” highlighting the extent to which iwi, as a corporate entity, engages in political processes.

Present role of iwi

The role of iwi in the lives of these participants appeared more salient than that of hapu. Nineteen participants felt that iwi played a part in their lives with nine being of a contrasting view¹⁴. Participants in this latter group felt that an iwi construct was either simply a very small part or not part of their lives at all. Comments reported by Patrick and Audrey above reflect this opinion.

¹⁴ See footnote one.

Maintaining Connections with others

Whanau

Twenty five¹⁵ of the 29 participants maintained connections with their whanau within the Hawai'i context, or with whanau in New Zealand or in other parts of the world. Given that the majority (n=18) of conceptions about whanau centred on participants immediate families, it should be of no surprise that participants spoke mostly, but not exclusively, about maintaining connections with siblings, parents, and children.

Most of my immediate family live here in Hawai'i. I have seven siblings. Five live here in Hawai'i, two live on the mainland. My mother also lives here. Four of us are married and have kids. We have our own little whanau/hapu here and it's good. It's important (Jason).

I am passionately attached to my immediate family. My father died this January which was quite devastating. Part of my whole 10 years of being here has been part of being able to fulfil a whole lot of goals that I never thought I could. But also feeling somewhat guilty for every year I was here, it was a year away from my family. So, my family and extended family have always been important to me. Nothing is more important than my immediate family (Mary).

I have no other whanau here in Hawai'i. I had a niece here last year but she has gone home now. She was here for about three years, got married and went home. I maintain a lot of contact with my whanau back home. They have a lot of land issues and things. To check out how everyone is, who has passed away etc. Since being here in Hawai'i I have been home about 5 times. I go home about every 5-7 years (Ngahuia).

¹⁵ As explained earlier, it was inappropriate to ask one participant this question. Another simply had no other relationship to being Maori other than a Maori ancestor who came to Hawai'i three generations previously. One had left Aotearoa 20 years ago and had maintained very irregular contact. The last simply explained that connections to whanau were not part of her life.

The whanau focused activities that participants engaged in; their reasons for doing so; the frequency of activity; and those things that facilitate or make engaging in whanau focused activity harder are described in the sections that follow.

Whanau focused activity

Activities that served to maintain connections with whanau outside of Hawai'i, either in New Zealand or other parts of the world, were engaged in by 20 of the 25 participants. These activities did not vary too much from those used within the Hawai'i context although distances, finances or time sometimes needed to be negotiated. Therefore, I have chosen not to report on 'transpacific' activities separately, but rather, as part of the total sub-sample of those responding.

Reunions, birthdays, Christmas, Easter, weddings, birthdays – are occasions that draw whanau together either by desire or obligation. They are occasions that allow whanau to keep in contact with each other and to explore their relatedness particularly if newly met. Seven participants mentioned organised events as activities that helped to maintain their whanau connections.

We get together for holidays, birthdays and for events like weddings and funerals. Mainly we come together for big events. When there are culture days at school, it's mostly our kids in the haka team - so we're there as a family to support them. It reminds me a lot of growing up in Aotearoa (Jason).

We have reunions. We are trying to have a reunion of the family here in Hawai'i. Whenever there's a meeting at home, they fax copies of the minutes. We use the fax quite often (Judy).

Although organised events provide opportunities for whanau to come together, there are other occasions that are not tied to specific dates or holidays, but rather to visits made by whanau members. Parents came to visit, brother, nieces, cousins came on vacation, and some whanau members were simply passing through. Eight participants made mention of opportunistic occasions that serve to maintain whanau connections. For those who had whanau in Hawai'i, like Jason, the frequency of opportunistic occasions was of course, more likely.

The large majority of participants (n=22) were motivated and purposeful in their attempts to maintain their whanau connections. They wrote letters, they travelled to be with and to visit others, they made phone calls, used email and faxes, and some made videos to send to whanau members. Diana's comments are insightful particularly the references made to a developing whanau type, that of the international whanau of which most participants in this sample were attempting to manage.

E-mail plays a part. I talk to my brothers and sisters everyday - so we keep up. They keep me abreast research wise and I with the play on what is going on for people in my generation and the younger generation -- how they are developing. We are very keen to know what younger people think of their Maori identity and what type of contribution they can make. I think that as a whanau, my brothers and sisters are very aware of how we are developing as Maori, and how we are developing our children's identity - whether they live in Australia, Aotearoa or Hawai'i. I think our family feels a need to conceptualise how our family acts. It's an international whanau and I think we want to have the same types of feelings. It's a different kind of Maori whanau but we still want to have the extended bonds. So we are using e-mail, trips, reunions - instead of getting together for a hui from all over the country, it's now from all over the world. The playing field is just a bit bigger. It's just another generation's way of keeping connected. So in another two years, our whanau is having a reunion here in Hawai'i. The last one was in Aotearoa. Of course we ring each other. I return home to Aotearoa quite frequently. We're always in touch (Diana).

As noted above, the majority of participants were purposeful and active in maintaining their whanau connections. This also included passive activities (n=7). Passive activity simply involved the whanau reaching out to participants, or responding to their 'reach out' activities. These were activities like receiving mails, phone calls, visits or simply remembering whanau members. Fiona told me about her grandmother's 'black book'.

And then my grandmother, she has a black book. Remember the old account books that were about this long and about this wide and they had pounds, shillings and pence. There's writing in there of her father, my great grandfather. There

are recipes for arthritis and constipation. My grandmother has written up her genealogy and has linked herself to all those canoes of the fleet, which goes to show you we were all one people but we're different tribes and I treasure the pages. Actually I went to have a look and it's way down at the bottom of all the stuff in the store cupboard but you know these are things that I treasure ... (Fiona).

Reasons for whanau focused activity

Earlier (see page 268) I used Orford's (1992) taxonomy of social support to report on the reasons why participants engaged in activities to maintain their Maori connections. I have used the same taxonomy here to organise the reasons for whanau focused activity.

What participants 'get out of' engaging in whanau maintenance activities relates mostly to achieving a sense of relatedness, belonging and having place with others, that is what Orford (1992) refers to as esteem factors. Esteem factors motivated the majority of participants (n=22). As Mary puts it:

It keeps me connected. It reinforces who I am. It reinforces the fact that I belong to a history and a place in the world (Mary).

Only two participants mentioned material support in their comments to me, but this was never their sole reason or primary reason for engaging in whanau focused activity. Audrey mentioned the loan of a motor vehicle from whanau members to help her move around New Zealand when she returned to visit. Patrick commented on the need for help from his family when he moved back to New Zealand.

Surprisingly, receiving emotional support was mentioned by only two participants.

From the contact I have with my whanau, I get a lot of uplifting and strength. Like when I'm going through a hard time it's good just to hear and talk with whanau (Selena).

Perhaps this was due to the nature of my questioning that may well have directed participants to think more about a sense of belongingness, that is, esteem factors, rather than emotional support.

Obtaining a sense of belongingness is related to being informed of the activities of whanau members, and of whanau activities. The need for informational support was mentioned by 12 participants.

It keeps us connected. It keeps us abreast of what is happening with each other. It makes us feel a part of each other's lives (Diana).

Just keeps me up to date with what is going on with the whanau. Makes me feel like a part of what they are doing (Jerald).

Earlier I reported that half the sample (n=15) fulfilled their need for companionship by maintaining satisfying social interactions with other Maori people. Interestingly, none of the participants mentioned a need for companionship as a motivator for maintaining their whanau connections, even though some referred obliquely for the need to overcome whanau 'squabbles' or 'fall outs'.

Frequency of participation in whanau focused activity

Some participants were in contact with their whanau on a continuous daily basis, particularly those who lives in a household with their children, or other siblings or parents. Others may engage whanau once or twice a week by making or receiving visits, phone calls, faxes, or emails. Over half the participants (n=17) were in contact with other whanau members at least fortnightly. Six participants were in contact with their whanau every 2 months or so, and two were infrequently (once every year or so) in contact. Most participants desired more contact with their whanau (n=19) but six felt that due to resources, proximity and time constraints, that they had enough contact.

Facilitators of whanau maintenance activities

Outside of a will to do so, resources were the greatest facilitator of whanau maintenance activities (n=17). Participants mentioned three classes of helpful and sometimes necessary resources. They were finances (n=8), time (n=3) and technology (n=10), namely phones, email, faxes, video's, air travel and other modes of transport, along with the ability to access and use such technology (knowing how to use email, knowing how to drive).

If I were more economically sound. If I had the luxury of money to spend to get me more into contact with other Maori people. Obviously time and a more regular life style would make it easier (Roseanne).

Connecting people were also mentioned by five of the participants. Connecting people were whanau members who kept in touch and initiated contact with the participant. They were also people who brought news of the whanau to the participant even though they may not have been related. Connecting people can help to share the burden of cost sometimes felt by participants.

Obviously having more money would make a difference because I could ring more often. Having them write to me, or call me makes it easier. Just having them write is great. I have friends here and they are also in contact with my family back home, so that makes it easier (Nina).

Whanau encouraging me to ring. Whanau who let me ring collect (Hare).

Close proximity also made it easier for participants (n=4) to get together, and also reduced the expense of staying in contact. Time spent travelling was also reduced and opportunistic occasions increased. Two participants felt that their work circumstances helped to facilitate contact with their whanau. For both of these people contact with Pacific peoples including Maori was an expectation of their employment.

What makes whanau maintenance activities harder?

Four participants felt there were no factors that made maintenance activities harder, but most mentioned something. Whanau dynamics occur in various forms. Some participants felt estranged from their whanau, others mentioned bad relationships, and some referred to issues of socio-economic status. Whatever the dynamic, these sometimes got in the way of connecting with whanau (n=7).

Having a bad relationship with your whanau and feeling scared to contact them because you'll get a negative or unenthusiastic response (Sylvia).

I used the theme 'whanau dynamics' to also refer to stressful events that occur within the whanau. Roseanne reflects on when whanau members pass away in New Zealand.

I guess you don't really think about maintenance activities. I guess you try hard not to think about home, and about getting home sick. The times when I do think about it, are when there is a tragedy or something is wrong. Often you can't go home and do something about it. That's when it's difficult. That's when you realise that you have made quite a major step to live away from your home. It's mostly people I miss - but you put that behind you and you don't really think about - you don't want to think about it (Roseanne).

Lifestyle factors, such as work and school commitments, having busy schedules, choosing to live in Hawai'i were mentioned by five participants, and surprisingly, only two participants explicitly mentioned distance away from New Zealand as being an inhibitor. Resources, like finances, technology and time were the most frequently mentioned inhibitors (n=10).

Negotiating a whanau identity

I asked those that I spoke with about the occasions when they asserted or made known a whanau identity. Even though the majority of participants maintained connections with other whanau members, a third of the sample (n=10) reported that there were few occasions within the Hawai'i setting when they identified themselves

according to their whanau. Those that did report doing so, did so when in interaction with other Maori (n=15) or when asked (n=2). Two participants felt that they constantly had to make known their whanau identity but this appeared to have more to do with others mistaking their surnames as being associated with some ethnic group other than Maori.

Whereas a Maori identity was made known to others through clothing and taonga that participants wore, or by their accents, greeting or appearance, a whanau identity was less perceptible. Participants reported the process of whanau identification as one reliant on explicit disclosure or recognition of their whanau name – most likely to be relevant when in the company of other Maori.

Only to other Maori. It's not necessary when in interaction with other peoples as their concepts are different to ours. Most Maori that I run in to, I always ask them who they are and where they are from, and the conversation goes on from there. It just gives me an idea of their background, who they are, where they are from. And, I assume that it's the same for them (Hirama).

Diana, explained the importance for her of keeping her maiden name after she married, and of giving her children names that reflected their parentage.

It gets back to me having difficulty carving up my identity into whanau, hapu and iwi. That's me. It's all of it. The fact that I've kept my maiden name serves to identify my whanau. To me it's a way of giving mana to those who have gone on. Not only to my parents, but to all my tipuna. I am part of who they are, and they are part of me. Keeping my maiden name was a very conscious decision to keep my maiden name. My children refer to me by my maiden name. I also choose to take on my partner's name too (I have a hyphenated name), for our children. Just like our children all have Maori names, and Pakeha names significant to my partner's whanau (Diana).

For Diana, the fact of her maiden name served to identify to others her whanau identity.

Whanau – feeling like an outsider

Most participants (n=20) had not experienced being on the ‘outside’ of their whanau, although nine had. Of those that had, their feelings of being an outsider related mostly to distance and lack of involvement with other whanau members and activities. For example, Ngahuia felt that she had been away from her whanau for a long time and hankered to get together with her whanau more often. Maude complained of not receiving replies to her communications. Rylan and Ivey felt as if they were missing out on things. Selena, after she returned home after seven years, felt as if she was still treated by her mother as a young girl.

Some participants felt categorised as part of the ‘American’ side of the whanau. Audrey told me:

Some times they say: “there she is. She comes from Hawai’i. She must be rich! Why can I live in Hawai’i?” (Audrey)

Jerald said this of his whanau:

Sometimes the New Zealand side of the whanau perceive me as belonging to the American side of the whanau, given that there are so many of us living in the USA. They don't make me feel like an outsider, but sometime I feel like I've become part of the American side when I would much rather be part of the New Zealand side.

Others told me of having to deal with other whanau dynamics. For example, Maude felt a little “strange” when having to settle her mother’s will after she died, and Neva felt a lack of control when her whanau took over the arrangements for her wedding.

The nine participants who felt on the outside of their whanau used three different strategies to cope with their positioning. Most (n=6) went about mentally diffusing their discomfort and accepted where they were positioned by others even though they often felt hurt or left out. As Audrey said:

So, remarks like that you ignore them and you carry on. You still also carry on caring for them despite remarks that might hurt (Audrey).

Ngahuia and Selena suggested that they would tackle their feelings of being on the outside of their whanau directly. For example, Selena who felt as if her mother treated her as still a young girl talked it over with her.

My mother and I talked it over. There was a lot of crying. My family members knew that I was different and had changed, and they told me so. I thought it was a good change - I had grown up. I took the attitude that my whanau had to understand that I had been away for three years and you can't come back the same as what you were. As a whanau, we talked about it (Selena).

The other coping strategy used by one participant was to take steps to reduce the effects of feeling like an outsider. Jerald, who felt treated as part of an “American whanau” when he wanted to be a part of the “New Zealand whanau” said that he coped in this way.

I try and learn as much about my Maoritanga, my whakapapa, so that I can become more knowledgeable on my Maori side.

Hapu

As reported above, 18 participants felt that the hapu construct was not a part of their lives within the Hawai'i context. This was also reflected in the number of participants who told me that they maintained connections with their hapu. Eighteen people indicated that they did not maintain any connections. Of the 11 participants who did, their maintenance activities varied across four different types of activity, with much of this activity occurring in the New Zealand context rather than Hawai'i. The activity types identified were organised, opportunistic, purposeful and passive.

Six participants said that they involved themselves in activities organised around their hapu. They mentioned attending marae functions when home in Aotearoa, or while in Hawai'i, getting together for events, or to host visitors who were passing through Hawai'i. These activities were organised over time, rather than simply happening, and require energy from participants, rather than simply being opportunistic.

Opportunistic activity, that involved little energy on the part of the participant, but presented opportunity to engage with members of hapu or in hapu activities were mentioned by none of the participants. Hapu members who are passing through Hawai'i always present an opportunity for relatives to gather. The same is so of people who return to New Zealand and bring news back to Hawai'i of hapu relatives or events.

Seeking out whakapapa, writing letters to Hapu committees, or engaging in decisions about hapu land, are all purposeful activities that reside outside of those that are organised or opportunistic. Five participants mentioned engaging in these types of activities.

Two people I spoke with identified passive activities, namely engagement in activities initiated by others. For example, Diana rarely had much to do with her hapu but really enjoyed the odd occasion when she was contacted by others in her hapu.

Reasons for hapu focused activity

Of the 11 participants who engaged in maintaining their connections with their hapu, the main reason for the activity was related to esteem factors (n=11), that is, feeling a part of, belonging to, and being a member of an identity group. Gary maintained contact with his hapu group so that "they remember who you are". Audrey engaged in whakapapa activities that brought her into contact with iwi members. For her, whakapapa activities enabled her to include and educate her siblings, nieces and nephews whom she felt "neglected their Maori side". Hare reflected on maintaining his hapu connections in New Zealand prior to his arrival in Hawai'i and the sense of relatedness he was inspired with.

Not in Hawai'i, but it is somewhat when I'm in Aotearoa. In Aotearoa our family would always go out to Ratana Pa - a lot of our whanau live there too. We get to see them and catch up on things. We would often go to the 25th's. It's good when we go with our grandmother because she knows everyone - she tells us who are our Aunties and Uncles. We catch up with those we know already, and get to meet those that we don't know. It sort of has an impact on me in Hawai'i. Before I left Aotearoa, Dad told me who my hapu

relations were here but I haven't managed to connect up with them yet. I haven't had the time yet (Hare).

Selena had a similar response to that of Hare.

When I'm in Hawai'i, I don't tend to keep in contact with hapu relations or events. But when I'm back in Aotearoa we have quite a bit to do with our Marae as we live quite close. So we're always down there helping out in the kitchen. It's my mother's marae so she goes to the marae for Tangi, whanau meetings and the like. Every time there's someone in the area that dies we go to the tangi. It's the way we've been brought up - to go and pay your respects. It doesn't matter if you don't know them.

One participant received material support from others in their hapu, two felt a sense of companionship, and three saw other hapu members as helping them to meet their information needs.

Frequency of participation in hapu focused activities

Of the eleven participants who told me about their involvement in hapu maintenance activities, most were rare participants (n=6), that is, their participation occurred maybe every two or three years or so. The more frequent participants (n=4) engaged in hapu maintenance activities two or three times a year, if not more. Only one participant felt that he participated in hapu activities continuously. Cyril worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre and everyday he participated in activities of the Centre's marae. In this regard, he felt that he was engaged in marae atea activities that had a direct association to how he constructed a sense of hapu identity in Hawai'i.

Do you wish for more contact?

Two of the eleven participants felt as if they had enough contact with their hapu. Cyril, who worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre, felt that his daily activities there occupied more than enough of his time, and simply had other things to do.

Diana tells a different story that is not lacking in a desire to maintain contact, but rather, unfavourable circumstances preventing positive and safe relationships.

... I don't think me and my children can feel safe within my hapu as there is still a lot of sexual abuse that occurs. My children's safety is paramount, over and above my desire for connectedness with my hapu. I'm sad that it's like that, but I don't think that some people are ready to deal with those issues. So in response to that at some point I have to remove myself. But perhaps the fact that I've removed myself gives them cause to think that I'm better than them. It's not that I feel that I'm better. It's about protecting my children. However, in some respects I had a wonderful childhood was those same people and I wished that my children could experience that too.

In total, nine of the eleven participants who maintained contact with their hapu desired more.

Facilitators and inhibitors of hapu maintenance activities

Connecting people, proximity, and resources were reported to contribute to facilitating activities that helped participants maintain connections with their hapu.

Having people from their hapu visit, or connect them with others of their hapu were mentioned by three participants. Ngahuaia's brother contacted her about hapu events and dynamics in Aotearoa, and Judy was thankful that others contacted her when hapu relatives were passing through Hawai'i. These 'linking' people made it easier to maintain connections.

Resources (n=3) like having a job and finances, or work that supported contact with hapu members served to facilitate contact and connections. One participant felt that the marae at PCC helped to engender a 'hapu feeling' amongst other Maori within Hawai'i but this was also complicated by the fact of its dual purpose (commercial tourist attraction). Resources were also mentioned by four people as hampering hapu maintenance activities.

Most participants engaged in hapu activities in the New Zealand context. Not surprising then, the majority (n=7) felt that their efforts would be more easily facilitated if they were living in Aotearoa, indeed seven participants felt that not living in New Zealand was an inhibitor of hapu maintenance activities.

Two other things were seen to inhibit hapu maintenance activities. They were the particularly busy lifestyles (n=2) that some participants led, and negative dynamics (n=2) that put people off maintaining hapu connections. Diana's story above illustrates this.

Negotiating a hapu identity

Only six participants felt that there were occasions within the Hawai'i context important enough for them to identify their hapu identity. For Gary, whenever he extends a mihi, he actively identifies his hapu and himself. As someone in the art industry, Jason believes that it is important to identify who he is.

To validate my work, or if I have something to say - it's important to being able to say who you are, who your family and hapu is, so that you can support the point you are making. It's mainly important for my art. I usually put a tag on my art that explains my art piece and identifies who I am. I even do it for art pieces that aren't related to things Maori - it's like a stamp that says "this is me" (Jason).

Judy actively identified her hapu when she mixed with Hawaiian people.

Especially when you mix with Hawaiian people. It's important to tell them that because they are starving for information too. Especially as it may relate to their culture. So you tell them and they say "what is it" and then you tell them. They say "wow". Then they start opening up to you. I think that anytime you have to deal with Polynesians, you do tell them because it's also a part of them. A lot of them basically know something, so what you're doing is bringing it closer to them to understand. They basically have a template that you fill in (Judy).

And this is what Audrey told me.

Every time that there are encounter rituals (in Aotearoa) and when I'm in a tribal area different to my own, I think it's very important for me to identify my hapu. If I'm teaching or taking classes I want to identify myself as coming from a tribe and a hapu. I don't just want to come from New Zealand. That's ongoing all the time, at work, at school. Even though I have dual citizenship! (Audrey).

Diana didn't really look for 'occasions' to assert her hapu identity, it was something that was simply always there.

Anyway, my hapu connectedness is a connectedness with my own tipuna and the aroha that I feel for them. I don't really look for the 'occasions' to express that. It's always there. There is security in knowing the stories of my tipuna and part of that has got to do with them, and their stories living on in me, as I along with them I will live on in my children. So I see that thread that joins us (Diana).

Feeling on the outside of hapu

Eight participants told me of times when they had felt like outsiders to their own hapu. Of these eight participants, four related experiences to do with their upbringing and not really knowing people of their marae or hapu. Their experiences of being 'outsiders' relate more to lack of opportunity and experience, rather than to people of their hapu actively excluding them. Mary highlighted this.

When the family is so focused on itself, there is a de-emphasis on other things like hapu and iwi. I guess I claim an affiliation, but not an active involvement. Apart from being on the periphery of hapu and iwi activities (like visiting someone, or going to a meeting) there really hasn't been a major focus on hapu and iwi. It's not because people in those groups that has shut us out -- it was more because of my upbringing (Mary).

Furthermore, Jason describes how a lack of contact and experience with his hapu and marae during his upbringing contributed to a lack of knowledge about hapu history.

Being so far away and living away from home for so long. If I were to go back to the marae where I am from I would only know say, two or three people. So not knowing people would make me feel a bit like an outsider. Also, not knowing so much of the history in terms of what has been happening. Because I've lived here in Hawai'i so long I have a sense of history here, and other people can position me in that history and remember me as a little boy - and I remember them. I don't have that history back in Aotearoa. I've been wanting

to go home, just to make that connection, and to see how things have changed (Jason).

For two participants, distance from New Zealand and the fact of living in Hawai'i meant that they missed out on activities, or were not told of events, such as the passing of people. This sometimes made these two participants feel like outsiders.

Two participants had lived away from New Zealand for a significant number of years and felt somewhat awkward in no longer knowing people who frequented their marae. Lastly, Judy sometimes felt alienated from her hapu particularly "When I went home and I was called an 'American Maori' (Judy)".

Coping on the outside of Hapu

Participants employed three strategies to help them cope with their feelings of being on the outside. They were diffusing their feelings (n=3), tackling situations directly (n=1) and engaging in preventative measures (n=4) to reduce their feelings of being on the outside.

The three participants who engaged diffusion strategies tended to express inevitability about their situation – living away from Aotearoa, or being raised apart from their hapu group were seen as circumstances over which they had little control. Their resulting coping strategies reflected this.

I do what I can do. If anyone comes to Hawai'i I do what I can for them. If they need a place to stay my home is open. If they want something then I'm there -- particularly if they are from my hapu. I feel like I do what I can do. I understand that I'm not at home keeping the home fires burning. I'm not part of that everyday life. So, it's reasonable to feel like an outsider. I just do what I can do (Diana).

Judy's coping strategy was somewhat different from Diana's reflecting different circumstances that lead to feeling on the outside. Judy's response to being called an 'American Maori' was to simply tackle the situation directly.

I got really mad and went for the jugular. But usually I will confront people - I don't go around the back (Judy).

The most frequently employed coping strategy was that of acting to prevent feelings of outsidership from arising. Gary “tried hard to keep in contact and to maintain contact with people who I know will tell me what is going on”. Jason, like Hare, coped by “standing back a little and trying to get to know people”.

Iwi

Iwi focused activity

A third of the participants (n=11) indicated that they engaged in activities that contributed towards maintaining their iwi connections. The activities engaged in were mostly purposeful (n=9) where participants initiated contact with others and deliberately pursued iwi activities with others. For example, Ngahaia told me that she...

I always make sure that I make contact with various people from my iwi who come here, and people who pass through Hawai'i either ring or visit. Most of the (iwi) people or people from (home) make contact with me. Many of the people at home who know of others who will be travelling through often tell them to look me up or give me a call. They will always ring. I will always make sure that I will make contact with them on the phone or go and pick them up. When (tribal elder) was alive, he was my main contact. Often if I call home to New Zealand, I usually call straight home. I've had people send me video tapes of what is going on in (iwi homeland), like the ...festival and things (Ngahaia).

Two participants reported involvement in organised activities, for example, iwi festivals, or hura kohatu. On a more local note, Audrey's involvement in Maori Women Welfare League activities contributed to maintaining her iwi connections and served to encourage connections with and between others.

Very important. I can't imagine not making iwi connections. I maintain my connections through the Maori Women's Welfare league. Through the Leagues activities you stress with the league members the importance of tribal ties. Many

of the people in our league are thoroughly engrossed in their environment, their jobs and their pursuits of their jobs. I have the feeling that they tend to forget their tribal links. So what I do is remind them and encourage them (Audrey).

Some participants (n=4) relied solely on opportunistic events or occasions. People from New Zealand visiting being the most frequently mentioned example. A couple of participants were more passive in maintaining their connections.

A lot of the connections are made through family. In some ways it has been a real strength, and in some ways it has built alienation. Because I haven't been actively involved in that larger community (Mary).

Not me. Mom does that more. When my parents do connect with people from our iwi, that's when they bring us/me in. She gets us to meet these people who are our relatives and she explains who they are (Raewyn).

Reasons for iwi focused activity

The major theme that arose from analysing the eleven responses to my inquiry about what participants gained from engaging in iwi focused activity was that of esteem (n=10). Participants reported gaining a sense of belongingness, identity and community.

They keep me in contact, and keep me connected with those that are important to me, and to those activities that are an important part of who I am. It is through doing things together that binds the whanau, hapu and iwi together. There is a great tie, a great yearning for roots. Your roots are there. Doesn't matter what you say, or where you go, you just have to tap into your hapu and iwi in the right places and you are back home (Gary).

Four participants identified their iwi connection activities as being an informational source.

It enables me to know what is going on (Jason).

I enjoy talking with my people. It's important for me to know what's going on in (iwi homeland) (Ngahuia).

Frequency of participation in iwi focused activity

The frequency of engagement in iwi focus activities by the eleven people I spoke with occurred mostly infrequently (n=5), that is, say every three to six months or so, and mostly as occasions arose. Three participants reported a higher frequency rate (1-3 months), and some rarely (n=2). Nine of the eleven participants desired more contact, and two felt that they had enough.

Facilitators and inhibitors of iwi focused activity

The processes or things that helped to facilitate iwi focused activity were the existence of connecting people (n=4), proximity to others (n=4), and resources (n=5).

Connecting people took various forms but all served to connect the participant to activities that were iwi focused. For Diane, her children helped motivate her to ensure that she engaged in iwi focused activities to ensure their identities. For Raewyn, having her mother around to introduce her to her iwi relatives provided her with a point of entrance into her iwi community.

Being back in New Zealand eased engagement in iwi focused activities as the capacity to interact with people, to visit iwi homelands, and to take part in iwi events and occasions was much higher.

Perhaps if I go home more often. I think there are a lot of things that I miss out on. Even Tangi I would like to be home, just to be there to support and perhaps to let them know that I'm still alive and learning, and to give more (Ngahuia).

Resources, such as time and money were often cited as easing participation in iwi focused activities. Jason reflects below on those things that make it easier.

The internet. Time. The urge to remain interested.

The things that made it harder for these eleven participants to engaged in iwi focused activities centred on life style (n=4), namely “work hassles” (Mary), and competing

activities (Audrey and Selena). Distances (n=3), or rather proximity to New Zealand and to iwi networks and homelands also made it harder. Mary told me

Proximity. If I were living at home it would be easier and those contributions that I did make would be likely to have a greater impact and be much more meaningful than here. Living long distance away from home makes things a lot more difficult (Mary).

Resources (n=4) such as time and finances were also seen as barriers. For three participants, nothing made it harder. One interesting comment made by one participant, which I suspect may well be felt by others, was the influence of their partner on their participation in iwi activities, particularly within their own homelands. For Ngahuia whose husband was Hawaiian, the thought of living in her own tribal homeland created a dilemma for her.

If I went home, it would be harder for me to watch my husband live in a country that he is not a tangata whenua to. But, I'm happy here knowing that he is on his own land. I'm happy knowing that my people haven't forgotten me and as long as I haven't forgotten what I have been taught of my culture to pass on to my children, that helps me live here in Hawai'i. If I wanted to get more involved with my culture and Maori stuff, then the way is to go home to New Zealand - - but I don't think that I would be as happy. I've things here that keep me going (Ngahuia).

Negotiating an iwi identity

Seventeen participants responded to my questions about the occasions when it was important for them to assert an iwi identity¹⁶. Most indicated that it was most likely

¹⁶ This question came towards the end of the questionnaire and some participants were tiring of the process. I chose to omit this question to hasten the conclusion of the interview. Also, some participants were not iwi identified and the concept, from their perspective did not play a part in their lives.

that they would assert such an identity while with other Maori. Two participants only did so when asked, and one felt that they continually asserted such an identity.

Especially when meeting other people. It's interesting because we all come from different tribes. When we meet up with people and they tell you what tribe they're from, it makes you curious. You want them to learn about your tribal group, but you also want to learn about them as well. Maybe we might have a connection with them. I think that's cool -- that's awesome. I always get curious when I hear about tribes and stuff. I can then go more into it and start talking about genealogies (Raewyn).

Participants provided a variety of explanations about the importance of identifying one's iwi group but most focused on two things. Firstly, the vehicle that iwi identification provided for connecting to others, and secondly, the extent to which it was a method of revealing one's identity to others.

It is a way of connecting and letting others know who you are. Often just by saying what iwi you come from is sufficient to allow them to make a connection with who you are (Gary).

Well, I'm interested in knowing where other people are from, and they're often interested in knowing where I'm from. An iwi identity helps to contribute background information (Hirama).

Well, it's who I am. It's my roots. Other people then get a better picture of who I am (Hare).

Feeling on the outside of iwi

Of the 29 participants I interviewed, I asked 19 of them whether at anytime they had felt as if they were on the outside of their iwi.¹⁷ Eleven had not, but eight had.

Being raised outside of their iwi homelands (n=2), having spent a long period of time away from New Zealand (n=3), and lacking people to help them connect to

¹⁷ See note 2.

others (n=3) in their iwi were the foundation upon which feelings of being an outsider for these participants were built.

Jason felt positioned on the outside by those of his iwi that did not know him. This is how Ngahuia felt.

I guess it's because I was not brought up amongst that iwi and there are so many of them here -- and they act differently to me, and to what I know is right as a Maori person. The other part is that many people identify me as belonging to one iwi only -- and don't associate me with other iwi. Sometimes they get a shock because I also identify with other iwi. It's also difficult in those instances where iwi are having competitive banter. For example, (one iwi) versus (another). I often feel like I am left out when the (people from one iwi) get together. Sometimes I feel a bit mokemoke being the only one from (my iwi) here. I survive by relying on my husband, my kids, my moko, and my photo's of my tipuna (Ngahuia).

Others felt on the outside due to being absent. Mary told me:

Only in the sense that in my absence, things go on. It's interesting because when I go home and see my cousins who were English speaking Maori like me -- they are now becoming well grounded in the language and tikanga, they are embracing it. From that perspective you feel like an outsider -- not because they have made me one, but because I haven't been around and they've gotten on with the goals and directions. If I didn't value that, then I wouldn't care. The hard thing is that I do care. Part of feeling like an outsider is because of the paths that I have chosen. Life at home has just gone on (Mary).

Some felt an inability to connect with their iwi relatives because they either simply did not know who they were, or had no way of finding out.

Yes. There was. That was my mother and my aunties and uncles. If ever I went out with them they'd introduce me, this is so and so. My dear mother was a great one for that but she's gone now and incidentally I'm the only one left (Fiona).

Coping on the outside of iwi

For some participants (n=3), they felt that their capacity to do something about their feelings of being on the outside were limited. They coped by simply accepting their circumstances and feelings.

I guess I've just blended into where I am now. I've focused my energy on the community I was brought up with and my friends and immediate family (Neva).

The circumstances of one person, enabled them to address the cause of their feelings directly. Jason, who was often mistaken as non-Maori coped by “correct(ing) them and tell(ing) them that I’m Maori” (Jason). Two participants sought to reduce and prevent future occurrences of feeling like an outsider by trying hard to stay in contact with others, gathering information about iwi activities, and reorienting their careers to be more in touch with other iwi members and activities.

Home Focused Thoughts

Moving and making a life for oneself overseas naturally generates both excitement and anxiety about the move, work, and meeting new people. For some, this apprehension is quickly overcome as they make adaptations appropriate to their new environment; for others the transition takes longer. This sometimes emerges as homesickness where there is a preoccupation with home-focused thoughts. “*There is a yearning for and grieving over the loss of what is familiar and secure: most often it is about the loss of people - family and friends - but it is also about the loss of places and routines*” (University of Cambridge Counselling Service, 2002, para 1-2).

But for a few, the majority of participants were born and raised in New Zealand. Most left New Zealand directly for Hawai’i, but others settled in Hawai’i only after visiting other destinations around the world. I asked participants about the advice they would give to a Maori person who was homesick. Most (n=26) participants had a comment to make. These comments focused either on times when they themselves had to overcome a bout of homesickness, or when they helped others to.

Five themes emerged from responses to this question. These are presented below.

Motivation and purpose

For some participants (n=10), homesickness distracted the homesick person from pursuing their goals or purpose for being in Hawai'i. It was seen as a condition that could interrupt and in some cases draw a halt to a person's endeavours within the Hawai'i context. Fiona told me of her experiences in supporting students at BYU-H.

We have on occasions had students who come over here and they've been here for three or four months and they're so homesick they want to go home. If we happen to hear about it and we're talking to them we encourage them to stay. We tell them.... give yourself another three months and you'll find that you'll feel totally different. Those who have listened have. When they've graduated, they've said oh, we're so glad we stayed. I know one went back to New Zealand, one went back to Australia. They were just so homesick for family; they just opted out and went home. One of them I heard a couple of years ago was very very sorry that they didn't stick it out. They realised that they had a wonderful opportunity and that they didn't have the stick ability to hang in there and endure to the end. That's when I think we need our support systems. A lot of these young people come over here. Well, it's like the brochures that they put out on Waikato University it makes everything look so glossy and so beautiful, you know. But that isn't what it's like. Once you get over looking through those rose coloured glasses and get down to life and the nitty-gritty, you find it's a very different kettle of fish (Fiona).

In advising a homesick person, an understanding of their circumstances and reasons for being in Hawai'i was seen as important to the type of advice given. For Audrey, the fact that she had others supporting her to achieve her goals was an important mediator of homesickness.

I would check the situation out. Ask why they are here, what their goal or purpose is here in Hawai'i. That in turn will determine the nature of my advice. It depends on their circumstances. I guess when I was home sick, my cousins were there supporting me to achieve my goals. I also had

these wonderful Hawai'i people who were very loving and took care of me. Had I been on my own, I would have been on the next plane, the next day (Audrey).

Related to a person's motives for being in Hawai'i are those questions raised by Diana

If they are homesick, I often wonder why they are here -- are they running away from something? Are they running to something? I ask them whether this is really where they want to be (Diana).

From the perspective of Penny who had spent 20 years away from New Zealand, she commented that

The homesickness is not likely to go away. But if you can remove that emotion and channel that energy into what you have to achieve here, then you'll probably be better off (Penny).

Comments by Karen on the consequences of being without goals and motivations are informative.

But I'm different -- I don't get homesick because I came over here for a reason. So, if a person is homesick then maybe they've lost their reason for being here. If that's the case then they should go home otherwise you'll find yourself in trouble, if not a burden to others (Karen).

Emotional support

Gaining emotional support to mediate feelings of homesickness was seen by about half of the respondents as a necessary task particularly if a person was feeling sad or down or missing their whanau. Giving a person time out from their usual routine or circumstances and providing a caring ear to allow a person to talk about their feelings were viewed as ways of supporting homesick people.

I'd ask them over. I'd make them feel loved. Usually people get homesick because they're missing a family unit. Make them feel loved and help them get over it (Judy).

We all have problems. As part of work we are advised to not get too involved with problems that the students have. However, we try and do as much as we can. We talk to the kids. More than likely, the kids have got problems at home. It's important for us to let them know that we are right with them. Sometimes we take the kids home to give them a break (Gary).

I cope with homesickness by talking to my room mate. She thinks that I'm a real strength. Like a couple of weeks ago my brother lost his baby. That was really sad and made me real homesick. That made me realise just how very far I was away from home. My spirituality helps me. Because I can talk to my room mate helps me out. Being with other Maori helps also because they're the closest thing to family (Nina).

Social networks

For as much as having people to provide emotional support was viewed as important, so too was companionship. Having friends and social networks was seen to facilitate a number of outcomes for the homesick person, particularly those who miss their family and friends in the New Zealand setting, and those who encounter hardship or misfortune within the Hawai'i context which could sometimes spawn bouts of homesickness.

When my son had to have an operation, that was difficult too. The thing that is a comfort to me is that you know that they (whanau in Aotearoa) are concerned. That makes a real difference to me. I know that if there was a way, they would be here. That strengthens us. Additionally, there is really good support here. We don't have a car and our son had to go into Honolulu every week. It was our friends around here that knew what our need was and they offered their cars to us. So the support system is not just Maori, but others in this community as well. However, we know that there are specific Maori people that we can absolutely rely on.

When I first arrived here I was really homesick. I wanted to go home. I guess I had really high expectations of this place but it was a real wash out. I guess I expected people to show us around but that didn't happen. Like when I arrive at my room, my room mate was fast asleep, and there was someone sleeping my bed! No one helped me settle in or anything. I

guess I expected more of a welcoming. I was really lonely and afraid. Other people who came from Aotearoa knew other people but I didn't. I felt isolated. The first two days I just bawled my eyes out and wanted to go home. But since then I've met some people, and made some friends so I don't feel so bad. I still get homesick from time to time, but that's ok (Nina).

Distractors

Having company helps to distract the homesick person from being pre-occupied with thoughts about home (n=7). They help to distract the homesick person. Distractions can be brought about by others, or they can be brought to focus by the homesick individual themselves. Tony provides some good examples of how to distract a homesick person.

Let's put a hangi down! Get the guitar! One thing that we miss here and it's easy to get homesick because there's a lack of that Maori spontaneity. A lack of that fun love. Off the top ...I'd say let's have a do (an event) - think up a reason to have some kind of get together. If you can't go home, or you don't have the airline ticket, I'd say let's go catch a fish or let's do something natural. For us, that makes us feel a little closer and in this place, there's fun right here on the beach. It's better than Downtown Honolulu (Tony).

Selena, when she felt homesick distracted herself in the following way.

When I am home sick I usually go out and have a good time. I try and think about the consequences of giving up the opportunities that I have here at the moment. I think about the consequences of giving up all the chances of being away from home, of going to university, and developing further options in life. That usually motivates me to get on with life (Selena).

The option of home

In talking with these participants, the option of recommending to a homesick person that they return home seemed to always be a possibility. The assumption of there being a home, a whanau and purpose for people to return to in the New Zealand

context seemed to underlie many responses. Five participants made explicit comments that related to home as a constant and as a source of strength, as being there even though they themselves were somewhere else. For example, Jason said “Enjoy it while you can - you can always go back”, and Ngahuia said: “If something really tragic had happened then maybe my advice to them would be to go home”.

Homeward bound

One of the final questions I asked participants was about their intentions to return to live in New Zealand. I wanted to gain some idea of the extent to which participants saw their futures as residing in the New Zealand context, or somewhere else. Only seven participants had firm intentions about returning to Aotearoa. Gary and Audrey who were both over 50 years old had definite intentions of returning home but no immediate plans to do so. Younger participants, who were mostly at BYU-H, had more concrete plans.

I'm planning on going home next year. I know that if I go home now, before I've finished things here, I may feel like I wouldn't want to come back. I need to finish what I'm doing here first before I go home (Ravina).

Patrick, who was about to move back to New Zealand with his wife and two children to support had this to say.

I don't think that it's going to be easy. I've been away for four years and I feel somewhat disconnected. I'm unsure about the changes that have occurred at home. I don't want to be pessimistic, but I don't want to be overly optimistic. I expect it to be difficult for many reasons - not just because I'm Maori. I expect our financial position to be difficult - we're not rich here, so being poor at home probably won't be too different. We're use to living on a certain income. I expect that finding a job will be difficult for a number of reasons. Perhaps one would be because I am Maori. Perhaps because I have a degree from Hawai'i. That might be difficult. However, my time here has given me the confidence and the ability to face whatever comes up (Patrick).

Only two participants had no intention of returning to New Zealand. These two people had been away from New Zealand for over 20 years and had married people from the USA. Ngahuia, who was now a grandmother explained:

I've thought about that quite a lot. I've always felt that I've always wanted to live where my husband needs to be to accomplish his goals. So his main goals have been to be proficient enough in his field to help his people. I guess I should have been the same way -- Maybe I'm helping my people here. Every time I've made a decision about my life it has always been around my children and whanau -- that's the importance of whanau to me. My other whanau and mum and dad have already passed away. When they were still alive, I often wanted to go home but only if it was good for my husband and kids. I also wanted for my children to be in a place that would help them with their education, careers, and futures. I guess I feel that this is the place for them ... I don't think that I will go home. I did think that if my partner passed on then I would perhaps go home and be a kuia. I thought that way until my grandson came along - that change it for me. My moko has become a more important part of my life and decisions. I also know that more will be coming along, and some will be in California. So, I thought that I would probably stay in Hawai'i between California and New Zealand. My answer to your question is - probably no -- I won't be going home. But I plan to make a mark here. I feel good that I am making an impact on Maori who come to BYU. I think I have a good situation here -- I can still be very Maori, yet live with my husband, and here in Hawai'i (Ngahuia).

Although they may have intentions, the majority of people I spoke with in this sample were unsure or yet to make a commitment to returning home in the immediate future. For some (n=7), like Ngahuia, their responses were influenced by their partners, some of whom were Hawaiian, others of which were of some other Pacific or mainland American ethnicity. Cyril, however, chose to stay in Hawai'i because of his wife's medical condition.

Well, the only reason I chose to stay here ... is a concern for my wife. She suffered with asthma, and ever since she's been here she's been good. As soon as we get back to Hamilton or down to Rotorua she'd develop a bad cold. She gets sick every time we go home. And since we've been here, she's only had the odd attack. And that's the only reason I'm

staying here. If she wasn't so sick, I'd be back home. For me, I'd like to go back tomorrow (Cyril)

Others (n=4) would like the best of both worlds, that is, to be able to return and live part of the year in New Zealand, and the rest of the year in Hawai'i, taking advantage of the climate and work opportunities.

Yes. Someday I do. I would actually like to live in both places. That's my ultimate goal to live in both places, both during the summer. I'm not really into cold weather. It would be in the near future as I would like my kids to grow up there. Perhaps I'll live up north because it's warmer, but most of my whanau live in the cold parts. Actually I'll probably go where ever my wife wants to go. I like both places. However, I would still like to have my home base here (Jason).

Four participants felt that there were few opportunities for them in the New Zealand context and for a variety of reasons, considered the context a somewhat hostile one. For example, Vicky was yet to resolve her “negative childhood history” with her whanau, and Kay and HIRAMA felt that Maori in New Zealand were having to deal with too many social problems, and that there were few financial opportunities. This latter point was one of the reasons why many of the participants were delaying their return to New Zealand.

Nine participants told me of a variety of goals they wanted to achieve before returning home. Many of these goals resided around their pursuit of qualifications.

Yes. At the moment, I'm enjoying have a break from New Zealand and I like going home on holidays. I intend to go on from here to University in Provo, Utah. After that, I think I would like to go home. I think it will be good to finish all my schooling here before going home (Neva).

For Peter and Jerald, their goals centred on employment.

We intend to return to New Zealand. I've looked into going to university at Waikato. My wife is from Tahiti, so we are considering going there for a holiday after I graduate. If there are employment opportunities I will consider working there and then eventually moving back to New Zealand to settle down (Peter).

Yes - depending on the career that I go into. If it is a career that will allow me to, then I will (Jerald).

Others simply wanted to experience more of life and travel.

I mean coming here is just a temporary thing. It's just a way to experience something else ... to have a little bit of travel... (Rylan).

I intend to stay here for 2 years, and then go on my mission, come back here to finish my education and then see where I go. I would like to go back to live in New Zealand. But it all depends. I may get married -- I don't know. I want to go back to New Zealand and perhaps set up a psychology practise. I don't think I want to live away from Aotearoa too long. Who knows what could happen (Neva).

Chapter Twelve Discussion and Conclusions

In this study, I explored both the old and new places Maori find themselves in and how they forge their social identities within them. I investigated how Maori viewed their connections with and conceptions of their Maori heritage or kinship groups and Maori ethnic group. I made these explorations with Maori in New Zealand and Maori in Hawai'i. In this chapter I begin by summarising the major themes arising from my analysis of the qualitative interviews conducted with participants. I then discuss these themes against that literature reviewed in the earlier chapters of this thesis. Before concluding with a discussion of future research directions, I discuss the implications of these findings, the unique contribution that this research has made, and highlight the limitations of this work.

Summary of findings

Conceptions of Maori social groups

The majority of participants in this research could identify with their whanau, hapu and iwi heritage groups. Participants claiming membership in only one whanau group, one hapu group, and one iwi were the exception rather than the rule. In the sections below, I present how participants conceived of and maintained connections with their respective heritage groups.

Whanau

For Maori in Hawai'i, their conceptions of whanau centred mainly on their own nuclear family, and, for some, spread to include extended family members. The nature of relationships between whanau members had salience, some relationships being positive, and some not so positive. Aside from those who had children living with them in Hawai'i, few were in regular face to face contact with other whanau members. They knew that they were a part of a whanau but the concept seemed to have reduced salience in their day to day lives in Hawai'i.

While I did not explore directly the nature of New Zealand participants' conceptions of whanau their interviews were scattered with references to

relationships they had with other whanau members like their own children, siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles and aunties. Whanau atawhai or adopted whanau were also referred to. Most of these participants seemed to desire continued relationships, yet like the Hawai'i participants, some also wanted to distance themselves from those that were not so positive.

Hapu

When New Zealand participants thought about their hapu, their conceptions included their marae, its symbolism and its environmental situation; the marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics; and the nature of their relationships or that of their parents or grandparents to the marae and its community.

For Hawai'i participants, at the centre of their hapu conceptions were institutions such as the marae, family and whanau, and genealogic relationships. It afforded participants an identity but was conceived of in an abstract and distant fashion. Most felt that the concept of hapu had little tangible meaning for them in Hawai'i and was an identity they considered more relevant to the New Zealand context.

Iwi

Membership; identity; whakapapa; iwi characteristics; and iwi dynamics were central to iwi conceptions held by both Hawai'i and New Zealand participants. For New Zealand participants, there seemed to be more depth to their conceptions with more concrete examples and critical insights derived through lived experiences. They seemed to have more opportunities than the Hawai'i participants to interact with tribal others and to see themselves as tribal beings. This was so much the case for Hawai'i participants who again conceived of iwi as something located within the New Zealand context.

For New Zealand participants, in many ways, their hapu and iwi conceptions overlapped. They did similar things to maintain both their hapu and iwi identities, and most of their activities tended to be situated at the marae of their hapu. Added to this was the greater emphasis on participation in activities situated at their marae, or in their iwi homelands. They were activities that involved going home, being at the

marae, being with others, and making a contribution. They were activities that in some ways were presented by New Zealand participants as having more legitimacy over other activities that might occur away from home. For both New Zealand and Hawai'i participants, irrespective of what they might have done with others of their in-groups while away from home, the tribal homeland was unmistakably conceived of as being situated at the centre. It was seen as the source and historic context of their identities.

Maori

Ethnicity as Maori was conceptualised differently by each group of participants. For Maori in Hawai'i, being Maori meant being valued within the culturally pluralistic context of Hawai'i; having a sense of identity, pride and roots; acquiring cultural heritage; enjoying employment that contributed to being Maori; being Maori with other Maori; and asserting their identity as Maori.

New Zealand participants pointed to a variety of things they felt were important to being Maori, but three themes dominated their responses. I described these as Maori motuhake (contributors to uniqueness as Maori), whanaungatanga (contributors to relatedness and relationships to other Maori), and kotahitanga (contributors to unitedness or solidarity as Maori). In contrast to Hawai'i participants who were a minority amongst minorities, being Maori in New Zealand was positioned differently. It was constructed as being a minority embedded and dominated by a Pakeha majority.

Maintaining connections

Participants engaged in a variety of activities to maintain their Maori social identities. The activity types identified were organised (taking language classes, attending reunions), opportunistic (attending tangi and hui, visits by family, holidays), purposeful (self-initiated activities like phone calls, writing letters, teaching children histories and customary practices) and passive (being the recipient of connecting activities initiated by others). All participants engaged in these activity types to a lesser or greater degree to maintain their identities as whanau, hapu or iwi members.

For New Zealand participants, there was the added dimension rooted in their situation as a dominated minority. There was an edge of resistance. Engaging in activities to maintain their Maori identities was both about retaining their sense of uniqueness and connection with in-group members, and resisting assimilation to the dominant majority. This was not the case in Hawai'i. Engaging in Maori activities was supported by a context where everyone was expected to engage in ethnic identity activities. Being Maori in Hawai'i was about negotiating an identity different to other Polynesian groups like Hawaiian, Samoan and Tongan. Maori were often mistaken as members of these groups.

As mentioned above, the concepts of whanau, hapu and iwi tended to have a reduced salience in the lives of Hawai'i participants. There were few opportunities to engage other whanau, hapu or iwi members mainly because these identities were seen by them to have more relevance in the New Zealand context. What mattered in Hawai'i was being Maori and it was at this level that participants seemed to have the most meaningful connections.

Facilitators and challenges

Education was seen as a pathway to employment, to having an income and being able to afford the necessary material resources like transport, telephones, and internet connections, to connect across distances with other in-group members.

In-group maintenance activities were perceived as secondary to education and work activities, activities vital for meeting immediate survival needs. As education and work activities consumed a large portion of participant's time, time became a precious commodity. Time had to be made for in-group maintenance activities particularly by those participants whose education and work life mostly engaged out-group members. Most participants expressed reluctance to take time off work or time out from education activities and they tried to compartmentalise their in-group maintenance activities away from their education and work lives. As most participants lived outside of their iwi homelands, and saw going home as the most legitimate way to maintain their connections, going home activities occurred when tangi or annual leave entitlements allowed, or during school holidays or long weekends. For Hawai'i participants, the expense of travel was prohibitive and on

average, return trips to New Zealand tended to occur about every 2-5 years although some managed more frequent returns.

Partners also influenced participation in maintenance activities. If a partner was supportive and encouraging, then engagement in maintenance activities was more likely. If they were not, then participants had to surmount this challenge first. But this was not always easy. Sometimes partners did not have the same feelings of attachment to their partner's people or places. Sometimes they saw engagement in the maintenance activities of their partners as time wasting, expensive and draining of partnership resources that could be spent in other ways. Some participants successfully surmounted these difficulties, others did not. And for others, involvement in their partner's in-groups held greater attraction and meaning.

For both participant groups, organised activities like participation in local clubs, associations and networks were important ways that they maintain connections with others. Organised activities could usually be planned for and timed to occur outside of work hours, but for some participants, their work lives helped to organise their connecting with others and their capacity to organise, for example working at the Polynesian Cultural Centre, in Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, or being members of the Maori Women's Welfare League.

For all participants, connecting people were vital. Connecting people were those who could facilitate connections with others and position a participant within a relational network; the rest of that network would simply accept the participant as their own. In some ways, participants themselves all acted as connecting people for others of their in-groups they came in contact with. They drew on their genealogical and experiential maps to position and locate others in a web of relatedness that spanned geographies, histories, events, workplaces and other networks. But some connecting people were more important than others. Their absence or distance from participants was more intensely felt. They were people who could verify beyond question a participant's existence and right to be a member of an in-group. They were uncles, aunties, parents, grandparents and other relatives who participants knew and were comfortable with and who prepared and smoothed the way for them, making it easier to engage other members of their in-groups, to engage in heritage activities and to take up specific roles. When such people died or were inaccessible, as in the case of closed adoption, often a great gap was felt especially if opportunities to connect with others were reduced.

Participants all felt that at different stages in their lives that engagement in maintenance activities was either easier or harder. As children, maintenance activities were seen to be easier mainly because parents and grandparents helped to facilitate these activities. Being single and without the complications of partners or children meant that participants were more independent and could engage more freely in such activities, if that is what they chose to do. Some recognised that they chose to engage more in friendship and work networks and had wished that they had done otherwise. Having children was both a blessing and a burden. Some felt that their children restricted their movement, limited their resources and capacity to engage others. Others, however, saw children as a motivating reason. They wanted an identity for their children. They wanted them to know who they were, where they came from, and who they were related to. They wanted them to experience a sense of heritage, belonging and pride. They saw engagement with other in-group members as the way to engender this.

Being on the outside

Most participants had experienced a sense of exclusion, of being different, distant, sometimes disconnected, or, for whatever reason, on the outside of their various Maori social groups. In most cases, participants were able to reconcile their sense of being on the outside through self-improvement, modifying their behaviour, confronting others, reframing judgements by others, increasing or decreasing their participation in in-group activities, or, in the rare instance, by withdrawing. In both the New Zealand and Hawai'i groups, there were a few participants who had disconnected and withdrawn from specific whanau relationships which they had no future desire to pursue.

Home

For Hawai'i participants, home was New Zealand and it was assumed that Maori in Hawai'i had a home, a whanau and place to return to in New Zealand. To return to New Zealand was not an impossible proposition. In contrast, for Maori in New Zealand home related to marae and spaces in tribal homelands. Going home, other than for the occasional visit, did not seem to be a real option. Participants referred to

the ‘empty’ nature of tribal homelands. There were few people, few employment and educational opportunities, and few meaningful connections. People had moved away, and for the better; better education, better employment, better opportunities, and in some instances, better relationships. A future permanent return to one’s tribal homeland did not seem to be on the agenda for these participants. While participants in Hawai’i could easily relate to homesickness as something that commonly occurred amongst new Maori migrants to Hawai’i, the idea seemed either inappropriate or impractical for New Zealand participants. In some ways, it held little legitimacy, especially when one’s tribal homeland was often just a couple of hours drive away, if not less than a day’s travel.

Discussion

For all participants, making sense of their identities was worked at continuously. They realized that their identities were not static categories with prescribed meanings, but, as Young (1999) and Moscovici (2001) suggested, histories and processes to be negotiated and worked out with others over time. All participants identified in some way with their Maori heritage groups and Maori ethnic group, yet, apparent in most narratives were influences that enhanced or diminished their experiences of these identities.

Many participants in this study referred to personal idiosyncratic characteristics (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) as they related to how they were perceived by others. For Maori in New Zealand, fair hair and skin complexions often attracted inaccurate ethnic attributions. They were often mistaken to be Pakeha. For Maori in Hawai’i who had ‘brownier’ features, they were often confused as being Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, or of some other Polynesian extraction. These participants were all presented with the opportunity to escape categorisation as Maori, had the capacity to, yet they chose not to. These participants clearly valued their social identities as Maori and as theorised by Tajfel & Turner (1986) and (Hopkins, 1997) took steps to influence how others perceived them. Participants in New Zealand tended to be offended (and sometimes made equally offensive responses) if they were categorised as Pakeha, whereas those in Hawai’i considered being identified as belonging to some Polynesian ethnic group part of the fabric of living in an ethnically diverse context. Instead of being offended, they took

significant steps, like some do in New Zealand, to present symbols of their ethnic identification through the clothing and accessories they wore, by taking pride and retaining their New Zealand accents, and kindly but firmly correcting inaccurate attributions. For these participants, to consider passing might be described as antithetical to their sense of Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. And there is always the risk of being caught out (Breakwell, 1986) by someone able to recognise, reclaim and reinvest within the individual, that membership and identity they are seeking to avoid.

I find it difficult to identify any groups that do not experience some form of tension between members. Participants in this study responded to in-group tensions variously. Even though participants could all identify with and discussed a sense of belonging to their Maori heritage groups, during their lives, most had experienced being on the outside and different in some way from other in-group members. While most negotiated these feelings by developing and using coping strategies typical of those identified by Dohrenwend (1973) and Breakwell (1986), a few participants articulated an explicit want to escape those Maori heritage groups they had a right to claim membership in.

Earlier studies (Hohepa, 1964; Metge, 1964; Ritchie, 1963) all identified Maori who had withdrawn from negative whanau circumstances by moving away from an area and by disassociating from or avoiding lived relationships (Metge, 1964). Reasons for doing this were mostly to do with feeling uncared for, abused, neglected, having limited opportunities or simply having dissatisfying experiences. Tajfel (1981) holds that if a group does not make a positive contribution to an individual's self-esteem or regard for themselves, the individual may respond by choosing to leave.

Despite a desire by some to distance themselves from negative experiences with their whanau, and sometimes hapu, most felt unable to execute a complete withdrawal. Social identity theory points our attention to the possible presence of important values which are themselves a part of the individual's acceptable self-image (Tajfel, 1981). These values create a binding effect for group members. For these participants, escaping genealogical relatedness is an objective made difficult through the expectations and probes by other Maori wanting to position and understand them within a whanau, hapu and iwi based relational network. This is a process that participants themselves valued through their own enactment of the same

process with other Maori. To continue to participate in these ways of relating, participants had to know their pasts, however positive or negative, the option to disclose negative experiences being the prerogative of the participants themselves.

Though some participants mentioned negative whanau experiences, significantly more referred to the negative aspects of being Maori, of being a dominated stigmatised low status minority in New Zealand plagued by discrimination and prejudice (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999), and by drugging, drinking, crime, sexual abuse, unemployment, benefit dependence and low health status, aspects exacerbated by negative stereotypical media reporting (McCreanor, 1989; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006). Participants in this study did not see themselves in stereotypical ways but recognised that broader New Zealand society did. It was harder to escape these representations, even in Hawai'i. Consistent with Tajfel's (1981) views on social identity, and to combat negative group attributions, participants in this study chose to emphasise the positive aspects of being Maori rather than the negative, that is, they emphasized those activities associated with Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga, and kotahitanga. Maori in New Zealand tended to report a want to engage in social justice activities to change the low status position of Maori, more so than Maori in Hawai'i. Indeed, Maori in Hawai'i tended to feel an absence of negative stereotyping while in Hawai'i, but not in New Zealand. They reported a greater want, since being in Hawai'i to positively pursue the development of their heritage identities through learning te reo me nga tikanga Maori and participating in kapa haka groups, all in-group related activities and reflecting what I see as a quest for what Turner (1987) termed 'prototypicality' or the perceived positive ideal representation of what it means to be Maori. For Maori in New Zealand where it was difficult to escape or distance oneself from negative stereotypical representations, there seemed to be little option but to pursue positive identity development activities with other in-group members like learning te reo me nga tikanga Maori to reinforce their sense of Maori motuhake or uniqueness and pride as Maori.

An interesting aspect of the results mentioned above is that the perceived source of negative stereotyping for Maori in Hawai'i was not the broader dominant New Zealand society, or the ethnically plural society of Hawai'i, but other Maori in New Zealand. Maori in Hawai'i perceived Maori in New Zealand as seeing them as not quite Maori enough, or inadequately committed to being Maori. They were

sometimes seen as the American part of the whanau, not unlike how rural Maori saw Auckland Maori in Metge's study reported in 1964. The frequent negative assessments of their New Zealand counterparts must be read against a history of their moving away from New Zealand, and through determination to acquire work and education, their participation in the American dream of prosperity (Cullen, 2003). In discussing these findings, the point I wish to make here is that different Maori groups will perceive their destinies differently, and in turn, will perceive each other differently. Some will be attracted by what others do, and some repulsed or pushed away. Certainly the New Zealand participants spoke about each other in this way and freely commented on the tensions they felt between themselves and others. These in-group tensions nevertheless appeared to be constrained by a commonly held quest for Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. They seemed to be value orientations that hold people and groups together reflecting the possibility that such orientations are themselves a part of what Maori see as critical to their individual and group self-image (Tajfel, 1981).

What is not explained by Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory is what appears to me to be a diminished association with hapu and iwi identities amongst Maori in Hawai'i. Being of a particular tribe only really mattered to other Maori who were tribally oriented and to whom it meant something. For Maori in Hawai'i, an iwi identity did not seem to have the same salience as it did for Maori in New Zealand. There were few events or opportunities for coming together to engage as tribal beings. If there were visiting groups from New Zealand who were tribally identified (eg., Rangiwewehi haka party), the whole Maori community of Hawai'i tended to turn out to engage them, not just those of the same iwi group as those visiting. Perhaps the only iwi group with any possibility of doing this in any meaningful way were those participants who identified as being from Kahungunu (n=13). But I found no evidence to suggest that they organized in this way.

Even though there appeared to be a diminished association with hapu and iwi identities in the Hawai'i context, most Hawai'i participants still remained fiercely proud of their iwi heritage, with a reported increased re-engagement upon return to the New Zealand context where their iwi identity was more likely to be probed by other Maori. For New Zealand participants, being iwi identified was expected by other Maori, for that is what it means to be Maori when amongst other Maori. This finding clearly demonstrates the situated nature of Maori social groups and identities.

Identities are enacted in situations where it has meaning for those participating in exchanges lending support to Tajfel's (1981) view that no individual or group lives alone. To be a group requires existence amongst other groups.

I must be careful not to give the impression that tribal identities were not important in the Hawai'i context. They just did not seem to have the salience that I am accustomed to witnessing in the New Zealand context. As James Ritchie (1992) recognised of Ngati Poneke in Wellington in the 1950's, for participants in Hawai'i, tribal affiliation and relational networks were still seen as significant assets and acted upon for certain outcomes and operated over the vast distances between Hawai'i and New Zealand and other places around the globe. Though not an obvious manifest identity (Fitzgerald, 1972), when in situations of engagement with Maori from New Zealand in the Hawai'i context, like this researcher who sought to probe hapu and tribal identity assets, resources, and relationships, Hawai'i participants demonstrated few difficulties in manifesting what I recognised as appropriate tribal probing. My probing and positioning of them was usually preceded by their probing and positioning of me. They recognised that their tribal identity was important and meaningful in my interactions with them and they called what might be described as their latent identities (Fitzgerald, 1972) to the fore. My point here is that Hawai'i participants are not without a tribal identity; it is a latent identity, waiting to be picked up in appropriate situations.

How might the overlaps of hapu and iwi conceptions by New Zealand participants in this study be explained? Is this in some way related to the latency of an iwi identity in the Hawai'i context? Maori in New Zealand had similar conceptions of their hapu and iwi groups with their hapu marae and environs, marae centred activities and roles, and tribal landscapes being dominant in both conceptions. If the marae is the central conceptual point of entry for participants into their hapu and iwi identities, then it should be of no surprise that these two identities are closely related, and for some, the same. Participants who belonged to more than one hapu within one iwi, tended to hold conceptions that distinguished differences and similarities between hapu more clearly. They also seemed to have a greater capacity to stand back and see a broader tribal picture with their hapu being a part of that picture. How participants maintained connections with their hapu and iwi also informs this result. For the New Zealand participants, although they often reported meeting and engaging in hapu and iwi activities away from their iwi homelands,

meaningful hapu and iwi activities were those that involved going home, returning to marae and associated tribal areas, marae rising again to a central place in their conceptions

Similar to Auckland Maori in the 1950's (Metge, 1964), with the demands of work, family, education and other social engagements, hapu and iwi maintenance activities that involved returning to iwi homelands were mostly infrequent, maybe occurring, on average, once or twice a year and usually for short periods of time during school holidays or long weekends. In Metge's study, she theorized that city born or second generation Maori migrants held abstract conceptions of their homelands, a conception periodically fed by stories of home, visits and involvement with relatives, and return visits for holidays or hui, and, in some cases, longer stays from a few months to one or two years. I wonder about Metge's use of the term 'abstract' to describe her participant's conceptions of belonging to hapu and iwi based communities. It has a relative quality about it that gives greater legitimacy to the conceptions of first generation migrants, over those of second or later generations. It suggests that conceptions held by these latter groups are inadequate, lesser and vicarious, and the former more authentic and somehow more real. It fails to recognise the acknowledgement by migrants of *nga hau kainga* as the spring of their Maori, iwi, hapu and whanau identities, and it fails to recognise adaptation to new circumstances. What if, as for most participants in my research and indeed most of the urbanised Maori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), a vicarious, sporadic relationship is all that one has? What happens is that it becomes the lived reality; what it means to belong to a hapu and iwi group. For all but a few marae centred tribal communities, this is the reality that Maori away from their iwi homelands are now living.

In circumstances removed from the immediacy of tribal homelands, how do Maori give substance to their iwi identities and what satisfaction is gained? The answer is that they do the same things that James Ritchie found of Ngati Poneke Maori in the 1950's (Ritchie, 1992), and what Joan Metge (1967) found of city Maori in Auckland in the 1950's. They research their own tribal histories, tell stories, learn whakapapa, learn *te reo me nga tikanga*, participate in *taurahere haka* groups, go to parties and other social events together, receive and communicate news of home and of each other, and participate in iwi activities where and when they can. They do this to feel a sense of satisfaction, commonality, social cohesion,

belongingness and connection with those heritage groups they are entitled to and perceived to be a part of. In my view, the key ingredient in all of this is the notion of relatedness. Without a sense of relatedness, loyalty will inevitably shift to other social groups more personally meaningful and satisfying; the identity groups departed from decreasing in salience and significance.

Although participants did not speak explicitly about shifting their sense of relatedness away from their traditional iwi and hapu groups, for many, this is exactly what they were doing. For example, Maori in Hawai'i manifested all the characteristics of a hapu group, and in some ways, an iwi group. There was a sense of in-group social cohesion (Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001). They knew each other. They had contact with each other. They were involved in each others affairs. There was room to influence the activities of the broader group and to invest time in each other. There was a sense of trust, connectedness and civic engagement (Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001). They were a socially connected community in and of themselves. They could point to a history of migration that explained their existence as a group in Hawai'i. They could converge their membership in the LDS Church and church cosmologies with those of Maori. They could relate a shared history of struggle as Maori surviving away from their traditional homelands in Hawai'i. Making a contribution to the building of the Hawai'i LDS Temple cemented their commitment to other church members and to Hawai'i, but building the marae complex at the Polynesian Cultural Centre drove home their identity as a unique hapu/iwi group. The marae complex can be read as symbolising their genesis as a new iwi with the capacity to engage other iwi as equals.

New Zealand participants did not speak explicitly about shifting their sense of relatedness or loyalty away from their traditional iwi and hapu groups. I am not surprised by this. The New Zealand participants were not selected for their membership in any specific community, and for that matter, neither were the Hawai'i participants. It just so happened that there was a commonality amongst them that engendered the sense of community (Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002; McMillan & Chavis, 1986) I encountered. The New Zealand participants were selected simply because they were perceived to be Maori. They shared some commonalities but these did not seem to bring about a sense of solidarity as a group. If membership in a distinct urban sodality like being member of the Waipareira community of west Auckland (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1998), or of the Tuhoe taurahere group Tuhoe ki

Waikato (Nikora, Guerin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004) were set as a selection criteria, then perhaps a similar pattern to that found amongst participants in Hawai'i may have emerged. Only further research will confirm this as a real pattern. Nonetheless, with a history of moving and adapting to new circumstances and environments it is not such a strange idea to think that new and different forms of hapu and iwi will emerge.

Being homesick was viewed by Hawai'i participants as a legitimate response to being away from home. Maori in New Zealand are not permitted such emotions. 'Home' is New Zealand, and more specifically, home is found in one's tribal homelands. Neither previous literature, or this study has given much thought to the homesickness that Maori living outside of their tribal territories may well feel. With the under diagnosis of depression amongst Maori and the increasingly horrifying incidence of mental health disorders (Durie, 2001) examination of homesickness should be prioritised in future research.

Possible implications

What I have discussed so far in this chapter I consider predictable and not very extraordinary. We have seen similar results in earlier studies by students of Ernest Beaglehole, Ralph Piddington, and more recently by Mason Durie. In some ways, this work updates the time gap in the canon of knowledge even if I collected the data for this research a decade ago. Since then, much has changed. The fact of Maori resilience is recognisable in the emergence of a national iwi based radio network (Te Mangai Paho, 2003), the Maori Television Service (<http://www.maoritelevision.com>), the proliferation of Maori language medium instruction through all stages in our public education system (Cooper, 2004), through Maori health centres and social programmes (Durie, 1998d), in Maori business (<http://www.foma.co.nz>), and even in the proliferation of the practice of moko (traditional skin adornment) (Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Rua, 2004). There are more Maori university graduates and significantly more holding PhD's across a range of disciplines (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

To be Maori is a source of pride. This was not necessarily the case at the turn of the 20th century when Maori were expected to slip from the face of the earth, or in the 1950's when they were expected to become detribalised assimilated brown New

Zealanders (Piddington, 1968), or in the 1970's when urbanised Maori youth were creatively growing their own gang culture to find pride, purpose and fellowship (Anae, 2006), or in the 1990's when Maori found new and creative ways of calling attention to injustices through occupations, protests and marches (Barclay & Liu, 2003), the Foreshore and Seabed hikoi in 2004 being the largest ever made on parliament in this country's history (Ruru, 2004).

In this opening decade of the 21st century, with mounting public demands to hasten the process of hearing, negotiating and settling historic grievances against the crown, the very notion of what constitutes a tribe, tribal organisation and identity has become unsettled (The Waitangi Tribunal, 2007). The tribal world continues to observe the post-settlement challenges experienced by Tainui and Ngai Tahu, some in wonderment as they find themselves on the verge of imploding as they struggle with issues of mandate, leadership, unification, adapting customary practice and establishing a firm foundation for the future (Byrnes, 2004). The post-settlement world will disestablish the old structures of Maori Trustboards and runanga in favour of new governance entities and asset holding companies (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). They will require different skill sets and competencies and will have goals beyond trusteeship (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). If the current increasing census trend (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) towards identifying tribally continues, it is fair to anticipate that the number of people wishing to register as beneficiaries will also increase demanding clear inclusion and exclusion criteria, and attention and servicing. But will the same hopes and aspirations for unity, leadership and representation be invested in these new structures as was and still is the case for many Maori Trust boards and runanga? Will the mana of an iwi transfer to these new entities and the people who work within them or will it go elsewhere? How will those living at a distance from the centre of tribal life, treat with that centre, and the centre with them? Will the apparent urban/rural divide be reconciled? Will iwi in the post-settlement era be able to maintain a sense of cohesiveness as an iwi group or will their members simply become shareholders in a larger corporation with few other commonalities but the corporation its annual meeting of shareholders? The findings of this study suggest this possibility.

A unique contribution

Through this chapter I have continually returned to concepts of Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. I argued that they are values, beliefs and ways of being together, despite separating distances. They appear to engender pride, solidarity and social cohesion. Irrespective of what I have discussed above, I am still of this opinion. All participants spoke to these values in some way or another indicating their desire to retain and perpetuate these values in interaction with other Maori people. Maori heritage identities still had meaning in their lives. If, in the future, we are to support a continued and enhanced sense of identification with heritage identities, then we need to find ways to intensify how Maori live and experience a sense of whanaungatanga, Maori motuhake and kotahitanga with these identities.

Central to such a project will be to reverse the recent trend towards flippant, hollow, and unexamined applications of the concept of whanaungatanga. As one participant in this study commented "...it's all mental or it's all by word, yeah, from so and so iwi, these are my iwi and that's about it". For this participant there was no connection, no sense of relatedness, nothing shared, and nothing connected.

Whanaungatanga encapsulates the importance that participants placed on connectedness, relatedness and relationships, those things that tie people together in bonds of association and obligation that give meaning to relationships across time and place (1992). In chapter ten I referred to the lines and layers of whakapapa as 'scaffolding'. The narratives of relatedness and relationships over time and place I described as the 'bricks and mortar' of whakapapa, the stuff that gives whakapapa its relational quality and contributes to a sense of whanaungatanga. Without this, whakapapa is, to me, a mostly abhorrent picture of genetic descent with echoes back to pictures of the evolution of humankind. What the findings of this study suggests is that in our pursuit of whanaungatanga, we must ensure that we are pursuing the appropriate narratives of relatedness and relationships and that the descent groups and their contexts really are those that matter to Maori in all their diversities. I went into the Hawai'i context assuming that a traditional whakapapa premised on kinship relationships was the most salient in the lives of Maori in Hawai'i. While I was not wrong, I was not totally right either. Previous literature demonstrates the adaptive nature of Maori people. There has always been a capacity to cohere in new ways.

The emergence of uniquely Maori religious movements like Ringatu and Ratana, and of military units like the 28th Battalion, and of social movements like the Maori Women's Welfare League, Nga Tamatoa, and of uniquely Maori gangs like Black Power and the Mongrel Mob, all testify to this capacity. More recent movements like Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Destiny Church and even The Maori Party, all do the same thing.

These new groups fill a gap, a gap between traditional heritage groups and the new contexts that Maori find themselves in. New groups, like the community in Hawai'i, also evolve new meanings for their members and new ways of belonging together. They present a new and more immediate way of being Maori. Furthermore, if their purpose succeeds in capturing the imagination of Maori by appealing to certain ideologies such as language preservation, Maori pride, dominant group resistance, or simply being Maori together, then a sense of uniqueness and solidarity and in-group cohesion will result. This I refer to as Maori motuhake those things that make us different and, therefore, unique as a people. It encapsulates all those things that contribute to us evolving and becoming Maori cultural beings different from other cultural beings. In this regard, Maori motuhake is a product of people, their relationships with each other, their histories of survival as Maori, and anticipated futures together as Maori.

The notion of kotahitanga has unity as its ultimate goal but also reflects the processes that people go through to arrive at such a point. These processes may be fiercely political or status or deed oriented, or, alternatively, just a part of the everyday mundane social interactions that people have. Participants told me that a sense of 'togetherness' was important to being Maori. This was not just about Maori motuhake or whanaungatanga. It was not just about doing those things that allow Maori to come together. It was about having a sense of belonging to a group that was more than an abstract notion. They sought after face to face lived experiences where there was opportunity to be involved in each others affairs, to influence the activities of the broader group and to invest time in each other. But to do this there needs to be a sense of trust, connectedness and participation. Kotahitanga is about achieving these ideals for it is from the achievement of these things that new ways of being Maori will emerge.

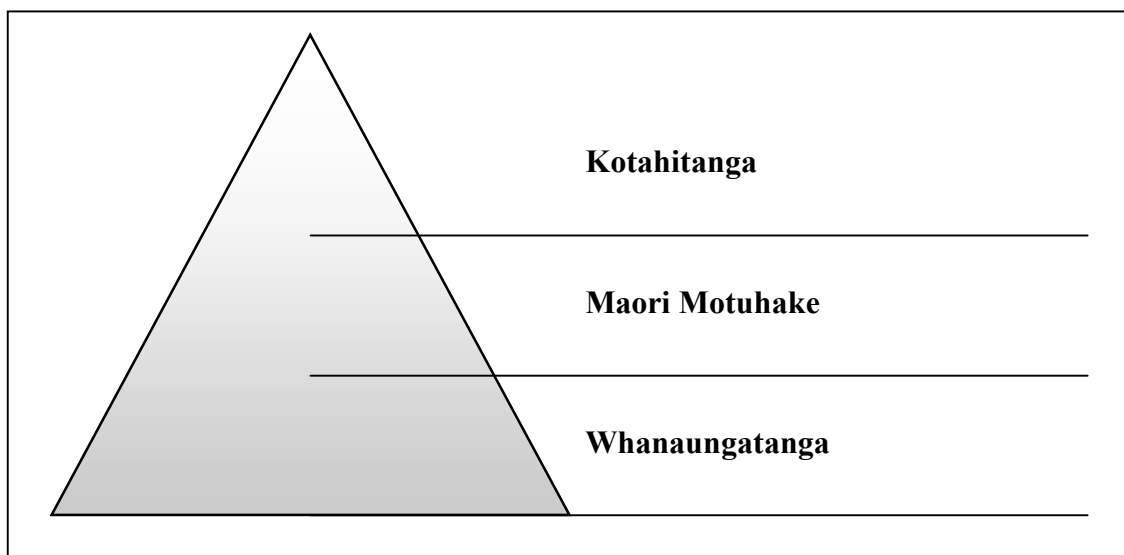


Figure 3 Building a Maori sense of identity

Presently, conceptual frameworks depicted as hierarchies are not fashionable. Relational or multidimensional ones are. I have purposefully chosen a hierarchical representation to signal the critical importance of whanaungatanga to being Maori. Being meaningfully connected and related to others as part of a broader social group is essential to an individual's personal health and to developing positive Maori social identities. Whanaungatanga is essential to a Maori sense of wellbeing. Without it, we lose our identities and we lose ourselves.

Methodological issues

The methodological approach used in this research can be criticised for being a water fetching exercise. A bucket is dipped into a stream, a continuous flow of richness and complexity, giving up to the researcher a bucket of water. While the researcher may be very happy with her bucket of water, what the researcher fails to apprehend is flow, natural rhythm, purpose, gravity and synergy. What is captured is different to what exists in the stream. It has changed. And that is what the researcher is left to look at.

When looking in the watery bucket of data captured from the research setting, an astute researcher will also apprehend their own reflection peering back. The researcher is the central processor in the research project. They take in data and produce outputs in a form understandable to themselves, and hopefully to others too.

This is a transformation process that is fraught with the possibility of ethnocentric interpretations, an issue addressed in the next section below.

Suffice to say, that earlier research has suffered from the same methodological pitfalls experienced in this study and I am sure that many future studies will too. As human movement and coexistence increasingly becomes more complex, the task of capturing the richness and diversity of targeted communities and population groups will not become any easier. Perhaps the only way forward is a combined emic and etic resource intensive integrated multi-layered approach to learning about the fullness of people's lives. At the very least, the initial objective should be to build a cumulative picture with end-on studies that revisit and add to the body of knowledge that exists.

A lot of research results, as is the case here, are crude snapshots of a minute part of people's lives at a certain time and place. As a researcher, I walked into the lives of participants with an interviewing schedule and audio-recorder, sat with them for one to two hours, collected a narrative about how they relate to various Maori social groups, and then exited. Although I attended to the context I saw them embedded in, the context was not examined in fine detail. That was not the focus. That was not the starting point. I pulled participants into my frame about Maori social identities, a frame that narrowed my view away from other social identities that may have been of significance to participants, and more importantly, to my understanding of them. The most significant drawback of this approach is what I see as my failure to thoroughly examine the overlap and interface of Maori heritage identities with other social identities (Mormon social groups and urban sodalities). Although the prior literature is informative in this regard, my theorising about such multiplicities is purely speculative rather than substantive. This oversight gives rise to the need to be cognisant of other belief systems that may be instrumental in influencing and informing Maori social identities and must be an area for examination in any future research not only in Hawai'i but also in other Maori communities where membership in other social groups contributes to daily lived reality.

Areas for future exploration

In the literature, identification with a community is seen as a separate construct from a sense of community (Obst & White, 2005). Identification does not necessarily lead to a sense of community, that is, feelings people have of belonging, that they matter to one another and to the group, and have a shared faith that their needs will be met through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). More research is required to better understand the pressures upon a Maori sense of community, the nature of those communities, and for that matter, whether Maori still find such communities and associated identities meaningful in their lives. Having a better understanding of these communities, how members enact their relationships with each other, and the meanings they derive, will provide a more robust foundation for the development of law, policy and service delivery.

To achieve a better understanding of Maori communities requires re-examination of assumed fundamental values, customary cultural practises, rituals and events, and mundane daily life. Research about the latter is probably the most important as it is from mundane life that cultural patterns emerge. In this regard, ethnographic qualitative studies like the earlier 'Kowhai' and 'Rakau' studies (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946; Ritchie, 1963) and those by Metge (1964) are likely to be more fruitful than quantitative 'dipping into the stream' approaches.

Group rituals play a significant role in people's lives and in the life of Maori communities. Salmond's (1975) examination of hui, Maori rituals of encounter, still remains as the most significant work in this area. In the last 25 years, no substantial studies of rituals about important life events like birth, parent and grandparenthood, 21st birthdays, marriage, and death and grieving have been completed. The contemporary Maori world is replete with competitive (regional and national sports and cultural events) and celebratory events (graduations, award ceremonies) but have not captured the imagination of researchers. This needs to urgently change.

Maori living away from their tribal homelands and away from New Zealand are a significant resource pool for originating whanau, hapu and iwi, and to the Maori world generally. Participants in this study clearly saw the source of their heritage identities in their tribal homelands. When they could, and when relational connections allowed, there was a willingness to return to these areas to renew connections, to recreate and to make community contributions. In recent years, brain

drain, or human capital flight; the emigration of trained and talented individuals to other nations or jurisdictions (Ahmad, 2004) has become an increasing concern for the New Zealand Government (Clark, 2001). Integral to this concern is the challenge of harnessing the knowledge and skills of expatriates to benefit New Zealand as a nation. Recognising that the return of expatriates may not occur in the near future, greater attempts have been made to form mutually beneficial collaborative relationship (Kea New Zealand, 2006). Tribal and urban authorities need to do likewise and they need to do this in creative ways. Although tribal festivals, sporting events, and celebrations are great opportunities to reconnect with people, not everyone enjoys kapa haka, or playing netball or rugby, or listening to tribal elders intoning. There are many ways to engage. The key challenge is to do so in meaningful mutually beneficial ways.

To conclude, cultural cognitions begin as seeds and are nurtured by environmental conditions, opportunities and experiences, and through our social interactions. If properly tended to, our cultural cognitions will provide continuity with our pasts and a foundation upon which to negotiate and construct our future selves.

In navigating the Pacific Maori arrived to New Zealand with what they had. These included some material items but the most invaluable were cultural cognitive resources; ways of organising, discovering, harnessing, adapting and thriving. These were the seeds for Maori survival in New Zealand and they continue as the seeds for survival in the new worlds in which Maori now find themselves.

E kore au e ngaro. He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea
I will not be lost, as I am one of the seeds scattered from Rangiatea.

References

- (2005, Feb 1). Through mists of time. *The New Zealand Herald*.
- ‘Aha Punana Leo. (2006). E ola ka 'olelo Hawai'i: The Hawaiian language shall live. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/>
- Abbott, M. W., & Durie, M. H. (1987). A whiter shade of pale: Taha Maori and professional psychology training. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 16(2), 58-71.
- Ahmad, O. B. (2004). Brain drain: the flight of human capital. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 82(10), 797-798.
- Allport, G. E. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. New York: Double Day.
- Anae, M. (2006). *Polynesian Panthers*. Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub.
- Archer, D. (1975). *Race, identity and the Maori people*. Unpublished MPhil, University of Waikato, Hamilton NZ.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. A. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 20-39.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1960). Acculturative stress in modern Maori adolescence. *Child Development*, 31, 617-631.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1961). *Maori youth*. Wellington, NZ: Price Milburn and Co. Ltd.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1964). Review of the book *Making of a Maori: A Case Study of a Changing Community*. *American Anthropologist*, 66(5), 1210-1211.
- Baba, T. (2004). *Researching Pacific and indigenous peoples: issues and perspectives*. Auckland, N.Z.: Centre for Pacific Studies The University of Auckland.
- Ballara, A. (1998). *Iwi: the dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Barclay, K., & Liu, J. H. (2003). Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of bicultural relations in New Zealand print media. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 3-12.
- Barker, J. (2005). *Sovereignty matters: locations of contestation and possibility in indigenous struggles for self-determination*. Lincoln, N.Z.: University of Nebraska Press.
- Beaglehole, E. (1936). *Hopi hunting and hunting ritual*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Beaglehole, E. (1937). *Some Modern Hawaiians*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1938). *Ethnology of Pukapuka*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1941). *Pangai, village in Tonga (Vol. 18)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1946). *Some modern Maoris*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Beaglehole, E., & Ritchie, J. E. (1958). The Rakau Maori studies. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 67(2), 132-154.
- Belich, J. (1996). *Making Peoples - A History of New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Press.

- Belshaw, H. (1940). Maori Economic Circumstances. In I. L. G. Sutherland (Ed.), *The Maori People Today*. Wellington, N.Z.: The New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bentley, T. (1999). *Pakeha Maori - The Extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.
- Berry, J. W. (1969). On cross-cultural comparability. *International Journal of Psychology*, 4, 119-128.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaption (Lead article). *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5-68.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., & Pandey, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Volume 1 - Theory and methods* (Vol. 1). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Best, E. (1972). *Tuhoe, the children of the mist* (2nd ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Bevan-Brown, J. (1998). *By Maori, for Maori, about Maori - is that enough*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- Binney, J. (1979). *Mihaia: the prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu*. Wellington, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Binney, J. (1997). *Redemption songs: a life of the nineteenth-century Maori leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories - Whakawhanaungatanga*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.
- Bock, P. K. (2000). Culture and Personality Revisited. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(1), 32-40.
- Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. J. (1975). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: a phenomenological approach to the social sciences*. New York: Wiley.
- Breakwell, G. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. London: Methven & Co. Ltd.
- Breakwell, G. M. (1988). Strategies adopted when identity is threatened. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 1(2), 189-203.
- Brewer, M. B., & Brown, R. J. (1998). Intergroup relations. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology. Volume 2* (4th ed., pp. 554-594). New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Brigham Young University Hawai'i. (2007). Welcome to BYU-Hawaii. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.byuh.edu/>
- Brislin, R. W. (1990). *Applied cross cultural psychology*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Brooke, J. L. (1994). *The refiner's fire: the making of Mormon cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, R. (1993). Ko wai ahau? *Mana Magazine*, April-May, 87-88.
- Brown, R., Condor, S., Matthews, A., Wade, G., & et al. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 59(4), 273-286.
- Buck, E. B. (1993). *Paradise remade: the politics of culture and history in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Buck, P. (1954). *Vikings of the sunrise*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcombe and Tombs.

- Buck, P. (1962). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.
- Butterworth, G. (2003, 16 December). Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera 1875/1876? - 1930. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 16 April, 2004, from <http://www.elections.org.nz/elections/pandr/vote/maori-seats.html>
- Byrnes, G. (2004). *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand history*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Cassidy, C., & Trew, K. (1998). Identities in Northern Ireland: a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 725.
- Clark, H. (2001). Catching the Knowledge Wave Conference. Wellington, N.Z.: Prime Minister's Office:
<http://www.executive.govt.nz/speech.cfm?speechralfh=34852&SR=0>.
- Cloher, D. U. (2003). *Hongi Hika, warrior chief*. Auckland, N.Z.: Viking.
- Condliffe, J. B. (1971). *Te Rangi Hiroa - The Life of Sir Peter Buck*. Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.
- Cooper, G. (2004). *Te rerenga a te pirere: a longitudinal study of Kohanga reo and Kura kaupapa Maori students*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Cowan, J. (1955). *The Hauhau Wars, 1864-1872* (Vol. II). Wellington, N.Z.: R. E. Owen.
- Cowan, J. (1966). *Tales of the Maori bush* (2nd ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: Reed.
- Cowan, R. O. (1990). Temples in the Pacific: A Reflection of Twentieth Century Mormon History. *Mormon Pacific Historical Society*, 109-122.
- Crabtree, B. F., & Miller, W. L. (1992). *Doing qualitative research*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Cram, F., & Davis, W. (1994). On knowing. *Mana Magazine*, 5, 82-83.
- Cross, W. E. J. (1995). In search of blackness and afrocentricity: The psychology of black identity change. In H. W. Harris, Blue, H. C., & Griffith, E. E. H. (Ed.), *Racial and ethnic identity: psychological development and creative expression*. (pp. 53-72). New York: Routledge.
- Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993a). Constructing a sense of home - place affiliation and migration across the life cycle. *Sociological forum*, 8(4), 547-572.
- Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993b). A place to call home - identification with dwelling, community, and region. *Sociological quarterly*, 34(1), 111-131.
- Cullen, J. (2003). *The American dream: a short history of an idea that shaped a nation*. Oxford England ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cummings, D. W. (1961). *Mighty missionary of the Pacific: the building program of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, its history, scope and significance*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft Inc.
- Darwin, C. (1880). *The Descent of Man*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Davies, D. J. (2003). *An introduction to Mormonism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, S. (2006). Kaumatua: Roles of kaumatua and future directions. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 128.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Deschamps, J. C., & Brown, R. (1983). Superordinate goals and intergroup conflict. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22(3), 189-195.

- Dohrenwend, B. S. (1973). Social status and stressful life events. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 28, 225-235.
- Dudden, A. P. (2004). *American empire in the Pacific: from trade to strategic balance, 1700-1922*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum.
- Dudley, M. K., & Agard, K. K. (1990). *A Hawaiian nation*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Na Kane O Ka Malo Press.
- Durie, A. (1998a). *Me tipu ake te pono: Maori research, ethicality and development*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development Conference 7-9 July, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1984). "Te taha hinengaro": An integrated approach to mental health. *Community Mental Health in New Zealand*, 1(1), 4-11.
- Durie, M. H. (1985a). Maori health institutions. *Community Mental Health in New Zealand*, 2(1), 63-69.
- Durie, M. H. (1985b). A Maori perspective of health. *Journal of Social Sciences and Medicine*, 20, 483-468.
- Durie, M. H. (1988). The Treaty of Waitangi and health care. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 102, 283-285.
- Durie, M. H. (1989). The Treaty of Waitangi perspectives for social policy. In I. H. Kawharu. (Ed.), *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*. (pp. 280-299). Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1994a). *The CHI model - a culturally appropriate auditing model. Guidelines for Public Health Services*. Wellington, N.Z.: Public Health Commission.
- Durie, M. H. (1994b). Maori and the state: professionalism and ethical implications for a bi-cultural public service. *Public sector*, 17(1), 20-25.
- Durie, M. H. (1995a). Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Maori identity measure. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 104(4), 461-470.
- Durie, M. H. (1995b). Tino Rangatiratanga Maori Self Determination. *He Pukenga Korero*, 1(1), 44-55.
- Durie, M. H. (1998a). Puahou: A five part plan for improving Maori mental health. *He Pukenga Korero*, 3(2), 61-70.
- Durie, M. H. (1998b). *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The politics of Maori self-determination*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998c). The Treaty was always about the future. In K. S. Coates & P. G. McHugh (Eds.), *Living relationships: Kokiri ngatahi* (pp. 189-193). Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998d). *Whaiora: Maori health development* (2nd ed.). Auckland, N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1999a). Mental health and Maori development. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 33(1), 5-12.
- Durie, M. H. (1999b). Marae and implications for a modern Maori psychology - Elsdon Best Memorial Medal Address - Polynesian Society Annual General Meeting, 1999. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 108(4), 351-366.
- Durie, M. H. (2001). *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Maori Health*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2003). *Nga Kahui Pou: Launching Maori Futures*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.

- Durie, M. H., Black, T. E., Christensen, I., Durie, A. E., Fitzgerald, E., Taiapa, J. T., et al. (1996). *Te Hoe Nuku Roa - Maori profiles. A report to Te Puni Kokiri* (No. THNR 96/1): Massey University, Department of Maori Studies.
- Dworkin, R. M. (1996). *Freedom's law: the moral reading of the American Constitution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Elections New Zealand. (29 March 2004). Maori and the Vote. Retrieved 15 April, 2004, from <http://www.elections.org.nz/elections/pandr/vote/maori-seats.html>
- Eliason, E. A. (2001). *Mormons and Mormonism: an introduction to an American world religion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Elsmore, B. (1999). *Mana from Heaven - A Century of Maori Prophets*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Feagin, J. R. (1991). The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiracist Discrimination in Public Places. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 101-116.
- Firth, R. (1959). *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.
- Firth, R. (1972). The exchange of gifts. In R. Firth (Ed.), *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (Second ed., pp. 393-432). Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.
- Fisher, A. T., Sonn, C. C., & Bishop, B. J. (2002). *Psychological sense of community: research, applications, and implications*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Fitzgerald, E. D., Durie, M. H., Black, T. E., Durie, A. E., Christensen, I. S., & Taiapa, J. T. (1996). Whaihuatatau. *He Kupenga Korero*, 2(1), 34-42.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1970). The first generation of Maori University graduates: A historical perspective. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 5(1), 47-62.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1972). Education and identity: A reconsideration of some models of acculturation and identity. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 7, 45-58.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1974a). Maori acculturation: evolution of choice in a post-colonial situation. *Oceania*, 44(3), 209-215.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1974b). The Maori university graduate and the sentiment system. *Anthropological quarterly*, 47(2), 169-181.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1977a). *Education and identity: a study of the New Zealand Maori graduate*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1977b). Male and female identity among New Zealand Maoris. *Delta*, No 20, 32-37.
- Fleras, A., & Spoonley, P. (1999). *Recalling Aotearoa. Indigenous politics and ethnic relations in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Forster, J. (1975). Maori-white relations in New Zealand. In D. G. Baker (Ed.), *Politics of race: comparative studies* (pp. 191-209). Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Fox, D. R. (1985). Psychology, ideology, utopia and the commons. *American Psychologist*, 40, 48-58.
- Franke, V. C. (2000). Duty, Honor, Country: The Social Identity of West Point Cadets. *Armed Forces & Society: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 26(2), 175.
- Gedicks, F. M. (1999). "No man's land": The place of Latter-day Saints in the culture war (Mormon isolation, denominational beliefs, and the contemporary American political climate). *Brigham Young University Studies*, 38(3), 145-162.

- Ghosh, E. S., & Kumar, R. (1991). Hindu-Muslim intergroup relations in India: Applying socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 3(1), 93-112.
- Gibson, K. J. (1999). *Maori, women and dual ethnicity: investigating pathways of identity development*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Goffman, E. (1962). *Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (1st ed.). Chicago: Aldine.
- Goldsbury, S. (2004). *Maori service users' experiences with clinical psychologists*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Gorst, J. E. (1974). *The Maori King*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Capper Press.
- Gough, B., Robinson, S., Kremer, J., & Mitchell, R. (1992). The social psychology of intergroup conflict: An appraisal of Northern Ireland research. *Canadian Psychology*, 33(3), 645-651.
- Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasurement of man* (Revised and expanded ed.). London: Penguin.
- Grace, J. T. H. (1959). *Tuwharetoa: A history of the Maori people of the Taupo district*. Wellington, N.Z.: A.H & A.W Reed.
- Grace, P., Ramsden, I., & Dennis, J. (2001). *The Silent Migration - Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.
- Greymorning, S. (2004). *A will to survive: indigenous essays on the politics of culture, language, and identity*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Grimshaw, P. (1989). *Paths of duty: American missionary wives in nineteenth-century Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Groot, S., Nikora, L. W., Hodgetts, D., & Karapu, R. (2006). Cultural vehicles and the Maori print media: What cultural concepts are used to communicate health messages to Maori? *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 139.
- Guerin, B. (2004). Analyzing Social Contexts through Time. In *Handbook for analyzing the social strategies of everyday life* (pp. 237-264). Reno, Nevada: Context Press.
- Guerin, B., & Miyazaki, Y. (2004). Analyzing Rumors, Gossip, and Urban Legends through their Conversational Properties. Unpublished manuscript. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Hall, S. (1992). The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In S. Hall & B. Gielben (Eds.), *Formations of modernity* (pp. 276-320). Cambridge: Polity Press and Open University.
- Hanson, F. A., & Hanson, L. (1983). *Counterpoint in Maori culture*. London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1959). The Maori agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth century. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68(2), 61-79.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1960). Maori agriculture after the wars (1871-1886). *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 69(4), 354-367.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1961). Maori flour mills of the Auckland Province, 1846-1860. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70(2), 227-233.
- Harré, J. (1966). *Maori and Pakeha - a study of mixed marriages in New Zealand*. New York, London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations [by] F. A. Praeger.

- Harris, F. C. (1999). *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, M. (1983). *Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Hawke, S. (Ed.). (1998). *Takaparawhau: the people's story: 1998 Bastion Point 20 year commemoration book*. Orakei, Auckland, N.Z.: Moko Productions.
- Hay, R. (1998a). A rooted sense of place in cross-cultural perspective. *The Canadian Geographer*, 42(3), 245-247.
- Hay, R. (1998b). Sense of place in developmental context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18(1), 5-29.
- Health Research Council of New Zealand. (1997). *HRC Guidelines on Ethics in Health Research*. Auckland, N.Z.: Author.
- Health Research Council of New Zealand. (1998). *Guidelines for researching on health research involving Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: Author.
- Heller, K., Price, R. H., Reinharz, S., Riger, S., Wandersman, A., & D'Aunno, T. A. (1984). *Psychology and Community Change: Challenges of the Future*. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Helms, J. E. (1995). An update of Helms's white and people of color racial identity models. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. Chapter 9). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Henry, J. L. (2001). *The health experiences of rural Maori: social, cultural and economic aspects*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Heuer, B. (1972). *Maori women*. Wellington, N.Z.: Published for the Polynesian Society by A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Hewson, D. A. (2002). *Individualism and collectivism: a comparison of Maori and Pakeha self-concepts*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Ho, Y. F. (1985). Cultural values and professional issues in clinical psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40(11), 1212-1218.
- Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. (2003). *The Sage handbook of social psychology*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Hohepa, P. W. (1964). *A Maori community in Northland*. Auckland, NZ.: A. H. Reed & A. W. Reed.
- Hopkins, K. M. (1997). Supervisor intervention with troubled workers: a social identity perspective. *Human Relations*, 50(10), 1215.
- Howard, J. A. (2000). Social Psychology of Identities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 367-393.
- Howe, K. R. (2006). *Vaka moana: voyages of the ancestors: the discovery and settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman: Auckland Museum.
- Howitt, D., & Owusu-Bempah, J. (1994). *The racism of psychology - Time for change*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hui Taumata. (2005). *Hui Taumata 2005: Summary Report*. Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.
- Huijbers, K. (1996). *Maori women in Taranaki and their experiences in health*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Hunn, J. K. (1961). *Report of Maori Affairs*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.

- Hunt, B. W. (1971). *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in New Zealand*. Unpublished MA, Brigham Young University, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Ihimaera, W. (1998). *Growing up Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: Tandem.
- Ilohia, N. (1996/97). No longer in no man's land. *Mana*, 28-30.
- Indigena, F. S., & Kothari, B. (1997). Rights to the benefits of research: compensating indigenous people for their intellectual contribution. *Human organisation*, 56(2), 127-137.
- Ingham, J. M. (1996). *Psychological anthropology reconsidered*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Irwin, K. (1994). Maori research methods and practices. *Sites*, 28, 25-43.
- Jackson, M. (1998). *Research and the colonisation of Maori knowledge*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau - Maori Research & Development Conference, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- Jahoda, G. (1999). *Images of savages. Ancient roots of modern prejudice in Western Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, P. T. H. (1959). *King Potatau: an account of the life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori king*. Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society.
- Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission. (2007). A Brief History. Retrieved 20 May 2007, from <http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.html>
- Kame'eleihiwa, L. (1992). *Native land and foreign desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai'i aina a me n a koi pu'umake a ka po'e haole: pehea l a e pono ai?* Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kanahale, G. S. (1986). *Ku kanaka, stand tall: a search for Hawaiian values*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: Waiaha Foundation.
- Kant, J. (1976). *Critique of Practical reason, and other writings in moral philosophy*. New York: Garland.
- Katene, F. B. (16 November 1942). *Letter to Hon P. K. Paikea, Minister in Charge of Maori War Effort*. Unpublished manuscript, National Archives, Wellington, N.Z.
- Kawharu, I. H. (1975). *Orakei: A Ngati Whatua Community*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Kea New Zealand. (2006). Kea New Zealand's Global Survey of Expatriate New Zealanders: Everyone Counts. Retrieved 25 June 2007, from <http://www.keanewzealand.com/news/eoc-summary.html>
- King, M. (1977). *Te Paea, a biography*. Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder and Stoughton.
- King, M. (1991). *Whina. A Biography of Whina Cooper*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.
- King, M. (2003). *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.
- Kluckhohn, F., & Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, Illinois: Peterson.
- Koziol, H. (2003, 16 December 2003). Hirini Whaanga Christie, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 30 April, 2004, from <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Lal, B. V., Munro, D., & Beechert, E. D. (1993). *Plantation workers: resistance and accommodation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Landauer, L. B. (1999). *Pearl: the history of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor*. Lake Tahoe, CA: Flying Cloud Press.

- Laurie, A. J., & Evans, L. (2003). *Outlines: lesbian and gay histories of Aotearoa*. Wellington: N.Z.: Lesbian and Gay Archives of New Zealand.
- Levine, R. A. (2001). Culture and Personality Studies, 1918-1960: Myth and History. *Journal of Personality*, 69(6), 803-818.
- Levine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes and group behavior*. New York: Wiley.
- Lonner, W. J., & Malpass, R. (1994). *Psychology and culture*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., Chamberlain, K., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16(2), 100-118.
- Lowe, J. (1990). *The Australian Maori population: a demographic analysis based on 1986 Australian and New Zealand census data = Nga Maori ki ahitereria*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Planning Council.
- Ludlow, D. H. (1992). *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lutz, S. E., & Ruble, D. N. (1995). Children and gender prejudice: Context, motivation, and the development of gender conceptions. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development: A research annual, Vol. 10* (pp. 131-166). London, England UK: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, Ltd.
- Mael, F. A., & Ashforth, B. E. (1995). Loyal from day one: Biodata, organizational identification, and turnover among newcomers. *Personnel Psychology*, 48(2), 309-333.
- Marcus Newhall, A., Miller, N., Holtz, R., & Brewer, M. B. (1993). Cross-cutting category membership with role assignment: A means of reducing intergroup bias. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 32(2), 125-146.
- Marsden, M. (1975). God, Man and Universe: a Maori view. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*. Wellington, N.Z.: Hicks Smith and Sons.
- Martindale, D. (1981). *The nature and types of sociological theory*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Massey University. (2005). Nga Kaupapa Rangahau: Research and Maori Health Development Programmes. Retrieved Jan 13, 2005, from <http://maori.massey.ac.nz/research/index.shtml>
- McCreanor, T. (1997). When racism stepped ashore: antecedents of anti-Maori discourse in Aotearoa. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 26(1), 36-44.
- McCreanor, T. N. (1989). Talking about race. In H. Yensen, K. Hague & T. McCreanor (Eds.), *Honouring the Treaty: an introduction for Pakeha to the Treaty of Waitangi* (pp. 90-112). Auckland, NZ.: Penguin Books.
- McCreanor, T. N. (1993). Mimiwhangata: Media reliance on Pakeha commonsense in interpretations of Maori actions. *Sites*, 26, 79-90.
- McCreary, J. R. (1968). Population growth and urbanisation. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties. A symposium* (pp. 187-204). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.
- McDermott Jr, J. F., Tseng, W., & Marezki, T. W. (1980). *People and cultures of Hawai'i. A psychocultural profile*. Honolulu: John A. Burns School of Medicine and University of Hawai'i Press.
- McHugh, P. G. (1991). *The Maori Magna Carta: New Zealand law and the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.

- McMillan, D., & Chavis, D. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.
- McRae, K. O., Nikora, L. W., Te Awekotuku, N., & Rua, M. (2006). Remembering, understanding and experiencing whangai. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 166.
- Merritt, K. (2003). *Rangatahi wahine overcoming the odds*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Metge, J. (1964). *A New Maori migration: rural and urban relations in Northern New Zealand*. London: University of London Athlone Press.
- Metge, J. (1967). *The Maoris of New Zealand*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Metge, J. (1976). *The Maoris of New Zealand : Rautahi*. London ; Boston, Routledge & K. Paul.
- Metge, J. (1986). *In and out of touch : whakamaa in cross-cultural context*. Wellington N.Z., Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J. (1995). *New growth from old: the Whanau in the modern world*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J. and Campbell, D (1958). The Rakau Maori Studies. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67(4), 352-386.
- Meyers, M. D. (1997). Qualitative research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 21(2), 241-242.
- Miller, S. I., & Fredericks, M. A. (1994). *Qualitative research methods: social epistemology and practical inquiry*. New York: P. Lang.
- Mitcalfe, B. (1964, August 7). The Uncomfortable Spotlight - A review of the Book *The Making of a Maori*. *New Zealand Listener*.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2005). Maori New Zealanders [Electronic Version]. *Explore Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved 22 June 2007 from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/en>.
- Moghaddam, F. M. (1987). Psychology in the Three Worlds: As Reflected by the Crisis in Social Psychology and the Move Toward Indigenous Third- World Psychology. *American Psychologist*, 42, 912-920.
- Moghaddam, F. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1985). Psychology in the Developing World: An Evaluation Through the Concepts of "Dual Perception" and "Parallel Growth". *American Psychologist*, 40, 1144.
- Monin, P. (2001). *Hauraki Contested 1769-1875*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.
- Moore, J. D. (2004). *Visions of culture: an introduction to anthropological theories and theorists* (2nd ed.). Walnut Creek, Ca.: Altamira Press a division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Morrison, L. (1999). *The good and the bad times: Maori women's experience of gambling*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Morrison, S., & Kiefer, K. (2003). *Kamehameha: the warrior king of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Moscovici, S. (2001). *Social representations: explorations in social psychology*. New York: New York University Press.
- Murphy, E., Dingwall, R., Greatbatch, D., Parker, S., & Watson, P. (1998). Qualitative research methods in health technology assessment: a review of the literature. *Health Technol Assessment*, 2(16), iii-ix, 1-274.
- Mutu, M. (1998). *Barriers to research: The constraints of imposed frameworks*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development Conference, Palmerston North, N.Z..

- Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J., & Barnes, A. (2006). Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology, 11*(2), 183-196.
- Nairn, R. G., & McCreanor, T. N. (1991). Race talk and common sense: Patterns in Pakeha discourse on Maori/Pakeha relations in New Zealand. *Journal of Language & Social Psychology, 10*(4), 245-262.
- Neich, R. (1993). *Painted histories: early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Neich, R. (2001). *Carved histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- New Zealand Psychological Society. (1986). *Code of Ethic*. Wellington, N.Z.: Author.
- Newman, K. (2006). *Ratana Revisited: an unfinished legacy*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Ngata, A. T. (1943). *The price of citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.* Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Ngata, A. T. (1972). *Nga Moteatea*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed for the Polynesian Society.
- Nikora, L. W. (1995a). *The maintenance of Maori tribal identities in Aotearoa: A working paper*. Paper presented at the Ethnicity and Multiethnicity Conference, Brigham Young University, La'ie. Hawai'i, May 10-13.
- Nikora, L. W. (1995b). *Maori tribal and hapu identity. Report of preliminary findings*. Paper presented at the Hui '95: Maori and Psychology Conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.. February 11-12.
- Nikora, L. W. (1996). *Heritage connections: Maori tribal identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Paper presented at the XIII Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Montreal, Canada, August 12-16.
- Nikora, L. W. (1998). *The role of cultural property in maintaining the identities of New Zealand Maori*. Paper presented at the Claiming the stones/naming the bones: Cultural property and the negotiation of national and ethnic identity Conference, St Johns College, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, April.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000a). *The literature on Maori identity: where are we going?* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000b). *Maori identity and research*. Paper presented at the Te Kawa a Maui Seminar Series, Victoria University of Wellington, N.Z.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000c). *The Treaty of Waitangi and Maori identities*. Paper presented at the EWC/EWCA 2000 International Conference: Building an Asia Pacific Community, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
- Nikora, L. W. (2002). *The ethical review of psychological research: Wriggling, wrangling and wiping one's way around those "cultural" questions*. Paper presented at the Hawai'i International Conference on Social Sciences, June 11-15, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Nikora, L. W., Guerin, B., Rua, M., & Te Awekotuku, N. (2004). Moving away from home: Some social consequences for Tuhoe migrating to the Waikato. *New Zealand Population Review, 30*(1&2), 95-112.
- Nikora, L. W., Te Awekotuku, N., & Rua, M. (2004). Wearing Moko - Maori facial marking in today's world. In N. Thomas, A. Cole & B. Douglas (Eds.), *Tatau/Tattoo - Bodies, art and exchange in the Pacific and Europe*. London, England: Reaktion.

Oaker, G., & Brown, R. (1986). Intergroup relations in a hospital setting: A further test of social identity theory. *Human Relations*, 39(8), 767-778.

Oakes, P., Haslam, S. A., & Turner, J. C. (1998). The role of prototypicality in group influence and cohesion: Contextual variation in the graded structure of social categories. In S. Worchel, J. F. Morales, D. Paez & J. C. Deschamps (Eds.), *Social identity: International perspectives* (pp. 75-92). London: Sage.

Obst, P. L., & White, K. M. (2005). An exploration of the interplay between psychological sense of community, social identification and salience. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 15(2), 127-135.

Office of Treaty Settlements. (2004). *Healing the past, building a future: a guide to Treaty of Waitangi claims and negotiations with the Crown* (Summary ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: Office of Treaty Settlements.

Office of Treaty Settlements. (2006). Ngati Whatua o Orakei Agreement in Principle - Minister's Press Release. Retrieved 11/02, 2007, from <http://nz01.terabyte.co.nz/ots/LiveArticle.asp?ArtID=94391604>

Orange, C. (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z.; Winchester, Mass., USA: Allen & Unwin: Port Nicholson Press

Orange, C. (1995). Two Peoples: One Land. *Northern Perspectives [Electronic version]*, 23(2).

Orange, C. (2003, 23 March). The Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945. *We Never Had It So Good? Themes from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 5, (1941-1960)*. Retrieved 18 April, 2004, from <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/mweo>

Orford, J. (1992). *Community Psychology: Theory and Practice*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Oyserman, D. (2001). Values: Psychological Perspectives. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 16150-16153). Online: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/referenceworks/0080430767>.

Paewai, M. K. (1997). *Cultural safety within clinical psychology: a Maori perspective*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..

Pagden, A. (1982). *The fall of natural man*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Papa Ola Lokahi. (2004). Native Hawaiian Health. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.nativehawaiianhealth.net/#>

Papakura, M. (1986). *The Old-Time Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press.

Parliament Visitor Services. (2004). Maori Members of Parliament from 1868. Retrieved 22nd May, 2004, from <http://www.ps.parliament.govt.nz/schools/texts/maorimp.shtml>

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Pawley, A. (2000). Obituary: Bruce Biggs. *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/search/story.cfm?storyid=CF304954-39D9-11DA-8E1B-A5B353C55561>

Payne, B., & Quinn, P. (1997). *Staunch: inside New Zealand's gangs* (New ed.). Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.

Pearson, D. G. (1990). *A dream deferred: the origins of ethnic conflict in New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.; Boston: Allen & Unwin: Port Nicholson Press.

- Pere, R. (1991). *Te Wheke: Whaia te maramatanga me te aroha*. Gisborne, N.Z.: Ako Global Publishers.
- Persuitt, D. (2000). *Joseph Smith and the origins of the Book of Mormon* (2nd ed.). Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland.
- Piddington, R. (1950). *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Vol. 1). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.
- Piddington, R. (1968). Emergent Development and 'Integration'. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties; a symposium* (pp. 257-269). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.
- Pike, K. L. (1954). Emic and etic standpoints for the description of behaviour. In *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Pt. 1 (preliminary edition)* (pp. 8-28). Glendale, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pike, K. L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Pitts, V. (2003). *In the flesh: the cultural politics of body modification*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pomare, M., & Cowan, J. (1930). *Legends of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Fine Arts (N.Z.).
- Pool, I. (1985). Introduction. In Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (Ed.), *Population of New Zealand* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-53). New York: United Nations.
- Pool, I. (1991). *Te Iwi Maori - a New Zealand population past, present & projected*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Public Health Association. (2003, 4 July). Press Release: Mason Durie Honoured 2004 Public Health Champion.
- Pugsley, C. (1995). *Te Hokowhitu A Tu - The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Rangihau, J. (1981). Being Maori. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri* (pp. 165-175). Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul.
- Ritchie, J. (1957). *Childhood in Rakau: the first five years of life*. Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Psychology Victoria University.
- Ritchie, J. (1964a). *Maori families* (Vol. 18). Wellington, NZ.: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Ritchie, J. (1977). *Tamariki Maori*. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Ritchie, J. (1978). *Chance to be equal*. Cape Catley: Whatamongo Bay.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1970). *Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand*. Wellington, NZ: AH & AW Reed.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1978). *Growing Up in New Zealand*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1979). *Growing Up in Polynesia*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1981). *Spare the Rod*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1984). *The Dangerous Age*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1990). *Violence in New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1997). *The next generation: child rearing in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.

- Ritchie, J. E. (1963). *The making of a Maori: a case study of a changing community*. Wellington, N.Z.: Reed.
- Ritchie, J. E. (1964b). *Race relations: Six New Zealand studies*. Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Psychology Victoria University.
- Ritchie, J. E. (1992). *Becoming Bicultural*. Thorndon, Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers & Daphne Brasell Associates.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (1985). *E tipu e rea: Polynesian socialization and psychological development*. Hamilton, NZ: University of Waikato Centre for Maori Studies and Research.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (1998). Seventy Five Years of Cross-Cultural Psychology in New Zealand. The XIV International Congress - "The Silver Jubilee Congress" of the International Association from Cross-Cultural Psychology, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, August 3-8, 1998.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (2003, 16 December). Beaglehole, Ernest 1906 - 1965, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 9 September, 2004, from <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Roberts, M., Hasami, B., Benton, R. A., Satterfield, T., Finucane, M. L., Henare, M., et al. (2004). Whakapapa as a Maori Mental Construct: Some implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification for Organisms. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16(1), 1-28.
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Rosman, A., & Rubel, P. G. (1995). *The tapestry of culture. An introduction to cultural anthropology* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Rothbart, M., & Lewis, S. H. (1994). Cognitive processes and intergroup relations: A historical perspective. In P. G. Devine & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Social cognition: Impact on social psychology*. (pp. 347-382). San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.
- Ruru, J. (2004). A politically fuelled Tsunami: The foreshore/seabed controversy in Aotearoa me Te Wai Pounamu New Zealand. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 113(1), 57-72.
- Salmond, A. (1975). *Hui: a study of Maori ceremonial gatherings*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Salmond, A. (1991). *Two worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Salmond, A. (1997). *Between worlds: early exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773-1815*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sampson, E. E. (1977). Psychology and the American ideal. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 35, 767-782.
- Schneider, S. K., & Northcraft, G. B. (1999). Three social dilemmas of workforce diversity in organizations: A social identity perspective. *Human Relations*, 52(11), 1445-1467.
- Schrader, B. (2005). *We call it home: A history of state housing in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Schwimmer, E. (1966). *The World of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: AH & AW Reed.
- Schwimmer, E. (1968a). The aspirations of the contemporary Maori. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties. A symposium* (pp. 9-64). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.

- Schwimmer, E. (1968b). *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties; a symposium*.
- Scott, D. (1975). *Ask that mountain: the story of Parihaka*. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann.
- Segall, M. H., Dasen, P. R., Berry, J. W., & Poortinga, Y. H. (Eds.). (1999). *Human Behavior in Global Perspective - An Introduction to Cross-cultural Psychology*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Sheehan, M. (1989). *Maori and Pakeha - Race Relations 1912-1980*. Auckland, N.Z.: MacMillan.
- Silva, N. K. (2004). *Aloha betrayed: native Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Silverman, D. (1997). *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Simon, J. L., & Burstein, P. (1985). *Basic research methods in Social Science* (3rd ed.). New York: Random House.
- Skevington, S. M., & Dawkes, D. A. (1988). Minorities at work: Men in a woman's world. In D. Canter & J. C. Jesuino (Eds.), *Environmental social psychology. NATO ASI series. Series D, Behavioural and social sciences, No. 45*. (pp. 272-280). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Smith, P. B., & Bond, M. H. (1998). *Social psychology across cultures*. London: Prentice Hall Europe.
- Snell, D. (2006). *What's it like to be a heretic?: heavy metal communities in practise*. Unpublished M.Soc.Sci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. (16 December 2003). Ngata, Apirana Turupa 1874 - 1950, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 15 April, 2004, from URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. (Ed.). (1988). *Na To Hoa Aroha* (Vol. 1). Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Speer, P. W., Jackson, C. B., & Peterson, N. A. (2001). The relationship between social cohesion and empowerment: Support and new implications for theory. *Health Education & Behavior, 28*(6), 716-732.
- Spender, D. (1985a). *For the record: the making and meaning of feminist knowledge*. London: Women's press.
- Spender, D. (1985b). *Man made language*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Spindler, G. D. (1952). Personality and peyotism and Menomini Indian acculturation. *Psychiatry, 15*, 151-159.
- Spoonley, P. (1993). *Racism and ethnicity* (Rev. ed.). Auckland, N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spoonley, P., & Hirsch, W. (1990). *Between the Lines - Racism and the New Zealand Media*. Singapore: Heinemann Reed.
- Spoonley, P., Pearson, D. G., & Macpherson, C. (1991). *Nga Take: ethnic relations and racism in Aotearoa/ New Zealand*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.
- Sporle, A., & Koea, J. (2004). Maori responsiveness in health and medical research: clarifying the roles of the researcher and the institution (part 1 & 2). *New Zealand Medical Journal, 117*(1199), Online at: <http://www.nzma.org.nz/journal/117-1199/1998/content.pdf>.
- Stanfield, J. H. (1985). The ethnocentric basis of social science knowledge production. *Review of Research in Education, 12*, 387-415.

- State of Hawai'i Data Book. (2000). Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://state.hi.us/dbedt/>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2001). 2001 Census of population and dwellings - cultural diversity tables. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2001-census-data/cultural-diversity-tables.htm>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Quickstats about Maori: 2006 census*. Wellington, N.Z.: Statistics New Zealand.
- Stewart, B. (1993). Ko wai ahau? *Mana, Jan/Feb*, 94-95.
- Stewart, T. (1997). Historical interfaces between Maori and Psychology. In P. Te Whaiti, M. B. McCarthy & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i rangiatea* (pp. 75-95). Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press: Bridget Williams Books.
- Stokes, E. (1985). Maori research and development. A discussion paper prepared for the Social Sciences Committee of the National Research Advisory Council. Hamilton: University of Waikato.
- Stryker, S. (1987). Identity theory: Developments and extensions. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives* (pp. 83-101). New York: Wiley.
- Stryker, S., & Statham, A. (1985). Symbolic interaction and role theory. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed., Vol. I, pp. Chapter 6. pp. 311-378). New York: Random House.
- Sumner, W. (1906). *Folkways*. New York: Ginn.
- Suzuki, S. (1998). In-group and out-group communication patterns in international organizations: implications for social identity theory. *Communication Research*, 25(2), 154-182.
- Swarbrick, N. (2006). North Americans. In *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. updated 21-Dec-2006: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/NorthAmericans/en>.
- Szaszy, M., Rogers, A., & Simpson, M. I. (1993). *Te timatanga - Tatau Tatau: Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toko i te Ora: Early stories from founding members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*. Wellington, N.Z.: Maori Women's Welfare League: B Williams Books.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 61-76). London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1998). *Introduction to qualitative research methods - a guidebook and resource* (3rd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Te Awakotuku, N. (1991). *He tikanga whakaaro. Research ethics in the Maori community*. Wellington, N.Z.: Manatu Maori.
- Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team. (1999). *Te Hoe Nuku Roa Source Documents: Baseline History* (No. THNR99/P/5): Te Putahi a Toi, Massey University.
- Te Mangai Paho. (2003). *Te Mangai Paho Maori Broadcasting Funding Agency*. Wellington, N.Z.: Te Mangai Paho.
- Te Pumanawa Hauora. (1998). *Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research and Development Conference 7-9 July*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

- Te Puni Kokiri. (1999). *Evaluation for Maori. Guidelines for Government Agencies*. Wellington: Monitoring and Evaluation Branch.
- Teddy, L. (2003). *Place attachment and traditional place: an examination of the land, identity and wellbeing relationship between Ngai Te Ahi and Hairini Marae*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Terry, D. J., Callan, V. J., & Sartori, G. (1996). Employee adjustment to an organizational merger: Stress, coping and intergroup differences. *Stress Medicine*, 12(2), 105-122.
- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. (2007). Newsroom/Statistical Information. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://newsroom.lds.org/>
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1991). *The Ngai Tahu report, 1991 (Wai 27)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker and Friend.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1992). *The Ngai Tahu sea fisheries report, 1992 (Wai 27)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker and Friend.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1998). *Te Whanau o Waipareira Report (Wai414)*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publishers.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (2007). *Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Impact of the Crown's Treaty Settlement Policy on Te Arawa Settlement Policy on Te Arawa Waka WAI 1353*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publications.
- Thomas, D. R. (1986). Culture and ethnicity: Maintaining the distinction. Special Issue: Contributions to cross-cultural psychology. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 38(3), 371-380.
- Thomas, D. R. (1988). Development of a test of Maori knowledge. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 17(2), 59-67.
- Thomas, D. R. (1991). *Cultural pluralism and development: Applications in education and learning*. Hamilton, N.Z.: Department of Psychology, University of Waikato.
- Thomas, D. R. (1995). *Understanding culture and ethnicity: Patterns and policies in plural societies*. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Thomas, D. R., & Nikora, L. W. (1994). Maori, Pakeha and New Zealander: Ethnic and National Identity among New Zealand Students. *Journal of intercultural studies*, 1(17), 29-40.
- Thomas, D. R., & Nikora, L. W. (1996). Maori, Pakeha and New Zealander: Ethnic and national identity among New Zealand students. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 17(1/2), 29-40.
- Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). *Black, white or mixed race?* London: Routledge.
- Trask, H.-K. (1999). *From a native daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawaii i* (Rev. ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Trimble, J. E., & Medicine, B. (1993). Diversification of American Indians: Forming an Indigenous Perspective. *Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series*, 17, 133 - 151.
- Tuan, Y. (1996). Space and place - humanistic perspective. In J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone & A. Rogers (Eds.), *Human Geography - an essential anthology*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd & University of Otago Press.

- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Tyler, F. B., Brome, D. R., & Williams, J. E. (1991). *Ethnic validity, ecology and psychotherapy: A psychosocial competence model*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Underwood, G. (2000). Mormonism, the Maori and Cultural Authenticity. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 35(2), 133-146.
- University of Cambridge Counselling Service. (2002). Homesickness. Retrieved 29 October 2002
- Van Wagoner, R. S. (1989). *Mormon polygamy: a history* (2nd ed.). Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books.
- Vaughan, G. M. (1972). *Racial issues in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Akarana Press.
- Vaughan, G. M. (1988). The psychology of intergroup discrimination. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 17(1), 1-14.
- Vaughan, G. M., & Hogg, M. A. (2005). *Introduction to social psychology* (4th ed.). Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Walker, R. (1989). Maori identity. In D. Novitz & B. Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and identity in New Zealand* (pp. 35-52). Wellington, N.Z.: Government Print.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.
- Walker, R. (1998). Marae: A place to stand. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri - Aspects of Maoritanga*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua - The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Walsh, W. J. (2007). Overview of Mormonism. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.aboutmormonism.com/mormonism.html>
- Wanhalla, A. (2007). Housing Un/healthy Bodies: Native Housing Surveys and Maori Health in New Zealand 1930-45. *Health and History*, 8(1), Online: <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/hah/8.1/wanhalla.html>.
- Ward, A. (1973). *A show of justice: racial "amalgamation" in nineteenth century New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Ward, A. (1999). *An Unsettled history: Treaty claims in New Zealand today*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.
- Wax, M. L. (1991). The ethics of research in American Indian communities. *American Indian Quarterly*, 431 - 456.
- Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(2), Online: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs/>.
- Whangapirita, L. (2003). *Taku manawa: patterns of alternative health care practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Williams, D. V. (1999). *'Te Kooti Tango Whenua' - The Native Land Court 1864-1909*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.
- Williams, W., Williams, J. N., & Porter, F. (1974). *The Turanga journals, 1840-1850: letters and journals of William and Jane Williams, missionaries to Poverty Bay*. Wellington, N.Z.: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press.
- Wilson, O. (1985). *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: a quarter century of upheaval*. Dunedin, N.Z.: McIndoe.

Winiata, M. (1967). *The changing role of the leader in Maori society*. Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood and Janet Paul.

Womack, M. (2005). *Symbols and meaning: a concise introduction*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Young, T. R., & Arrigo, B. (Eds.). (1999). *The Red Feather Dictionary of Critical Social Science*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1 English Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

The Text in English

Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands - Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

W HOBSON Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.

[Here follow signatures, dates, etc.]

Appendix 2 Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

The Text in Māori

Preamble

KO WIKITORIA, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei. Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana. Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei. Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangtiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaatanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON,
Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waiangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga

Appendix 3 English Translation of the Maori Treaty Text

(This English translation of the Maori treaty text, made by Professor I H Kawharu, was printed in Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, 1988, pages 87 88).

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

Victoria, The Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Maori and European living in a state of lawlessness.

So the Queen has appointed me, William Hobson a captain in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the subtribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

The First

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land.

The Second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands,

villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The Third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

(signed) William Hobson
Consul and Lieutenant –Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation and the subtribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and mark thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth day of February in the year of our Lord 1840.

The Chiefs of the Confederation

Appendix 4 Study One Information sheet

Te Whare Wananga o Waikato Psychology Department

Information sheet for study on the Social Identities of Maori People

Thank you for the opportunity to seek your participation in this study. This briefing sheet contains information that:

1. explains what the study is about
2. describes who the researchers are
3. describes how we would like you to participate in this study
4. describes how the information that you provide will be used
5. describes issues that we would like you to consider before agreeing to participate in this study.

What is this study about?

Maori people have often been 'defined' by everyone else other than themselves. This study is interested in the variety of social identities that Maori people have; how they were formed; what these identities mean; and how they are maintained. We hope that the information that you provide in this study will contribute to drawing a more accurate picture of who we are.

Who are the researchers?

Linda Waimarie Nikora: is a staff member of the Psychology Department at Te Whare Wananga o Waikato. She is also seeking to complete Doctoral Research in the area of Social Identities of Maori people. She is of Tuhoe and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti descent, and has research and teaching interests in the area of Maori development and Psychology. Linda is the primary researcher for this study.

Angeline Rangihakahaerea Harawira: is a student who is in process of completing undergraduate studies at Te Wharewananga o Waikato. She is of Tuhoe and Ngai Te Rangi descent. Rangihakahaerea is the primary research assistant for this study.

What are you being asked to do as a participant in this study?

You are being asked to participate in an interview with either Waimarie or Rangihakahaerea where you will be asked a series of open-ended questions. The interview will probably take about 2 hours.

We will be taking written notes and tape-recording the interview but you will still have control over what you wish to have recorded on tape or written in any of the notes that are taken.

After the interview, we will return to you a written account of our interview based on notes taken during the interview and on the tape-recording. At that stage we will invite you to make comments or write a response to the written account that we provide to you.

How will the information that you provide be used?

As a teacher at University I (Linda) hope to use the information that you provide as part of my teaching and research activities in the area of Maori and Psychology.

At some time in the near future I intend to begin a Doctoral study where I hope to draw upon the information that you provide here to help define further research in this area. Irrespective of whether I get to start any further research in this area, the results of this study will be given back to you through summary reports and more widely to Maori people generally through articles in either journals or magazines, or at Conferences or Hui. However, if I do go on to use the information that you provide here as part of a Doctoral study, the report arising from that study will be held in the University of Waikato library.

What are the issues that I need to consider before agreeing to participate in this study?

Normal practice in research is that we would agree to protect the identity of those people that participate, namely you. This means that steps are taken to disguise and protect the real identity of those people who have provided information to us. So, when the information is presented to other people we will disguise your name by

perhaps using a different name, or calling you a ‘participant’. If your job or a particular role (e.g., the Maori Counsellor at a school) makes it difficult to disguise your identity, then these facts might also be disguised.

Sometimes disguising your identity is a good thing as it protects your privacy and allows you to tell us things without the fear of other people knowing who you are. However, you may not wish to disguise your identity and may be quite happy to have your name associated with the information that you provide to us. Prior to the interview you will be asked about your preferences in this area.

We also want to make sure that you choose to participate in this study of your own free will. You may choose to withdraw your information from this study at any stage up until you have commented and returned the report of your interview that we send to you. If you do choose to withdraw, the information that you provided will not be included in any further activities related to this study. Furthermore, during the interview we would like you to refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to provide a response to, or to withdraw or amend any of the comments you make to ensure that you are satisfied with the information that you provide.

As part of normal procedures we will be asking you to sign a form prior to starting the interview indicating your preferences regarding the protection of your identity, and that you understand what is described in this section.

What will you get out of this study?

Due to an extremely limited budget we are unable to provide monetary payment for your participation with this study. However we hope that you will see your participation in this study as a way of contributing to providing information on a topic where there is extremely limited information available.

How to contact us?

If you have any queries at all about this study or what we are asking you to do, we will welcome the opportunity to talk more about this with you. Our contact details are:

Waimarie	07 8562889 Ex 8200
Rangiwhakahaerea	07 8555180

or, you can leave a message with the Psychology Department secretary on...

07 8562889 Ex 8302

Na, Waimarie maua ko Rangiwhakahaerea

Appendix 5 Study One Demographic Questionnaire

Demographics Questionnaire

Interview Number:

Date of Interview:

Age: please tick one

15-25

25-40

40+

Gender: please tick one

Male

Female

Education background:

Please describe your highest formal qualification (eg, Sch.Cert; M.SocSc)?

Was any part of your formal education kaupapa Maori? Please describe the nature of this education (eg, Bilingual education; Ataarangi)

Usual occupation: When you are normally employed, what is your usual occupation?

Religion affiliations: Describe those religious groups that you affiliate to. Please indicate whether you are an active or non-active participant in these groups.

Iwi/hapu upbringing: Were you raised within the geographical boundaries of any particular iwi that you affiliate to?

No. of siblings. How many siblings were you actually raised with?

Place in family: What birthplace do you occupy as relative to your other siblings? (eg, 4th of 7)?

Partnered/unpartnered: Have you resided with a partner for three years or more?

Ethnic identity of partner(s): How would you describe the ethnic identity of your partner?

Iwi identities of partner(s): How would you describe the iwi affiliations of your partner?

No. of children: How many children do you have?

Parents still living: Are your parents still living? Please tick one of the following boxes.

- Both are still living
- One is still living
- Both have passed away

Grandparents still living: Are your grandparents still living

Ethnic identity of parents: How would you describe the ethnic identity of your parents?

Mother _____

Father _____

Ethnic identity of grandparents: How would you describe the ethnic identity of your grandparents?

Maternal grandmother _____

Maternal grandfather _____

Paternal grandmother _____

Paternal grandfather _____

Living in/out of tribal area: Do you currently reside within the geographic boundaries of any one of the iwi groups that they identify with?

YES

NO

Appendix 6 Study One Interview Schedule items

CONCEPTIONS OF IDENTITIES

1. When you first meet a Maori person, what are some of the things that you are curious about, or interested in knowing about this person?

In what ways are these things important to you?

ii. How would you respond if you found out that this person was similar to you in some way? For example, were of the same iwi etc (Insert most appropriate 'belonging' word).

iii. Why would you respond in this way?

2. When you first meet a Maori person, what kinds of things would you want this person to know about yourself?

a) Explore reasons for providing the information that they did.

i. Why would you want them to know this about you?

3. What things do you feel are important about being Maori? Explain why.

4. Do you belong to any particular Iwi or Hapu groups? (Determine mother's - father's).

MotherFather

i. Iwi

ii. Hapu

a) Do you feel more strongly connected with any one of these groups more than some other? (Investigate why).

i. Iwi

ii. Hapu

COMING TO KNOW ONE'S IDENTITY

Preamble: There are stages in our lives when we think differently about who we are. Sometimes changes in our lives (like going to school, going for a holiday, meeting people, getting married, working or having children) help us to come to know ourselves differently.

5. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were Maori.

6. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those Iwi mentioned above.

7. If you focus on your life, can you talk how you came to realise that you were of those hapu mentioned above.

THINKING ABOUT IWI AND HAPU

8. When you think about your Iwi (insert each Iwi name) what do you think about?

9. Of those Iwi that you belong to, what are the differences between them?

10. Of those Iwi that you belong to, what are the similarities between them?

11. When you think about your Hapu (insert each Iwi name) what do you think about?
12. Of those Hapu that you belong to, what are the differences between them?
13. Of those Hapu that you belong to, what are the similarities between them?

MAINTAINING HAPU IDENTITIES

14. What things are important for you to do to maintain your hapu connections?
15. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you feel you have got to do these things?
16. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you actually do these things?
17. What things make it easier for you to do these things?
18. What things make it harder for you to do these things?
19. Was there a time in your life when it was easier to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
20. Was there a time in your life when it was harder to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
21. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an 'outsider' in those hapu that you have mentioned? What was it that made you feel this way? How did you cope?

MAINTAINING IWI IDENTITIES

Note: Check that a response is made for all Iwi that px associates with.

22. What things are important for you to do to maintain your Iwi connections?
23. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you feel you have got to do these things?
24. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you actually do these things?
25. What things make it easier for you to do these things?
26. What things make it harder for you to do these things?
27. Was there a time in your life when it was easier to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
28. Was there a time in your life when it was harder to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
29. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ in those Iwi that you have mentioned? What was it that made you feel this way? How did you cope?
30. Further comments

Appendix 7 Study One Consent form

Participants Copy

Name of Research Project: Social Identities of Maori people

Name of Researcher: Linda Waimarie Nikora &
Angeline Rangiwhakahaerea Harawira

Name of Interviewer:

Please initial alongside those items that you agree with.

1 I have received an information sheet about this study.
I have had a chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation
with other people.
Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2 I agree to participate in this study.
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any stage up until I
have commented on and returned the report of my interview that is sent
to me by the researchers.

3a I agree to have my identity protected and remain anonymous.
Any information used from my interview must be disguised by the
researchers.

OR

3b I agree to have my identity associated with the information from the
interview that might be presented in any written reports or publications.

4 I agree that the information that I provide in my interview may be quoted
in any report or publication that might result from this study (subject to 3
above).

5 I agree that the information that I provide for this study may be used for
teaching purposes; or used as part of a Doctoral Study that Linda
Waimarie Nikora may conduct on this same topic area in the future.

Signature: _____

Printed Name: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Copy

Name of Research Project: Social Identities of Maori people

Name of Researcher: Linda Waimarie Nikora &
Angeline Rangiwhakahaerea Harawira

Name of Interviewer:

Please initial alongside those items that you agree with.

1 _____ I have received an information sheet about this study.
I have had a chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation
with other people.
Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2 _____ I agree to participate in this study.
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any stage up until I
have commented on and returned the report of my interview that is sent
to me by the researchers.

3a _____ I agree to have my identity protected and remain anonymous.
Any information used from my interview must be disguised by the
researchers.

OR

3b _____ I agree to have my identity associated with the information from the
interview that might be presented in any written reports or publications.

4 _____ I agree that the information that I provide in my interview may be quoted
in any report or publication that might result from this study (subject to 3
above).

5 _____ I agree that the information that I provide for this study may be used for
teaching purposes; or used as part of a Doctoral Study that Linda
Waimarie Nikora may conduct on this same topic area in the future.

Signature: _____

Printed Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 8 Study Two Information sheet

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Research Information sheet

Provided to Alice Unawai and Debbie Hippolite-Wright for distribution July 1996

He mihi mahana, he mihi manaakitanga ki te iwi Maori e noho ana i nga motu o Hawai'i. Tena ra koutou katoa. This is a research information sheet designed to introduce Maori who are resident in Hawai'i to who I am; to describe the research that I am interested in, and to invite Maori to participate. Thank you for taking the time to read.

Who am I?

My name is Linda Waimarie Nikora. I am of Ngai Tuhoe and Te Ai-tanga-a-Hauiti descent. I am in my early thirties and currently reside in Hamilton, Aotearoa where I am a lecturer in Kaupapa Maori Psychology at the University of Waikato. Although I am on university staff, I am also a struggling student making fledgling attempts to complete the research component of my Doctoral studies. I hope that the research that I am involved in will help better the understanding of Maori people, both home and abroad, and will contribute to our development in the future.

The research that I'm interested in

The research area that I am interested in is the development and maintenance of Maori social identities. To be Maori means different things to different people and we express our identities in many different ways. This depends on numerous things, for example, how and where we have been raised, the era we grew up in, the situations we find ourselves in, the people we interact with, and how we see ourselves developing in the future. I have already completed an initial study that involved interviewing Maori in Aotearoa about what it means to be Maori and the activities that they engage in (eg., participating in Marae activities) to maintain their Maori identity. To build on my initial study, I would like to explore similar issues

with Maori resident in Hawai'i. The exploration of these issues will involve completing interviews with Maori in Hawai'i that focus on the following areas.

1. How being Maori in Hawai'i is thought about and expressed by Maori people
2. The part that whanau, hapu or iwi identities play in being Maori in Hawai'i
3. The activities that Maori in Hawai'i take part in to maintain their Maori identity
4. The advantages or disadvantages to being Maori in Hawai'i.

By exploring these issues, I hope that I will be able to identify ways in which Maori moving to Hawai'i to reside may be supported in their adaptation to the Hawai'i context. The findings may also be useful for those travelling to reside at other destinations in the world (eg., Australia, London). Likewise, the findings will be useful in identifying ways in which communities in Aotearoa (both traditional and non-traditional) might better support activities to maintain the Maori identity and cultural practises of their Maori members.

Interested? What's required?

I am particularly interested in making contact with people who identify as being Maori, and who have resided in Hawai'i for at least six months. Why six months? I expect that it probably takes this long to adapt to the Hawai'i context and to come to some understanding about what it means to be Maori in Hawai'i. If a person has only just arrived in Hawai'i (ie., in Hawai'i for less than 6 months) but intends to stay longer than 6 months I will be interested in making contact with them too.

The actual interviews will take 1-2 hours depending upon the depth to which people wish to explore those areas outlined above. I anticipate being in Hawai'i from September 5th, 1996 for 3-4 weeks. However, I wish to send further information to people who indicate an interest in this study so that they can get a better picture of what the research is about and what will be required of them. When I arrive in Hawai'i I will be engaged in some of the following activities.

Make phone contact with people who have indicated a willingness to participate in this project. During this communication, I will check that people understand the purpose of the research, what their involvement will entail and again check out that

they are prepared to participate. A mutually agreeable time and place for an interview will be established. This phone contact will also serve to allow myself and participants to get to know each other a little (ki te whakawhanau tatou kia tatou).

As it is difficult for me to write notes and give my full attention to those that I will be interviewing, participants will be asked to allow me to audio-tape our discussions. The audio-tape will be for my reference only, and will not be accessed by anyone else. Should people prefer not to be audio-taped, I trust that they will permit me to take notes.

The actual interview will be a semi-structured discussion around those areas outlined above. Those who agree to be interviewed will be sent a set of questions/thematic areas to think about prior to the actual interview so that they have a bit of time to think about what they might actually say in the interview. I will provide an opportunity to answer all questions that participants might have of me prior to any research procedure beginning.

Once I have had time to come to grips with all the information that people have provided through interviews, and have progress through some of the initial writing stages, I will send a summary report of the findings of the study to all participants. A full report of the overall doctoral research will be made accessible via the BYU-H Library [should they allow me to do so].

How to indicate an interest to participate?

If you are interested in participating then firstly let me extend my thanks and appreciation. To allow me to send you information about the study you need to let me know what your contact details are. There are three ways you can do this:

Send your contact details to: *Alice Unawai, President of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Hawai'i* Fax 808 5337 826, Phone 808 5366 515, Email ALYSU@Poi.net

Send your contact details to: Debbie Hippolite-Wright, Institute for Polynesian studies, Brigham Young University - Hawaii, Box 1979, Laie, Hawaii. Fax 808 293-3664, Phone 808 283-3665, Email Hippolid@BYUH.EDU

I am grateful to both Alice and Debbie who have generously agreed to collect contact addresses to send to me. They both have access to electronic mail which is much more faster than the usual post.

You can send your contact details directly to me in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My contact details are: *Linda Waimarie Nikora, 173 Totara Drive, Hamilton, Aotearoa.*

Fax 64 07 8562-158, Phone 64 07 8562-889 Email L.Nikora@Waikato.ac.nz

As of the 3rd of August 1996, I will be on route to Hawai'i via mainland USA. I will be unable to pick up mail sent by standard post, but I will still be able to access e-mail. So, my preferred way of receiving contact details is by e-mail, or through Alice or Debbie. I hope that you will find value in this project that I am proposing. I am excited about it and trust that others will be excited being able to share experiences that may be of benefit to others. I look forward to meeting all who are interested in this study and extend my thanks and gratitude to you for taking the time to read this information.

Manaakitanga, Linda Waimarie Nikora

Here are the details you should send Alice, Debbie or myself. Please fill in and send.

First Name Surname

Postal Address

City/Town State

Zip/Postal Code

Phone Hm Phone Wk

Facsimile Email

Appendix 9 Study Two Demographics Questionnaire

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Study by Linda Waimarie Nikora (1996)

University of Waikato

Hamilton/Aotearoa

Background Information Questionnaire

This questionnaire asks you to provide personal details about yourself, the household that you live in and how you came to live in Hawai'i. I am gathering this information before the actual interview with you so that I can get a general idea of your life circumstances. Information that you provide in this questionnaire will also help me to organise questions that I would like to ask you in the actual interview.

Please note that this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. If there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, then leave blank. The information that you provide will remain confidential (do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire).

This questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete. Please read each question carefully and write your response in the spaces provided. *Kia ora.*

1. What country were you born in?

2. In what countries have you lived in over the last 20 years?

3. What year did you take up residence in Hawai'i?

19_____

4. Do you hold USA Citizenship?

Yes

No

I intend to in the future

5. Do you hold New Zealand/Aotearoa Citizenship?

Yes

No

I intend to in the future

6. What sex are you?

Male

Female

7. What is your year of birth?

19 _____

8. What Maori iwi do you belong to? State as many as you wish.

OR

Unknown to me

9. What Maori hapu do you belong to? State as many as you wish.

OR

Unknown to me

10. What is your religion?

Anglican

Presbyterian

Catholic

Methodist

Baptist

Ratana

Ringatu

Latter Day Saints

No religion

Other religion - please state

11. Are you married or living with a partner?

YES

NO skip next question

12. How would you describe the ethnicity of your partner?

13. How would you describe your own ethnicity?

14. How would you describe you parents' ethnicity?

Father

Mother

15. Where in Hawai'i do you usually live? *Provide name of town/city and Island*

Town/City

Island

16. How many people are currently living in your household? (*include children and babies*)

Enter number

17. Including yourself, of those who live in your household, how many would you describe as having Maori ancestry?

Enter number

18. What is the type of residence are you currently living in?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel, motel or guest house | <input type="checkbox"/> Student dormitory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Private House | <input type="checkbox"/> Flat or Apartment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caravan, cabin or tent in a motor
camp | <input type="checkbox"/> Other [please state] |

19. Who are the persons that usually live in the same household as you?
(include children and babies)

Tick all the boxes which apply

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother/grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> My sons/daughters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My mother/father | <input type="checkbox"/> My brothers/sisters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Other persons [flat/room
mates] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I live alone | |

20. In US currency, what would be your approximate income per week after tax?

US \$00 Enter an approximate dollar amount.

21. What educational or job qualifications have you obtained since leaving school?

- Still at school
- No qualifications since leaving school
- Trade certificate or diploma
- Nursing certificate or diploma
- Teachers certificate or diploma
- Polytechnic qualification
- University qualification
- Other qualifications *[please describe]*

22. What is your main occupation? (e.g., student, accountant, house manager)

If you were not born in Hawai'i, which of the following reasons lead you to reside in Hawai'i? *Tick as many that apply.*

- Moved with parents
- Moved with grandparents
- Moved with other relative
- To reside with partner or spouse
- To reside with son or daughter
- To attend University
- To find work
- My occupation requires that I live in Hawai'i
- Other reasons *[please describe]*

Appendix 10 Study Two Letter to Participants



The University of Waikato

Linda Waimarie Nikora
Psychology Department,
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton
Aotearoa/New Zealand

School of Social Science

Email L.Nikora@waikato.ac.nz
FAX 64 07 856-2158
TEL 64 07 856-2889

23rd July 1996

Address...

Tena koe [name of participant]

He mihi atu tenei ki te koe, te iwi Maori hoki e noho ana i nga motu o Hawai'i, i runga i te putake tawhito o te rapa i te hono; a, ki te panui atu i te ara o aku mahi, hei ara toro whakaaro atu i a koe. No reira, tena ra koe.

Alys Unawai recently suggested that I contact you as a person who may be interested in participating in a research project that I hope to complete over the September 1996 period while I'm in Hawai'i. But first, let me explain who I am.

My name is Linda Waimarie Nikora. I am of Ngai Tuhoe and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti descent. I am in my early thirties and currently reside in Hamilton/Aotearoa where I am a lecturer in Kaupapa Maori Psychology at the University of Waikato. Although I am on university staff, I am also a struggling student making fledgling attempts to complete the research component of my Doctoral studies. I hope that the research that I am involved in will help better the understanding of Maori people, both home and abroad, and will contribute to our development in the future.

The research that I am interested in explores the following questions:

1. How being Maori in Hawai'i is thought about and expressed by Maori people
2. The part that whanau, hapu or iwi identities play in being Maori in Hawai'i
3. The activities that Maori in Hawai'i take part in to maintain their Maori identity
4. The advantages or disadvantages to being Maori in Hawai'i

The research activities that I hope you will continue to be interested in, will involve you completing a quick 10 minute questionnaire and returning it to me, followed by an interview. The questionnaire is enclosed with this letter for you to fill in and return. In the interview I hope to talk with you about your experiences of being Maori in Hawai'i. The interview should take between 1-2 hours. All information that you provide me with will be kept confidential. None of your personal details will be disclosed to anyone else.

To help me organise my time while I'm in Hawai'i, I have enclosed a form for you to indicate the best time for me to telephone you to make an interview time. Please return this along with your questionnaire.

Thank you for taking the time to read. I trust that my request is not an imposition, and I look forward to meeting you in September when I arrive in Hawai'i.

Naku noa, Linda Waimarie Nikora

Appendix 11 Study Two Contact Information Sheet

Contact Information Sheet

FullName	<input type="text" value="FullName"/>	<input type="text" value="Intv. No"/>
Postal Address	<input type="text" value="Postal Address"/>	
Town	<input type="text" value="Town"/>	
State	<input type="text" value="State"/>	
Country	<input type="text" value="Country"/>	
Zip Code	<input type="text" value="Zip Code"/>	
Phone (Home)	<input type="text" value="Phone (Home)"/>	
Phone (Work)	<input type="text" value="Phone (Work)"/>	
FAX No	<input type="text" value="FAX No"/>	
EMAIL	<input type="text" value="EMAIL"/>	

Please tick

The best time to contact me is during the ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Morning	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Afternoon	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Evening	
The best time to interview me is during the ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Morning	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Afternoon	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Evening	
The best day to interview me is ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Monday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tuesday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wednesday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Thursday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Friday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Saturday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sunday

Aku mihi kia koe mo to whakaaro ki ahau, na Waimarie

Appendix 12 Study Two Interview schedule

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Study by Linda Waimarie Nikora (1996)

University of Waikato

Hamilton/Aotearoa

Interview Schedule

Being Maori in Hawai'i

1. How did you come to live/be born in Hawai'i? [If born in Hawai'i].
 - Follow up from Demographics Questionnaire
2. How is “being Maori” part of your life in Hawai'i?
3. How is this different to “being Maori” in Aotearoa?
4. On what occasions is it important for you to identify yourself as being Maori?
 - Explain why it is important

Maintaining Maori connections

5. Is maintaining connections with other Maori people in Hawai'i/Aotearoa an part of your life?

6. What specific things do you do to maintain your Maori connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?
7. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to some Maori group?
 - What was it that made you feel this way?
 - How did you cope?

Thinking about whanau, hapu, iwi and Maori

8. When you think about your whanau, hapu or iwi what do you think about?
 - Get response for whanau, hapu, and iwi.
9. Do whanau, hapu or iwi play a part in your life in Hawai’i?
 - How? Response for whanau, hapu and iwi.

Maintaining whanau connections

10. Is maintaining connections with your whanau a part of your life in Hawai’i?
 - Explain why / why not

11. What things do you do to maintain your whanau connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?

12. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular whanau?
 - Explain why it is important

13. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own whanau?
 - What was it that made you feel this way?
 - What did you do about it?

Maintaining hapu connections

14. Is maintaining connections with your hapu a part of your life in Hawai’i?
 - Explain why / why not

15. What things do you do to maintain your hapu connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?

- What things make it harder?
16. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular hapu?
- Explain why it is important
17. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own hapu?
- What was it that made you feel this way?
 - What did you do about it?

Maintaining iwi connections

18. Is maintaining connections with your iwi a part of your life in Hawai’i?
- Explain why / why not
19. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular iwi?

Explain why/why not

20. What things do you do to maintain your iwi connections?
- Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?

21. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own iwi?

- What was it that made you feel this way?
- What did you do about it?

General

22. If you were to give advice to a home sick Maori person who had recently arrived in Hawai’i. what would you give tell them?

23. Do you intend to return to live in Aotearoa sometime in the future? Why?

24. Further comments

Maori Social Identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i

Linda Waimarie Nikora

Maori Social Identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the

Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Waikato

by

Linda Waimarie Nikora

University of Waikato
Te Whare Wananga o Waikato
2007

Abstract

This research is comprised of two narrative interview studies of Maori in two different settings, New Zealand (n=20) and Hawai'i (n=30). The data was gathered over the 1994-1996 period. The two settings have some commonalities and differences. In both settings Maori are required to make decisions about the continuity of their ethnic Maori identities and hereditary cultural identities of iwi, hapu and whanau, and the part that they wish these identities to play in their daily lives. The focus of this research was about how Maori create meaning in their lives and maintain their social identities across and within those contexts they move through.

The findings of this research suggest that Maori in New Zealand continue to value and gain meaning and satisfaction from their cultural collectivities and the social identities derived from them. However, the results tend to suggest that there are changes in the ways that individuals conceptualise these identities and concomitantly, how they see of themselves.

For New Zealand participants, conceptions of hapu and iwi appear to be converging with an increasing focus on the physicality of marae, its environment and symbolism, and the social events and relationships negotiated in that space. New Zealand participants saw some hapu and iwi maintenance activities as more legitimate than others. More value was placed on returning to hapu and iwi homelands however irregular these returns were. In contrast, conceptions of hapu and iwi held by participants in Hawai'i seemed less intense. There were few opportunities to engage with other hapu or iwi members. Being Maori had greater meaning and was understood, probed and valued by others in the culturally plural context of Hawai'i. For New Zealand participants, being Maori was enacted in the context of being a discriminated, negatively constructed minority. All were aware of the defining effect that the presence of a dominant majority could have and countered these effects by engaging in social justice and in-group solidarity activities.

The changing identity conceptions held by members of Maori social groups will have implications for a sense of community and social cohesion, for tribal asset management, service delivery and crown settlement processes. If Maori are redefining and renegotiating their social identities to achieve greater meaning and satisfaction then these changes are important to respond to and recognise.

Acknowledgements

Many people have made this work possible and I am indebted to all of them. I begin by acknowledging my grandfather who inspired me to higher learning, my parents, Tamaro and Makere Nikora and siblings, Tumau, Raewyn and Mark for their unconditional love, support and continuing faith. I am relieved that you are all still here for me.

As a teacher, I know that the supervisory relationship is critical to all student research endeavours. They are relationships of trust, respect, faith and hope. To my forever gentle mentors and guides, Jane and James Ritchie and David Thomas, my sincere gratitude and appreciation.

The field work for this thesis would not have been possible were it not for the research assistance of Angeline Harawira, the network opportunities and support afforded by Alice Unawai and Debbie Hippolite-Wright who made the Hawai'i study possible, and the willingness of every participant to take part in this research. I particularly want to acknowledge the late Nhipora Wallace whose courage and strength to remain fiercely Tuhoe continues to be an inspiration in my life.

To Pi'ikea Miyamoto, Emma and Grandma, malama pono. Since my short stay in Ka'a'awa, life has never been the same!

To my work colleagues and friends who have over the years formed the Kaupapa Maori Management Committee, your staunch patience has always motivated me.

Lastly, Ngahuia, thank you for having always been there.

na,

Waimarie

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Appendices.....	viii
Overview.....	1
How this thesis is organized.....	1
Chapter One Theories about Social Identity.....	5
Social identity theory.....	5
Social categorisation theory	8
Social interactionism	8
Intersecting identities.....	9
Spacial theories of identity.....	10
Moscovici and cultural identities	10
Summary	11
Chapter Two Revealing Aotearoa	12
Scientific Voyages.....	12
Commercial Voyages.....	12
Missionary Voyages	15
Treaty of Waitangi 1840.....	18
The passage of the Treaty of Waitangi through time	20
Maori Social Identity pre-1900's	33
Chapter Three New leaders and Assimilation	35
The Young Maori Party	36
Ngata's legacy	39
Chapter Four Urbanisation	46
Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945	46
City lights.....	49
Emigration.....	51
Life in the Cities	52
Detribalisation	55
Chapter Five New Zealand Scholarship: Approaches to Understanding Maori Social Identities	58
Psychological anthropology.....	58
The Kowhai Study	61
Rakau Studies.....	66
Inherited Wisdom	76

Social Anthropology.....	77
Maori university graduates in the late 1960's.....	79
Studies of Maori communities.....	81
Mixed Marriages.....	84
From Kotare to Auckland.....	87
Formal Rituals and the Marae.....	93
Maori Health and Development.....	98
Chapter Six Maori in Hawai'i.....	105
Pacific voyaging.....	105
The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS).....	106
Maori and the LDS Church.....	108
The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC).....	111
New Zealand and Hawai'i : Similarities and Differences.....	113
Cosmologies and Values.....	119
The present study.....	120
Objectives.....	121
Chapter Seven Methodology.....	122
Overview.....	122
Research Questions.....	122
Subjectivity versus objectivity.....	124
Critiques of the Western research paradigm.....	126
Maori approaches to research.....	137
The nature of knowledge.....	146
Chapter Eight Study One Aotearoa.....	148
Introduction and overview.....	148
Recruitment of participants.....	148
Participants.....	150
Interview questionnaire and schedule.....	151
Piloting of demographics questionnaire and interview schedule.....	156
Procedure.....	157
Ethical issues.....	159
Using a Research Assistant.....	160
Data analysis.....	161
Chapter Nine Study Two Hawai'i.....	164
Why Hawai'i?.....	164
Recruitment of participants.....	165
Criteria for participation.....	167
Collecting demographic information.....	168
Procedure.....	178
Ethical Concerns.....	179
Data Analysis.....	179

Chapter Ten Being Maori in New Zealand	181
Being Maori	181
Important things about being Maori	187
Hapu and Iwi connections.....	190
Maintaining hapu and iwi identities	209
Maintaining Maori Identities.....	229
Chapter conclusion	236
Chapter Eleven	
Being Maori in Hawai'i	238
How participants came to be in Hawai'i	238
Being Maori in Hawai'i.....	241
Comparisons with being Maori in New Zealand.....	252
Negotiating a Maori identity	257
Maintaining Maori Connections.....	261
Maori focused activity	263
Reasons for Maori focused activity	266
Frequency of participation in Maori focused activity	270
Facilitators of Maori maintenance activities	271
What makes maintenance activities harder.....	278
Feeling like an outsider.....	281
Coping Strategies.....	285
Maori Social Identities: Whanau, Hapu and Iwi	287
Conceptions of whanau.....	288
Conceptions of Hapu	291
Conceptions of Iwi.....	294
Maintaining Connections with others	298
Whanau	298
Hapu.....	307
Iwi.....	314
Home Focused Thoughts	320
Motivation and purpose	321
Emotional support	322
Social networks	323
Distractors	324
The option of home.....	324
Homeward bound	325
Chapter Twelve Discussion and Conclusions	329
Summary of findings	329
Discussion	335
Possible implications	342
A unique contribution.....	344
Areas for future exploration.....	348
References	350
Appendices	369

List of Tables

Table 1	Distribution of total population by ethnic group, New Zealand, 1769-1945...	23
Table 2	Parallels in Cosmology – Maori vs Hawaiian.....	115
Table 3	Examples of self-contained individualism.....	135
Table 4	New Zealand Sample Characteristics	152
Table 5	Hawai’i Sample Characteristics	170
Table 5	Hawai’i Sample Characteristics (continued)	171
Table 6	Ethnicity of Hawai’i participants, their parents and partners.....	172
Table 7	Participant’s household characteristics.....	174
Table 8	Participant’s iwi and hapu affiliations	175

List of Figures

Figure 1: Ritchie's five most dominant aspects of valuing	68
Figure 2. Map of Hawai'i	118
Figure 3 Building a Maori sense of identity	346

List of Appendices

Appendix 1	English Version of the Treaty of Waitangi.....	370
Appendix 2	Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi.....	372
Appendix 3	English Translation of the Maori Treaty Text.....	374
Appendix 4	Study One Information sheet.....	376
Appendix 5	Study One Demographic Questionnaire.....	380
Appendix 6	Study One Interview Schedule items.....	383
Appendix 7	Study One Consent form.....	387
Appendix 8	Study Two Information sheet.....	389
Appendix 9	Study Two Demographics Questionnaire.....	393
Appendix 10	Study Two Letter to Participants.....	399
Appendix 11	Study Two Contact Information Sheet.....	401
Appendix 12	Study Two Interview schedule.....	402

Overview

In 1985, I sat in an introductory social psychology lecture by Dr Michael Hills of the University of Waikato. I was excited by the content of the lecture. Dr Hills said something like: An identity is a good thing to have for if it were not for an identity many of us would be lost to suicide, mental illness, and not have a very positive sense of being in the world. This agreed with my thinking, but, as a first year student, Dr Hill's explanations and theories did not quite satisfy the questions spinning in my head and my yearning for concrete examples and rich detail about me as Maori, as a tribal being, as a minority being, as an indigenous being, moving forward in a modern world. I longed to attend lectures where I did not have to forever convert the lecturer's examples and explanations of behaviour to my own Maori experience. I found some relief from this in courses taught by Professors James and Jane Ritchie and David Thomas on 'working in the Maori world', 'cross-cultural psychology' and 'growing up in New Zealand'. They had lived experiences that resonated with me and allowed my thoughts to fall on lines of enquiry helpful to unpacking my life and my experience of the worlds I was moving through and of others I was moving with.

These early encounters with psychology spawned, for me, a continuing interest in Maori social identities, culture change and resilience. Through this PhD study, I have had the opportunity to explore how Maori conceptualise and enact their social identities in a New Zealand context and to explore how the same is achieved by Maori living in Hawai'i. These are the topics that this thesis is concerned with.

How this thesis is organized

Of necessity, I have broken my review of literature into five separate chapters. The first deals with social identity theories. My intent in this chapter is to demonstrate that psychological theory helps to answer some questions about Maori social identities, but also raises a whole host more. I raise some of these questions as a first step towards exploring the detail, drama and complexity of Maori social identities.

The second chapter, called ‘revealing Aotearoa’ reviews how the inhabitants of these south sea islands were discovered and revealed to the world, why the ‘world’ came to New Zealand, and the responses made by its inhabitants. Differences in cultural understanding, worldviews, technologies and beliefs systems are significantly to the fore when culture groups encounter each other. From my 21st century position, reviewing the culture clashes of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries reveals much about the progression and development of Maori social identities, over time.

Central to this review is the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. The signing of the Treaty marks a significant transition period in New Zealand history. Traditional leadership, community cohesion, resources and identity were to become increasingly pressurized by large numbers of migrant settlers to New Zealand, hungry for a slice of ‘gods own’ and expectant that they would receive. Settler arrivals were so many that, by 1858, Maori had become a minority within their own lands. No amount of resistance, active or passive, could stem the demands of the settler government, the spread of disease, or the alienation of resources and land. Tribal leadership had to make sense of these developments and negotiate what it meant to be a tribal being at a personal and collective level, and at an emerging pan-Maori level. These changes gave rise to new forms of leadership that sat alongside traditional forms. In this connection, I review the emergence of the pan-tribal movements of Kingitanga, Paimarire and Ringatu. While there were others, a selective review of these movements is enough to demonstrate the capacity of Maori leaders to merge their own worldviews with that of Christianity to effectively sustain followers in the face of severe adversity.

The third chapter is called ‘New leaders and Assimilation’. At the turn of the 19th century, the Maori population was at an all time low, so low that the commonly held view was that Maori would become extinct. Assimilation was seen as the way forward and remained as the solution to the ‘Maori problem’ until the late 1960’s when more culturally plural views began to come into vogue. Up until that time, new Maori leaders like Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare, Peter Buck and others had to uplift a people depressed by the events of the previous century. A focus on their strategies lets us learn something of the strength of relationships within and between tribal groups, and the resilience of spirit, culture and identity during this period.

In chapter four, titled ‘Urbanisation’, I examine the literature about the adaption by Maori to city life. The alienation of land from Maori during the 19th and 20th century meant that there was an inadequate land resource to sustain a largely rural Maori population. Maori had no choice but to leave their tribal homelands to find new lives and ways of surviving in towns and cities. Reviewing how Maori configured their cultural selves and collectivities in these new environments allows us to learn something of the adaptable nature of Maori people, culture and identity, or what Ritchie (1963) describes as a contra-acculturative tendency.

The fifth chapter, is titled “New Zealand scholarship: approaches to understanding Maori social identities”. Here, I review three major academic strands. The first is that advanced by psychological anthropologist Ernest Beaglehole, and later by his students James and Jane Ritchie. The rich and detailed ethnopsychological studies of Kowhai and Rakau provide an insight into communities undergoing rapid social and cultural transformation. Fundamental to these studies is an attempt to understand the individual in context, to search for and identify those things that characterized Maori, be they personality traits, values, beliefs, or behavioural patterns. The second strand reviewed is that led by social anthropologist Ralph Piddington, and concerns, more especially, the studies of urbanisation and acculturation that interested both his Maori and Pakeha students. The last strand is the more recent work of Mason Durie, champion of the field of Maori development and architect of the Maori social identity profiles produced by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team. These three academic giants, their graduates, and academic associates have significantly influenced the emergence of what I see as the most meaningful and relevant studies of Maori social identity to date.

In the sixth introductory chapter, called “Maori in Hawai’i”, I turn my focus to set the stage for the fieldwork component of this PhD study. Here, I review what little material there is about Maori in Hawai’i, and, more generally, the Hawai’i context itself. I conclude chapter six by stating the aim of this present study.

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted here in New Zealand and in Hawai’i. Chapter seven deals with general methodological issues and is followed by the methods employed interviewing Maori here in New Zealand (chapter eight) and in Hawai’i (chapter nine). In both chapters eight and nine, I describe the procedures I followed, the interview schedules used and the general characteristics of the samples obtained.

In chapters ten and eleven I present the results of each respective study and follow these with a discussion of similarities and differences in findings between each sample (chapter twelve). Also in this final chapter I discuss what has emerged as the major findings and implications of this research before concluding with ideas for future investigation.

Chapter One Theories about Social Identity

Social identity theory has been drawn upon to inform research across a range of fields, mostly to do with groups and group processes. It has been used to explore problems such as organisational mergers (Terry, Callan, & Sartori, 1996); communication patterns (Suzuki, 1998); minorities in the work place (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999; Skevington & Dawkes, 1988); intergroup behaviour (Marcus Newhall, Miller, Holtz, & Brewer, 1993; Oaker & Brown, 1986; Rothbart & Lewis, 1994); work place turnover (Mael & Ashforth, 1995); and prejudice (Lutz & Ruble, 1995). Where social identity theory has been often applied has been to the issue of groups, and inter-group relations (Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade, & et al., 1986; Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Ghosh & Kumar, 1991; Gough, Robinson, Kremer, & Mitchell, 1992) in particular to understanding group maintenance strategies, as well as inter-group collaboration.

Given its broad use in understanding social identities and group processes, the helpfulness of social identity theory in understanding Maori might be anticipated. In this section I briefly review three classic social psychology theories: social identity theory, social categorisation theory, and identity theory; and comment on more recent directions in theory development. In reviewing these theories, I am not so concerned with their validity, or with support for any particular theory found in subsequent studies. Rather, I am more concerned with the questions and issues that these theories may direct focus upon in this study. These things are highlighted progressively through this section.

Social identity theory

A social identity is comprised of all of the roles (and associated social identities) a person occupies and enacts in the course of a given stage in life (Young & Arrigo, 1999). It is the socially determined answer to the question, "Who am I?" According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the self-concept encompasses a personal, and a social identity. A personal identity is based on idiosyncratic characteristics including appearance, abilities and traits, a set of values and beliefs, and personal experiences. A social identity derives from people's

knowledge that they belong to a certain social group and the subjective meaning associated with this knowledge (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). "People tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories" to define their "personal identity" and the extent to which they relate to and identify with others in their social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20). Furthermore, our social identity influences how we perceive and present ourselves, as well as how we perceive and treat others (Hopkins, 1997).

Social identity theorist Henri Tajfel (1981) posits four views that result from the recognition of identity in socially defined terms. First, Tajfel (1981, p. 256) argues that

an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of the individual's social identity; to those aspects of it from which they derive some satisfaction.

Of this position we might ask: What contributions do Maori social groups make to the positive aspects of the individual's social identity? What is it about being a member of an iwi or hapu, or of a whanau, or kapa haka group, or of any other kaupapa Maori based group, that makes us feel positive about ourselves? What do people do to maintain their sense of affiliation, connectedness and belongingness within Maori social groups?

The second position that Tajfel maintains is that: if a group does not make a positive contribution to an individual's self-esteem or regard for themselves, the individual may respond by choosing to leave the group unless

leaving the group is impossible for some 'objective' reasons, or it conflicts with important values which are themselves a part of the individual's acceptable self-image (Tajfel, 1981, p. 256).

As membership in Maori social groups is mostly dependent upon whakapapa or descent, an individual's ability to make a total escape from such groups is almost impossible. Somewhere in the expansive Maori relational network, someone will recognise, reclaim and reinvest within the individual, which membership and identity that they are seeking to avoid. Of the individual wishing to leave or rid themselves

of a Maori social identity, we may ask: What is hard about being Maori or belonging to an iwi or hapu group? Why would anyone desire to escape from their heritage groups and identities? What Maori values are valuable to an individual? What benefits do these values afford them? What attractions lie elsewhere?

For the individual whose options to leave a group are limited, Tajfel (1981) theorises two possible strategies. They are

...to change one's interpretations of the attributes of the group so that its unwelcome features (eg., low status) are either justified or made acceptable through reinterpretation; or to accept the situation for what it is and engage in social action which would lead to desirable changes in the situation (p. 256).

As a non-dominant group within Aotearoa/New Zealand society, Maori occupy a low status dominated minority position. Following Tajfel's position we might ask: How can the low status position that Maori hold of themselves and of their group as a whole be justified or reinterpreted? How can Maori reinvent ourselves, our culture and social groups? What are those things within the Maori world that we wish to hold up as symbolic, positive and desirable? How can we invest pride in who we are? What social actions can be engaged in to institute positive change?

A further strategy may be to reduced identification with the group (Cassidy & Trew, 1998). This may occur if the individual is unable to positively evaluate their membership of the group and also unable to escape membership. As noted above, Maori have a limited ability to leave those social groups ascribed on the basis of culture and ethnicity, and particularly those groups premised on whakapapa. Even though some individuals have some success in achieving this escape by migrating (Metge, 1964) or passing (Breakwell, 1986), I argue that it is more likely to be achieved over generations through intermarriage (Harré, 1966), through acculturating to the culture of the dominant group (Fitzgerald, 1972), and by decreasing enculturation emphasis upon the group(s) from which an escape is being sought. Evidence that such a pattern exists is scattered through literary works that deal with the topic of being Maori (for example, Brown, 1993; Cram & Davis, 1994; Ihimaera, 1998; Ilolahia, 1996/97; Stewart, 1993) and is reflected in their search for self-worth, belongingness and identity.

The last position asserted by Tajfel (1981) is to do with the situated reality of social groups and individuals, and more importantly, the comparative process that occurs between social groups.

No group lives alone - all groups in society live in the midst of other groups. In other words, the 'positive aspects of social identity' and the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social action only acquire meaning in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups (p.256).

Social categorisation theory

Maori social identities are relative. The whanau is relative to other whanau as well as to other familial arrangements (eg, nuclear family, sole family), and to those hapu of which the whanau are a fundamental group. In the same way, hapu are relative to other hapu, and to those iwi that allied hapu constitute. The same is true of iwi as they sit alongside other iwi, and of the much broader Maori ethnic group as it is positioned aside others. Social-categorisation theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, & Wetherell, 1987) extends Tajfel's thinking by positing that group members will generally seek to approximate their understanding of the way in which a 'prototypical' member of that group would behave. A prototype is a representation of the features that best define the ingroup (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1998), and individuals evaluate themselves to determine how well they match the group prototype, that is, self-prototypicality.

The idea of prototypicality raises a number of interesting questions. For example, what are prototypes for Maori social groups? Upon what basis are they constructed and defined, and by who? Through what processes do Maori individuals come to display prototypical behaviour? What happens when they don't? How do people cope when group influences serve to highlight the differences between those who display prototypical behaviour, and those who don't?

Social interactionism

What of the individual who is able to claim multiple social identities? Do different social identities come into play in different situations? Stryker's identity theory

suggests that this is so. Like those within the social identity tradition, Stryker (1987) and Stryker & Stathan (1985) assume that people possess multiple identities that comprise the self-concept and that identities are a product of social negotiations between people. To explain why different identities assert priority, Stryker & Stathan (1985) propose that identities are hierarchically ordered into a structure according to behavioural salience. Identities near the top of the hierarchy are more likely to be acted upon in a particular situation and hence are more self-defining than those near the bottom. Invoking one identity over others is a function not only of its salience, but also of the level of commitment to that identity. The stronger the identity commitment, the more individuals perceived the identity as instrumental to their wants (Cassidy & Trew, 1998). At the same time, the more a person is committed to a particular identity, the higher the probability of role performance consistent with the role expectations attached to that identity and the greater the probability that he or she will seek out opportunities to perform consistent with the identity image (Franke, 2000).

In a world of changing situations and ongoing negotiations of meaning, what does being Maori actually mean, and how do Maori find and affirm meaning between themselves? The same can be asked of whanau, hapu and iwi identifications. In line with Stryker's thinking, we might interrogate the place that competing identifications occupy, the reasons why and situations when some identifications are more salient over others.

Intersecting identities

Beyond a capacity to claim multiple identities, is the issue of intersecting identities or 'intersectionality' (Howard, 2000). Much research still remains to be done on this topic and, for methodological reasons, has tended to mostly focus on the intersection of two identities only. However, early theorising points to the need to acknowledge the political nature of claiming and maintaining multiple social identities, and recognise "structural inequalities and the recognition of multiple (dis)advantages" (Howard, 2000, p.328). Identity is political. On one hand, it is about uniqueness and difference, and on the other, about belonging and meaning. What does this mean for Maori able to make claim to multiple hapu and often iwi groups? Is the ability to 'claim' enough to justify membership and bring about a sense of belonging, or are

their other processes involved? And what of the negative? Is it possible to just want and to only claim the positive without regard to resolving the negative?

Spacial theories of identity

Both Tajfel and Stryker emphasise the situated reality of social identities. Place identity, well known in the discipline of geography (Cuba & Hummon, 1993a, 1993b; Hay, 1998a; Tuan, 1996), refers to “identities based on a sense of being at home” (Howard, 2000, p.382). This area of identity research tends to be concerned with place affiliation, place stratification, and mobility. When Hay (1998a) wrote of a ‘rooted sense of place’, this struck a cord with me. Rootedness conjures up images of being tied to, and emerging from a place that nurtures and sustains people and their identities. It is an identity “based on cosmology and culture, which rooted [Maori] to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally” (Hay, 1998a, p.245). History, therefore, contributes to the meanings we ascribe to places and the people that emerge from them. Of social identities associated with place we might ask: Do tribal homelands and geographic symbols continue to play a part in how Maori social identities are configured? If they do, why is this the case especially for those generations removed from their tribal homelands?

Moscovici and cultural identities

Most theorists agree that through culture meanings are made (Moore, 2004; Womack, 2005). In his theory of social representations, Moscovici (2001) proposes that fleeting notions are arrested, objectified and represented to ourselves and others, circulating through mediated processes leaving images opened to be questioned, contested and negotiated. Sometimes these representations are confirmed and reinforced; but often new meanings evolve or old meanings are re-presented and begin again the cycle of arrest, objectification, circulation and negotiation. In this way, culture as the atmosphere through which we live our lives gives us meaning and at the same time we evolve culture through the meanings we create. Moscovici’s ideas are akin to those of social categorisation theory except that the social categories or representations are not rigidly fixed. They can and do change even if earlier representations persist as part of newly formed representations. This idea is helpful

in that it highlights the contribution of ‘historic’ representations, to the present day. For example, Tuhoe, as a tribal group, are sometimes seen as quaint, naïve, lacking the trappings of modern society, and less developed than other tribes. This view results from an earlier reluctance by Tuhoe to engage the broader world, preferring, instead, to remain ruralised within their own iwi homelands. Irrespective of how true or false this representation is, relative to other iwi, the framing of Tuhoe as ‘nga tamariki o te kuhu’ (the children of the mist) by Elsdon Best (1972) continues even today (for example, see newspaper article titled *Through the Mists of Time* 2005). But what of other iwi? Are their similar kinds of representations evident in how Maori individuals and groups think about and represent themselves? How are these representations framed and communicated? Are these representations common knowledge, or only known to a select few?

Summary

This brief review of theories about social identities is helpful in so far as it provides some feel for the complexity and fluidity of social identities and behaviour. Although manifest through the individual, social identities are equally a product of within group, inter-group, and situational processes, as they are of the individual. As a result, attention to the historical, cultural and social institutions, and those processes that may serve to positively enhance or exasperate an individual's experience of being Maori, is in order.

In the review of literature that follows, I have deliberately chosen to explore literature that focuses on Maori, most, inevitably, emerging from research by New Zealand social scientists, many themselves Maori. Few of these works are concerned directly with Maori social identities, in the way that interests social identity theorists, but all treat with Maori social identities in some way or another allowing me to reveal a view unique unto the New Zealand context, a view rooted in this history and this place.

Chapter Two Revealing Aotearoa

Scientific Voyages

In 1642, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman happened upon a Pacific archipelago which he named 'Zeelandia Nova', later to become known as New Zealand. Arriving at Taitapu, now known as Golden Bay, his was the first known arrival of European explorers. His reception by Maori at Taitapu was hostile with both sides suffering fatalities, hastening Tasman's departure from our waters (Salmond, 1991, 1997).

The Englishman, Captain James Cook, was the next European explorer who found his way to Aotearoa in 1769 (and again in 1777), 120 years after the Dutch expedition. The French were also in our waters that same year, 1769, and later in 1772. All of these early expeditions followed the record and maps of Tasman. Although these excursions were viewed as:

...scientific voyages, equipped for systematic observation and enquiry ...in the eighteenth century, European science was often an imperial instrument, investigating the world for glory of monarchs and the interests of the state (Salmond, 1997, p.32).

Just as Tasman exposed our isles for subsequent scientific exploration, these same excursions allowed the expansion of other activities with captains of commerce using Tasman's maps to find their way through the South Seas.

Commercial Voyages

In 1788, the British began shipping their convicts to penal establishments in New South Wales and Norfolk Island. New Zealand and its inhabitants were considered far "too dangerous and bloodthirsty" (Belich, 1996, p129) for the conveyers of such criminal cargo and was therefore avoided as a prison colony – but not so for those who sought the ocean bounty to light the streets of London and to reinforce its corsets. Whalers, sealers and opportunists from Britain, France and America turned their vessels toward New Zealand to hunt whales and seals and to trade with Maori.

When these ships returned to their home ports, their hulls were filled with goods marketable in Britain, Europe, America, India and China. Whale and seal oil, skins, timber, water, food, cloaks, weapons, carved houses, images, art, upoko tuhi (inscribed heads), and the live versions themselves, were amongst those commodities found to be exotic or to have currency for captains of commerce. With this interest, and particularly for whalers and sealers who were often at sea for long periods of time, the Bay of Islands became a major South Pacific trading and ‘stop over’ port and often the destination of escaped or ex-convicts.

As much as foreigners were interested in and driven to acquire and exploit resources found in New Zealand, Maori were just as keen to exploit and acquire all manner of things from foreigners. Historian, Paul Monin (2001), has written about modes of exchange between Maori and Europeans providing a perspective that questions the earlier work of Firth (1972) and Salmond (1991, 1997). According to Monin (2001), these earlier writers posited that Maori understood ‘trade’ within a system of gift giving, the exchange process being about “social rank, social obligation, and inalienability (ownership of the gift in some respects remaining with the giver)” (Monin, 2001, p.33). In contrast, Monin, after reviewing exchanges between Hauraki Maori and Europeans seeking to reprovision and repair their ships, believes that the historic record suggests that Maori had a far more sophisticated paradigm of exchange accommodating gift giving on one level, and commercial production and exchange on another. With regard to the latter, Monin writes

The chief commonly ascertained the needs of the ship, negotiated a return for that supply and set his people to providing it. It involved far more than the movement of goods, as the chief also afforded the ship protection during its visit and possibly hosted the crew when ashore. Through establishing social relations with the visitors, Maori seem to have integrated a new economic opportunity into their existing social framework. This system came to be known as ‘hiniki no hiniki’, or give for give (Monin, 2001, p.34).

‘Pakeha Maori’, as Bentley (1999) terms them, who choose to, or who were captured into Maori communities were, initially, highly valued by Maori. Those Maori communities that had Pakeha Maori had an advantage over those who did not. Pakeha Maori could translate English, explain European customs and events, the meaning and use of new technologies, and act as intermediaries and “trader go-

betweens” (Bentley, 1999, p.32). They were also, on occasion, marketable. For example, once Maori were aware that whaling and sealing ships required a crew, runaway convict sailors, Pakeha Maori and Maori war prisoners were often rounded up and traded for arms (Bentley, 1999, p.16). Indeed, the evidence suggests that Maori were canny traders long before Tasman and Cook reached these shores, their arrival simply extending the groups that goods could be marketed to, or obtained from.

When reading the literature, the overwhelming impression one obtains, is that the consequences of the early voyages of Tasman and Cook was the eventual and inevitable revealing of New Zealand to the rest of the world. Once ‘Zeelandia Nova’ was mapped by Tasman, it was recorded and accessible to Europe, and the rest of the world, and particularly to the next wave of interest - the commercial and convict worlds. Equally, the world began to open to Maori.

Scientific ventures were few in comparison to the massive commercial undertakings by Britain and America and, later, France. Tens of thousands of seals were slaughtered for their skin and oil, and whales, too, both for their oil and bone. But these commercial ventures were also dangerous with many sealing and whaling gangs braving hostile seas and locations. Belich (1996, p131) writes

No novelist has yet imagined a worse voluntary existence than sealing on a subantarctic island, freezing works in which the workers froze and the dead meat rotted. Ships left three or four gangs or half a dozen men at what it was hoped were seal rookeries, and then returned some months later to pick up the gang and its hundreds or thousands of dried or salted skins. The ships did not always return. One gang was marooned on the Snares Island, off Stewart Island, for seven years.

It is no wonder that many in these gangs preferred to take their chances with a purported cannibal people than try to live in such hostile environments. Maori were also quick to take advantage of these voyages and commercial activities, helping to fill in as ships crew or to foot it with sealing and whaling gangs. Anne Salmond (1997) writes of the experiences of Ruatara and two other companions who on various ships voyaged to different places around New Zealand. In 1806, Ruatara visited Port Jackson, Australia, subsequently returned to the Bay of Islands, and in 1807, made the Bounty Islands as part of a sealing gang. There, the gang was

marooned for almost a year surviving on seafood and rainwater. They were eventually rescued in 1808 and returned to Port Jackson. Ruatara then travelled to London in 1809 determined to see King George the III. He returned unsuccessful to Port Jackson in 1810 and eventually to the Bay of Islands in 1813 after spending a great deal of time at Parramata, Australia, with the missionary Samuel Marsden. While I comment further on this relationship later in this chapter, it is worth highlighting that Ruatara was not the only Maori abroad during this period and that Maori did not shy from long distance voyaging something that formed part of their cultural history anyway.

From the enforced celibacy of voyaging, whaling and sealing, women were a serious part of the attraction for Europeans. It was during re provisioning stop-overs, or from those seamen who choose to “go native” and settle down that new blood lines were introduced into the annals of Maori whakapapa (genealogy).

Missionary Voyages

Maori aggression and cannibalism, and the sad plight of the Boyd in 1810, did not stop the plans of the Reverend Samuel Marsden who at that time resided at Parramata, outside of Port Jackson, Australia.

I knew that they were Cannibals - that they were a savage race - full of superstition, and wholly under the power and influence of the Prince of darkness; and that there was only one remedy which could effectually free them from their cruel spiritual bondage, and misery; and that was the Gospel of a crucified Saviour (Samuel Marsden in Salmond, 1997, p.406).

Unable to come himself, Marsden sent the missionaries Thomas Kendall and William Hall to Aotearoa in 1814. It is of interest to note that leading up to, and including the voyage of Kendall and Hall to Aotearoa, Maori had also taken the opportunity to voyage to and from Australia, and further to Britain. They found their way mainly as humble ship crew even though, as Kawiti commented to Samuel Marsden, their actual status in their home communities was often far greater.

I a King at home, I a cook at Port Jackson (cited in Salmond, 1997, p.420).

Travellers like Kawiti, Hongi Hika, and Ruatara, all from the North, were not simply carted off by passing ships as involuntary parties – they actively sought intelligence about these foreigners, their ways, technologies and what they valued from New Zealand. Certainly Belich (1996) identifies Ruatara, who spent a significant amount of time with Marsden at Parramatta in Australia, as responsible for the establishment of massive intensive gardening programmes in the North. These, in turn, impacted so significantly on customary food growing, harvesting and storage cycles, especially white potatoes which totally supplanted taro and nearly kumara too, that Hongi Hika and the iwi of the North were readily able to engage in long distance warfare with other iwi. They had food, they had arms, and they had time. They also had Pakeha Maori, and, now, the missionaries who served their purposes well.

Marsden's purpose in sending Kendall and Hall to Aotearoa was to lay the initial foundations of the Anglican Church, and to pave the way for subsequent voyages and arrivals organised by the Church Missionary Society. Indeed, they were the advanced guard for the establishment of a British colony in Aotearoa.

These early voyages, the interests of competing monarchs and nations, the search for trade goods, the desire to save the souls of the noble savages of the South Seas all increased the need for land for settlement. At the same time, this was a period of great excitement for Maori. New technologies were being mastered, trade was actively engaged in and different ways of knowing were being considered. Without doubt, Maori actively sought to discover, master and control those opportunities and knowledges that were being made known through encounters with Europeans. As much as Europeans found benefit in coming to Aotearoa, Maori at that time, saw benefit in having them here. Both were in a position to gain. Both stood to mutually benefit from a continued relationship.

But there were also disadvantages. In the decades leading up to 1840, the small number of Europeans living in Aotearoa was steadily added to by arrivals from Australia and Europe, and more were soon to arrive. This created friction between the settler population and Maori, especially in the area of land sales, many of which were highly questionable. Unruly social behaviour, exploitation of women, lack of

respect for Maori lore and custom, and an increasing disregard for Maori authority or rangatiratanga on the part of Pakeha also created tension which motivated Maori towards an instrument of resolution – a Treaty. But this does not fully explain the situation. James Belich (1996, p.179) sums up the colonial plan and motivation for a Treaty in the following way:

In the year of 1839, in the official and unofficial power centres of a great European nation, a plan was devised for the acquisition of New Zealand. Powerful private interests established a 'New Zealand Company', found allies in government and painted a picture of a great future colony in an abundant and temperate environment, ideally suited for Europeans. There was considerable interest in emigrating to this new El Dorado, which it was hoped would reduce disorder among the poor. The plan envisaged a 'wonderful peaceful conquest' of the Maori. The five great agencies of this conversion were to be missionaries, of whom some were already in place; civilisation by land sale and proximity to European settlers; the detribalising and application of European laws and governments; and a treaty that was to transfer sovereignty by consent as well as facilitate the purchase of Maori land. Preparations were made in secrecy, for it was hoped to steal a march on a rival power. Difficulties were overcome ...In 1840, the company's first ship and a government warship, sailing separately, left to plant the colony. They did...(p.179).

Indeed, Treaties were seen as the humane way of embarking upon the colonising mission – an attitude that is probably reflective of an increasing self-consciousness on the part of the British – their past record of treating with other native peoples increasingly coming to be viewed as cruel, severe, inhumane and expensive.

However, leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 Britain was actively trying to avoid expanding the Empire to include New Zealand (Belich, 1996). The British had realised that expansion was very costly, requiring naval ships, colonial forces, policemen, judges and other resources for government, law and order. James Busby was appointed as the first British Resident to New Zealand, “effectively the representative of British Law and order and diplomatic interests in the country” (King, 2003, p. 152). In March 1834, with few resources but many creative ideas, Busby set about assembling Maori chiefs at Waitangi to choose a

national flag, “so that New Zealand built and owned ships could be properly registered and could freely enter other ports” (King, 2003, p. 153). In October 1835, Busby persuaded the same chiefs and others to sign ‘A Declaration of the Independence of the United Tribes New Zealand’, a measure designed to foil the interests of the French who planned to establish an independent state in the Hokianga - a declaration that was neither widely understood by Maori nor endorsed.

The flag, and Declaration, were not viewed seriously by the foreign office in London. Busby’s alarmist reports and demands on both the foreign office and on the Governor of New South Wales were characterised as “whining” (King, 2003). But what was taken seriously, were the reports of, firstly, the increasing volatility between Maori and settlers resulting in numerous petitions to the foreign office for stronger intervention, and, secondly, a plan by a private firm, the New Zealand Company, to formally colonise New Zealand and establish a separate government of its own. Both King (2003) and Belich (1996) concur that it was these two influences that motivated the despatch from London of William Hobson in 1839. It was he who brokered the Treaty of Waitangi.

Treaty of Waitangi 1840

On the 6th February, 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Governor Hobson, on behalf of the British Crown, and 43 northland rangatira. Over subsequent months in various parts of the country, almost 500 more rangatira signified their assent, the notion of ‘consent’ to the advent of Pakeha state and society taken to be the act of “agreeing to the treaty, welcoming agents of the state and selling land” (Belich, 1996, p.198-197). It needs to be noted though that for tribes south of the northland region, that the horrors of raids by northern tribes in the late 18th century advantaged by having muskets were still considered recent history, as it still is for many today. Northern tribes were not to be completely trusted.

What exactly did this treaty say? Again, Belich (1996) provides a crisp summary of the treaty and issues that I have summarized or quoted in part below.

According to Belich (1996, p.198-197) rangatira were looking for a mutually understood device to ensure the protection of tino rangatiratanga, of Maori custom, lifestyles and property. At the same time they were also seeking to encourage and allow for settler control over settler behaviour. They were seeking a way to ensure

mutual and reciprocal benefit through the establishment of a transparent and peaceable relationship - a relationship, often referred now to as a partnership, intended to launch both Maori and Pakeha into a bountiful future. As the dominant majority of the day, choosing to conclude the Treaty can only be viewed as nothing less than honourable and extremely generous. It was also culturally endorsed since negotiation frequently led to resolution of disputes, with or without war.

There were two Treaty documents – the English language version, and the Maori language version¹.

The English language version gave Maori the rights and privileges, and implicitly the duties of British subjects; guaranteed their possession of all their land and property; and specified that if they wished to sell land, they had to sell to the Crown. The British got full sovereignty – the Maori ceded ‘absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty – and there was no mention of continued chiefly power (Belich, 1996, p. 194).

The key differences between the English version of the treaty and that of the Maori language version are:

The English version was that it split the powers with which it dealt into two: ‘kawanatanga’, or governorship, which went to the British; and ‘rangatiratanga’, or chieftainship, which was retained by Maori. Chieftainship was not mentioned in the English version, in which all sovereign or governmental rights and powers went to the British, though Maori property rights were guaranteed unless voluntarily alienated. ...The English version was not easily compatible with the Maori written version, but there was also a tension within the latter. The British received ‘te kawanatanga katoa’, or complete government, perhaps better translated a full governorship. The Maori received ‘te tino rangatiratanga’, the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship – not easily compatible with complete government on the face of it (Belich, 1996, p 194).

¹ The English and Maori texts of the Treaty along with an English translation of the Maori text can be found in Appendices #1, #2, and #3 respectively.

The passage of the Treaty of Waitangi through time

Deteriorating relationships

From the work of Hargreaves (1959, 1960, 1961) we know that during the 1840's and 1850's the economies of many tribes particularly in the Waikato, Hauraki and Auckland regions were booming. They were the primary suppliers of agricultural goods and labour to many European settlements, their goods also found in Australian markets. Maori readily purchased flourmills, agricultural implements and ships to transport goods and some, like Te Kooti Rikiranga, were canny traders.

Rangatira, by and large, still retained authority and leadership within their own communities with most tending towards less exacting measures against offenders and rivals, than of earlier times. Some rangatira welcomed Her Majesty's officials such as resident magistrates who could decide a limited range of criminal cases and civil claims, and encouraged their communities to abide and be judged by settler laws (King, 2003). However, others were less hasty, viewing the presence of settler authority and the lack of regard on the part of settlers as infringing on their rangatiratanga (Belich, 1996; King, 2003). In 1861, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, the then Governor of New Zealand, wrote:

Some of the most populous districts, such as Hokianga and Kaipara, have no magistrates resident among them; and many, such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape, have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and they have little reason to think that the Government of the Colony cares at all about their welfare (Gorst, 1974 pp 41-41).

Between 1840 and 1860 the idea of indirect rule through the tribal system gained some currency irrespective of growing settler and commercial resistance. While Maori and settlers might have initially made an effort to keep to the bargains struck by the Treaty of Waitangi, both had different understandings of what the Treaty meant in practice. For the settler and settler government, the Treaty was an instrument through which to make laws to advantage themselves in the process of acquiring land to establish the British colony of New Zealand and to realise the "myth of empire" (see Belich, 1996, p123-127). For rangatira, it was an affirmation

and guarantee of their rangatiratanga and mana, not simply over their own communities that were largely separate from those of settlers, but also, over those of settlers as well. In reality, settlers were viewed as living within, as opposed to outside and independently, of the domain of respective rangatira (see Belich, 1996; Ward, 1973). Indeed, the often referred to Kohimarama conference of 1860 is frequently referenced (Williams, 1999) as an example of a gathering between the Crown and rangatira that embodied the spirit of partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, even if key tribal groups like Taranaki and Waikato who were opposition to settler government were uninvited. Perhaps this is why many southern tribes still view the Treaty of Waitangi as a northern “thing”.

In retrospect, with good faith and positive mutual regard on both sides, such an arrangement could have worked, and a unique and innovative configuration of relationships between Maori and settler could have resulted. But this was not the case. With such conflicting positions things very rapidly deteriorated.

The extent of deterioration of relationships between Maori and settler, and the determination of settlers to have their way is reflected in the mass relocating of colonial forces to New Zealand. The settler government was well aware of the threat posed to them by Maori as an armed majority. Belich (1996) writes

...the governor's military resources increased in four steps: a hundred or two imperial infantry (to 1845); a thousand or two (1845-60); over 3000 (1860-63); and over 10,000 (1864-66) (p.191).

Rangatiratanga and resistance

Although the treaty allowed for settler government or kawanatanga, Rangatira were to retain authority and leadership over their own people, that is, rangatiratanga. The problem with this was that the settler government had no intention of sharing their authority with Rangatira, “...especially in the Waikato, where leadership had adopted the title of King with an objective of withholding land from sale” (Orange, 1995, para 11), something that under article two of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Kingitanga movement had every right to do. Through the 1860's fighting over land spread from Taranaki to the Waikato, after invasion by British troops, and further to the Bay of Plenty and other areas. Maori were constructed as rebels in turn

justifying colonial force. “ In effect, it was a war to assert British supremacy and it was increasingly fought by colonials as British troops withdrew” (Orange, 1995, para 11).

The price of resistance for Maori from these regions was extremely high, and the long term consequences for Maori throughout New Zealand, devastating. Major tracts of land were confiscated and Maori were moved off their lands and deprived of an economic base. Other methods of alienating Maori from their lands were also implemented. The Native Land Act (1865) established the Native land Court, referred to also as “te kooti tango whenua” (the land taking court) (Williams, 1999, p1). David Williams (1999) has explored the processes employed by the Native Land Court and its widespread and consistent impact on Maori land ownership. Ostensibly, the function of the court was to determine title to Maori lands. However, the individualization of title, assuming that it was correctly allocated, inevitably resulted in large scale land purchases by settlers. In effect, the Native Land Court ended the idea of Crown pre-emption encapsulated within the Treaty of Waitangi.

The collective interests of a tribe or hapu (sub-tribe) were undermined by the individualization of land interests, making land easier to sell... A series of legislative enactments and amendments through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued to provide the structures for separating Maori from their lands. By the 1870s the South Island had been almost completely alienated; by the early 1890s, about two thirds of the North Island (Orange, 1995, para 11).

In a very short period of time, the tables had been turned. Maori had shifted from being a self-determining dominant majority with a population of about 70,000 in 1840, to an increasingly landless and subjugated minority of about 48,000 in the 1870's (See Table 1 on following page).

Table 1 Distribution of total population by ethnic group, New Zealand, 1769-1945

Year	Population at Census			Percentage of total population	
	non-Maori	Maori (a)	Total	Non-Maori	Maori
1769(b)		86,000	86,000	0	100%
1840(b)	2,000	70,000	72,000	3%	97%
1858(c)	59,413	56,049	115,462	51%	49%
1874	297,654	47,330	344,984	86%	14%
1878	412,465	45,542	458,007	90%	10%
1881	487,889	46,141	534,030	91%	9%
1886	576,524	43,927	620,451	93%	7%
1891	624,474	44,177	668,651	93%	7%
1896	701,101	42,113	743,214	94%	6%
1901(d)	770,313	45,549	815,862	94%	6%
1906	886,000	50,309	936,309	95%	5%
1911	1,005,589	52,723	1,058,312	95%	5%
1916(d)	1,096,228	52,997	1,149,225	95%	5%
1921	1,214,681	56,987	1,271,668	96%	4%
1926	1,344,469	63,670	1,408,139	95%	5%
1936	1,491,486	82,326	1,573,812	95%	5%
1945(d)	1,603,586	98,744	1,702,330	94%	6%

Adapted from Pool (1985)

a) Of half or more New Zealand Maori origin.

b) As estimated by Belich (1996).

c) New Zealand's first official census

d) Excluding persons in armed forces overseas on census day.

Massive immigration, lack of immunity to disease, famine, poor living conditions and colonial force had ensured this reversal. Indeed, one may be forgiven for asking: what happened to the treaty? Orange (1995) puts it plainly.

As land loss struck hard in the 1870s Maori debated treaty promises at numerous conferences. Land, law, and authority were the issues. The inroads on the treaty's fishing rights through the expansion of settlement—rights less defined and easier to lose—were also noted. Various strategies were adopted in an effort to stem the tide and regain control of Maori affairs. Several deputations (in 1882, 1884, 1914, and 1924) appealed unsuccessfully to the British Crown and government—the 1840 treaty-makers—to intervene on Maori behalf. The New Zealand Parliament, responsible for internal affairs since the 1860s, denied breach of treaty terms and clearly had no intention of assuming responsibility for upholding the treaty as Maori understood it. Nor could four Maori members of Parliament, allowed after 1867, exert influence on the floor of a house dominated by settler politicians (Orange, 1995, para 13).

In 1877 the Treaty was declared by Justice Prendergrast to be a ‘simple nullity’ (McHugh, 1991) leaving rangatira with absolutely no redress or avenue to have any grievances against the settler government heard. It remained that way for almost 100 years. The treaty promise of tino rangatiratanga, the unqualified exercise of chieftainship, was completely disregarded. At this point, given the challenges faced by rangatira it is appropriate to consider the adaptive nature of rangatiratanga and Maori leadership.

Maori leadership

In reading about Maori in the 19th Century, what becomes apparent is that, irrespective of extremely destitute conditions ...

the cultural richness of the Maori world remained intact, supported in part by a continuity of leadership, in part by an educated elite who were now participating comfortably in both Maori and Pakeha communities (Orange, 1995, para 14).

Consistently and persistently, Maori leaders questioned and tested the position of the Treaty of Waitangi post 1840 and 1877, the fairness of the new settler government, and the justness of an absent sovereign, sometimes suffering dire consequences such as, death, imprisonment, and land confiscation (see for example Binney, 1997). Yet, within a radically transforming social environment, Maori leaders and leadership also had to adapt to survive. Bronwyn Elsmore (1999) provides a comprehensive description of the leaders of Maori religious movements, and Maharaia Winiata (1967) an analysis of the changing role of the leader in Maori society.

The Rangatira of the 19th Century passionately led their communities through the early contact, settlement and treaty periods and through the colonial land wars. This latter period also saw the rise of Maori religious prophets and their movements such as Pai Marire and Ringatu. These movements were primarily attempts to affirm spiritual and racial worth in the face of rapid cultural change and many served as vehicles for social protest and resistance. Along with religious movements, pan-tribal movements also emerged and converged in the mission of resistance.

Before considering some of these movements, it is worthwhile pausing slightly amidst this change and upheaval to consider those things that remained constant and those things resistant to change. If rangatira living in the 19th century were to be invited into the 21st century, what things would they recognize as being Maori, as reflecting them? I believe that they would recognize familiar aspects of their 19th century world in customary practices such as rituals associated with encounters, death, mourning and remembering, and birth and name giving. They would recognize practices associated with the separation of bodily functions and food; with respect for elders; and with caring for visitors. While I think that there would be much that would confuse, amuse, entertain and perhaps sadden them, I think that they would have some understanding of why certain values and ideals are pursued in the present, like 'Maoritanga' – a concern for being Maori; and kaitiakitanga – a concern for the environment; and oranga wairua – spiritual wellbeing. My observations here suggest that the source of cultural continuity for Maori, tribal and hapu groups resided in the ordinary customary life of Maori communities, in their routine daily lives, that was reinforced and protected by customary leadership. The advent of religious and pan-tribal movements and their

leaders are, therefore, worth examining for their contribution to continuity and to change.

Kingitanga

Firstly, the King be set up to hold the mana or prestige over the land; secondly, mana over man; and thirdly, to stop the flow of blood. The Maori King and the Queen of England to be joined in concord. God be over them both! (Wiremu Tamihana cited in Jones, 1959, p.223).

The Kingitanga movement was established in 1858 with Potatau Te Wherowhero as Maori King, a position constructed to parallel the English Monarchy, to unify the tribes, and to give “New Zealand Natives a matching sense of brotherhood and confidence, a view of themselves as ‘Maori’, and of Maori as something worthy of respect” (King, 1977, p.21). The Kingitanga is sometimes viewed as a Tainui phenomenon. This is not so. Belich (1996) writes:

But from the outset, tribes from elsewhere supported the King Movement. During the Waikato War, a minimum of fifteen or 26 major North Island tribal groups are estimated to have sent contingents to fight for the King, and several others provided some kind of support. It was clearly not kinship, traditional alliances or immediate self-interest that drew in most of these tribes (p. 232).

For example, some hapu of Tuhoe allied proactively with the Kingitanga to stop the advance of colonial and imperial forces to their homelands. Prior to the 1864 defence of Orakau near Te Awamutu, Piripi Te Heuheu in addressing a hui of Tuhoe at Ruatahuna, expressed this perspective:

Listen to my word, O Tuhoe! The island is in anguish. I propose that Tuhoe here assembled do greet the land, that the men may be in advance, while the land lies behind (cited in Best, 1972, p. 566).

With the wish to shelter Tuhoe, and to stop the advance of colonial forces into Te Urewera, some of Tuhoe joined with others of Kahungunu, Ngati Whare, Raukawa, Ngati Te Kohera, Tuwharetoa and Waikato, under the command of Rewi

Maniapoto, to stand against the colonial and imperial troops at Orakau over the March/April 1864 period with serious casualties (for accounts of the battle, see Best, 1972; Grace, 1959; King, 1977). It was at this battle that Rewi Maniapoto allegedly “called out defiantly to Major Williams Gilbert Mair, ‘E hoa, ka whawhai tonu ahau kia koe ake, ake, ake’ (Friend, I shall continue to fight you for ever and for ever)” (King, 2003, pp 214-215).

Potatau served as King for a very short period, about a year. He was in his mid-eighties and was a reluctant recipient of the role. However, in the Waikato, he achieved much. Amongst other things, he: continued the evolution of a system of local government with communities by setting up runanga; designated Ngaruawahia his capital; established the newspaper called Te Hokioi; and “was committed to peaceful and cooperative development of the country in cooperation with Europeans” (King, 1977, p. 25). “Potatau’s followers also sought to pay off all debts to Europeans and to prohibit further land sales” (King, 1977, p.24). Tawhiao Matutaera succeeded his father after Potatau’s death in 1860 and reigned through a period of tension, war and despondency, not only for Waikato but for Maori generally. It was he who carried the Kingitanga movement from an ideal into an institution, giving it structure, precepts and strength (Ritchie, 1992).

It is important to note that although Potatau and his successors were and continued to be leaders of a pan-tribal movement, they were and continue to be Rangatira in their own right, their mana accruing from “genealogy, current standing, and their ability to act as hosts for large and representative Maori gatherings” (King, 1977, p.23). Added to this were other qualities, such as skill in combat, alliances with other iwi and with Pakeha, capacity to mobilise people, and wealth (Jones, 1959). These things other iwi saw when they settled upon Potatau as the most appropriate candidate for the mantle of King. Indeed, “the chiefs who had raised him up had made him a repository for their own mana and tapu and for that of their lands, ...in turn intensifying his prestige and sacredness” (King, 1977, p.25). With Tainui iwi, Tuwharetoa and many other tribal groups in attendance, in November 2006 at Pukawa, on the southern shores of lake Taupo, history was repeated and again created. This four day event served as a memorial service (kawemate) for the recently deceased leader of the Kingitanga movement, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu; a welcoming for her son, the new Kingitanga leader, Tuheitia; and the opening of the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) ‘Nga Manunui a

Ruakapanga’, a name that captures the origins of the Tuwharetoa hapu Ngati Manunui, and remembers upon the earth and in history the raising up of Potatau as King in 1858. This form of leadership, its persistence and relevance, along with events of this nature contribute to the continuity and reinforcement of customary practices, institutions, leadership and identities.

Pai Marire

The Pai Marire movement, founded by Te Ua Haumene in the 1860’s, emerged from Taranaki and, through emissaries to other regions, rapidly took root amongst other iwi. Roger Neich writes:

Te Ua himself blended the peaceful teachings of the Bible with traditional Maori practices into a ritual that included incantations around a tall niu pole that enabled him to communicate with the gods of the Pai Marire. He taught that through this communication, Maori people would be able to set up ordered communities enjoying the benefits of European technology but without forsaking Maori autonomy. (Neich, 1993, p.110).

Pai Marire also found its way to the Waikato and was adopted by Potatau Te Wherowhero. His son, Matutaera, was baptized with the name ‘Tawhiao’ by Te Ua Haumene, the name meaning “holds the people together” (Neich, 1993, p.110). Tawhiao continued his own version of Pai Marire, “...which he called Tariao after the morning star” (King, 1977, p. 27). As did most Maori prophets who emerged in the 1860’s, Tawhiao

...absorbed and expressed an Old Testament view of himself as anointed leader of a chosen people wandering in the wilderness, but who would one day be delivered into their inheritance (King, 1977, p.27).

Most studies of New Zealand history (for example Belich, 1996; King, 2003; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990) make mention of the Pai Marire, or ‘Hauhau’ movement as it became known. There appear to be four lines of inquiry and fascination. The first is what Walker (1990) refers to as the movement’s “cultish” manifestations in the form of “gibberish like prayers” and the practice of erecting ‘niu’, a structure “rigged like the mast of a ship, and expected to be endowed with

the gift of tongues and knowledge of science” (Walker, 1990, p. 130). The second are the actions that instilled fear and hysteria into settlers and colonial forces, alike, by more determined Pai Marire followers such as Titokowaru of Ngati Ruanui, and Kereopa Te Rau of Rangiaowhia. The third were the brilliantly inventive passive resistance strategies, such as ploughing up the fields of those settlers who had wrongfully obtained land, and pulling up surveying pegs. The fourth, and perhaps most heart breaking, are the consequences meted out not only to those tribes with followers in such movements, but also to those who chose to be neutral towards colonial government and settlement. Neutrality did not guarantee anything.

The Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan faiths had done little to preserve the undisturbed possession of the enjoyment by Maori of those things that they owned. What I observe from reading about conflicts between Maori and settlers, is that missionaries appear to quite willing to desert their flock for they seem quite absent from the historic accounts (eg., Scott, 1975; Williams, Williams, & Porter, 1974). It is not surprising, then, that Maori were moved by those who prophesized the prevailing of Maori over Pakeha, rather than a good life in an afterworld, who encouraged the raising up of Maori practices and beliefs, rather than the putting aside, and who encouraged resistance and optimism, instead of submissiveness and forgiveness, in the face of adversity.

In reading of the activities of the Pai Marire movement, it is clear that their resistance strategies, however passive or violent, were in response to the ever persistent desire of settlers and government for more land (Scott, 1975). The latter not only employed strategies of invasion but hatched up various legal instruments (some still in effect) to alienate Maori from their lands. These strategies included the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, where any Maori who resisted the Crown could be constructed as a rebel and imprisoned with no right of trial. In addition, their lands and those of their tribe could be, and were, confiscated. The New Zealand Settlement Act 1863 validated the confiscation of three million acres of land and severely impacted the iwi of Taranaki and Waikato. One of the more calculating pieces of legislation was the Native Land Court Act of 1865 which was designed to determine ownership of land. If Maori did not show up to defend their title, or were unable to show up because they were deemed rebels, they lost their ownership rights. For a comprehensive review of the role of the Native Land Court in alienating Maori from their lands see Williams (1999).

Ringatu – The Upraised Hand

The founder of the Ringatu Faith, Te Kooti Rikirangi, was a land owning individual who was actively exiled and prevented from returning to his homelands. Judith Binney (1979, 1997) has written extensively about the Ringatu movement and its leaders. Te Kooti Rikirangi can be described variously as an astute entrepreneur, an innovative house and community builder, an effective guerrilla war campaigner, a song writer, a constant resistor and creative integrator of Maori and Christian belief. As with the Pai Marire movement, followers of Ringatu were inspired by Te Kooti, finding solace in his words, a hope for a better tomorrow, and a resolve to resist. On Te Kooti, as a leader, Binney (1997) writes:

As a Maori leader his was not a tribal figure. Te Kooti saw himself as one who had been rejected in his homeland, by Maori as well as by Pakeha. He lived always in exile. He was protected by many and claimed by many; but in reality belonged to no one. His relationship with Tuhoe, who gave him shelter in his time of great need and who mostly became his converts, was profound, but he also chose not to live with them despite their wishes. Probably above all other 19th-century Maori leaders, Te Kooti transcends any tribal claims (p. 6).

That he drew a following from Maori of the East Coast, Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay iwi supports the position that the Ringatu movement was pan-tribal. The formation of pan-tribal unity might be said to have been founded, firstly, by the shared incarceration of leaders of not less than 13 tribes, many converting from Pai Marire to Ringatu; secondly, by Maori resistance to land confiscation and colonial invasion, particularly in the Poverty Bay and Bay of Plenty regions; and thirdly, by a need for hope provided by prophetic leadership. Indeed, during his term of wrongful imprisonment on Wharekauri (1866-1868), Te Kooti created a religion of mercy, and of war (Binney, 1997, p.78) in turn, giving confidence and commitment to those who took up the Ringatu faith.

Te Kooti was also an active meeting house builder and urged his followers to follow the practice. Neich (1993) writes:

Ringatu has also been credited with ensuring the continuing development of the meeting house at a time when its very existence was in doubt. ...By building their 'churches' to the scale of the large Christian churches but incorporating the traditional arts of carving, painting and tukutuku, the Ringatu fused the two functions of church and meeting house into one structure serving all the needs of the community. But the Ringatu encouragement of meeting-house development went even further than this. In his efforts to bolster Maori nationalism and self-esteem, Te Kooti consciously promoted the arts of the meeting house in order to install a special sense of pride and achievement in the minds of his followers (p.115).

Te Whai-a-te Motu, opened in 1880, is a house that still stands at Mataatua at Ruatahuna in the Urewera. It memorializes what has been described as the “longest manhunt in the history of New Zealand” (Walker, 1990, p.132), that is, the pursuit through Te Urewera by government troops of Te Kooti after he and his followers escaped from Wharekauri in 1868 and exacted revenge on those who had stolen his land at Matawhero, and on those who had earlier double-crossed him, leading to his incarceration. That pursuit was particularly devastating for Tuhoe, with many killed, their villages burned and their crops destroyed as the government cruelly exercised its scorched earth policy. Although initially unwelcome, Te Kooti eventually made his home in the King Country forming a linkage that persists to this day. Te Kooti finally died in 1893, aged 61 years old, after ‘an insignificant accident’ which he long ago predicted would be the cause of his death (Binney, 1997).

There were other prophets and religious leaders who followed after Te Ua Haumene, Tawhiao and Te Kooti, like the notable Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana (1873-1939) who established the Ratana church and political party (Newman, 2006). For the purposes of this review it is sufficient to have mentioned these first three leaders to demonstrate how and why traditional Maori leadership was in transition through this period. Traditional Rangatira felt the pulse of the people and converted this energy into purpose. Unity was always a motive and contributed an additional layer to complement existing social group identities. In the face of adversity, these religions and their leaders provided strong psychological faith based survival mechanisms, affording new supports when old dreams and aspirations dimmed (Harris, 1999). These leaders responded to the presence of missionaries and settlers. They decided a place for these alien peoples and their ways within their domains.

They energetically learned about, and adapted, new technologies, new ways of learning, and new systems of justice. They invited these things into their lives and into those of their followers. This, in turn, increased their mana and the richness of their domains over those of other Rangatira. But this invitation was conditional and plainly set out within the Treaty of Waitangi. Rangatira were to retain control over their domains and their resources. When this did not occur, Rangatira and their leadership were compromised. With settlers and a settler Government becoming increasingly unreasonable, domineering, conniving and eventually inhumane in their actions, new leadership solutions were required. The context was ripe for the rise of the Kingitanga, Pai Marire and Ringatu movements and their respective leaders.

Throughout the period 1840-1890's, the differences in Maori and Pakeha understandings of the Treaty were clearly demonstrated. Rangatira and the new prophetic leaders demonstrated a clear understanding of those things promised to them and their people. They understood that Rangatira would retain their rangatiratanga over all those things within their domains (Article Two), but they would also allow for the establishment of government, laws and justice (Article One). Article Three was of little relevance as the Maori and settler worlds were still miles apart. Settlers and settler government understood the same document differently and acted accordingly, even though the terms were breached repeatedly. In their eyes, the establishment of settler government was viewed as the highest authority in the land. Any resistance by Rangatira was sufficient reason to punish and plunder, that is, to imprison or exile resistors and to confiscate their land. The authority and domains of Rangatira were to be subject to Pakeha laws, however devious or unfair. It was in the law and political process that a new form of Maori leadership was to next emerge.

Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mo koutou i muri i ahau, ko te Ture, ma te Ture ano te Ture e aki

The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law. Only the Law will correct the Law.

(Te Kooti Rikirangi, 1882, translated by Rev J.G Laughton and cited in Binney, 1997, p. 490).

Maori Social Identity pre-1900's

Before moving on, it is worthwhile reflecting on the nature of Maori social identities. In the pre-contact era, the primary unit of social organisation was the hapu – a territorial and resource holding group consisting of whanau aligned together under an eponymous ancestor symbolising their relatedness and solidarity. The hapu consisted of the allied whanau at the time of their coming together and after the decision was taken to remain together for mutual benefit. The hapu was, therefore, most likely to have come together as a concrete entity many years after the passing of the ancestor whose name the group has taken, like Ngati Manunui referred to above. For hapu members, their primary social identity would have been built around genealogical kinship relations, and the everyday activities, politics and interactions of hapu.

In the contact period, Christianity, commerce, and conflict emerged as synthesizing forces, transcending, but not eliminating, hapu identity. Hapu still remained central and essential in an environment of increased inter-hapu and inter-tribal competition, and often times warfare, for that is where the action was. Those were the groups that mattered. The small but increasing arrival of foreigners was exciting but not the major focus of ordinary hapu life.

In the colonial period, the new and ambitious settler population was quickly repositioned from the periphery to the centre of hapu and allied hapu (tribal) attention particularly as their aggressiveness, greed and violence increasingly came to be imposed on hapu and more broadly, tribal territories, resources, leadership and lives. Through this time, tribal and pan-tribal identities emerged as a counter force through political movements, like the Kingitanga, and were led by the religious leaders of the Pai Marire, Tariao, and Ringatu religions. While resistance was the response of these religious movements, other tribal groups like Ngai Tahu in the South Island had little choice but to follow the path of assimilation to the intrusive settler culture (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992); and some Te Arawa and Ngati Porou hapu, often referred to as kupapa (Maori who were loyal to the settler government), chose to work with the settler government joining with their militia (for example, Ropata Wahawaha and, the Te Arawa flying column) to fight other Maori (Cowan, 1955).

With a dispossessed and seriously depressed Maori population, a new form of Maori political leadership surfaced. The Maori university graduate emerged and quickly entered into national politics. It was probably during this time that a pan-Maori identity began to solidify, both in acceptance of new leadership models, and in reaction to continuing culture change. This was clearly a 'them' versus 'us' identity marked by defining cultural characteristics celebrated by Maui Pomare, Peter Buck and especially Apirana Ngata, a descendant and understudy of Ropata Wahawaha referred to above.

These 19th century upheavals changed the emphasis of Maori social organisation, leadership and identity. Identification with kin-related hapu and iwi still remained and served as an anchor and touch-stone for a broader pan-tribal Maori identity. However, through the 20th century, attention turned to maintaining a positive Maori identity in the face of continuous pressure to assimilate (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

Chapter Three New Leaders and Assimilation

In the 1890s, the Kotahitanga movement of the Northern tribes and the Kauhanganui of the Kingitanga set up separate Maori parliaments to discuss Maori issues and to advise and make requests to the government. These were easily ignored given the exploding numbers of settlers, dominance of Pakeha politicians and the fact that the Treaty of Waitangi had simply been rejected as irrelevant (Sheehan, 1989).

Although these Maori parliaments stopped sitting in the early part of last century, their political sentiments and aspirations continue in part, for example, with the modern day Kingitanga movement and the Maori political party. In some ways, things have not changed much. Resistance is a continuing pattern and project, one that I continue to describe below.

In the 19th century, Maori were not completely outside of the new Government and political systems. As of 1853, Maori men, like Pakeha men, provided they held an individualised title to land, were entitled to vote. Because of the custom of holding land communally, most Maori men were disqualified and, due to disillusionment with and suspicion of the system, many who could, choose not to. Indeed,

European colonists generally welcomed this state of affairs, because they did not think Maori were yet 'civilised' enough to exercise such an important responsibility. They were also worried that if large numbers of Maori were enrolled, they could 'swamp' the votes of settlers in many North Island electorates (Elections New Zealand, 2004, para 4).

Yet some politicians, for example Henry Sewell, argued that for as long as Maori were outside of the political mainstream, efforts to assimilate them would be difficult, and lasting peace between the two races an unreachable goal (Walker, 1990). In 1867, four Maori electorates were established. All Maori men over 21 were eligible to vote (and stand for Parliament) and those who held individual land titles were also allowed to vote in the European electorates. Very few Maori took part in the first elections, held in 1868, but interest began to grow in the 1870s and 1880s. Law changes in 1893 and 1896 saw the almost total separation of the Maori and European electoral systems with Maori (except 'half-castes', that is, a European

parent, and a Maori) prohibited from standing in European electorates until 1967. Only 'half-castes' were allowed to choose which seats they wished to vote in.

In contrast to Maori men, both Maori and European women were denied the vote until 1893, this being probably more of an issue for European women than for Maori women particularly after some 50 years or more of extremely aggressive land wars and laws, even though New Zealand was the first country to permit women to vote.

The separation of Maori and European electorates mirrored what had been happening in education. The 1867 Native Schools Act enabled primary schools to be established at the request of Maori communities. Many schools were established with Maori communities providing land for school activities. Interestingly, these schools were supervised by the Native Department rather than the Department of Education furthering the idea of separation. Many Maori secondary schools, for example, Te Aute College (established in 1854), were founded by the Churches specifically for Maori. At that time, secondary school education was neither free nor compulsory although some scholarships were available. Only the very fortunate gained this type of education, the majority being withdrawn from school to contribute to the subsistence economy of their own communities.

With these educational and political opportunities, the emerging 'new leaders' that Michael King writes of below found their footing.

Patterns of leadership were changing. Increasingly the way was opening for men and women with acquired vocational skills, quick wits and eloquence to make bids for community and tribal leadership against or alongside those whose claims were hereditary, especially for those who had received secondary education or trained for church ministry (King, 2003, p.327).

Indeed, the criteria for effective Maori leadership in a Pakeha defined and controlled environment were shifting.

The Young Maori Party

Since 1868 there have been four Maori electorates and corresponding seats in the House of Representatives that Maori candidates could compete for (Parliament

Visitor Services, 2004). Those who won seats in 1868 were Frederick Nene Russell (Northern Maori), John Patterson (Southern Maori), Taraha Te Moanui (Eastern Maori), and Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi (Western Maori). In 1887, James Carroll won his seat in the Eastern Maori electorate. In 1893, he subsequently, on the strength of his father's Irish ancestry, stood and won the general electorate seat for Waiapu/Gisborne which he held until 1919. Unlike the present day system where Maori can compete for both Maori and general seats, Maori were not allowed to stand for general seats until 1967.

Perhaps the most applauded Maori MP's, by Maori and Pakeha alike, were those who formed the Young Maori Party in 1897. Most were educated at Te Aute College in the 1880-90's and left the college indoctrinated with the view of Revd John Thornton, the school's headmaster, that: "When a weaker nation lives side by side with a stronger one, the weaker poorer and more ignorant one will die out if it does not emulate the stronger" (cited in King, 2003, p.329). What gave credence to his assimilationist view was the fact that in the closing years of the 1890's, the Maori population had declined so dramatically that the population was thought to be heading for extinction. Education was seen by the Young Maori Party to be the salvation of both, their own lives, and of Maori. Even before leaving Te Aute, one of the first issues they turned to was health education believing that Western medicine, hygiene and sanitation practices would stem the plague of illnesses visited upon Maori communities and break the influence of tohunga (Maori healers and spiritual leaders) (Schwimmer, 1966, p.123). During their school breaks, they visited Maori communities, educating Maori on what is now recognised as basic public health practices. The more ambitious of Thornton's pupils, Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck, went on to graduate from university with law and medical degrees.

It did not take long for them to subsequently enter into politics. Ngata was the first to enter Parliament in 1905, Buck in 1909, and Pomare in 1911 (Parliament Visitor Services, 2004). The issues of concern to them included Maori land development, health, education and the preservation of Maori cultural heritage.

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu

One of the more notable achievements of this group was the formation of Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu, the Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War. When war

broke out in 1914, Maui Pomare became the minister in charge of Maori recruitment and chaired a committee made up of other Maori MP's. Each was charged with the responsibility of recruiting able bodied Maori men from their respective districts. Most MP's experienced success in their initial recruitment activities and, subsequently, for reinforcements. Peter Buck, the Member for Northern Maori, lead by example and "was one of the first to volunteer for service and he sailed with the first contingent" (King, 1977, p.79).

Pomare, having earlier sought the support of the Kingitanga to win the Western Maori seat, collided with the Waikato leader and anti-conscription campaigner, Te Puea Herangi. Waikato's refusal to serve was a major embarrassment to Pomare and the Maori members – a reflection of "their frequent inability to win full acceptance from their own people at the community level" (King, 1977, p. 81). Confiscation grievances and Tawhiao's pacifist injunctions contributed to the stance taken by Te Puea. Indeed, "the system had given nothing when Waikato asked; why should Waikato give anything when the system made demands?" (King, 1977, p.82). That same demanding system literally carted away and imprisoned those young Waikato men who passively resisted.

Unlike other Battalions, at the behest of Maori leaders and MP's, Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu was formed mostly by Maori organised into tribal divisions. In 1915 they left as a unit and were later supplemented by reinforcements. A total of 2,227 Maori men and women served with the unit in its many forms; 336 died in active service and 734 were wounded. Members of other New Zealand units and Pakeha and Pacific Islanders who had served with them

...had discovered the Maori were like themselves, with all the strength and weaknesses that make New Zealanders New Zealanders. But this was not recognised at home, where few understood the real achievements of the New Zealand Division. They did not recognise the strengths of the bonds that had been forged among its members in those years overseas, nor did they see the Maori Pioneer Battalion for what it was: an outstanding unit, not easy to command but responsive to good leadership ...[It] was important in forcing a recognition of Maori worth on a complacent and unresponsive Pakeha society (Pugsley, 1995, p. 78).

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu had achieved Pomare's dream, even if Waikato served as a thorny reminder to tribalism, a concept that Pomare saw as a "debilitating handicap" (King, 1977, p. 80). The Pioneer Battalion had demonstrated to the world that Maori were "the racial peer of any man on earth" (cited in King, 1977, p.80) but it would seem that such was lost on those who had invaded their own homelands (Pugsley, 1995). Indeed, Maori servicemen who returned after WWI had hoped to have achieved some parity with their fellow country men. Such was not the case. The benefits of the Rehabilitation Scheme, such as assistance in farming, were reserved for Pakeha servicemen only. In this regard, Ngata never lost an opportunity to highlight the debt the country owed to Maori who had served or died in the empire's foreign war (Ngata, 1943).

The failure of Maori leaders to secure benefits for Maori servicemen reflects the vicious political and public environment they had to contend with at the time. Te Puea Herangi's earlier ironic views about foreign wars and demands of an unjust system seemed to ring true.

Ngata's legacy

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o to ao.	Grow tender shoot for the days of your world.
Ko to ringaringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha hei oranga mo to tinana.	Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha for the wellbeing of your body.
Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga o o tipuna hei tikitiki mo to mahuna.	Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.
Ko to wairua ki te Atua, nana nei nga mea katoa.	<i>Give your soul to God the author of all things.</i>

Na Apirana Ngata (cited in Walker, 2001, p. 397).

Unlike Pomare, Buck and Carroll, who manifested an ambivalent and apologist attitude towards being Maori, Ngata was far less compromising. Ngata was most adamant that Maori should retain their unique cultural heritage; be active in land development; and through education, own the world. These were the three areas where he sought to make the most impact.

Land Development

In the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Sorrenson records that Ngata's iwi of Ngati Porou, as loyalists, largely escaped the confiscation of land suffered by other iwi, but they were not immune to government legislation and policy. They had large tracts of land that could be developed but needed finance to do so. During the period 1880-1900, they leased some to Pakeha, and on the remainder had started sheep farming. They invested heavily in pasture improvement, buildings and equipment, including mechanical shearing machines. Ngata took over these initiatives from his elders and mentors, Ropata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata, and developed his own system of incorporation that kept the title of the land in tribal ownership and paid a dividend from any net profits. Ngata also experimented with the consolidation of individual fragments of land to form economic farms, run as single units, so its owners could be eligible for loans. He later developed the concept of the incorporation where communally owned land could be farmed by a manager with owners becoming share holders. So successful were these initiatives that Ngati Porou developed their own butter label – 'Nati' from their own factory and store (Walker, 2001). While overall tribal ownership of land was retained, shareholdings, rather than individual title, found currency. These could be exchanged, sold, or gifted to others (King, 2003). While the dividends paid were viewed as valuable, what was to later become of greater value was the capacity of shareholders to claim continuity with the land, and a sense of belonging.

Ngata's land development schemes were eventually formalized in 1929 when he became Native Minister. Ngata's legislative achievements in Maori land reform enabled other iwi to develop their own land schemes like those at Horohoro, Tikitere, Maketu, Waiuku, Tai Tokerau, and Te Kao. As Minister of Natives Affairs, Ngata sought to oversee the development of these initiatives and, where needed, intervened to ensure their success. For example, when Te Puea Herangi of Waikato complained to Ngata of difficulties with a Patrick Barry, a Pakeha farm supervisor for the Waiuku scheme, Ngata resolved to sack the Pakeha supervisor and appoint Te Puea in his stead. He repeated the empowerment of Maori community leaders to farm supervisors and lived with the backlash that his actions caused. By 1931 forty one schemes had been established, and by 1934, when Ngata was aged 60 years, there

were at least 79 schemes, the majority making a significant contribution to reducing Maori unemployment, relieving poverty, and giving the scheme beneficiaries a sense of tribal cohesion, achievement and pride (Walker, 2001).

While Ngata's efforts clearly increased the productivity of Maori lands and the welfare of Maori generally, his efforts were not viewed so positively by the broader public or by the Public Service, a service that was to eventually turn on Ngata. In 1934, a Commission of Inquiry was conducted into Ngata's handling of Native Affairs and his land development schemes. This inquiry, in due course, resulted in Ngata's resignation as Minister of Native Affairs in November 1934. In his biography of Ngata, Walker (2001) dedicates two chapters to the progress of the inquiry, the vilifying media attention, the indignant reaction of iwi, Ngata's defense of himself in Parliament and his perception of the inquiry as a 'witch hunt', and subsequent recommitment by him to fighting the Maori cause. Walker (2001) concludes his examination of this period of Ngata's life by writing:

The genius of Ngata survived the surrender of Ministerial office to continue his life of service to the people in other ways. More important, his genius lived on long after his demise as an inspiration to subsequent generations to continue the cultural renaissance and to aspire to education as the pathway to equality (Walker, 2001, p. 300).

Education

Without doubt, Ngata found his own education at Waiomatatini Native School, Te Aute College and Canterbury University of enormous worth and value, not just for his own personal and professional development, but vital to his "role in reviving the Maori people" in the new world (Sorrenson, 1988, p.14). Ngata considered education to be essential to succeed in the modern world and contributed enormously to the development and administration of Hukarere and Te Aute Colleges. He saw these colleges, and others, like St Stephen's, Queen Victoria, Turakina, and Hato Paora, as the training grounds for future Maori leaders who, like him, would be bicultural, and would participate in all facets of New Zealand life to improve the prosperity of their own communities.

But all was not plain sailing. Ngata noted the extent of subversion of Maori culture by a monocultural, monolingual system of education, concluding that there was nothing worse “than a person with Maori features unable to speak the Maori language” (Walker, 2001 p.222). Ngata noted the following in the report to the Young Maori Conference of 1939.

It explains the case of thousands of Maoris old and young, who entered the schools of this country and passed out with their minds closed to the culture, which is their inheritance and which lies wounded and slighted and neglected at their very door ...There are Maoris, men and women, who have passed through the whare wananga (Universities) and felt shame at their ignorance of their Native culture. They would learn it if they could, if it were available for study as the culture of the Pakeha has been ordered for them to learn. For such the journey back to the social life of the Maori is not so far, or so difficult. It is possible to compromise with it as many of us did sixty years ago, to select those elements in it which should be as satisfying and elevating as the art, crafts, the music and literature of the Pakeha, while living according to the material standards of the Pakeha and joining with him in the work of the country. It is possible to be bicultural just as bilingualism is a feature of Maori life today (p. 9).

Although Maori and Pakeha populations remained, by and large, separate from each other, Ngata was a strong advocate of integration, which flew in the face of his Pakeha contemporaries. The policies and practices in vogue at the time were those of assimilation. This perhaps explains the lack of support Ngata received in his campaign to have Maori included as a subject in the Bachelor of Arts degree, a campaign, begun in 1926, that took almost “twenty years to translate into action” (Walker, 2001, p. 224). Maori as a subject was offered first at the University of Auckland.

Cultural Heritage

As a politician, Ngata was extremely successful in the development of legislation affecting Maori land. However, along with Buck and Pomare, Ngata was also a scholar. Butterworth records that “in 1911 Pomare, Ngata and Buck had agreed to divide between them aspects of the study of Maori history and ethnology”

(Butterworth, 2003, para 29). Pomare worked on Maori cosmological stories (Pomare & Cowan, 1930), Buck on Maori material culture (for example Buck, 1962) and Ngata on the arts (see Nga Moteatea 4 volumes by Ngata, 1972 and others).

Schwimmer (1966) suggests that out of these scholarly achievements and other activities...

A somewhat romantic and idealised image of the Maori past was built up, such that it appeared admirable in European eyes and a proper object of pride for the modern Maori. This pride was encouraged by the new leaders who encouraged the fostering of this remodelled Maori culture (p. 124).

Ngata's arts programme was not simply academic, as Schwimmer suggests above; it was also intended to revive a sense of Maori pride, achievement and continuity with previous generations. Concerned with the decline of carving and associated skills, Ngata established Te Aomarama – The School of Maori Arts & Crafts based in Ohinemutu, Rotorua, under the guidance of experienced carvers and adze men from Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Tarawhai (Neich, 2001). The students and graduates of this school, and others within those communities they visited, worked on whakairo rakau, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai for whare nui, whare kai, whare karakia and school halls throughout New Zealand and further a field to places like Hawai'i, completing over 100 projects (Neich, 2001). It was a safe area to develop and met with little dominant group resistance, although Ngata at times encountered a purist attitude when attempting to integrate Maori art with European church design and Christian tradition (see Walker, 2001, pp 377-378).

These and other activities became known as “Maoritanga”, what Ritchie (1963) described as a contra-acculturative tendency. He records eight components of Maoritanga listed by Apirana Ngata. They are:

*The Maori language
The sayings of ancestors
Traditional chant songs
Posture dances
Decorative art
The traditional Maori house and marae
The body of marae custom, particularly that pertaining to tangi and the traditional welcome
The retention of the prestige and nobility of the Maori people
(Ritchie, 1963, p. 37).*

Schwimmer (1966) also notes that the ‘Maori revival’ could not have been achieved if there was not a growing material prosperity. Maori were increasingly being drawn into the rapidly expanding Pakeha economy, a century after their tipuna controlled and directed that same economy. They were also being drawn into the towns and cities that their lands had earlier been provided to found (Metge, 1964).

Of Apirana Ngata, Claudia Orange writes:

Most prominent was Apirana Ngata, MP for Eastern Maori from 1905 to 1943, who initiated government-funded development schemes for Maori land and the consolidation of land holdings into viable economic units. For the 1940 centenary, Ngata shrewdly encouraged the building of a carved meeting house at Waitangi—to be a symbol of the partnership of the two peoples in the one land (Orange, 1995, para 14).

The effect of Ngata’s work here was to focus public attention on Waitangi and on the Treaty. February 6 has eventually become New Zealand’s national day and a public holiday. On the one hand, February 6 provides an opportunity for the expression of national identity, and, from a Maori standpoint, an opportunity to shake in front of the Government and the nation, the forever growing list of treaty breaches and broken promises.

By no means was the Treaty of Waitangi forgotten during their time. While Ngata, Pomare and Buck were active on the national scene, they were constantly reminded of, and pressured by, tribal leaders and communities whose dispossession, as a result of resisting colonial invasion was a raw everyday reality. One hundred years after its signing, the Treaty of Waitangi still lived, despite various petitions to the Crown to honour its Treaty guarantees. It was a bitter reminder of settler and government treachery and greed, yet it was also a focus of Maori hope for Maori autonomy, self-determination, and redress (Ritchie, 1992). These things became the catch cry of protest movements of the late 20th century. Yet, Ngata and Maori leaders of his time had already discovered the Treaty as a leverage point way before them.

Ngata, Pomare and Buck were some of the more fortunate graduates of Te Aute College to benefit from professional tertiary training in turn going on to occupy

national positions of leadership holding mostly Pakeha defined Maori portfolios – that is, they were handed (and wanted) what might be described as the ‘Maori problem’. They sought to address this challenge by harnessing the strengths of a Maori people who in the face of extreme spiritual and material hardship responded by taking advantage of:

1. the health and hygiene practices advocated by the Young Maori Party, and Maori health officers;
2. the political and legal instruments that Ngata put in place for land development
3. the strength and unity that continued to be found in hapu and iwi leadership;
4. practices, activities and events that strengthened tribal cohesion as well as shared Maori cultural identities; and
5. mass education.

While some positive achievements were realised by taking advantage of those things listed above, Maori cultural and social institutions, practices and identities were not immune to an active government philosophy and settler expectation of assimilation. This policy sought to detach Maori from their lands, to usurp and replace Maori institutions of education, health, justice, social organisation and leadership, and to churn out a placid and agreeable English speaking underclass for an increasingly industrialized society. While many resisted, and continue to do so, many succumbed to assimilation and got on with life in a new society choosing to adopting English as the language of the future, rugby, hockey and netball as the new contests of strength and vitality, suburbia as a location for anonymity, and individualised labour settings, for example factories, as a pathway to independence from Maori social obligations and responsibilities. The ordinary, mundane daily customs of Maori life and living were shifting and changing.

Chapter Four Urbanisation

The emptying of rural tribal areas, and the flood of Maori to towns and cities that began in the 1930's, has been repeatedly described as extremely rapid (Durie, 1998b; King, 2003; Metge, 1964; Pool, 1991; Schwimmer, 1968a; Walker, 1990). The Government of the day was unprepared for it, and Pakeha urban dwellers, particularly landlords, did not like it (Wanhalla, 2007). Many new migrants ended up swamping the homes of relatives who had moved before them, or occupying dwellings and sometimes slums (Schrader, 2005) that no one else wanted (King, 1991). By and large, Pakeha and Maori, even though co-existing in the same country for over a century, had lived in separate realities and experienced very limited interaction. The process of industrialization and the two World Wars rapidly change this situation.

Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945

The two World Wars in the first half of the 20th century further opened Maori to the world. For 100 years, the world had been steadily arriving in New Zealand, but only a few Maori were gaining a first hand experience of foreign places and peoples. The Wars gave Maori the opportunity to travel overseas. Most Maori would have known of people who left for the Wars, and would have listened keenly to radio transmitted news, read newspapers or shared letters from abroad. Many would have encountered servicemen from other nations, particularly Americans, who were based in New Zealand between 1942 and 1944 (Swarbrick, 2006). For those who remained at home, the Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) became a significant structure through which to make a meaningful local contribution to a global activity – World War II.

Many authors who have written about Maori politics, autonomy and self-determination (Durie, 1998a; Pearson, 1990; Walker, 1990) have skimmed over the activities of the MWEO choosing, instead, to focus more on urbanisation, Maori tribal committees, Maori Wardens or Welfare officers, or the plight of the leaders of the 28th Maori Battalion on their return to peace time activities. While these activities are of interest, the rapid formation and effectiveness of the MWEO appears

quite remarkable and deserves closer inspection, particularly as it seems to have been the 'last chance' that any government ever had, to easily harness the energies and possibilities of tribal organisation, self-management and advancement.

The protective functions that tribalism plays in the life of the group and individual are reflected in the continued persistence of tribal membership. Of these protective functions, Ritchie (1992) writes that tribes:

...conserve culture. They have provided a psychological sheet anchor for the identity of hundreds of thousands of people through deeply troubled times. They are a means to get things done, to mobilise Maori energy, to solve problems (p.115).

WWII was one such troubled time. The War brought about not only a demand for service men and women, but a labour demand in essential industries. Identifying Maori eligible for war-related service was made difficult since official systems, like the Maori electoral roll and social security registrations, were seriously incomplete. The Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) was approved by the New Zealand government on the 3rd June 1942. The organization was instituted to help overcome the aforementioned hurdles and to facilitate military recruitment and war-related service. As a result of political inadequacy and miscommunication (King, 2003), conscription was not imposed on Maori but low enlistments, particularly from districts earlier impacted by land confiscations, like the Waikato, were noted (Walker, 2001). Paraire Paikea, Chair of the Maori Parliamentary Committee who devised the MWEO, won favour with Maori by stressing the organisation's short and long-term political potential, particularly with regard to Maori leadership and tribal-governance (Orange, 2003).

The MWEO successfully demonstrated capacity for tribal leadership, autonomy and collaboration as well as human resource mobilisation and management. According to Orange (2003) the country was divided into 21 zones and 315 tribal committees were formed with one or two members from each committee participating in one of 41 executive committees that approximated iwi boundaries (Ritchie, 1992). Coordination of committee activities was assisted by the appointment of Maori recruiting officers, selected by the executive committees.

The Maori parliamentary committee insisted that the MWEO follow Maori custom in the selection of 20 Maori recruiting officers to help coordinate the activities of its committees. In July 1942 Cabinet agreed that this principle of tribal leadership should be extended to territorial units in New Zealand and to the Home Guard (p.307).

The advice of tribal committees was sought on all manner of things including education, health and welfare issues, particularly as Maori flooded into factories based in towns and cities (Walker, 1990). Tribal committees were also charged with encouraging local food production and the responsibility for registration of Maori for war-related service. The tribal committees could enforce registration and recommend the type and locality of employment. They also handled a range of organisational issues: employer–employee relationships, absenteeism, and finding workers (Orange, 2003).

The War came to an end, and eventually, so did the MWEO. The organisation had been too effective and had spawned fears of Maori nationalism (Orange, 2003). The Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 swallowed the tribal and executive committees into the Department of Native Affairs but excluded any specific provision for Maori leadership or tribal organization, instead, turning former Commanders of the 28th Maori Battalion, and other exceptional war time leaders into Native Welfare officers and Land Court clerks.

Of Maori tribalism and Maori nationalism, Ritchie (1992) observes a:

...pervasive and deep seated Pakeha wariness about it, in varying degrees from outright antagonism to vague unease. Muddlement arises when, in the minds of some, tribalism is equated with notions of racial purity. The confusion is compounded when pro-tribal advocacy gets equated with racism or reverse-racism, anti-colonialism and anti-white attitudes, apartheid or romantic, idealistic desires to turn back the clock (pp 114-115).

It is therefore unsurprising that once the MWEO's system of tribal organisation, leadership, monitoring and enterprise had served its purpose, those same attitudes described by Ritchie, rose again to prevail in national politics and society, and in urban settings to where Maori were flooding.

City lights

Metge (1964) records that, in 1936, there were about 10,000 Maori living in urban regions, making up about 13% of the Maori population. In 1951 there were 27,000 Maori living in urban regions, making up 23% of the Maori population. By 1981, 80% of Maori were living in urban regions (Metge, 1995). In one generation New Zealand experienced the sudden emptying of its Maori communities from their rural homelands into towns and cities. Nobody was really prepared for this sudden rush and the factors that contributed to it are worth noting.

Maori had experienced a century and more of complex land legislation designed to separate Maori from their land. Land confiscation, dubious dealings of the Native Land Court, long term land leases for pitiful return, particularly in the South Island and Taranaki regions, a reluctance by lending institutions to give mortgages over land in multiple ownership, these things all had a toll. Dispossession bit hard. The land that remained was seriously fragmented. In spite of Ngata's influence, political contribution and success on his own Ngati Porou tribal farms and Incorporations, land continued to be alienated from tribal ownership. The harsh reality was that the remaining tribal land base could not support even a small population (Belshaw, 1940), let alone one that was to more than double in size between 1936 and 1961, mostly by natural increase but aided by a decreasing mortality rate, particularly infant mortality (McCreary, 1968).

In a country that was becoming increasingly industrialised, many Maori were directed by the MWEO to work in essential industries in the towns and cities but many moved of their own accord, some attracted by higher wages and some simply by the availability of work (Metge, 1964). Exposure to a lifestyle, different to that in their rural homelands, with more diverse social activities were for some, simply irresistible (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). This first ripple of urban migration set off during the World War I & II period, generating a 'snowball effect', with relatives and friends encouraging those at 'home' to move. Some moved for professional training opportunities like teaching while others took advantage of 'on the job' training, and later, the Maori Trade Training Scheme and other educational opportunities. Of course, some moved to simply escape or avoid conflicts at home particularly as housing, work, and access to subsistence resources became increasingly scarce (Hohepa, 1964; Metge, 1964; Ritchie, 1963). Joan Metge (1964)

in her study of Maori migration during the 1950s, summarises the characteristics of Maori migrants of this time in the following way.

The city attracted as immigrants a high proportion of country Maoris who were: (a) between the years of sixteen and thirty, and especially those who were unmarried, both male and female; (b) unskilled and un- or under-employed; (c) well-educated or interested in occupations for which there was little scope in the country; (d) eager for adventure and new experience; (e) social misfits or delinquent. As a result, the urban Maori group was imbalanced by a preponderance of adults in those age-groups which have the highest crime-rates in all societies and were associated in Maori society in particular with an emphasis on good-time patterns and individual autonomy. In comparison, elders were few (Metge, 1964, p. 251).

Of Maori urban residents, Metge (1964) records the generally held view by Maori elders and broader Pakeha society, that Maori migrants would lose their attachment to traditional values and patterns of behaviour and would become assimilated to Pakeha ways. Social disorganisation, with increases in marital instability, and in crime and delinquency, were viewed by them and New Zealand society generally, as the consequences of Maori urbanisation.

While elders may have dreaded the assimilation of Maori to Pakeha ways, it might be said that Pakeha dreaded the encroachment by Maori into Pakeha towns and city life. Maori migrants smashed straight into blatant, and not so blatant, Pakeha prejudice. Some “Maori were refused service in hotels, accommodation and employment on the grounds of their race” (Sheehan, 1989, p.34). In 1956, James Ritchie and colleagues at Victoria University attempted to research the nature of prejudice in New Zealand (Ritchie, 1964b). Of the participants in their study, they found that some (10-15%) were so deeply prejudiced they would act in a discriminatory manner, but most simply wanted to avoid the issue. As Ritchie commented

They thought that Maori were just part of history, losing their separate identity through inter-marriage and assimilation, that Maori culture was no longer viable or real, and that this general decline would decline until being Maori ceased to be important (Ritchie, 1992, p. 194).

Emigration

Although not as rapid as the internal migration of Maori from rural areas into towns and cities, Maori were also travelling and emigrating to countries much further field from New Zealand. Makareti Papakura of Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, first travelled to London when she led a Maori cultural group to the Festival of Empire celebrations in 1911 (Papakura, 1986). Later, in 1912, after marrying an Englishman, she settled in Oddington, enjoyed travelling in Europe and relished the intellectual stimulation of Oxford University. She returned to New Zealand for a brief visit and passed away in 1930. Makareti is buried in a small church cemetery at Oddington. She neither was not the first or the only one to tour Maori cultural groups to destinations around the world nor was she the first to be attracted by further education offered by higher learning institutions abroad, or to be fascinated by the exotic experiences of Europe and other places. These same things, along with a love of anthropology, had attracted Peter Buck into the Pacific and eventually to Hawai'i in 1927 where he worked for the remainder of his life (Condliffe, 1971). Following his death in 1950, his cremated remains were returned from Hawai'i to his home at Okoki, Taranaki.

Membership of religious groups like the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) facilitated travel for Maori as missionaries to places in the Pacific and further a field to Salt Lake City, Utah, and other places in the USA. For example, Koziol (2003) writes of Hirini Whaanga Christy of Ngati Rakaipaaka and Ngati Kahungunu, who, in 1894, travelled to Utah with his grandparents and other relatives. While Hirini attended university, his grandparents worked in the Salt Lake City Temple recording and affirming iwi genealogies. Many others of the LDS Church have since made and continue to make journeys to LDS centres around the world.

While Maori certainly travelled to Northern Hemisphere destinations, Sydney, Australia has remained the most favoured destination. By contrast, it is closer, cheaper, and perhaps more familiar in that the general flow of people between countries is much greater than other places (Lowe, 1990).

Life in the Cities

When Maori moved into urban areas, they did not just arrive with a suitcase of belongings and aspirations for a better life; they also brought their culture and sense of being Maori with them, albeit in an often hostile city environment.

I became a member of Ngati Poneke and was enjoying my new-found happiness. I will always be Ngati Poneke until I die. I owe the club so much – for its protection; for the joyous things we did together; and for the warmth I never got anywhere else. We hung onto each other. It was our whanau. Ngati Poneke was our turangawaewae, our rock and strength, our protection. Without it we would have gone around like people with no heads. We'd have been lost. At Ngati Poneke I could stop pretending. 'No body can touch me here', I thought. It was our Maori house, where I could be where I belonged. I was a different person away from Ngati Poneke. As soon as I was out those doors I put my iron coat on (Mihipeka Edwards in Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001, p. 90).

Ritchie (1992) records that Ngati Poneke of Wellington had its genesis in the 1930's when Apirana Ngata and a team of carvers and weavers from the East Coast went to Wellington to decorate the Maori Affairs room in Parliament Buildings. Looking after the team was a challenge as the few Maori, and tangata whenua who were in Wellington were scattered all over the district. While tangata whenua groups had their own patterns of interacting and finding each other, many new arrivals connected with other Maori in Wellington through monthly attendance at what they called the 'mission' – St Thomas's Anglican church in Newtown (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). Eventually, the newcomers and tangata whenua groups decided

That there needed to be a regular meeting-place, a welcoming place – a marae – for the city. So they formed themselves into a synthetic tribe, Ngati Poneke. Among other things they set about fund-raising with a concert party (Ritchie, 1992, p.15).

Of the original members of Ngati Poneke, their memories, experiences, circumstances and reasons for moving have been recorded in a recent publication by Grace, Ramsden and Dennis (2001) titled 'The Silent Migration – Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948'.

...migrants were an average age of seventeen years old when they began their journeys from home. ...By the time of the 1945 census the Maori population of Wellington City was still 780. The total population of the city was 123,771 people (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001, p.1)

The overwhelming sense that one gleans from reading the accounts recorded by Grace et al (2001), of early movers to Wellington is one of young people, still in their teens, leaving rural kainga and small townships, and arriving in Wellington with very little money, few belongings and limited skills. Some were fortunate enough to connect with family and friends, both Maori and Pakeha, and to find accommodation and work. But there was also a different set of Maori who had come to Wellington as politicians and public servants, and might be described as belonging not only to a Maori social elite, but to Wellington high society. And there were those few who were furthering their education at training college and university.

The Wellington region was not simply waiting for rural Maori migrants to arrive. There were long established Maori communities of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa around which the urban environment had either grown around or displaced, for example, those kainga of Porirua, Kaiwharawhara, Kumutoto, Nga Uranga, Pipitea, Piti-one, Te Aro, and Waiwhetu (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001). Ngati Poneke did not displace these tangata whenua kainga; rather, it would seem that Ngati Poneke developed as a city focus for all Maori and relied upon reciprocal relationships with, and the goodwill of, tangata whenua groups.

Ngati Poneke seems to have afforded its members a bubble of protection – a ‘culture space’ that engendered a sense of confidence to confront the lonely, strange and often racist realities of city life. It brought Maori into contact with other Maori who were enduring the same conditions. It gave them companionship, news, information, memorable experiences, social networks, support and excitement. Ritchie (1992) and the foundation members of Ngati Poneke (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001) all record the exhilaration of Ngati Poneke dances, visits by politicians – Maori and Pakeha – the privilege of entertaining dignitaries, and the anguish of fare welling, and joy of welcoming home, military service men and women. Haka party performances, sporting exchanges, picnics and excursions to various marae and hui made Ngati Poneke known way beyond the Wellington region.

Although Ngati Poneke claimed to be non-tribal, the reality was that tribal identity and social networking were perhaps its strongest assets aside from people.

But I soon realised that no one left behind their tribal identity and that, within the structure of the club, tribal affiliation was one of the most important internal networks – one from which, by blood, I had to accept exclusion. However much accepted, I was still, in that sense, manuhiri (Ritchie, 1992, p.18).

While, tribal identity may have been important, it also appears that whanau identity and networks were equally important. Whanau names like Tahiwī, Love, Pomare, Jones, Ngata, Carroll, Broughton, Mitchell, Potiki, Smiler and Ramsden are still well known names associated with Maori families and individuals, even today.

While members enjoyed the culture space, support structure and networking system of Ngati Poneke, not all Maori who migrated to Wellington became part of Ngati Poneke. Perhaps it was perceived as too Maori, too regimented, too disciplined, too Pakeha, not Maori enough, or as simply being ‘those city Maori’. Alternatively, those of Ngati Poneke, and of other Maori clubs and associations, like the Maramatanga Maori (Catholic) Club, or the Maori Club at Petone, may have simply been the lucky ones, as the work of Mairatea Tahiwī (nee Pitt) suggests.

Mairatea Tahiwī in writing of her experiences in Grace et al (2001) tells of her work as a voluntary census officer in the Wellington region. Her job was to track down as many migrant Maori women as she could and record their name and tribal affiliation. While not her brief, she also noted their living circumstances, and, as a nurse, could not help but recognise various health ailments. She looked for Maori women in tearooms, restaurants, factories, and out on the streets. What she found was grim. Some Maori women, often with their children, were living in very crowded situations often in slums, sometimes in houses of ‘ill repute’, suffering from venereal disease and other ailments, and many were not in work. Mairatea’s work resulted in a letter signed by Fred Katene of the then Native Department to the Hon P. K. Paieka (16 November 1942). Katene’s recommendation to Paieka was the appointment of female welfare officers to the Native Department who, in turn, would attempt to deal with those circumstances afflicting Maori migrant women through the system of tribal committees. The advocated solution was clearly a tribal response to

an urban problem. The problems highlighted by Mairatea in the Wellington region became the genesis of the Maori Women's Welfare League – a national organisation, organised to harness the power and autonomy of tribalism in the same way as the MWEO (Szaszy, Rogers, & Simpson, 1993).

It is important to point out that the challenges that Maori migrants had to face in finding work, accommodation and in dealing with the Pakeha dominated culture space of towns and cities, was not unique to the Wellington region. Neither were the developments of clubs and associations like Ngati Poneke. Maori migrants to Auckland faced the same challenges and developed similar 'club' and 'social network' like responses, for example, the Auckland City Mission, and of course sports clubs.

Detribalisation

Before moving on, one important concept needs consideration as it a central part of assimilationist thinking through the 1800's and best part of the 1900's. Ralph Piddington (1968) reviews the concept of detribalisation, a term first used to "describe the initial effects of the impact of European influences on primitive peoples" (p.257). Detribalisation results in:

Marked conflicts and tensions within the community, the disintegration of indigenous authority, the weakening of traditional sanctions to morality and the breakdown of tribal institutions generally (Piddington, 1968, p. 257)

While these outcomes may be heralded as signs of a detribalised group, Piddington (1968) poses the question – detribalised from what, and to what? Earlier writers, according to Piddington, saw the following as the goal of detribalization.

To a form of socio-economic organisation similar to our own, and lacking any of the fundamental features of the pre-European culture which it will replace (p. 258).

Piddington (1968) sees this conclusion as too simplistic. From Piddington's perspective, culture change implies 'disorganisation', that is, that a culture group "has changed and is changing" (p. 258). The negative slant placed on the term

‘disorganised’, is viewed by Piddington as “obscuring the possibility that, in spite of manifest changes, positive processes of cultural development and reintegration may be at work” (p.258).

The need for and development of institutions like Ngati Poneke clearly illustrate what I think Piddington refers to as reintegration. While Ngati Poneke had a non-tribal charter, it was clearly organised along hapu lines, stratified with rangatira, kaumatua and rangatahi. Rules, expectations and standards were clear and members were admonished if they acted in a contrary fashion (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001; Ritchie, 1992). It would seem that Ngati Poneke, while not a traditional hapu, carried a name akin to a hapu/iwi, and provided its members with those benefits (and disadvantages) that they might have expected from belonging to a hapu, albeit in a modernised and urbanised form. Even so, members of Ngati Poneke still retained their tribal identities, a fact that Ritchie (1992) was well aware of.

The same pattern is evident in the later proliferation of urban marae across all major cities and towns in New Zealand from about the 1960s and 70s onwards. For example, Nga Hau e Wha in Christchurch, Kirikiriroa in Hamilton, Mataatua in Rotorua, Hoani Waititi in Waitakere, Te Kotuku in Te Atatu, Awataha Marae on the North Shore, Te Piringatahi o Te Maungarongo in West Harbour, Mataatua in Mangere, and Tira Hou in Panmure. While individual members of these urban hapu still retain both strong and sometimes tenuous links to traditional hapu and iwi their changing circumstances have demanded creative adaptations to new environments and situations.

Although the charge of artificiality may be levelled at these urban hapu and marae, this may be countered by looking at how hapu were traditionally constituted. As mentioned earlier, hapu were founded upon the desire of whanau to coexist together for mutual benefit; that is, for the benefits of a common and protective culture space, a sense of solidarity, enhanced social support and networking, leadership and representation, and a sense of rangatiratanga; of being self-determining and in charge of their own destiny in an urban environment.

The Maori rush to urban settings in search of work or higher wages undoubtedly reflected an understanding and adoption of a new socio-economic system. But to say that these migrants were totally devoid of any “fundamental features of a pre-European culture” (Piddington, 1968, p. 258) is arrogant and ignorant of Maori having always been active participants in their process of culture

change, this subject being a topic of underlying interest in the next section on understanding Maori social identities.

Chapter Five New Zealand Scholarship: Approaches to Understanding Maori Social Identities

The academic literature that addresses Maori social identities can be organised around three ‘strands’ advanced by the work and influence of three academic giants: Ernest Beaglehole (1906-1965) who, in the tradition of the Culture and Personality Movement established in New Zealand the fields of psychological anthropology or ethnopsychology; Ralph Piddington (1906-1974) who led the development of social anthropology and Maori Studies at Auckland University, and, more recently, the Professor of Maori Studies at Massey University, Mason Durie, who has become a renowned advocate of Maori health and development. These three academics, their graduates, and academic associates have significantly influenced the emergence of what I see as the most meaningful and relevant studies of Maori social identity.

Psychological anthropology

While the career of Ernest Beaglehole and his influence over the development of psychology in New Zealand has been briefly documented by Jane and James Ritchie (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998, 2003) a comprehensive biography remains to be completed. It is from those articles written by the Ritchies that the following sketch on Beaglehole is drawn.

Ernest Beaglehole was formally trained in psychology at Victoria University College, Wellington, but his early fieldwork was definitely ethnographic in nature. After completing his doctorate at the London School of Economics, he later studied with Edward Sapir, the founder of psychological anthropology, and became excited by the work of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and others of the culture and personality movement. He found a balance between his formal psychological training and the fieldwork opportunities that were presented to him and to his linguistically gifted wife, Pearl. Between them, they completed fieldwork drawing on the American cultural anthropology tradition that looked first at custom and then sought the motives which led to various practices. They worked amongst the Pueblo Indians of north-eastern Arizona (Beaglehole, 1936), the atoll-dwellers of Pukapuka

in the Cook Islands (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938), in Pangai in Tonga (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1941), in modern communities in Hawai'i (Beaglehole, 1937) and New Zealand (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). After pursuing his Pacific interests, Beaglehole returned to Victoria University College where, in 1937, he took up a senior lecturer post in mental and moral philosophy. In 1948, he was appointed to the chair of psychology and philosophy, becoming the first professor of psychology in New Zealand.

Theoretically and methodologically, Beaglehole was greatly influenced by the culture and personality studies. Scholars in this movement employed a diverse range of theories and techniques including ethnography, projective personality tests, comparative studies and life histories (Ingham, 1996). Their approach to research was characterised mainly by their ethnographies of cultural groups within which they observed, inquired, described and measured as much as they possibly could with the view to reaching a

holistic understanding of a given way of life in relation to the ideal personality that seemed to be most valued by the culture, whether this ideal was a calm, cooperative and self-effacing person; a sly, suspicious, and self-aggrandizing individual; or a proud, violent type (Bock, 2000, p.33).

The results of their efforts, especially their ethnographic work, were extremely detailed rich portrayals of the lives and communities of those under focus. Levine (2001), however, points out that, from its early beginnings the culture and personality field was “deeply divided” and “had no orthodox viewpoint, or centralized leadership, or coherent training programme or centre” (p. 808). LeVine (2001, p.808) suggests that most participants in the culture and personality movement would probably have agreed with the three following propositions.

1. All adult behaviour is “culturally patterned”;
2. Childhood experience, also culturally patterned, has a long-term influence on adult personality;
3. Adult personality characteristics prevalent in a community have an influence on its culture, institutions, patterns of social change, and forms of psychopathology.

These propositions are readily apparent in those early New Zealand studies conducted by the Beagleholes in Kowhai in the 1940's and with their students in Rakau in the 1950's. They took the thinking and approaches in vogue at the time and applied them to the task of understanding what they called "Maori character structure", that is, "that organization of needs and emotions in the life of the Maori which provides the psychological basis for the adaption of the individual to the demands of Maori social life" (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946, p. xix).

It is important to point out that the studies of Kowhai and Rakau were completed at a time when the culture and personality field was coming under increasing scrutiny, eventually resulting in various guiding assumptions of the field being rejected. These assumptions and their rejection are summarized by Bock (2000, p. 33) below.

1. The continuity assumption held that childhood experience led to predictable adult characteristics and thus to cultural patterns, neglecting negative evidence.
2. The uniformity assumption led students to find one-to-one relationships between personality type and culture, ignoring variability within societies.
3. The causal assumption often inferred personality and cultural variables from the same data, leading to circular reasoning.
4. The projective assumption placed excessive faith in Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) results, ignoring difficulties of translation and interpretation.
5. The objectivity assumption permitted anthropologists to ignore their own racism and ethnocentrism, leading in many cases to biased results.

While these criticisms can be levelled at the work of Beaglehole and his students, the Kowhai and Rakau studies remain as major ethnographic works that are seldom referred to today. Indeed, contemporary scrutiny (Stewart, 1997) with the arrogant benefit of hindsight has simply dismissed these studies without inquiring of the detail that they present. I now turn briefly to look at each of these studies in turn, to see what can be learned of Maori social identities.

The Kowhai Study

Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole report their research in Kowhai in their book titled *Some Modern Maori* (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). While expedient at the time to disguise the location of this community, we now know that Kowhai was a pseudonym for Otaki (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998), a small town situated north of Wellington and south of Levin in the Kapiti region. *Some Modern Maori* is a candid if not blunt description of life in a depressed Maori community undergoing extremely rapid change. The Beagleholes wrote of what we might now view as a culture of poverty, of a community struggling to retain a sense of identity as they went about the fundamental daily tasks of finding shelter, food and meaningful social relations. They also wrote of a people under going what I suspect David Ausubel (Ausubel, 1960) would describe as a great deal of ‘acculturative stress’, that is, pressure to assimilate to Pakeha lifestyles. Indeed, the modal Kowhai Maori was described in the following way.

Works for a living at a Pakeha occupation, lives in a Pakeha style house, sleeps in a bed, eats many Pakeha foods, wears Pakeha-style clothes, is familiar with the telephone, telegrams, taxis, and electricity, uses European calendar, observes the Sabbath, can recite church prayers, is baptized, married, and dies with rites of the church (p.270).

This description was probably true of most Maori living in similar types of communities. However, the Beagleholes in their chapter on ‘Being a Maori’ noted a great variety of persistent patterns that still concern Maori today. Below, I briefly review the patterns identified by them with a specific interest in recognising those patterns relevant to understanding Maori social identities.

Language and middle-generation anxiety

The Beagleholes noted an anxiety amongst the ‘middle generation’, those who are usually parents, are middle-aged, and poised to be handed role responsibilities related to customs associated with the marae, and with kaumatua status. They were anxious about learning te reo Maori and those customary practices associated with the marae and other rites. From what the Beagleholes have described, we can learn a number

of things. First, is the continuing expectation held by those generations above and below the middle-generation to move up to eventually take on those leadership and guidance roles expected of older tribal members in an age stratified culture group. Second, is the brave recognition by some of the middle-generation of the need to take steps to ensure that they are adequately prepared for such responsibilities. The last thing we learn about Kowhai Maori and Maori language is that at the time of the study (1940's) English had become the language of everyday life with Maori increasingly viewed as a dying language aside from its formal ritualistic function on the Marae. The challenge for the middle-generation was to grasp hold of their hereditary language and customs in the absence of readily accessible Maori language and culture spaces and formal learning programmes and in an attitudinal environment where English was considered the language of the future.

Attitudes to Authority

I think the Beagleholes missed something when they went in search of Maori leadership and authority in Kowhai. It seems like they were looking for a 'super-leader' in the educated and privileged mould of those early Maori Parliamentarians like Ngata, Buck and Pomare. In any case, they did not find what I think they were looking for. Instead, if one reads the detail, what they observed is a leadership and authority style of 'convenience', if you like, a pragmatic leadership style that was found, or appeared, when it was needed. While the 'packaging' of leadership may not have met all the characteristics (age, knowledge, genealogy, language, wisdom) that Maori in Kowhai may have desired, the fact that they had someone to line up behind, or to seek wisdom from, or to discuss genealogy with when the need arose, is possibly more significant.

The Beagleholes do not discuss the absence of people who may have provided tribal leadership. Te Rangihiroa Buck, in his foreword to 'Some Modern Maoris' was also critical of this observed lack of leadership. Indeed, the refurbishing of the carved whare whakairo called Raukawa in 1936 as part of Ngata's carving revival programme (Walker, 2001) should have acted as a strong signal of community coherency and leadership. Moreover, that the town of 'Kowhai' is presently home to Te Wharewananga o Raukawa, a contemporary tribally focused university, is also testimony to cycles in tribal leadership.

A sense of belongingness

The Beaglehole's descriptions of life in Kowhai show a clear awareness on the part of informants that, for them, Kowhai provided what Hay (1998a) has described as 'a rooted sense of identity' – a type of identity that results from people being less residentially mobile and often tied to the land through ancestry and/or family farms. Hay (1998a) writes that a "Maori sense of place was based more on their cosmology and culture, which rooted them to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally" (p.245).

In their examination of tribal cohesion, the Beagleholes described a squabbling and feuding community, its sense of cohesion and integration threatened by gossip and petty differences. Recent theorising suggests that the primary function of telling rumors, gossip and urban legends is not to simply impart information to a listener but to entertain or keep the listener's attention, thereby enhancing social relationships (Guerin & Miyazaki, 2004). Indeed, the Beagleholes' observation that these differences were put aside when greater things were at stake takes on a different meaning. Gossip served to maintain social relationships, the possibility of a socially cohesive response occurring becoming not so rare, particularly in the case of preserving hapu or iwi mana, and especially in the case of tribal rivalry. It is frustrating that, aside from research supporting claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, few contemporary day researchers choose to investigate the inter-tribal and inter-hapu dynamics that create and sustain internal group cohesion and identity.

Being Maori

The Beaglehole's summary of being Maori in Kowhai is interesting as it may well read as a description of many contemporary day Maori rural communities. Of course, some things have changed, but many of the values and patterns of community living still remain. With the move by Maori to more urbanised settings, these same values and patterns are still held but enacted differently, albeit in a modernised and adapted form. Moreover, while the Beagleholes write of the detail of being Maori, the broader values framework developed by their student James Ritchie (1992) can

be readily applied to highlight an emerging pattern of culture. As I will refer to this framework later, a look at the detail described by the Beagleholes is worthwhile.

Being a Maori obviously means many things to different Kowhai Maoris. To one it may mean having an old grandmother, tattooed on lips and chin, a pipe held uneasily between her yellow broken teeth but always indulgent and helpful in time of need. To another it may mean lending your bicycle a second time to the same man even though on the first occasion he left it carelessly in a ditch and you had to spend the morning repairing it before you could get belatedly to work. To a third it may mean an uneasy familiarity with spirits and ghosts and an underlying fear of sorcery. To a fourth it may mean having dreams in which your father figures prominently, letting you know that something is wrong, someone is going to die, or that sickness and evil are brewing. To others it may mean being sensitive to the criticism of friends so that their friendliness, the agreeableness are what you value above all things. To all, however, so long as you think of yourself as specifically Maori, it means belonging still to a social life that supports in a very positive fashion such values as those we have mentioned: easy-goingness, mutual help in time of trouble, the bearing of many economic responsibilities co-operatively, enjoyment of rhythm, dancing, laughter, and friendliness (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946, p. 297-298).

Maori Thinking of Pakeha

The Beagleholes described in some detail how their Maori informants saw their interactions with Pakeha living in their community, or with Pakeha they came in contact with in their daily interactions. Informants demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of discrimination by Pakeha employers and Police. They noted the lack of meaningful interaction between Maori and Pakeha households. They described the way that Pakeha men sexualised Maori women. They analysed the more economically powerful position that Pakeha occupied in their environment. How Maori informants thought of Pakeha and their impact on Kowhai Maori was undoubtedly political, sophisticated and sharp which should not be surprising considering the preceding 100 years of colonisation. Indeed, more recent research on the effects of colonisation and discrimination point to non-dominant group members developing a heightened sense of awareness and sensitivity to discriminatory

stressors (Feagin, 1991). This sensitivity allows non-dominant group members to respond to discriminatory stressors in ways that are self-preserving (Breakwell, 1988). It is a shame that the Beagleholes did not analyse in more depth the dominant group influences upon Maori and Maori responses to it.

Some Modern Maoris provides a rare insight into the life of a Maori community under going significant change. There are few other studies like it. The detail is rich, entertaining, at times baffling but always begging the contemporary reader to ask more questions. While the content examines some processes relevant to understanding Maori social identities in Kowhai, the obvious information available for my purposes is limited. What is relevant and important is the Beagleholes underlying rationale about how Maori come to have a particular “Maori character structure”. Clearly they believed that culture is learned, something that most contemporary social scientists agree upon (Harris, 1983). We come to have culture through the processes of enculturation. Parents, grandparents, uncles, aunties and peers are key transmitters of culture, and Maori social identities, that is, whanau, hapu and iwi are encouraged and supported by those processes.

Te Rangihiroa left New Zealand in 1927 and had only returned on two occasions prior to 1945. His foreword to ‘Some Modern Maoris’ indicated that he was disturbed by some of the observations, conclusions and recommendations made by the Beagleholes. For example, he was disturbed to learn that some Pakeha businessmen were allowed to engage in ritual of welcome as orators. He disagreed with the idea that Kowhai Maori were ‘forever using money to buy security within their tribe’. He believed that Maori children should attend schools where they were in the majority to better guide them towards Pakeha cultural standards, a view informed by his own attendance at Te Aute College. He supported the idea of working with 18 to 30 year olds to improve parenting, that is, enculturation skills, but did not support the view that a complete change over to a Pakeha character structure was desirable. He still valued tribal loyalty, the marae, the meeting house, and the tangi as measures of self-respect and felt that there was a place for Pakeha culture to learn from Maori.

Rakau Studies

While the Rakau studies were significant in that they were the first serious endeavour by a team of researchers to attempt a holistic understanding of a community under assimilative and technological pressure to change, their real contribution has been as a building block for studies that came later. For this reason, I have chosen to only briefly refer to some aspects of the Rakau studies before moving to describing later developments.

At the simplest level, this book tells us how a group of people live, but it attempts more than just this. It is also an account of how a culture has persisted through changes over time and how its folk are facing a rapidly changing world. It is an essay in demonstration of the fact that a community can be divided without being destroyed; that individuals may be autonomous without being alone; that as a people move along the folk – urban continuum the culture of the whole becomes subordinate to the culture of the individual (Ritchie, 1963, p. xi).

The book *The Making of a Maori* (Ritchie, 1963) is the report of a series of studies conducted in and about Murupara during the 1950's, a time when the forestry industry was forcing technological change on a whole community and region (Ritchie, 1992). The research field team was lead by James Ritchie but the overall project was overseen by Ernest Beaglehole. Over a five year period the researchers spent 20 months in total in the field employing a variety of data gathering methods and tools, including psychological test batteries, projective techniques and field observation typical of those used in the Culture and Personality movement of the time. They collected, counted, analysed and theorised a series of positions. These positions included hypotheses about childhood and adolescent development, basic personality and personality development, urban adjustment, mental health, deviant adjustment, and achievement motivation (Beaglehole & Ritchie, 1958).

Reviews of these studies (Ausubel, 1964; Metge & Campbell, 1958; Mitcalfe, 1964) or, I should say *The Making of a Maori*, tended to appreciate the descriptions of Maori life in Rakau and I agree with Ritchie (1992) that this descriptive material still stands. Like the Beagleholes' work, *The Making of a Maori* is detail rich, sufficiently so that it has allowed James and Jane Ritchie to re-evaluate and with continued research experience, to plot a research programme that over 30 years has

progressively built upon and learned from itself. Four research areas, relevant to understanding Maori social identities have emerged. They are a) a values approach to understanding people and behaviour in the Maori world; b) an ongoing analysis of Maori childrearing patterns; c) understanding and responding to discrimination and prejudice in Aotearoa; and d) developing an action approach to research and Maori concerns. I describe each in turn below.

Maori values frameworks

While the initial theorising about ‘basic personality’ and Maori character structure may have been somewhat askew and heavily influenced by the thinking of the culture and personality field, it is clear that this is the foundation upon which James Ritchie has built what I have come to view as one of the most sophisticated Maori values frameworks for operating in the Maori world (described by Ritchie as his ‘credo’) and for understanding Maori culture (what Ritchie calls ‘five aspects of valuing’) (Ritchie, 1992). Other frameworks like those of Metge, (1976, 1995) and Salmond (1976) tend to be too closely focussed and descriptive the effect being the isolation of central culture concepts rather than an emphasis on their relationality. Ritchie’s Maori values framework – recognisable in many of his published works, is most comprehensively detailed in his book *Becoming Bicultural* (Ritchie, 1992). Ritchie’s work provides a bridge from the earlier search for behavioural motives and character structure by those in the Culture and Personality movement, to values as influential in the choices people make and the meanings they attribute and derive.

But what are Maori values frameworks? Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck (1961) provide an answer. They proposed that cultural value systems are variations of a set of basic value orientations that flow from answers to basic questions about ‘being’, for example, what is human nature?; how do we relate to nature or the supernatural?; what is the nature of time?; what is the nature of human activity?; what is the nature of our relationship to others? Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck proposed that for each society a few central or focal values can be used to constitute a mutually interdependent set of what makes for the ‘good life’ (Oyserman, 2001). In some respects, the purpose of the Rakau studies was to discover answers to those questions posed above; however, those researchers failed in their first rush at the data to crystallise a coherent holistic view. After a myriad of encounters in Ngati Poneke,

Ngati Porou, Ngati Manawa, Tainui Waikato, to name a few contexts, this is what James Ritchie achieved almost 30 years later in *Becoming Bicultural*.

In *Becoming Bicultural* Ritchie identified what he views as the five most dominant aspects of valuing present in the Maori world. They are presented in the figure below and then briefly defined according to Ritchie's descriptions (Ritchie, 1992, pp67-84).

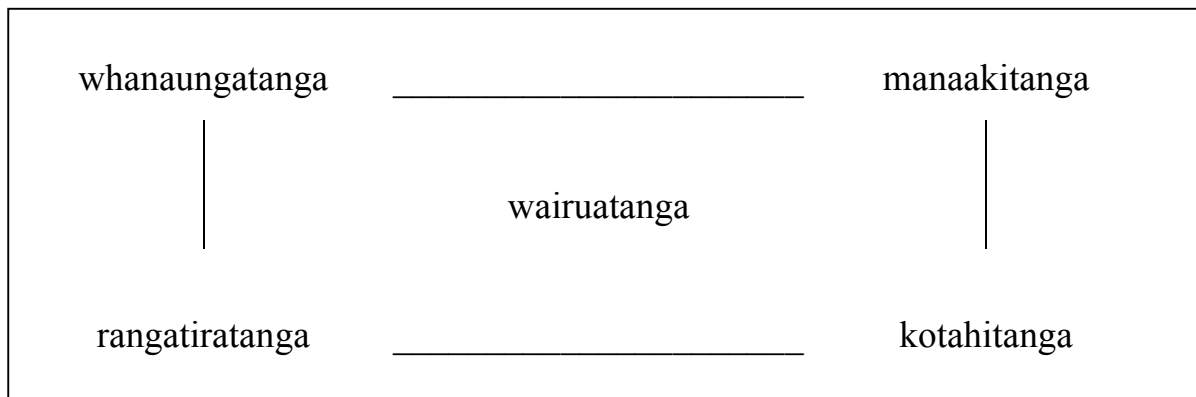


Figure 1: Ritchie's five most dominant aspects of valuing

Whanaungatanga refers to whanau or body of close kin whether linked by blood, adoption or fostering. It is a process concept concerned with everything about relationships between kin. It ties people together in bonds of association and obligation. It affirms and transcends tribal identity. It locates individuals and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. Whanaungatanga assists people to determine and recognise rangatiratanga by drawing on whakapapa (genealogy) to determine *mana* or status.

Rangatiratanga has two dimensions. The first is related to whanaungatanga and is determined according to kinship lines. They are the person or people who hold the mana for certain events, roles or communities. The second dimension is related to effectiveness, to being good at doing things or getting things done. Rangatiratanga is often referred to as leadership and authority.

Kotahitanga refers to the search for unity within the complexity of status, history, kinship, the human need for affirmation and esteem, and recognition. Kotahitanga might be loosely translated as 'unity', described by Ritchie as the Holy Grail of Maoridom – rarely found. It does, however, explain a tendency towards inclusiveness and the balancing of powerful opposites.

Manaakitanga is the process of reciprocal, unqualified caring. Caring for another and each other affirms the sense of all of us being a part of one another. The reciprocated obligation need not be immediate. There is simply faith that, one day, that which one has contributed will be returned.

Wairuatanga acknowledges that all aspects of the Maori world have a spiritual dimension. Wairua is not separable metaphysical stuff; it is soul permeating the world of both things and not-things. It is an attitude towards the world that makes the use and application of Maori concepts work. To ignore wairuatanga is to reject the Maori sense of respect, wonder, awe, carefulness, and their application to everything in an orderly way.

In proposing only five aspects of valuing some may argue that James Ritchie has subsumed too much detail. Yet the framework proposed is actually far more complex than what might first appear; the real challenge is to understand the ‘stuff’ in between, that is, the interaction of values with each other, and within the contexts that they emerge from. This is where the framework gains its explanatory worth enabling the scholar to analyse, make sense of Maori culture, Maori people, the Maori world and of concerns and behaviour.

A cultural values approach to understanding the Maori world is inherently social and formative. Culture and its values are in a continual state of flux, forever debated, negotiated and restated. While it is possible to name a cultural value, it is very difficult to fairly represent it in a concrete and continuous fashion. As James Ritchie himself writes of culture...

But the real stuff of culture in any of its meanings is messy, confusing, paradoxical, ironical, unclear, allowing alternatives and interpretations on some occasions but not on others. The headstuff gets mixed up with the heartstuff, the realities with the ideals and ideologies. All that gets hopelessly intertwined with the personal motivations of individuals, which may have cultural foundations or relevance, but which may be purely idiosyncratic, the leachate from the deposits of personal histories, the garbage heap of private experience (Ritchie, 1992, p.99).

While the complexity of culture is impossible to refute and will remain, a cultural values approach does help to reduce the messiness of it all, as evident in the Ritchies’ later work on child-rearing.

Child-rearing patterns

Another area that emerged from the Rakau studies and has continued on the research agenda of both James and Jane Ritchie for over 40 years is that related to child rearing patterns in Maori communities, New Zealand society and, more broadly, patterns across Polynesia (Ritchie, 1957, 1964a, 1977; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1970, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1990, 1997). Their research has painstakingly yet progressively built an impressive and continuous research base that has stretched and tested the initial observations of child-rearing made in Kowhai and later in Rakau leading to them being able to affirm a pattern of child-rearing peculiar to the Pacific (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985). Given its significance to the development of Maori social identities, the child-rearing pattern that emerged from the Rakau studies and took form over later studies is elaborated below drawing from descriptions detailed in the monograph titled *E tipu e rea : Polynesian socialization and psychological development* (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985).

The community context: Of ‘community’, the Ritchies write:

‘Community’ is those with whom one lives, who are also one’s kin with whom one shares common understandings of a moral and ethical nature that govern the ordinary course of life...At the symbolic level, community is the hook which one’s identity hangs, the group from which one draws one’s membership and for whose community one longs even when they are not around. Wherever you are, even thousands of miles from its geographic location, the community that socialized you, retains its emotional strength, and within it, the socializing effect is continuously apparent (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, pp. 36-37).

For the child, his or her immediate community is identified as their household, or whanau – extended kinship network. The kinship network is simply defined in terms of generation. Those in the parental generation are termed *Matua*, those in the grandparental generation termed *kuia, koro, or kaumatua*, those fortunate enough to be beyond the aforementioned generations are simply termed *tipuna*. Those members of these three generations carry a parenting responsibility, the child developing a capacity for a range of emotional ties.

Multiple parenting: The strain of responsibility on individual parents is reduced by the process of multiple parenting. Multiple parents expose the child to a variety of personalities, quirks, moods, times of reliability and unreliability inducing social awareness through social experience. While bringing relief for parents, such a parenting approach also brings relief for the child who is able to move from one parental relationship to some other. An individual, child or parent, can enhance their well being by contributing to the well-being of others.

Early indulgence: An infant enters into a world of many parents who delight in its existence and presence. The infant is treasured and lavishly indulged until it demonstrates a capacity for independence, that is, it shows a maturity into childhood and away from infancy.

Early independence training: While the infant may have been constantly indulged, the child is less so; sociability with their own peer group is encouraged. When the shift from early indulgence by parents begins the children can turn to others, not always or even commonly to adults, to fill the parenting role. Independence training and attendance to ‘social signalling’ results in someone who will go it alone but at the same time develops the skills of social vigilance, the opposite to social caring.

Peer socialisation: From the golden world of infancy, the child turns to his/her peers, a group with which they will share a common status. Common status with one’s peers is a horizontal principle of structure that qualifies and mitigates the harshness of what might otherwise become a rigid authority structure. For the child, status rivalry refers to the enhancement of one’s peer group and of oneself within it. While it can lead to conflict, and often does, it can also result in an appreciation of consensus, a feeling of being together, and of being inclusive.

As the Ritchies built upon their Rakau studies, they noted that Maori mothers who had moved from their rural communities and kinship groups persisted in seeking out their ‘parenting’ peers across distances and resources, and encouraged their children to befriend cousins or other Maori living nearby, consistent with the child-rearing pattern they had earlier identified (Ritchie, 1964a; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1970). So persistent and resilient was this pattern that, in 1997, they wrote, having observed four decades of assimilation, integration, migration and change...

Our research has shown that for all the difficulties, urban Maori families retained a style of child-rearing from which has now emerged a variety of urban lifestyles which in various ways continue to express basic Maori cultural patterns. The emergence of migrant urban marae has been a late development which Maori have undertaken for themselves. In other locations, less obvious Maori networking has developed. But even in the case of so-called gang communities, the cultural values have continuity and continue to be effective. Even where there is no demonstrable kinship, kin-like bonding is strong. Tribe-like, in-group loyalties are 'staunch'; parenting responsibilities may be shared to promote a sense of 'we' rather than 'me'. Working together for community purposes, particularly to celebrate rites of passage such as first and twenty first birthdays, marriages and deaths all take place within this newest transformation of the historical climate (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997, p.192).

It is easy to get engrossed in the Ritchies' work on child-rearing, and later on violence (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1981, 1990). It is gripping stuff, brilliantly crafted and deserves much more consideration than I allow here. They have taken earlier studies, criticised and built upon them. They have looked for patterns and found them. And, they have checked and double checked, just in case they got it wrong. Indeed, in this area, they are perhaps the harshest critics of their own work. But they have provided an enduring pattern that is mobile across distances and generations and that over a 40 year period Maori parents have sought to maintain that pattern and to enculturate their children accordingly.

The relevance of this work to the maintenance of Maori social identities is clearly apparent. Maori and Maori culture are dynamic, flexible, adaptive and mobile. Constructions of social identities that are particularly Maori are not necessarily dependent on location or physical environment. While these are important, the Ritchies' research suggests that child rearing and enculturation processes are possibly more important to a Maori sense of 'me' and 'we'.

Cultural contact, change and discrimination

While 'patterns' are what the Ritchies have sought, throughout their work they have always been concerned with the effects of time and the impact of change. Their work always occurs in a well described context, in turn allowing them to develop a

consciousness that lead James Ritchie with colleagues at Victoria University in the 1950's, to mount a research programme into what I describe as dominant group attitudes towards minority group peoples, in this case Maori (Ritchie, 1964b). To launch a study of dominant group prejudice was asking for trouble, especially in the 1950's when New Zealand was viewed by the Pakeha majority as 'Godzone' or 'pavlova paradise'. As expected, their research found Pakeha to be prejudiced, some deeply so and were prepared to say so, others probably so but simply in denial (Ritchie, 1964b). During this period, the American Fulbright Scholar David Ausubel brought to New Zealand the notion of *acculturative stress* (Ausubel, 1960) and further affirmed the work by James Ritchie and the Victoria University group on prejudice. Of Maori youth and the discrimination faced by them, Ausubel wrote:

The denial of equal occupational opportunity to Maori youth constitutes the most serious and prognostically least hopeful factor impeding Maori vocational achievement, since colour prejudice is not only deeply ingrained and increasing in the pakeha population as a whole, but its existence is also categorically denied by both the people and Government of New Zealand (Ausubel, 1961, pp 168-169).

Unlike their work on child-rearing, neither the Ritchies nor their Victoria University colleagues continued an obvious programmatic approach to prejudice and dominant group attitudes, yet it was a theme that persisted in all that they did. Perhaps this was due to the interface between Maori and Pakeha being an integral and 'taken for granted' part of their work. In fact, in all their works, there is always a chapter, a comment, or discussion on acculturative stress and discrimination, or on responses made by Maori to the negative attitudes of dominant group members and to the broader dominant society.

On discrimination and prejudice, like the Beagleholes, the Ritchies clearly note the existence of what might be described as 'a hostile environment'. More interesting though, is their identification of adaptive responses to having to exist within a hostile environment. For example, the Ritchies (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, p. 48) write of the adaptations made by Maori mothers in small town communities, commenting on the sensitivity of mothers to community opinion and how child rearing patterns adapted accordingly. They also comment on structural and institutional discrimination like the impact that compulsory schooling has on peer

caretakers noting that schools “demand very compliant, adult-dependent behaviour and a level and style of verbal skill which children who have grown up Polynesian style ...may not possess” (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, p. 49). Moreover, in the field of tribal development, James Ritchie repeatedly highlights the extent to which Maori were enabled or disabled by the policies of successive governments, and by “the ignorance, disinterest and occasional hostility” of Pakeha (Ritchie, 1992, p. 193). On the threat of Pakeha backlash, Ritchie notes that “while some Maori tread cautiously in this situation, others simply ignore the threat and get on with making the new tribal arrangements work” (Ritchie, 1992, p. 200).

While the Ritchies have been persistent in recognising, addressing and attempting to bring about changes for Maori within the hostile environment of an acculturating society, other New Zealand researchers have also engaged in this endeavour (for example, Archer, 1975; Forster, 1975; McCreanor, 1997; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Spoonley, 1993; Spoonley & Hirsch, 1990; Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 1991; Thomas, 1988, 1991; Vaughan, 1972, 1988). The Victoria University group simply opened the area for others to pursue.

Action Research

For the Ritchies, the leap from ‘basic’ research to ‘action’ research, in my mind, was an inevitable result of researching social issues for which answers could, and had, been found, yet nothing was being done. It was a move from simply observing, documenting, describing, analysing and reporting, to incorporating an ‘action’ component that saw the Ritchies actively involved in designing and implementing interventions, contributing to policy making, and, particularly for James Ritchie, strategic development especially in the tribal world. The Centre for Maori Studies and Research, established in 1972 at the University of Waikato, provided the setting for their move in this direction. Indeed, one of the guiding principles of the centre was “no research without development and no development without research” (Ritchie, 1992, p.45).

An example of their action research approach is what has been described as the precursor to the modern day Kohanga Reo movement, the Te Kohanga project. Jane Ritchie built on their child-rearing research and established Te Kohanga, a pre-school for Maori children disadvantaged by urban living (Ritchie, 1978). A language

based structured learning programme carefully charting the conceptual development of each child on an individual basis, the objective of Te Kohanga was to “identify skills related to successful school adjustment and performance and to equip Maori four year olds with these skills so that they would enter school ready to profit from the school learning situation” (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1978, p. 45). With four staff, the project engaged children in expanding their life experiences, their exposure to books and concepts as well as developmental activities. They recorded everything – the teaching style, the performance of children, effects on the home, and the efficacy of different learning tools. All of this is reported in a series of research reports culminating in their book *Chance to be Equal* (Ritchie, 1978). Te Kohanga was successful in that project children were better prepared for and able to reap the benefits of the school environment making better progress in reading and mathematics than Maori children who had no pre-school experience. Like many action research studies, while successful the Te Kohanga project was seen too much as a ‘service’ and the academic masters did not want to be engaged in service delivery even though the potential of Te Kohanga as a training base for teachers was apparent (Ritchie, 1992). This aside, the Te Kohanga project “later had a direct effect on national policy when Kohanga reo – Maori language pre-schools – were instituted by the Department of Maori Affairs” (Ritchie, 1992, p. 46).

The Centre’s action research approach was also taken into the tribal development arena. Ritchie summarised the work of the Centre as follows:

About a third of the programme concerns requests from Tainui/Waikato to do with their tribal development plan, actual or potential resources, training and management requirements, claims and negotiations. Another third is similar consulting work with other tribes...The remaining time is devoted to policy work for departments of state, local bodies and a wide variety of other agencies, such as New Zealand Maori Congress and the Commissioner for the Environment (Ritchie, 1992, p. 48)

So, what has action research got to do with Maori social identities? This is what I suggest. To understand the Maori person as a social entity, one needs to understand their social realities, ecologies and spaces, and how that identity has been shaped for survival. Everyone has to deal with the pragmatics of adjustment, or to put it another way, of cultural sustainability. One needs to understand how the

individual and their social group arrived to their present position. If one desires to impact or influence the social positions of Maori, through research or other intervention, one has to be part of the 'action', so to speak, and action has to be part of identity itself.

Inherited Wisdom

Much of the early work, particularly in Kowhai and Rakau, the Ritchies now reject, and have done so for years.

Of the rest, the Rakau studies, I no longer make any defence. They were in the research mode of the time. They attracted much attention overseas. They contributed very little to Maori advancement or well-being. I left that all behind (Ritchie, 1992, p.38).

While Ritchie and his colleagues may have moved on, I suspect that they took a great deal of learning with them, the echoes of their experiences resonating through their lives and into other facets of their work. While their work can be read in such a way as to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Maori social identities, it equally is valuable simply because of the emergent experiential wisdom. This is worth trying to make succinct sense of. My summary of this wisdom is:

1. Detailed ethnographic description allows for reassessment and re-evaluation. Detail enhances usefulness.
2. Theory and conceptual frameworks provide a clear rationale against which to understand and measure the thinking of researchers and scholars. 'Scholarship' without research is not scholarship. 'Research' that has no plan, is not research. 'Theory' without research, is not theory.
3. The job of the researcher is to collect and make sense of data and engage in interpretive analysis. For what is the use of research without it!

4. All research and action occurs within and is influenced by a historical and socio-political context. Research must be read and criticised against this backdrop.
5. Never get married to your research. It may not be the life partner you are looking for.

In the words of James Ritchie (personal communication, 11/02/2007)...

What did I drop? [I dropped] the technical methodological tricks; the tests and such; the elaborate theoretical framework; the positivist model of hypothesis testing. But I kept the 'experience' of fieldwork, the technique of searching for patterns, and empathy for the people.

Social Anthropology

The fields of psychological anthropology and social anthropology are very closely aligned, so much so, that it is often difficult to tell the two apart. Yet there are essential differences worth elaborating here due to the contribution that social anthropology scholars have made to understanding, directly and indirectly, Maori social identities in context (Hohepa, 1964; Kawharu, 1975; Metge, 1964, 1995; Salmond, 1975).

Early precursors of social anthropology in New Zealand focused on the reconstruction and recording of traditional Maori society and culture. Publications of the Polynesian Society hold true to this position (see for example the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*). However, from about the 1930s onwards, the work of social anthropologists increasingly moved from a preservation agenda to become increasingly interested in change and contemporary situations. While change is an important interest of social anthropologists, so too is the structure and organisation of society, particularly 'primitive contemporary' society (Moore, 2004). One of the most influential academics in this field in New Zealand was Ralph Piddington.

Piddington, Ralph O'Reilly (1906 – 1974)

As an academic discipline, the field of social anthropology was established in New Zealand by Ralph Piddington (1906-1974). Piddington was influenced by A R Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) and later Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) who brought to anthropology the theory of functionalism and pioneered the methodology of participant observation, as well as by functionalist Raymond Firth who wrote *The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1959). Functionalists hold that culture exists to satisfy the basic biological, psychological, and social needs of individuals. Every part of a culture, its material and subjective elements, fit together to meet the needs of individuals in the culture as well as the broader collective (Moore, 2004). According to this model, every element of society has a function.

Piddington wrote a PhD thesis on 'Culture and neurosis' in 1936, and in October 1949 he accepted the chair in anthropology at Auckland University College. In the 1950s he launched the teaching of social anthropology, Maori Studies, physical anthropology, prehistory and linguistics, and presided over the development of all branches to postgraduate level.

Active in supporting Maori aspirations, Piddington and his staff nurtured the scholastic achievement of a whole generation of Maori scholars and scholars of Maori society. Indeed, this is perhaps his most significant contribution to Maori development. They include: Pat Hohepa, Rangi Walker, Robert Mahuta, Wharehuia Milroy, Richard Benton, Bernie Kernot, Tamati Reedy, Peter Sharples, Parehuia Hopa, Bill Tawhai, Koro Dewes, Merimeri Penfold and Margaret Mutu, among many others (Pawley, 2000). All of these achievers have made significant contributions to the academy as well as to their own professions, communities and broader New Zealand society and most were influenced by Piddington's style of social anthropology (Piddington, 1950) which guided them in their various field settings from which they produced their doctoral and subsequent work. More importantly, though, is emergence of a group that Fitzgerald (1970) labels "the first generation of Maori University graduates". Given their contribution to the literature about Maori and Maori social identities, understanding the nature of their social identities and positioning between Maori society and that of broader New Zealand is appropriate. This was the subject of research conducted by American anthropologist Tom Fitzgerald (1977a) in the late 1960's.

Maori university graduates in the late 1960's

Culture change and identity is what interested Fitzgerald (1970, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1977a, 1977b), and, in particular, how Maori graduates of the 1960's saw themselves, their culture and identity within a context of change. Fitzgerald argued against the *gradient hypothesis of acculturation* made popular by Spindler (1952) which posits change along a gradient - Maori culture at one end of the continuum and contemporary New Zealand culture at the other. These two polar 'cultures' are assumed to be equally weighted and are viewed largely as static entities. Fitzgerald, like contemporary acculturation theorists (for example, Berry, 1997) saw this position as too simplistic, choosing in his study to position Maori culture as a micro or sub-culture of a broader, more general New Zealand culture, or macro-culture. In contrast to earlier studies, 'culture' had become 'cultures'. By positioning Maori culture as a sub-culture, the dual socialisation process required of Maori is more plainly seen. On one level, Maori are socialised into a sub-culture and on another, into New Zealand culture through engagement with the usual societal socialisation institutions such as school, church and work places. Socialisation into Maori culture takes place according to the opportunities presented through hui, tangi, weddings, parties, and generally in an extended family context. Fitzgerald captures the complexity of this situation in the following way.

Yet, as we have suggested, in a culturally heterogeneous society, such as New Zealand, the picture is vastly more complex. Modern Maori culture must be seen as part of an ongoing complex, adaptive social system, composed of several cultural dimensions and different levels of organization... Analysis must allow for different levels of socio-cultural integration. It must allow for a complex interaction between the dominant and subordinate social systems. Otherwise, such an analysis ignores active, selective reactions of one culture (socio-cultural segment) to another and, hence, must fail to appreciate the role of cognitive choice in culture change. In short, one must not underestimate the individual's adaptive flexibility and creative capacity to shuttle between two cultures or cultural levels or, for that matter, his ability to reorganize and recreate from the juxtaposition of tradition with non-traditional cultural elements. Studies of culture contact have

tended to overemphasize the unidirectional borrowing of cultural items as the major process of culture change (Fitzgerald, 1977a, pp 15-16).

Fitzgerald (1972) introduces the idea of manifest identity, that being an identity "which the 'situation' regards as relevant in a given situation" (p. 51). A latent identity is one which the 'situation' defines as "being irrelevant, inappropriate to consider, or illegitimate to take into account in the same context" (p.51). With regard to Maori cultural identity, Fitzgerald (1977a) writes

The distinction between manifest and latent culture is, we feel, a useful one for clarifying the Maori situation in New Zealand. We may distinguish between a culture which grows out of a natural interaction of individuals in group contexts, and hence is expressed as a living phenomenon, and a culture which, from the individual's standpoint, is no longer functional in everyday life adjustment. The latter is a latent as distinguished from the former, which is a manifest culture (p. 5).

The idea of a latent cultural identity is a useful one and corresponds with identity theories (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995) that explain the pattern of reclamation by minority group members of cultural and ethnic identities that they had earlier rejected, seen as negative or had simply lay in a latent state, being seen as unimportant or insignificant to the contexts lived through.

The overall conclusions that Fitzgerald arrives at in his study of Maori cultural and social identity are that Maori often make nominal commitments to general cultural norms (macro-culture), while the source of their values and identification remains with the micro-culture. With many Maori, commitment to micro-culture does not come until later in life for age grading is a social reality, definitely felt by the middle generation described by the Beagleholes (1946) of those in Kowhai, and still significant in the modern Maori context. Maori graduates often become 'mediators', not by choice, but gradually, and by default. Although Maori graduates occasionally respond to the European sphere as an identification group, most are heavily committed to their membership group of modern Maori, as separate and distinct from Pakeha. The source of identity, then, is cultural rather than social. In cases where the Maori sub-culture still offers the individual status and emotional gratification, it is likely that the individual will use this micro-culture for their

reference group of identification. The primary function of Maori identity is, then, this sub-cultural group loyalty expressed as a need for belonging to a cultural group that is still emotionally gratifying.

Given that Fitzgerald published a picture of those Maori graduates who participated in his study (see Fitzgerald, 1977a), it is possible to know the social and cultural roles those graduates went on to fill in more recent times. They became politicians, prominent tribal leaders, academics, businessmen and women, lawyers and judges, and teachers. Most have made significant leadership contributions to both the Maori and Pakeha worlds, and while many are now in retirement, they still remain influential. Each one's life history is interesting in and of itself; however, I am presently more interested in their contribution to the academic record about Maoridom and Maori social identities. What have they, and other students of Ralph Piddington contributed?

Studies of Maori communities

Some of Piddington's graduates, like Pat Hohepa and Hugh Kawharu, and those he influenced, like Maharaia Winiata went 'home' and studied or wrote about their own communities and experiences in typical social anthropological fashion. Unlike their Pakeha colleagues, these graduates were insiders to their own communities. They had the opportunity to elaborate an important emic position.

Maharaia Winiata (1967) wrote of *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society* drawing on his experiences as a Methodist minister, a school teacher, and an active member of the Kingitanga movement. "He moved freely in the social circles of Government, the Missions, and the University" (Professor Kenneth Little in Winiata, 1967, p.8). The study, itself, is probably best described as a critical self-reflective piece that brings to bear a functionalist frame upon the role and institution of 'the Maori leader'. Moreover, it is a pivotal text in the rather scant literature about Maori leadership and change. Like the later work by (Fitzgerald, 1977a) reviewed above, Winiata postulated that Maori traditionalist society is a sub-system of the wider New Zealand society, involving a dual framework for organisation, and that contemporary Maori leaders essentially occupy an intermediary role and position. In occupying this position, Winiata asserted that the Maori leader moves and has his being in two worlds. He also operates within two distinct and often conflicting

systems of value spawning specific sentiments, values and beliefs that in turn influence their behaviours and leadership roles. We can see this same conclusion elaborated in Fitzgerald's 1977 study.

Pat Hohepa's (1964) work titled *A Maori Community in Northland* was a study of outwards migration from his community of Waima. While not nearly as intensive as those by the Beagleholes (1946) or Ritchie (1963), Hohepa's study reflected a community beset by economic and social problems, its members trying their hardest to get by, but, at the same time, having to assess their situations in view of the possibility of more favourable opportunities alongside those who had previously migrated to towns and cities south of Waima. Hohepa found that many people migrated from Waima to escape the "demands of having to contribute to supporting the wider whanau and being "subject to the decisions, interference and whims of the household elders" (Hohepa, 1964, p. 64). I also suspect that many move because they are eager for opportunities or new experiences; some just to escape! Interestingly, of those who remained in Waima, Hohepa noted

Those who do not emigrate often inherit what exists of community economic opportunities. In Waima, those who remained take up from where their parents left off. The result in the community is that the majority of those who remain or are persuaded to remain are the least likely to succeed in most competitive occupations in the city. They are the farm labourers and constitute the second generation of farmers, remaining in the community because of restricted ability, inadequate education, and satisfaction with their present existence (Hohepa, 1964, p. 69).

While I might debate Hohepa's inference that in contrast to the 'movers' those who remained in Waima had restricted ability, the point is made that by contrast to the city, very few real opportunities were available for Waima community members at home. Moreover, while Hohepa may have been an insider to his own community, he was clearly hampered by the requirements and frameworks of his discipline, for nowhere in his work does he really depart to choose an insider's position, preferring instead to adopt the scholarly cloak of 'objectivity'.

In contrast to Hohepa's study is that by Hugh Kawharu, the field work for which was completed in 1964, the report published in 1975. Kawharu clearly occupies the emic position within his own community, Ngati Whatua at Orakei - a

community smothered by the affluent surrounding central Auckland suburbs. Indeed, the physicality of the environment that surrounds Orakei is perhaps a metaphor for a community history fraught with struggles against Crown greed, arrogance and duplicity. Kawharu reports that in 1964, the majority of Orakei community members had been moved off their papakainga lands into near by low cost housing. The Crown had taken possession of their marae, the land surrounding it with the exception of a church and cemetery. From a privileged emic position, Kawharu succinctly captures the trauma, desperation and crippling effect of these indignities upon his hapu community.

While the fact of these events for Ngati Whatua ki Orakei might be described as no less than catastrophic, social disintegration of the hapu was not the outcome as one might expect. Kawharu clearly documented a persistent network of people still bent on being a community, affording leadership, political and social cohesion, and a sense of identity for its members. He describes a number of acculturation patterns employed by community members as a result of having to adapt to changing circumstances, the key question being the type of balance or imbalance created as a result. The patterns noted by Kawharu are: *curtailment* – where members cease customary practices and the grooming of people for customary roles due to restricted or no access to institutions vital for the practice or role, for example, land, marae; *replacement* – where members replace customary practices with those of the broader society, for example, individualised rights in housing, the use of the English language, individual economic independence; and *consolidation* – which refers to the continuity of customary practices albeit in an adapted form.

Had Kawharu had access to the current literature on acculturation, he may well have adopted a different conceptual framework for understanding the patterns of adaption employed by the Ngati Whatua ki Orakei community. Irrespective of this, of the future of children in this community he noted their paradoxical situation.

It therefore seems that somehow he must achieve like a Pakeha, but remain a Maori. Yet nobody, at home or at school, has been able to show him the genesis of this paradox and how he might resolve it (Kawharu, 1975, p182).

Kawharu's solution is to, firstly, turn to the elders of the community who in his view possessed

...the requisite knowledge of Maori and Ngati Whatua lore and have already displayed some enthusiasm for passing it on. Organising time and pupils and using ceremonial occasions for instruction are not insuperable obstacles (Kawharu, 1975, p.182).

Secondly, to change the nature of schooling to better incorporate Maori language and culture courses. He concluded

...What is at stake is the children's ability to determine their own individual and community identities in such a way as will allow them and their children to carry into the wider society the fruits of a bi-cultural heritage. Helping the elders develop this ability could be the most creative role school could ever fill for the people of Orakei and those with whom they live (Kawharu, 1975, p. 183).

Kawharu's conclusion and pathway forward is clearly different to that suggested by the Beagleholes in their study of Kowhai. Perhaps this reflects the period and prevailing attitudes of the 1940's contrasted against a researcher emerging from his own community in the 1960's with a commitment to cultural preservation and development, rather than 'detrribalisation' and assimilation (Piddington, 1968). Now, in the 21st century, having, through persistent leadership and high profile protest (Hawke, 1998), successfully resolved some of their historical grievances against the crown (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2006), Ngati Whatua ki Orakei enjoys a renewed tribal assertiveness. Their rapid transformation from a marginalized stain in the middle of affluent Auckland in the 1960s, to a marae-based, land holding, affluent and influential tribe is no less than dramatic. Ngati Whatua and its members have grown in confidence and capacity, and, know they have the ability to do more.

Mixed Marriages

So far, none of the literature reviewed has seriously considered the home environment and cultural identity development of children of mixed marriages. One study by John Harré, a Piddington graduate, stands out in this regard. His study, a

revision of his PhD, was published in 1966 in a work titled *Maori & Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand*. He attempted to identify the most significant features of Maori-Pakeha intermarriage and their relationship to the general race-contact situation. Using mainly qualitative data gathering techniques, Harré interviewed 104 couples and documented information from key informants the majority of whom resided in Auckland. While Harré describes courting patterns and marriage ceremonies, the major contribution of the work to this present study is his discussion of kin and community relationships and the cultural development and identity of children.

Ethnocentric belief was the foundation for kin reactions towards potential culturally different marriage partners. As Allport (1954) theorised, Harré found that these attitudes rapidly changed as a closer association formed and partners became spouses. Harré puts this down to two things.

This is possibly because the stereotype has not been built up as a reaction to competition for jobs, prestige or women. What prejudice there is against Maoris is more a reaction to their overall position of low socio-economic status than a device for maintaining this position. Another important feature of the stereotype held by Pakehas is that it is seldom translated into action in the form of discrimination. This is one reason why the expectation of adverse reactions from parents is greater than the experienced reactions (Harré, 1966, p.144).

Harré reports that there was no tendency for the formation of a special ‘mixed race’ or ‘mixed heritage’ social group. While the term ‘half-caste’ may have enjoyed some significance, its meaning was largely unclear, with cultural orientation considered more important on a daily basis. He puts this down to most individuals being able to gain a sense of belonging in groups that include Maori, Pakeha and mixed heritage persons, irrespective of how they looked. If they did encounter a prejudiced attitude, they could configure their relationships in an ‘outrigger’ fashion, that is, a couple, and individual partners, maintained relationships with their respective social groups without kin groups necessarily interacting.

Harré also noted a tendency for one partner, to some extent, to acculturate to the cultural pattern of the other, the outcome for their children being a cultural orientation premised on the dominant parental pattern. Parent and children still had

to deal with reactions of others outside the home towards their children. Any anxieties that grandparents had about how their grandchildren and how their peer group might think of them and their grandchild, seemed to melt away when the child entered the world. All grandchildren were largely indulged and treasured by both grandparent sets. The influence of school teachers seemed to only be of account in so far as it supported or opposed that of parents. In relation to the child's pre-school group, Harré noted a strong tendency, particularly for children who appeared strongly Maori, to mix with a predominantly Maori play group, thus supporting a cultural orientation. Harré had difficulty identifying any strong patterns in relation to the experiences and cultural patterns of older aged children. However, what is clear is that children who appeared stereotypically Maori were treated as such by those they came into contact with outside of the home, sometimes reinforcing their cultural orientation and identity as Maori. But for some children, having Maori ancestry positioned them as targets of negative discrimination leading them to actively reject a Maori ethnic identification, choosing instead to disassociate themselves from things Maori and Maori people, including their Maori ancestry. On this point, Harré wrote...

Both Maoris and Pakehas tend to agree that a small amount of Maori ancestry makes a Maori (in racial terms), but whereas for the Pakeha this tends to act as an excluding device, for the Maori its effect is inclusive. It is, in part, because of this that when opposition to a mixed marriage does occur amongst Maoris it is usually expressed in a positive form ('We would prefer you to marry a Maori') rather than in a negative form ('We don't want you to marry a Pakeha') (Harré, 1966, pp. 144-145).

What Harré's study confirms for me is the persistent inclusiveness of descendents irrespective of joining descent lines that have their genesis outside of Maori cosmology. By proof of whakapapa, they are Maori and for Maori social groupings, 'flesh and blood' cannot be denied. While the cultural orientation of a descendent may be an irritant to those who expect ethnic and cultural identification to be synonymous, the more important variable over whakapapa is a group loyalty reflected in a commitment to identifying consistently as Maori even if that identification is 'part Maori' or 'both Maori and Pakeha' (Thomas, 1986, 1988; Thomas & Nikora, 1994) again reflecting inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness.

From Kotare to Auckland

Joan Metge's doctoral thesis (1964) was a comparative study conducted in the early 1950's of 'Kotare', a rural Maori community situated in Northland, and the other situated in Auckland. Maori in Kotare were under similar pressures to those in other Maori communities all over New Zealand. Metge describes a similar situation to that described by the Beagleholes (1946) of Kowhai, by Ritchie (1963) of Rakau, and by Hohepa (1964) of Waima. Few employment opportunities and a shrinking land base were simply inadequate to support the Kotare population; those able had to find work in places outside of Kotare, becoming commuters or emigrants.

But many people remained in Kotare. The reasons are various but the strongest reason by far was attachment to Kotare as the land and community of their ancestors, reinforced by childhood and, sometimes, lifetime associations. There, by virtue of descent and land ownership, they enjoyed the rights reserved by Maori custom for tangata whenua, rights which they could claim in few other places. They chose to live in Kotare because they belonged there (Metge, 1964, p.43).

If tangata whenua status and landownership were important contributors to a sense of belonging, then, as noted by Ritchie (1992), kinship or whanaungatanga recognised by whakapapa was found to be the binding substance that held the respective strands of belongingness together (Metge, 1964, p.46). Metge reported that it contributed to a sense of social cohesion and relatedness within and beyond the physical locale of Kotare, serving to connect migrant groups across rural and urban settings.

Unsurprisingly, participants in Metge's study held economics to be the primary force in motivating migration from Kotare. But there were other reasons, similar to those found by Hohepa (1964). Metge found that migrants aspired to a higher economic status and refused to accept a lowered standard of living as the alternative to moving. Attachment to land and community was an insufficient reason for staying. Yet this was not necessarily the *prima facie* reason for moving; rather, other events tended to spark decisive action, for example, family quarrels, social misdemeanours, eloping with lovers or leaving with a spouse who did not feel at home in Kotare. Other reasons were to forget the sorrow at the death of loved ones,

to escape an unhappy marriage, nagging relatives, or degraded living conditions. The pursuit of adventure and independence were also reasons for leaving.

Although Kotare emigrants could have moved to a variety of destinations, Auckland seemed to be the most popular. Auckland was attractive to Kotare emigrants because it provided opportunities for: work, money, pleasure, medical services and education. Auckland provided diversity, and in contrast to other major cities, it was the nearest to the main areas of emigration. Wages were higher than those in smaller centres, and upward mobility was more likely. If someone did not like their employer, or employment circumstances, for whatever reason, finding another job was not too much of a problem. Pleasure activities were numerous. Not only did the city provide dance halls, hotels, sports clubs, and shops in huge variety, but it also provided an exciting range of companions to do things with. Constructing one's own social milieu and pattern of social activity, on relatively neutral tribal territory, where one could choose to join or avoid social relationships, was, for some, a powerful position.

While Metge found that economics were a significant motivator for migrants, she also noted that it was actually part of a much wider search for a fuller, modern and exciting life, symbolised by the enjoyment of modern urban civilisation. Migrants held their futures in their own hands and were free to exercise their own choices. They were also free from poverty, economic hardship, authority of parents, from traditional ways of doing things, from the monotony and boredom of rural life. These were the ideals sought after by migrants. But, having exercised their self-agency, many migrants continued to seek out and associate with their kin folk in the cities, to find opportunities to be Maori, with many frequently returning home for visits.

Few people made lengthy preparations for their move from rural areas to the city. Metge reported that once a final decision to move had been made, the move usually occurred within a few days; only personal belongings were transferred. Most departures from Kotare were to kinsfolk in the city in whom movers had complete faith in being favourably welcomed. Few had jobs arranged, choosing, instead, to 'look around'. Metge puts this rather casual approach to moving down to three things. The first was that movers were willing, at least temporarily, to accept a low standard of accommodation; secondly, that they could always return home; and thirdly, that they felt assured that kin in the city would assist them.

According to Metge, the new immigrant tended to manifest ‘horizontal’ rather than ‘vertical’ mobility. Horizontal mobility refers to the pattern of migrants to circulate around networks, jobs, accommodation, and social activities of a similar kind as if they were ‘sampling’ what Auckland had to offer, trying out new and novel activities and settings. It was not until this “post-immigration fever” had abated that immigrants showed any tendency to vertical mobility, that is, seeking a better job, better living conditions and a stable social life (Metge, 1964, p. 134).

Of significant relevance to this study are those people that Metge (1964) refers to as ‘city born’ or ‘passive’ immigrants. These were those who had been born in the city, or who had moved as young children and knew little of their rural roots. Of this group, Metge noted a number of differences to the ‘active immigrant group’. Most could claim membership in more than one tribal group, their claims a product of inter-tribal unions as a result of migration. They were also more likely to be children of interethnic unions. Those who were of age, tended to contract similar marriages, in turn repeating the pattern of their parents. Metge found that the association of the city born with the home lands and communities of their parents was a rather abstract construct – somewhere and something that their parents belonged to even though parents attempted to engender a sense of connectedness and ownership of these lands and communities in their children. The scaffolding for this construct was built upon stories of home, visits and involvement with relatives, as well as return visits for holidays or hui, and, in some cases, longer stays from a few months to one or two years. Because of the intertribal nature of their parent’s union, many had more than one rural community to which that they were encouraged to relate. Metge (1964) reported that they either “became sentimentally attached to only one, or their vacations and affections were divided between them” (Metge, 1964, p. 138). Of those who did not maintain contact with any rural communities, Metge noted that one of the parents was non-Maori, inferring a preference towards the non-Maori parent’s orientation rather than that of the Maori parent. Of the city born, Metge concluded:

The city born were, then, aware of having origins outside the city, in specific rural communities, though their links with those communities in terms both of subjective feelings and of personal relations with kin living there were less strong than those of ‘active’ immigrants (Metge, 1964, p. 138).

Furthermore...

As long as immigrants continued to come into the city, the city born and the city bred would never be cut off from the traditions of Maori rural society (Metge, 1964, p. 140).

The most relevant chapter in Metge's book *A New Maori migration: rural and urban relations in Northern New Zealand* is the chapter on kinship and descent. In this chapter she surveys kinship in the city and the nature of whanaungatanga or social cohesion amongst Maori migrants and their relatives.

While Metge found that Auckland Maori professed the same kinship ideals as those in Kotare, many Auckland informants recognised that they fell way short of rural standards in their manifestation of kinship ideals conditioned by city life. Unlike those in Kotare, Auckland Maori tended to lock their homes, or rooms, because of the risk of theft; they had learned the 'courtesy' of knocking before walking in on kin in shared accommodation; and visiting other kin, was conditioned by distances and availability of transport. While most attended hui in Auckland that included other kin, many complained about the reluctance of kin to contribute either practically or financially, leaving these obligations to a small yet committed group of people who were increasingly comprised of non-kin. While the obligation to attend tangi was still strongly felt, only those of fairly close-kin were attended. Too much time off from work could mean the loss of a job. An increase in selfishness and a decrease in cooperation between kin living in Auckland seemed to characterize comments made by Metge's informants.

Metge writes of 'kinship privilege abuse', the pattern of taking for granted or abusing kinship privileges. Referring briefly to Ritchie's (1992) five most dominant aspects of valuing framework, referred to earlier, Metge's idea on kinship privilege abuse can be differently understood as an offence against those things that Maori value. Metge reported that when such offenders were challenged the retort was often that the victims were being unreasonable and un-Maori. According to Ritchie's framework, positioning victims in such a way appeals to the values of manaakitanga and kotahitanga, of care and unity, in spite of the offenders diminished valuing of whanaungatanga. Offences included, amongst others, failure to repay money or goods borrowed, staying indefinitely with kin, failure to contribute to household

expenses, the bringing home of unwanted beer parties, and failure to offer general help and assistance. Metge further noted that the city was on the side of the offender, who could simply reappear on the doorstep of some other obliging relative.

Metge reported that the participants in her study were scattered with little sense of community. While most had kin within the city, they equally had large numbers of close-kin living all over New Zealand. Contact with kin outside of the Auckland area was inevitably affected by this physical separation yet relationships were still maintained through letter writing, phone calls, periodic visits, second-hand messages, occasional presents, exchange holidays, or attending hui involving each other. As might be expected, contact with kin in Auckland was more frequent and more easily maintained.

Interest in whakapapa and, therefore, ‘relatedness’, was not strong amongst Metge’s Auckland participants. Most had left Kotare as teenagers uninterested and indifferent to “things of the past” (Metge, 1964, p. 158). Interestingly, participants over the age of 40 years appeared to increasingly express an interest in these matters perhaps feeling the pending expectation that they take up unfamiliar roles expected of those in the older age groups. While ignorance of whakapapa and cultural practices may have characterised this group, they were somewhat more conscious of their tribal membership, especially when contrasted with those from other tribal groups that they come into contact with; tribal differences were a frequent topic of conversation (Metge, 1964, p. 179). Tribal solidarity, at that time, remained abstract and unformalised; the hapu was almost entirely disregarded with few knowing more than the name of their hapu.

One would have expected the Auckland setting to have been ripe for a rise in pan-Maori organisations such as Ngati Poneke in Wellington, yet Metge reports few formal initiatives gained widespread favour and support at the time of her study. Most had difficulty holding members and those that “catered specially for the young and unmarried tended to break down after starting with a flourish” (Metge, 1964, p. 210). The following excerpt illustrates the difficulty that Maori experienced in attempting to maintain their customary practices and coherency as a group within Auckland.

Large-scale gatherings suffered from the lack of marae and meeting-houses in Auckland. Their ceremonial features were

curtailed by the exigencies of commercial catering and hired halls, guest lists had to be placed on an invitation basis, and visitors could not be accommodated all together in the one place for the night. The one-day gathering, with visitors dispersing to sleep in their own homes or those of friends, was the rule. Working conditions – the forty-hour week, the abundance of over-time, the insistence of employers on punctuality and the minimum of absenteeism – restricted most social activities to the weekends; this was, however, no novelty to most immigrants. Scorn, disapproval or (worst of all) amusement on the part of Pakeha caused Maoris either to discard those things which aroused these attitudes or, more often, to practise them only when Pakehas were not present. Pakeha curiosity had banished the greeting of the hongi (pressing of noses) from the streets and caused mourners to postpone much of the traditional wailing over the dead until they reached the rural marae. Only at the most superficial level, that of casual entertainment, did Pakeha influence encourage interest in the Maori heritage (Metge, 1964, p.224).

Clearly, Maori in Auckland in the 1950-1960's lived and worked in what might be termed a 'hostile environment' – a socio-cultural environment where the power to define appropriate and 'normal' behaviour was held by the dominant cultural group, in this instance, Pakeha, a reality that continues for all non-dominant groups in New Zealand society, even to this day. While such a socio-cultural environment may be experienced as discriminatory, what is perhaps more important are, the ways that Maori adapt and continue to achieve their hopes and aspirations.

One further aspect of Metge's 1964 study worthy of review was her discussion of what makes Maori people different from Pakeha, or what unified Maori as a group. In this regard, all ethnic groups need to distinguish themselves from others. Metge makes a number of points about the behavioural patterns of participants in her study. Descent was the most important defining characteristic. If someone had a Maori forebear, then they could refer to themselves as Maori irrespective of 'blood quantum' or census definitions. Metge noted that those with a far distant Maori ancestor and none of the other following characteristics usually were absorbed into the Pakeha population. Adhering to certain common patterns of behaviour, certain forms of social organisation, and a constellation of value orientations, which were not shared by, or were at variance with Pakeha were seen as typical of Maori. Pride in being Maori, in Maori history and achievement, and

conversely, resentment over past injustices and discrimination were seen to be shared by Maori. While these characteristics of being Maori may have been unique at the time of writing, they do not depart too much from definitions of ethnicity present in the current canon of academic literature (for example Spoonley, 1993; for example Thomas, 1986; Walker, 1989).

The contribution that Joan Metge's work makes to our understanding of the evolution of Maori social identities over a period of major rural-urban migration is significant. *A New Migration* is comprehensive, replete with detailed descriptions and examples, which are rigorously and insightfully discussed. It far exceeds the efforts by other researchers of the day, for example, those of Fitzgerald (1977a), Hohepa (1964), and Kawharu (1975) and should be a 'touch stone' book for all scholars interested in Maori identity, urbanisation, and adaption to urban life (see also Metge (1976; 1986; 1995) and Metge and Kinloch (1978)). While *A New Migration* is a riveting read, one of Metge's most relevant findings for this study is the fact that, while adaptations were made, Maori tended to 'accommodate' Pakeha culture and people, making use of new technologies, value positions, people, and life ways, in turn expecting Pakeha society to respond accordingly to their cultural practices. Their adaption strategy was one of accommodation, rather than assimilation or integration; at the same time they kept aspects of their lives exclusively Maori in orientation. Pakeha were welcome, but on Maori terms. Interestingly, she does not ask 'how do Maori learn to do such things?'

Formal Rituals and the Marae

Authors like Metge (1964; 1986), Kawharu (1975) and Fitzgerald (1977a) all comment on formal marae rituals. Metge (1964) found that many of her participants went to extraordinary lengths to return to their rural communities to fulfil marae based ritual obligations, especially tangi. Moreover, she found that beneficiary status in land corporations further cemented ties and facilitated frequent trips back to their rural communities. While these authors were mainly interested in migration patterns and impacts, Anne Salmond studied Maori ceremonial gatherings, the results of which were published in her book *Hui*. She attended a great variety of hui ranging from tangi to meetings of Maori organisations. In total, she attended 72 hui over a two year period (1970-1972) in both urban and rural settings.

Salmond (1975) reported on the marae setting, the staging of hui, rituals of encounter, central marae activities and different types of hui. Her rich descriptions and detailed examples are typical of anthropology – qualitative and ethnographic in nature. However, her major conclusions are of interest here. Salmond found that hui were occasional and their nature, context dependent. She found that hui are occasions where Maoritanga was in its sharpest definition, whereas in other situations, especially in cities, it played, at best, a background role. Salmond is quick to point out that it is not unique to Maori. She writes:

In contact situations everywhere, minority groups maintain their distinct identities in episodic sub-cultures, which carry over from one special occasion to the next. In everyday life, in schools, offices, and even to a large extent the family, the sub-culture is no longer adaptive, but it continues to flourish in gatherings where members celebrate its significance in their lives. This 'occasional' quality of such sub-cultures is also their best protection. Since they are only reaffirmed among members, the attempts at assimilation are by-passed (Salmond, 1975, p. 210).

Continuing with the 'episodic' theme, Salmond found that the nature of many social institutions is essentially episodic. By way of example, Salmond refers to the way in which daily life might be divided up.

A man divides up his life among his family, his place of work, his friends and organisations such as clubs, sports teams or the church. The family comes into focus as a group only when the family is together, at the margins of the working day or at weekends and holidays, while for more distant kin its is activated at weddings or funerals...Some people spend more time in some settings than others (Salmond, 1975, p.211).

Salmond suggests that Maori society might be viewed as a complex of settings; categories of people overlap or flow at intervals staging and enacting a wide variety of scenes. As movement occurs between scenes, actor behaviour changes in patterned ways as they adapt to a new set of rules and take up different roles. She asserts that appreciation of such behavioural sequences can bring about a better understanding of life in a particular culture. An ecological or a systems approach (Orford, 1992) to understanding human behaviour should throw into relief such

behavioural sequences. However, the important point here, although methodological, is that one needs to observe behaviour of the same actor across many settings and over time to appreciate the full complexity of social and cultural behaviour. For example, the kaumatua who during his work life is a humble truck driver or cleaner may well be an esteemed and high status orator within the marae context. This illustrates that people can and do have different roles across contexts, and can be perceived differently in each.

Salmond points out that in Maori situations basic assumptions about how the world is constituted radically shift from what mainstream Pakeha society holds to be true; this illustrates the context dependent nature of behaviour, beliefs and values.

Salmond wrote:

In 'European' situations, most Maori people follow a dominantly European conception of reality, one they have learned at school and in church. The dead go to heaven, buildings are inanimate, New Zealand is divided into counties and governed by Parliament, and its history traces back to Britain. In 'Maori' situations, however, ...the dead go to 'Te Po or Underworld to join their ancestors, the meeting-house is addressed as a person, New Zealand becomes Aotearoa, divided into tribal districts, and its history traces back to Hawaiiiki (Salmond, 1975, p.211).

So, for Salmond, roles and status can and do change across contexts. So, too, can values and beliefs, in turn leading to different behavioural patterns.

Salmond's final conclusions relate to the marae as one of the last bastions of Maori pride and autonomy. She noted the absence of an adequate number of marae in urban settings and recommends the establishment of new urban marae as a means to arresting deteriorating race-relations.

There are powerful elements active in both national and local politics who would argue that assimilation of the Maori ...and eventual eradication of their cultural differences would be the best possible solution for a bi-racial New Zealand. The past thirty years of urban experience, however, directly contradicts this point of view. ...If an explosive disintegration of race-relations is to be avoided in New Zealand, Maori culture should be accorded respect, and actively fostered in the cities. One natural way of doing this would be to offer financial support for the construction of

that locus of Maori pride, the marae, in as many urban settings as possible (Salmond, 1975, pp 212-213).

In the 1970's, Salmond noted that there were six established marae in the Auckland region, and seven in the planning stage (Salmond, 1975). Interestingly, of the six established marae noted, at least two; Tira Hou and Nga Hau E Wha, were established by non-tangata whenua tribal groups. While Salmond does not appear to comment on this, it is a rare event for a tribal group to establish a marae over which it claims ownership outside of its tribal boundaries unless they have a concentrated and motivated population who aspire to such an outcome.

Neither Salmond nor Metge nor any other researchers that I know of have followed up on the urban marae phenomenon. Metge (1976) is probably the latest comprehensive attempt at documenting the evolution of marae and marae type institutions. We do know that new carved houses and marae have mushroomed across the urban landscape to the point now that many educational institutions from primary school through to universities and polytechnics have marae facilities. Even Auckland Airport has one! While I am somewhat taken aback by the enthusiasm for urban marae facilities, the vast majority appear to be institutional, that is, they are financially supported and cared for by institutions such as those in the government sector or the church, or, in the case above, an airport authority. Their institutional nature means that they are usually well resourced and maintained; some have salaried marae managers and some have kaumatua who are paid to perform vital ceremonial roles. In this way, they contrast markedly with rural tribal marae which often suffer from lack of funds and resources, and, increasingly, an absence of people due to issues, for example, of urbanisation and the need to work.

This mushrooming of marae and the willingness of institutions to actively support their establishment, maintenance and activity schedule may demonstrate a shift in thinking by both Pakeha and Maori. For Maori, the thinking may have shifted from the marae as an expression of 'mana and pride' or the epitome of what it means to be Maori (Walker, 1998) to one that I term 'convenience and show'. By this I mean that it is much more convenient to have access to a marae facility where you know that the appropriate rituals will be performed because people are paid to do so. A new well maintained facility with contemporary carvings and art works, under floor heating, comfortable bedding, night time security, hot water and first-rate

shower and kitchen facilities, is a far more attractive proposition than some tribal facilities that are often tired and drafty, their essential systems temperamental, and people resources scarce. For Pakeha, I might suggest that their thinking rests around ‘convenience and accommodation’. Convenience aspects include a facility within a broader familiar institution (eg., school, university), within the city limits (where one can still find espresso coffee or go home for the night), personed by ‘staff’ who can be sent a memo, and that accommodates Maori demands for cultural appropriateness, the use of customary practices, and cultural spaces.

The above remarks are simply thoughts that can benefit by future research, yet the point I wish to make is that Maori society is changing – change is the only real constant in the broader scheme of things.

To conclude this section on the contribution of the Piddington graduates and associates to the literature on Maori social identities a number of comments can be made. Studies of changing Maori communities often leave the reader with the impression that once the anthropologist was ‘finished’ with the group of interest that at that point, those groups remained static and unchanged, having done all their changing prior to or during the period of the research. While I recognise this to be untrue, naïve readers are not likely to ask the question – what have become of participating communities or groups or of social institutions and formal rituals? Instead, they may be looking for descriptions of a past that they or their parents or grandparents emerged from, for example, of Kotare or Waima. They may also be in search of details that would assist them in learning, or, in some cases, resurrecting something of formal marae rituals such as in the descriptions written by Salmond (1975). They may also be in search of explanations for what they perceive as culture loss, or, alternatively, culture retention within their own families such as can be found in the work by Harré (1966). Detailed answers to these questions will be found in the work of the Piddington graduates and associates but the picture that will not emerge is how the lives of Maori migrants and their respective communities of interest and cultural institutions have changed since the period of the research through to the present day. The reason for this is that few of the researchers mentioned above have completed follow up studies, choosing, instead, to pursue other research interests or career directions. Moreover, few of the next generation of researchers have chosen to focus their efforts in this regard. The literature is therefore incomplete and lacks continuity.

Nevertheless, the Piddington graduates and associates contribute much to our understanding of Maori social identities. The major conclusions that a reader might make are that migrants to urban centres shifted their primary Maori social identity from a rural whanau and hapu based orientation to a pan-Maori urban orientation. Their prior orientation and pan-Maori orientation lies latent within Pakeha dominated contexts but is reactivated in the company of other Maori. Reactivating processes include visits by whanau, or return visits home, or when contrasts are drawn with other hapu or iwi. While mixed marriages amongst urban migrants were common, most tended to marry Maori mainly from tribal groups different to their own; the Maori social identities of their children were mainly of a pan-Maori orientation. However, children of tribally different parents had the benefit of two tribal orientations; their experiences were mostly vicarious and romanticised. The literature reviewed reinforces Salmond's (1975) observation of the episodic and occasional nature of social institutions and provides an explanation for this pattern. Maori respond to their socio-cultural environments in a context sensitive manner, adapting and changing their roles, behavioural patterns and narratives to best suit the circumstances they find themselves in. While these researchers attempt an understanding of the values that guide Maori thinking and behavioural patterns, none develops a sophisticated coherent conceptual organising framework such as that provided by Ritchie (1992). This would have been of benefit to them.

Maori Health and Development

The most significant body of literature to emerge in recent years to inform our understanding of Maori social identities is that produced by Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Maori) and Professor of Maori Research and Development at Massey University, Mason Durie. In contrast to Beaglehole and Piddington who were trained in the social science tradition, Durie's training was a mix of both medicine and psychology.

Durie attended Te Aute College and later studied medicine at the University of Otago, graduating MB ChB in 1963. He then travelled overseas to McGill University, Montreal where he completed a D.Psych. While Durie was more than qualified to practise in the primary health area he chose instead to pursue an interest

in Maori public health and policy development concerned with altering the determinants of Maori health rather than dealing with the consequences of such.

Durie is a prolific writer across a huge range of topics and any summary of his work is bound to overlook something. His early work focused on Maori perspectives of health arguing for a more holistic approach to health than one based simply on the biomedical model. To advance the argument, he represented Maori health as having four dimensions: physical, mental, familial, and spiritual (Durie, 1984, 1985a, 1985b). While not a new idea, and indeed a concept that I find to be somewhat simplistic, it gained currency across the health, social and education sectors.

He built upon this early work by questioning the nature of professional health training programmes (Abbott & Durie, 1987). He observed the absence of Maori students in the academy, and the need for training programmes to significantly revise their curriculum to attract Maori to training and to build a health workforce better able to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse clientele, something he is still passionate about today (Durie, 2003).

Durie's inclination towards the policy field became widely apparent after he served as a commissioner on the Royal Commission on Social Policy from 1986-1988. Since that time, he has appeared on numerous decision and policy-making committees across the health, welfare, education and research sectors, for example, the National Health Committee; Foundation for Research, Science and Technology; Te Papa Tongarewa - the Museum of New Zealand; the Law Commission (Maori Advisory Committee); the Mental Health Foundation; Alcohol Advisory Council; the NZ Board of Health; and the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Maori Health. He was also Chair of Te Runanga o Raukawa and, between 1990 and 1995 was secretary to the Maori Congress (Public Health Association, 2003).

Whether Durie is attending to Maori health, a topic upon which he has written prolifically (Durie, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1994a, 1998d, 1999a, 1999b) or to topics related to social or health policy (Durie, 1988, 1989, 1994a, 1994b, 1998b, 1998d, 1998d; Fitzgerald et al., 1996) or those related to Maori development (Durie, 1995a, 1995b, 1998d, 1999a, 1999b) his keen concern with a secure and healthy sense of being Maori is always a central focus.

While all the books that Durie has written are concerned with Maori social and cultural identities, in one way or another, two of them are probably more

relevant than the others. The first, *Whaiora: Maori Health Development* (Durie, 1998d) deals with Maori identity as informed by issues of health and wellbeing. A key point that he makes is that a secure Maori identity correlates with good health and wellness. He argues that to achieve good health outcomes for Maori, consideration of issues and circumstances that impact and contribute to the erosion of Maori identity must be addressed. In his second book *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The politics of Maori self-determination* (Durie, 1998b) Durie argues that Maori autonomy, or tino rangatiratanga, is the key pathway for Maori to fully participate within the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Again, a secure Maori identity is seen as vital in realising Maori autonomy.

In the 1990's, Durie established Te Pumanawa Hauora, a research centre based in the Maori Studies department at Massey University. The aim of the centre is to...

contribute to the advancement of the health of Maori people through quality research activities on the ways in which health services are delivered to Maori, the promotion of health within Maori communities, and the development of health policies for Maori (Massey University, 2005, para 7).

While many research projects have been initiated by Te Pumanawa Hauora, a project established very early in the centre's life was the 'Te Hoe Nuku Roa - Maori profiles' project. Here, Durie and his colleagues set out to explore...

what it means to be Maori in the 1990s and beyond, and examines the impact of policies on Maori at a personal and family level. For the first time information on Maori households covering all aspects of life will be brought together so that planning for the future can be more solidly based on the actual circumstances and aspirations of Maori people. The central aim of the project is to provide a database that reflects the current situation of Maori individuals and families. By linking Maori aspirations with these realities a sound base for planning and development will be established (Massey University, 2005, para 8-9).

Fundamental to this research endeavour was establishing what exactly a Maori identity was. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa study is longitudinal in that it tracks the

progress, problems, aspirations and circumstances of Maori people over a 10-15 year period.

Although other ideas are examined, cultural identity is one that has an important priority in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study. Durie (1998b) defines Maori cultural identity as

An amalgam of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge, and participation in Maori society. Particular attention is focused on self-identification, knowledge of whakapapa, participation in marae activities, involvement with whanau, access to whenua tipu, contacts with other Maori people, and use of Maori language (p. 58).

According to Durie (1998b) the first marker of a Maori cultural identity is an ethnic identity indicated by a person choosing to identify as Maori. A second marker is cultural knowledge and understanding indicated by knowledge of one's tribal history, whakapapa, tikanga, and social arrangements. The third marker is that of access and participation, that is, participation in Maori institutions and society, and access to Maori resources such as land, forests, the environment and fisheries. The last marker of cultural identity is te reo Maori, a capacity to speak Maori.

Durie et al (1996) have reported on a sub-section of data collected as part of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study. Their report documents the preliminary findings from a survey of 134 people aged more than 15 years old, from 102 Maori households in the Manawatu-Whanganui region. The measurement of a Maori cultural identity is central to the project. Examination of the questionnaires used in the study cast further light on those markers of a Maori cultural identity described above. While I accept the majority of these markers as valid, I would argue that the idea that access to Maori land - whenua tipu, as measured by determining ownership or beneficiary status – is an inadequate marker of Maori cultural identity. Clearly, the recent documentation that has supported claims to the Waitangi Tribunal (see Ward, 1999), the role of the Native Land Court (Williams, 1999) as well as the will of those passing on land has resulted in many Maori being landless, or without land ownership or beneficiary status. In my view, this is evident in a later report by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team (1999) where they found that only 56.1% of people in 655 Maori households could claim the status of having Maori land interests

or beneficiary status. This means, that an extraordinary large portion of their sample are excluded from claiming a secure Maori identity! What I would argue to be a more reliable and perhaps fairer marker of Maori cultural identity is a psychological measure of connectedness with tribal land and landmarks, irrespective of ownership (Hay, 1998a, 1998b). Those, through no fault of their own, who occupy a landless position yet still retain a psychological connectedness to land or landmarks, can and should, therefore, be included. A measure of such a marker could be attained through investigating the extent to which a person knows about, or is engaged in, activities that nurture such a connection, for example, visiting such places, and, where possible, participating in their care. The Waitangi Tribunal record abounds with such examples.

By examining the types of questions posed to participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study it is obvious that the project is overwhelmingly quantitative in design. Triangulating the design by the inclusion of qualitative data gathering methods would serve to elaborate participants' responses. For example, the project inquires of participants' ancestry, that is, the number of forebears a participant can name. There is no attempt to seek information to explain how the participant has arrived at such a capacity, and the fact of capacity is assumed to be contributory, that is, whakapapa capacity contributes to a secure Maori identity. While a possible contributor, how a person acquires whakapapa capacity is probably a better indicator of the nature of an individual's cultural identity. Moreover, I argue that an ability to work with lateral connections in whakapapa, rather than lineal descent, is of greater importance and of more use in the Maori world, than exclusionary lineal lines of descent, as it serves to connect people to each other rather than to simply attest to their existence in a lineal fashion.

In this regard, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study (Durie et al., 1996) might be viewed as a project that seeks to determine rather than explain the positions occupied by participants at various points/stages their lives. This is reflected in their developing four Maori cultural identity profiles:

Secure identity: If a participant scored highly in regards to four of six of the following characteristics, they were included in the profile of those described as having a secure identity. The characteristics were: knowing their

whakapapa, marae participation, whanau involvement, access to whenua tipu, contacts with Maori people, and an ability in te reo Maori.

Positive identity: A positive self-identification as Maori and a medium/moderate response to three out of six characteristics was used to assign participants to the positive identity group.

Notional identity: A similar approach to that taken to determining a positive identity was used to establish the notional identity profile. Participants who scored low on four of the six characteristics described above were allocated to this group.

Compromised identity: If participants choose not to self-identify as Maori irrespective of participation and access to Maori institutions and society, they were considered to occupy a compromised position.

Having developed these profiles, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team (Durie et al., 1996) set about reporting the performance of each profile group according to variables such as education, health, employment and the like.

I have already criticized this project's focus on determining 'position' without seeking explanation, and have alluded to flaws apparent in questions posed through the study. Having laid out above those profiles that the project team have developed, the positioning effect becomes significantly clearer. Although scores on related variables may tease out a broader picture of those circumstances associated with each profile group, I cannot help but notice the rather static image that is beginning to emerge. Maori are a diverse group, their diversity and capacity to change, adapt and accommodate being an important strength.

Research on Maori identity, its social, cultural political and contextual dimensions is desperately needed to inform future direction not only for Maori, but for New Zealand society in general. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa project continues, even today in 2007 and we are still yet to know the fullness of that research and whether the issues I raise above are resolved.

Maori Diversity

A further idea that Durie has spoken and written about extensively, again not new, is the notion of Maori as a diverse population. Anyone familiar with the histories of Maori peoples will recognize the heterogeneous nature of Maori society. While it is tribal, and maintains a number of institutions that facilitate different socio-cultural identities (for example, whanau, whakapapa, marae, turangawaewae) each individual within a group is just that, an individual with their own agency and capacity to take steps to master their own directions in life. But individuals find themselves in shared contexts and often exhibit similar behavioural patterns with related consequences such as those described by the Ritchies of child socialization processes, and by Salmond of episodic contexts. Behavioural patterns (eg., lack of exercise) or their consequences (eg., obesity) can be used to define individuals as a sub-group of the broader Maori population. Durie draws on this organizing facility to write about Maori diversity and disparities with and between Maori and other ethnic groups. Rather than review all that Durie says about Maori diversity I simply wish to highlight two significant and important points.

The first is that Maori live in and between two worlds (at least) – Te Ao Maori, the Maori world, and the world at large. Some choose to situate themselves differently in either world, and some give up trying to live in either world and create their own (eg., gangs). They are nevertheless, by virtue of descent, Maori. The second is that Maori live in a dynamic, ever changing context that presents exciting and positive directions – usually. One such direction is to places overseas. In the next chapter I turn to explore Hawai'i, a culturally rich and diverse setting, that, for a number of reasons, Maori have found their way to.

Chapter Six Maori in Hawai'i

The participants in this study of Maori social identities came from two different contexts: Hawai'i and New Zealand. In this chapter, I focus mainly on the interface between Maori and Hawai'i, and, in particular, the impact of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) on the movement of Maori to Hawai'i. I also briefly review some of the similarities and differences between Hawaiian and Maori history before concluding this chapter by describing the aims of this study.

Pacific voyaging

Polynesian oral narratives tell us that Pacific peoples were constantly engaged in long distance ocean travel (Buck, 1954). Some voyages were return trips between islands. Others were not. To the Maori mind, the idea of boarding a long distance ocean going vessel would not have been a strange one (Howe, 2006). If Omai of Tahiti could find his way here on Cook's 1769 voyage, and Maori, like Ruatara, to Australia and England on various ships in the early 1800s (Salmond, 1991, 1997), then it is not beyond the imagination to think that Maori, over that period, also found their way to other ports like Hawai'i, just as Hawaiians were finding their way to New Zealand.

Hawaiians frequently visited New Zealand as sailors in American whaling ships cruising the Pacific, and some of these men settled among the Maoris on the Auckland east coast. They were called 'Oahu men' (Cowan, 1966, p.60).

Since the late 19th century through to the present day, Maori have travelled to Hawai'i for work, as part of Maori concert touring parties, as university students, on route to other northern hemisphere destinations, and as tourists. More frequently, Maori have travelled there as Mormons, that is, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS).

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS)

Mormons are a product of a religious movement begun in 1830 by Joseph Smith. Amidst the apostasy of New England Christians, Joseph Smith received a vision from God telling him that there were no true religions on earth. Later, from the angel Moroni, he received a calling to lead God's restored church on earth, to turn the hearts of fathers and children, and to avoid a calamity of judgement upon the earth (Davies, 2003). Like Moses, Joseph Smith received a similar yet different set of tablets that became the Book of Mormon. He went on to found the LDS Church (Brooke, 1994; Davies, 2003).

Brooke (1994) who wrote about Mormon cosmology, the official website of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (see <http://www.mormon.org>), and other writers on Mormonism (Ludlow, 1992; Persuitte, 2000) all refer to the 'Plan of Salvation'. The Plan of Salvation, or cosmology of the church has a familiar yet different shape. It describes humanity's place in the universe and the purpose of life. Pre-existence is a place, existing prior to mortality, where all of life was created in spirit form. God proposed spirits be sent to earth to be proven and, if worthy, receive added "glory". Competing with God, Satan proposed that every soul would be saved, that Satan would receive God's power, and human agency would be eliminated. When God rejected that plan, the war tore heaven apart resulting in Satan and a third of the spirits becoming devils. For the remainder, Gods' plan prevailed. The LDS Church teaches that upon death, the spirit goes to a spirit world until resurrection. A spirit can be resurrected to one of three kingdoms. The celestial kingdom is reserved for those who accept Jesus Christ and receive all LDS saving ordinances, either as a mortal or by proxy; the terrestrial kingdom is reserved for righteous persons who refuse to accept the tenets of the Church, and for those who do not keep the covenants they commit to; and lastly, the telestial kingdom is reserved for the wicked. There is another place, called outer darkness that is reserved for Satan, his associates, and for those who after coming to know God choose to reject God. He or she denies Jesus Christ and the Plan of Salvation. Those in the celestial kingdom through self-development and pursuit of virtue, progress to become joint heirs with Jesus Christ; becoming gods and goddesses that participate in the eternal creative process of having spirit children. The Church teaches that the

family is the basic unit of the kingdom of God on earth with Church activities designed to help the family as a unit progress towards eternal life. According to Walsh (2007), to attain eternal salvation, families are expected

To proclaim the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people;

To perfect the Saints by preparing them to receive the ordinances of the gospel and by instruction and discipline to gain exaltation;

To redeem the dead by performing vicarious ordinances of the gospel for those who have lived on the earth (para 9-11).

Families are the basic unit within the Church. It has a variety of levels of priesthood; geographically defined wards or congregations led by bishops; stakes or regions led by stake presidents; the quorum of seventy who serve as area presidents around the world; a quorum of apostles; and the Prophet, form the Church structure (Davies, 2003). Presently, the headquarters of the LDS Church is in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.

While the Church is hierarchically organized, Walsh (2007) has noted that:

Mormonism is a way of life and not a Sunday-only religion. Latter-day Saints are encouraged to dedicate themselves, their families, their substance, their time, their talents, and everything they have upon the face of this world to furthering the purposes of God. While Sunday worship services only last three hours per week, a typical family is likely to spend many hours each week in Church-related activities, meetings, and service (Walsh, 2007, para 16).

Erving Goffman (1962) uses the term “total institutions” for wholistic life systems of this sort. Personal struggles are relieved or just never arise so long as the person accepts the prescribed pattern of life (Goffman, 1962). Although converts to Mormonism accept this way of life establishing the LDS Church was not an easy matter (Ludlow, 1992). Joseph Smith and his early followers were persecuted for what was perceived at the time as radical departures from the standard Christian story. They were considered heretics. They were chased out of community after community. To illustrate the strength of victimization and marginalization that the

LDS Church was subjected to, Joseph Smith was killed for his leadership and views. His followers were systematically made unwelcome or expelled from those places they congregated and for the religion they promulgated (Ludlow, 1992). Even when, in 1890, the Church officially did away with the practice of polygamy, the stigma continued (Van Wagoner, 1989). This history also conditioned the Saints to steel themselves against non-believers, to seek out safe places and to know who their friends were (Gedicks, 1999). They chose isolation and withdrawal to reinforce and pursue their beliefs, and, as a missionary church, to test and strengthened the commitment of members through the process of bearing testament, and proselytizing (Gedicks, 1999).

According to the official LDS Church website, membership is approaching 13 million world wide with about 96,000 members in New Zealand (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2007). I suspect that the statistics released by the Church also include non-practising members as Statistics New Zealand records only 39,912 affiliated with the Church in 2001² (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Though initially founded on a rural agricultural ethic the church moved to become a financial and powerful business organization but still with an emphasis on work and material success as evidence of virtue.

Maori and the LDS Church

According to Mormon cosmology, Maori fall into the same category as Native Americans.

Mormon doctrine teaches that American Indians are remnants of a Book of Mormon people – the Lamanites – a race descended from a migrant band of ancient Israelites with a tarnished past but with great promise and a specific mission in the Mormon millennial scheme. ...Mormons teach that Polynesians are likewise descendants of a Book of Mormon peoples, and missionary efforts have been

² The statistics on religion from the 2006 Census are yet to be released.

remarkably successful among the Maori of New Zealand and in Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawai'i (Eliason, 2001, p71).

The primary LDS motivation for seeking converts amongst Maori was to spread the word of God and to offer redemption to a 'lost tribe of Israel' (Eliason, 2001; Ramstad, 2003). The Church had earlier launched a major mission amongst Native Americans in the 1830's, and in the 1840's and 1850's turned their attention to the Pacific (Eliason, 2001; Ramstad, 2003). The first missionaries to Hawai'i arrived in 1850, and to Maori communities in the 1880's after their earlier and largely unrewarded efforts at conversion amongst New Zealand settler communities (Hunt, 1971).

By about 1900, after about a decade of concerted Mormon missionary outreach in Maori communities, the LDS church was said to have nearly a tenth of the Maori population amongst its members. Underwood (2000), in his examination of why Mormonism was so popular with Maori, concluded that it provided a cosmological world view aligned with Maori history of migration from Hawaiki, and with Maori lived experience of colonial subjugation. Maori questioned the part that the Anglicans, Catholics and other colonial churches played in colonization through the 1800's. The LDS missionary work in Maori communities occurred later in the 1880's and they were not so tainted with this earlier colonial history. Moreover, the coming of the LDS church to Maori was said by Hunt (1971) to have been earlier prophesied by Toroa Pakahia in 1845, Tawhiao in 1879, and Paora Potangaroa in 1881. All these things smoothed the way for the acceptance by Maori of Mormonism. Eventually, Mormon Maori communities were established at Bridge Pa (Hawkes Bay), North Auckland, and Porirua, and finally in Hamilton in the mid-1950's.

One of the practices of the LDS Church of the day was the desire for members to gather in Zion, that is, Salt Lake City, Utah, to participate in Temple ordinances. I have already mentioned, in chapter four, Hirini Whaanga Christy and his family's visit to Salt Lake City in 1894. In 1913, Stuart Meha and five other Maori men are also reported to have travelled to Utah "to receive their endowment in the Salt Lake Temple" (Cowan, 1990, pp109-110). Recognising the hardship caused to members by this expectation and concerned to ensure that all the privileges of the church were extended to its Pacific members, church leader President Joseph F Smith

declared, in 1915, that a Temple be built at Lai'e, Hawai'i, later dedicated in 1919 (Cummings, 1961).

As part of its doctrine, the LDS church placed a high premium on education. Through the 1800s they engaged in building libraries and education facilities that, in the early 1900's, formed an elaborate church school system of three university colleges, nineteen academies and eight seminaries around the world (Hunt, 1971). Hunt (1971) records that in New Zealand, the Maori Agricultural College, for the education of Maori boys, was built and opened in 1913 near Hastings. Eighteen years later, in 1931, the college, like many other buildings in the Hawkes Bay region, suffered severe earthquake damage. The College was subsequently closed; however, in just under twenty years of operation the graduates it had trained were to become influential church and community leaders much like those graduates of the nearby Church of England colleges of Te Aute and Hukarere. LDS church leaders recognized this potential and realized that the church itself would need the leadership of educated youth in the future (Hunt, 1971). To fill the gap left by the destruction of the Maori Agricultural College, the LDS church later built the Church College of New Zealand at Tuhikaramea, Hamilton, and, on the adjoining campus, situated the New Zealand Temple. They were both dedicated in 1958. Tuhikaramea, or Templeview, as it is presently known, became the educational and spiritual center of the LDS Church in New Zealand and served as a magnet for members in New Zealand and the South Pacific. Having served its members for 49 years, Church College is in the process of closing its doors as a secondary school. The Temple remains.

As mentioned above, the Hawai'i Temple opened in 1919; later, the Church College of Hawai'i opened in 1955. The Church College of New Zealand remained a secondary school facility while, in 1974, the college in Hawai'i evolved to become a branch campus of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Today, BYU-Hawai'i is a four-year liberal arts school with about 2,400 undergraduate students (Brigham Young University Hawai'i, 2007). These building projects corresponded with the Church's 20th century view that members of the church should refrain from "gathering to Zion" in America, and encourage "the faithful to stay and strengthen the church in their own lands" (Cowan, 1990, p.109). While this is so, BYU-H attracts students from all over the world, especially from the Pacific (Brigham Young University Hawai'i, 2007).

Church building projects in the Pacific were not restricted to New Zealand and Hawai'i. During the 1950's the church developed a process for harnessing the significant energy and commitment of its members. Known as 'labour missionaries' members were 'called' to serve on building projects across the Pacific. These callings re-vitalised the Church and offered a model of cooperative effort as a basis for community, loyalty and faith. Cowan wrote

...all of the construction was done by volunteer labor. Beginning in 1950 the church had devised the labor missionary program to build badly needed chapels and schools in the Pacific. Experienced builders, responding to mission calls, acted as supervisors. Young men, from the islands, also serving as missionaries, donated their labor, learning valuable skills in the process. The local saints did their part by feeding and housing these missionaries. Most of the volunteers were Maoris from New Zealand although each of the other Pacific missions agreed to provide four workers throughout the period of construction despite having extensive building projects of their own (Cowan, 1990, p.115).

Just as 'outside' members were serving in New Zealand, Maori were also serving in other parts of the world, including Hawai'i.

The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC)

In both New Zealand and Hawai'i, the LDS church sought to provide employment through some commercial development that would sustain community members. In the early period, a farm maintained the Temple View community, and a plantation, the Lai'e community. In the case of the latter, it became apparent that plantation farming was inadequate for the needs of students and their families attending the then Church College of Hawai'i. According to the PCC website (<http://www.polynesia.com/>) fund raising activities took advantage of visiting tourists and during the 1940's church members in Lai'e started a 'hukilau', a fishing festival with food and entertainment highlighting the Pacific connections of its community. During the 1950's, students at the college put together a show of South Pacific island songs and dances, which bus loads of visitors would come to see; a

well organized tourist business activity. In the early 1960's, work began on permanent show facilities.

Over 100 "labor missionaries" again volunteered to help build the Polynesian Cultural Center's original 39 structures on a 12-acre site that had previously been a taro (plant whose roots are used to make poi) patch. Skilled artisans and original materials from the South Pacific were imported to ensure the authenticity of the village houses; and on October 12, 1963, the Polynesian Cultural Center opened its gates to the public (<http://www.polynesia.com/>).

Many Maori participated in the construction of 'the Maori village' at the Polynesian Culture Centre (PCC). From my own observations of the PCC complex, the Maori village is comprised of: an external wall; forecourt area; of absolute and unexpected excellence is the whare whakairo carved by Hone Taiapa and students from the NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute; a large canoe pavilion; and highly decorated carved pataka or food store.

It is, mostly, a site of tourist engagement, but occasionally becomes a ritual centre. One memorable occasion was the visit of a significant Maori delegation led by the late Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu and Dr Henare Tuwhangai in 1978, homeward bound from the opening of the NZ Consulate in Washington DC (Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, personal communication 2007). Similarly, the author, in 1996, observed a welcome to the travelling haka group, Ngati Rangiwewehi.

Today, the LDS community in Hawai'i is characterised by three institutions: the Temple, the BYU-H University and the Polynesian Cultural Centre. These institutions, in my view, reflect four 'drives' central to the LDS church: faith, education, community and activity, the latter being related to work, industry and endeavour (Davies, 2003).

Whanaungatanga, that is families and relationships, and whakapapa (through genealogical study for the baptism of the dead) remain consistent tenets of the Mormon faith. Relationships between people and within communities, and the understanding of social responsibility and familial obligation, underscore the endurance of this hierarchic church, and its appeal to Maori, something recognized by Schwimmer (1968a). Through family ties and networks sustained by church doctrine and the valuing of the individual within the context of the family, a

structured lifeway of safety, rewards and security may be realized and enjoyed (Schwimmer, 1968a). This is reinforced by whakapapa, which has been refined to an arcane scholarly discipline within LDS tradition, informing sacred practice and particular ritual, namely baptism of the dead, or temple baptism (Davies, 2003). Recitation of family names, their specific narratives and memories, the mana they invoke, the significance of place and personality, all made immense and immediate sense to Maori on their first encounter with Mormon teachings; it was a gentle and automatic confluence of beliefs and related values. People knew their places, the scheme of things was safely and clearly delineated; through hard work and conscientious application, the world could be yours. As Schwimmer (1968a) put it,

The Church is concerned not only with spiritual, but also with social and economic welfare. It directs the whole of life, in the same way as Maori social groups try to direct the whole of life (p.54).

New Zealand and Hawai'i : Similarities and Differences

It is important to write something about the parallels between Maori and Hawaiian peoples, and the New Zealand and Hawai'i contexts. Dubbed the 'meeting place' of the Pacific, Hawaiian history is rich in parallels with that of Maori and New Zealand. My own observations, reading and discussions with Maori and Hawaiians, have allowed me to form some impressions of the parallels and differences between cosmologies and colonial history, relative to each context.

It is not my purpose here to complete a rigorous review of this area. What I do want to do, though, is to make the point that such things may well provide Maori with some leverage into what is referred to, in Hawai'i, as 'local' culture. This term needs some definition, especially as the idea of 'local' in Hawai'i is referenced beyond Hawaiian culture. Official Hawaiian statistics are unclear about the actual ethnic mix of the population in Hawai'i, but a frequently repeated claim on tourism websites (eg., <http://www.hawaii.com>) is that the Hawai'i population is comprised of over 200 ethnic groups, creating a unique mix of histories, customs, cuisines, languages, and life ways. Local culture, as it is referred to, is derived from familiarity and adoption of these diverse ways, particularly those of the native

indigenous population. For example, knowledge of Hawaiian cosmological characters like Pele and Maui and of Hawaiian monarchs are taken for granted aspects of local culture. So, too, are foods like poi, ahi, aku and laulau. Hawaiian pidgin is a mix of languages (English, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese) developed to facilitate communication between plantation workers. Knowledge of Hawaiian pidgin is one way to identify ‘locals’ from ‘others’, as is adherence to local customs, like the sharing of food or removing one’s shoes before entering a home. Being ‘local’ means that one has learned the appropriate behaviour norms, expectations, customs and attitudes of living in Hawai’i. In contrast, the term ‘Haole’ is similar to Pakeha in New Zealand, and is usually used to refer to white Americans from mainland USA. It can also be used descriptively, sometimes in a derogatory way, and in contrast to ‘local’ culture, to highlight culture patterns typical of mainland USA.

Parallels in Cosmology

All Pacific cosmologies have many characters and terms in common. The table below lists common cosmological places, gods, demi-gods, roles and significant practices. Maori believe that, on passing from this world, the spirit returns to Hawaiki, the place from whence we came, and join with those that have passed on before. Throughout the Pacific there are places known as Hawaiki, for example, Savai’i in Samoa, and Hawai’i, the Big Island, in the Hawai’i chain. Hawai’i is probably not the Hawaiki that Maori refer to, but the fact that it carries such a name is enough to engender a reference to this tradition in the Maori mind. Under Hawaiki in the table below, are listed deities held in common by both Maori and Hawaiians, even if there are differing accounts of what each character may have achieved. These go down to Maui, often described as half god, half human. Maui is followed by two role/leadership related entries, and then the list concludes with whakapapa. Maori and Hawaiians are described in the anthropological literature as engaging in ancestor worship. By examining the lists in this table, it is easy to see that there are many parallels making for easy recognition, by Maori, of characters, narratives, roles, and, to a certain extent, values (Kanahele, 1986).

Table 2 Parallels in Cosmology – Maori vs Hawaiian

New Zealand	Hawaiian
Hawaiki	Hawai'i
Mahuika	Pele
Rata	Laka
Tiki	Ki'i
Tangaroa	Kanaloa
Tumatauenga	Ku
Tane	Kane
Rongo	Lono
Haumietiketike	Haumia
Rangi (atea)	Wakea
Papa	Papa
Tawhaki	Kaha'i
Hinemarama	Malama
Maui	Maui
Tohunga	Kahuna
Ariki	Ali'i
Whakapapa	Mo'ō kupuna

Parallels in Colonial History

Captain James Cook, who was in New Zealand waters in 1769 and 1777, was killed by the Hawaiians in 1779 a point made much of by Hawaiians I have met, they, believe that Hawaiians finished off the job that Maori should have done first.

Hawaiian colonial history has a similar pattern to that of Maori, but differs in many regards. As in the New Zealand case (See chapter 2), first discovery of the Hawai'i islands in 1778 was followed by commercial voyages and traders (Dudden, 2004).

Guns were introduced to the very powerful leader Kamehameha (Morrison & Kiefer, 2003), who was differently motivated to the Maori Hongi Hika, a name that still sends shudders through the Maori world (Wilson, 1985). Kamehameha made the

Hawaiian islands and their peoples subservient to him, or, in the more popular accounts, unified Hawai'i (Morrison & Kiefer, 2003). In contrast, Hongi Hika's intent was revenge, not subjugation, always retiring after warring with others to his tribal homeland in the north of the North Island (Cloher, 2003). Plantation cropping was established in Hawai'i with immigrant labour and a trader government put in place in 1840 (Dudden, 2004). As exposure to outsiders increased, introduced diseases took their toll. Congregational missionaries used Hawaiian language translations of the bible as the basis of literacy and set down the foundation of modern day schooling (Grimshaw, 1989). And like the New Zealand case, traditional land tenure systems inevitably began to be disrupted (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

In Hawai'i, the colonizers were initially British, and then American (Silva, 2004). In 1898 the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to America after the earlier overthrow and imprisonment, in 1893, of Hawaiian leader Queen Liliuokalani, who was subsequently forced to abdicate her throne in 1895. Hawai'i continued to receive immigrants, often people of colour (English, Hawaiian, Portugese, Japanese, Phillipino, Chinese), mostly to serve as plantation labourers. As most were men, many found wives and established families with Hawaiian women (Lal, Munro, & Beechert, 1993), although Beaglehole (1937) reported that in subsequent generations, particularly amongst Asiatics, an ingroup preference for same group marriage was re-emerging.

With American involvement in Hawaii, growth and modernization accelerated. Critical to the strategic position of America in the Pacific, the U.S. Navy set up its giant Pacific headquarters at Pearl Harbor and the Army built a huge garrison at Schofield Barracks (Landauer, 1999). Hawai'i continues to play host to thousands of military personnel and their families. In both World Wars, and the Vietnam War, Hawai'i was used as a mission launching point, a recreational and recovery space, as well as becoming itself, that is, Pearl Harbour, the target of enemy fire (Landauer, 1999).

Hawai'i has been a tourist destination since the time of the early commercial voyages. Tourism publications, like the Lonely Planet Guide to Hawai'i, lure visitors by highlighting Hawai'i's warm tropical/subtropical climate, soaring mountains, rainforests, sandy beaches, crystal clear waters, tropical sea life, 'friendly natives' often sexualized, and 'aloha spirit'. These ideas of 'paradise' (see Buck,

1993), continue to attract people from all over the world. Those aspects of Hawaiian culture that outsiders valued were given attention, appreciated, and, by default, evolved, for better or for worse. For example, Hawaiians now have an amazing musical arts industry. However, just as the Maori language was undervalued in New Zealand, so too was the Hawaiian language.

In 1937, commenting on the assimilation of Hawaiians to American culture, Ernest Beaglehole wrote

The degree to which this already large participation in the values of American culture will increase with the passage of time depends upon whether or not there develops in Hawai'i a renaissance of Hawaiian culture and a resurgent Hawaiian nationalism. There are some who see, as through a glass darkly, the beginnings of such a movement in the territory. There are others, Hawaiians as well as whites, who see nothing in the mirror but the bald reflection of the present. The matter is not unimportant. Is the future of the Hawaiians to be complete assimilation to dominant patterns of American culture or will there arise Hawaiian leaders to urge the merits of cultural nationalism and lead a following to a cherished land? Depending on the answer to this question lies a judgement as to the claim of Hawaiian language, arts, crafts, to a place in the syllabus of school and university study (Beaglehole, 1937, p148).

Since 1937, things have changed, and unlike the New Zealand situation, Hawaiians had no equivalent to the Treaty of Waitangi against which to gain leverage for their concerns. In fact, since being annexed to the USA in 1898, Hawaiians had no other avenue to have historic grievances heard than to petition the US Congress. Given the levels of US Government, petitioning Congress is an extremely difficult task, just as petitioning the British monarch has been a fruitless task for Maori. In 1993, the successful passing of a resolution of Congress to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, was extraordinary (U.S. Public Law 103-150 (S.J. Res. 19), Nov. 23, 1993).

Hawaiian language and studies are taught as university level subjects, a preschool Hawaiian language programme known as Punanaleo has been widely established ('Aha Punana Leo, 2006), and health services are organized in ways more responsive to the needs of Hawaiian peoples (Papa Ola Lokahi, 2004).

Hawaiians are concerned for their own voice and future as recent publications attest (Barker, 2005; Dudley & Agard, 1990; Greymorning, 2004; Kanahele, 1986; Trask, 1999). And protest has also been successful, one recent success being the return of the island of Kaho'olawe from the US military in 1994 (Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, 2007). The island had previously been used as a penal colony, for ranching, a forest reserve, and for military target practice. It can now only be used for: preservation and practice of all rights customarily and traditionally exercised by native Hawaiians for cultural, spiritual, and subsistence purposes; for the preservation and protection of its archaeological, historical, and environmental resources; for the rehabilitation, revegetation, habitat restoration, and preservation; and for education.

There is, of course, a State department, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs which like its New Zealand equivalent sits uncomfortably between the desires of Hawaiian activists, the State bureaucracy, and Hawaiian aristocracy.

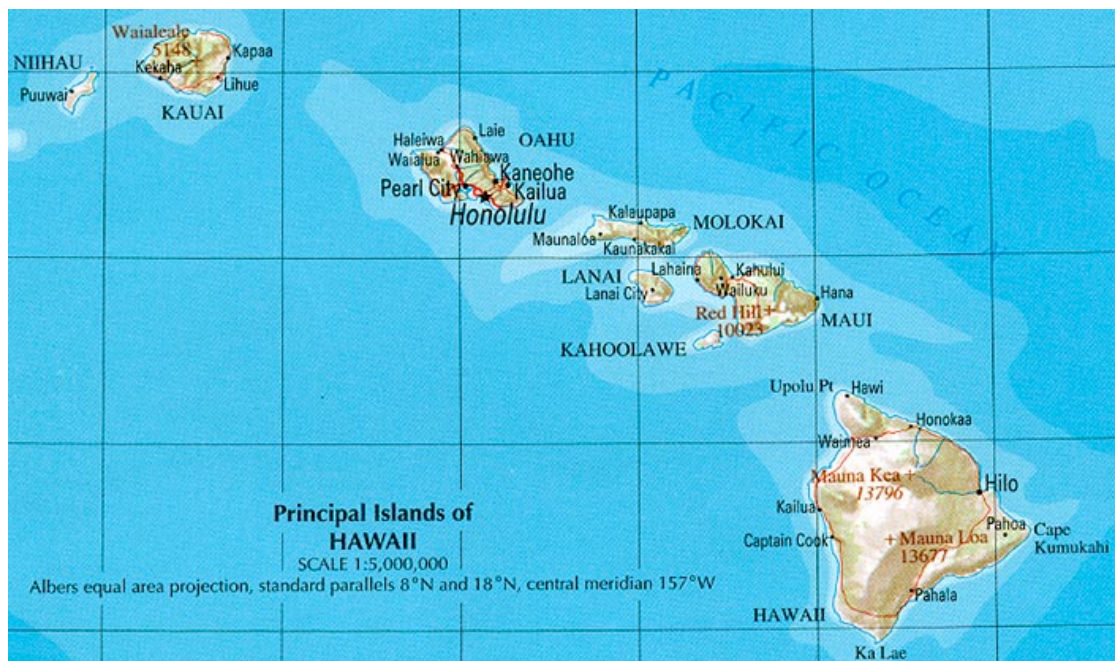


Figure 2. Map of Hawai'i

Source: *National atlas of the United States [electronic resource]*. (1997). Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://www-atlas.usgs.gov/>

In 2000, Hawai'i was populated by about 1.4 million people, and of this number, about 160,000 were visitors to the islands³. Honolulu is the State Capital of Hawai'i and is situated on the island of Oahu. Oahu is 1555 square kilometres in size and was populated by some 877,000 people. The heaviest concentration of residents (some 372,000 people) on Oahu was in the Honolulu cosmopolitan area. Places on Oahu with more than 30,000 residents of were Kailua, Kane'ohe, Pearl City, and Waipahu. By comparison, La'ie had a small resident population of about 4,800 people and it can be described as a small town with very big attractions. La'ie is home to the Polynesian Cultural Centre, Brigham Young University of Hawai'i, and the LDS Church's Hawai'i Temple. It is also where most Maori in Hawai'i live and the site where I completed most, but not all, of my interviews for the second group of participants in this study.

Cosmologies and Values

Religious or cultural cosmologies seek to explain the existence of the universe, our purpose in it, and what will become of us. It seeks to answer the questions: Who am I? Where am I going? Culturally, for Polynesian groups, these questions can be answered within the framework of cosmological and historic precedent. Such precedents explain and position Pacific peoples as tribal or island or village beings, who explore lives together before returning to Hawaiki at death. But cosmologies do more than structure human existence. They also provide meaning, value and morality.

In chapter five, I reviewed a values framework developed by James Ritchie (1992). In that framework, he presented what he saw as the five most dominant aspects of valuing present in the Maori world. They were the values and processes of wairuatanga (spirituality), manaakitanga (care and regard), kotahitanga (unity and

³ My field work in Hawai'i was conducted in 1996. The statistics provided here are taken from the State of Hawai'i Data Book (2000). This data book provides comparisons between statistics for 1990 and 2000.

cohesion), rangatiratanga (chieftainship and leadership) and whanaungatanga (relationality, responsibility and obligation). If I do as Ritchie urges (1992), that is, to use his framework to understand the interaction of values with each other, and, within and across the social contexts they play out in, the framework gains interpretive strength. We can begin to understand why there is an attraction for Maori to convert to Mormonism, and to move to Hawai'i. The attraction lies in familiar cosmologies – in the beliefs, histories, and, in present lives and promised futures. It helps to answer questions of identity and purpose without departing too radically from what might be in essence a very Maori way of viewing the world. Mormon values and principles, in my view, correspond very closely with those of Maori, being far more convergent than divergent.

The present study

The preceding chapters have set the scene for this present research. It is comprised of two narrative interview studies of Maori people in two different settings, New Zealand and Hawai'i. The two settings have some commonalities and differences, but, in both, Maori are required to make decisions about the continuity of their ethnic Maori identities and hereditary cultural identities, that is, iwi, hapu and whanau, and the part that they wish these identities to play in their daily lives. Some may make identity choices based on exclusive either/or categories, and some may want the best of both worlds and make both/and choices. The latter seems to be the mode supported by the literature earlier reviewed.

The patterns I have identified in the literature surveyed suggest that Maori have used a range of strategies to accommodate, rather than assimilate to, pressures and changes in the New Zealand, and later, for those who moved, the Hawaiian social environments. They integrated into the Maori world new technologies (guns, agriculture, industrial technology) that allowed the evolution of different patterns of interaction between themselves and with immigrant settlers. They actively met colonial incursion by adapting traditional leadership forms to evolve new religious and resistance movements. When that did not work, they turned to other forms of more settled resistance through political and legal mechanisms. Even when urbanization became a necessity, and allowed 'movers' the benefits of capitalism,

living among Pakeha continued to highlight ethnicity and difference especially at times when cultural expectations were hard to deny (eg., tangi).

In more recent years, as evident in the work by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Jane and James Ritchie, Ralph Piddington and his graduates, and Mason Durie, it is clear that Maori do not wish to 'give up' their social and cultural identities. Instead, they wish to enjoy all the benefits of citizenship as promised in article three of the Treaty of Waitangi, including the option to choose their own life ways and expressions, and to be self-determining as individuals and as members of collectivities. To this end, persistent Maori renaissance and resistance activities, begun in the time of Apirana Ngata (Walker, 2001), continue with strength in the 21st century. The Maori vision has expanded beyond tribal boundaries and urban settings overseas to distant shores, like Hawai'i, continuing perhaps our distant voyaging traditions away from Hawaiki, those places we left behind. How we create meaning in our lives and maintain our social identities across and within those contexts we move through is the focus of this research.

Objectives

This study explores both the old and new places Maori find themselves in and how we forge our social identities within them. It is about coming to know how Maori view themselves and their connections with and conceptions of 'whanau', 'hapu' and 'iwi'. This is what this thesis is about.

Chapter Seven Methodology

Overview

I start this chapter with a discussion of where this study is positioned with respect to the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology. This is followed by a short discussion of the subjectivity vs objectivity debate where I draw upon Patton's (1990) "paradigm of choice" to give substance to the conceptual and methodological decisions that I have made. Challenges and criticism of the Western world view and the Western paradigm of research are reviewed to highlight the need for care and alertness in conducting Maori focused research, in particular, I stress the importance of being wary of biases that stem from deterministic thinking, ethnocentrism and self-contained individualism. Lastly, I examine that literature produced primarily by Maori writers on Maori approaches to research. I conclude with an assessment of my methodology with those steps that Bevan-Brown (1998) sees as important for successful research with Maori. In the following two chapters I present the procedures I used to collect the data for this project.

Research Questions

As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, this study is about the new places Maori find themselves in and how they forge their cultural identities within them. It is about coming to know how Maori view themselves and their connections with and conceptions of 'whanau', 'hapu' and 'iwi'. More exactly, the research question of concern is: How do Maori conceive of their various socio-cultural identities?

The research questions I have posed fall within what Patton (1990, p.153) describes as *basic research*. Basic researchers within the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology seek answers to questions such as:

Anthropology: What is the nature of culture? How does culture emerge? How is it transmitted? What are the functions of culture?

Psychology: Why do individuals behave as they do? How do human beings behave, think, feel, and know?

Sociology: What holds groups and societies together? How do various forms of social organisation emerge and what are their functions? What are the structures and processes of human social organisation?

In contrast, applied research seeks to discover new ways of doing things. Applied researchers are interested in the *how*s of a process. Patton (1990, p.154) provides examples of applied questions as they relate to the same disciplines.

Anthropology: How can the culture of a small minority group be preserved when that group is engulfed by a larger or more powerful people with a different culture?

Applied psychology: How can individuals become aware of, take control of, and change dysfunctional attitudes and behaviours?

Applied sociology: How can people of different races, religions, or socio-economic statuses live and work together productively within a community?

Clearly the central questions of this study are positioned within the basic research interests of anthropology in that I am interested in the nature, emergence, maintenance and transmission of culture, and also of psychology, in that I am interested in describing and explaining how people behave think, feel and know. Although I have a partial interest in sociological questions, I am more occupied with people's conceptions and perceptions of themselves within a system of human organisation. I am not particularly focused on social organisation or on structures and processes.

This research does not have an explicit *applied* intention even if the outcomes of this work have application to understanding a range of issues within the Maori world. The important characteristic that defines this work as *basic* research, rather than *applied*, is its focus on describing and explaining what is, rather than seeking to change what is.

In summary, this research is clearly positioned as both anthropological and psychological in nature, and *basic* in focus.

The pathway to knowledge has and continues to be controversial and constantly debated by methodologists and philosophers. At the centre of this debate are two competing inquiry paradigms. The first is that of *logical-positivism*, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalizations, and whose end objective is prediction and control. The second is that of *phenomenological inquiry* which uses qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. Understanding may involve prediction and control but does not require it. One can find in most methodology texts a review of this debate (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Meyers, 1997; Miller & Fredericks, 1994; Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch, Parker, & Watson, 1998; Patton, 1990; Robson, 1993; Silverman, 1997; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). I do not intend to do that here; however, it is important to highlight aspects so that the reader might understand how I have arrived at the approach taken to this research. From this debate I have selected to discuss the following as they are the issues that are most highlighted in critiques of research on or about Maori.

- Subjectivity vs. objectivity
- Critiques of ‘the Western’ paradigm of knowledge
- Maori approaches to research

Subjectivity versus objectivity

Central to the qualitative vs. quantitative debate is the very nature of knowledge itself. Logical positivism posits that: if it exists, it can be measured; if it can be measured, it can be modelled and predicted. Knowledge, therefore, is quantifiable and representations of it can be made numerically. The objectivity of the researcher is therefore a necessary requirement and is controlled through adhering to the *scientific method* (Young & Arrigo, 1999). This comment is particularly pertinent to my own discipline of psychology, one that has sought legitimation of its authority to control and predict variables through the use of the scientific method. If the control of variables for predictive power and authority is the objective of the scientific method, then where is the place of understanding and meaning making? In this

regard, the objective of ‘understanding’ is necessarily subjective, being social in nature and meaning.

In contrast to logical positivism, phenomenology asserts that humans create scientific categories and social facts. Social facts are created by first proclaiming the existence of some social form (phenomena) and then, through their own efforts, creating that reality (noumena) (Kant, 1976). This view maintains that the researcher and their values are an integral part of the research process and of creating knowledge. Subjectivity is part and parcel of the research process.

In their comprehensive review of the qualitative research methods literature, Murphy et al (1998) are of the view that logical positivism is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain, especially given the evidence that the

...social world is different and that the parallels between the study of nature and the study of human beings and their society cannot be exact. ...The idea that human actions are governed by laws of behaviour, may be superficially attractive but [logical positivism] has found it hard to resist the consistent demonstration that human action may be better understood as a creative act of rule-orienting rather than an automatic act of rule following. The latter points towards inductive rather than deductive approaches as likely to yield more satisfactory results (Murphy et al, 1998, p. 32).

Having read the debates about logical positivism versus phenomenology, the position that appears most sensible to me is that advocated by Patton (1990). In what might appear to be a somewhat non-committal stance, Patton asserts a paradigm of choices.

Rather than believing that one must choose to align with one paradigm or the other, I advocate a paradigm of choices. A paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality. The issue then becomes not whether one has uniformly adhered to prescribed canons of either logical-positivism or phenomenology but whether one had made sensible methods decisions given the purpose of the inquiry, the questions being investigated, and the resources available. The paradigm of choices recognizes that different methods are appropriate for different situations. Situational

responsiveness means designing a study that is appropriate for a specific inquiry situation (Patton, 1990, p.39).

This means that in some sciences (physics, chemistry, biology etc) researchers may well respond to a research question by designing an inquiry that relies on the *scientific method*, as defined by logical positivism, as a means of exploration. A paradigm of choice does not exclude the possibility that these same researchers might also choose some other method, that is, rather than making ‘either/or’ choices, they may well make ‘both/and’ choices! The central task in Patton’s paradigm of choice is that the researcher must clearly rationalise the methodological choices that he or she makes as related to the overall research goals and its appropriateness to research context. This also includes the value positions of the researcher. It is by making these choices explicit that others are able to judge the value and quality of the research outcomes.

Inherent to a paradigm of choices is the idea that there are many ways of knowing and many pathways to knowledge. Much of what has been presented in this chapter so far reflects the concerns of researchers trained in the Western tradition. In the following section, I discuss concerns of indigenous writers with respect to research and ways of knowing.

Critiques of the Western research paradigm

A paradigm is a worldview, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners: Paradigms tell them what is important, legitimate, and reasonable. Paradigms are also normative, telling the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological consideration. But it is this aspect of paradigms that constitutes both their strength and their weakness in that the very reason for action is hidden in the unquestioned assumptions of the paradigm (Patton, 1990, p.37).

Many critiques conducted by indigenous and minority peoples challenge the validity of ‘science’ and of the western world view (Bishop, 1996; Durie, 1998a; Indigena & Kothari, 1997; Jackson, 1998; Mutu, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1991;

Trimble & Medicine, 1993; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Wax, 1991). The impact and effects of 'The West' and 'the Western Worldview' upon indigenous communities are often a major focus of these critiques and it will be helpful at this point to provide definitions before proceeding.

Stuart Hall (1992, p.276-277) defines 'western' as a type of society that is characterised by being "...developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern". In light of feminist critiques of research (Spender, 1985a, 1985b), I might also add 'patriarchal'. Irrespective of geographic location "... any society, wherever it exists on a geographical map, which shares these characteristics, can be said to belong to 'the West'" (1992, p.276-277). Hall proposes that the concept of the West functions in ways that (1) allows 'the West' to characterise and *classify societies into categories*, (2) condenses complex images of other societies through a *system of representation*, (3) provides a standard model of *comparison*, and (4) provides *criteria of evaluation by which other societies can be ranked*.

In defining 'the West' and what is considered 'Western', Hall is essentially pointing to the parameters of the Western paradigm of knowledge. That is, knowledge which has been: gathered by 'the West' through 'Western' validated ways; classified according to categorisation systems meaningful to 'the West' and represented to 'the West' and to the 'Other' through 'Western' validated systems; and compared, evaluated and ranked by standards of 'the West' as the criteria against what is 'normal' and 'acceptable'. "Western" knowledge is processed by "Western" logic, even though the limitations and inadequacies of this position have been extensively evaluated by critical thinkers, like Hall, and others (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Indigenous critiques of the Western paradigm of knowledge have repeatedly highlighted the falseness of basic assumed truths that inform and guide researchers trained in the western tradition (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Research is undoubtedly a value driven and defined activity that can have both positive and/or dire consequence for participants or 'objects' of the research endeavour. Furthermore, it is often the blindness of the researcher to the unquestioned assumptions inherent in a paradigm that lead to such negative consequences.

So, what is it about 'the Western' research paradigm that may result in researcher blindness or bias? Three possibilities are discussed below. They are determinism, ethnocentrism, and self-contained individualism.

Determinism

Emerging out of 17th century thought, the Doctrine referred to as the ‘Great Chain of Being’ pictured nature as a ladder of ideal types (Jahoda, 1999). At the bottom of the ladder was inanimate matter, and at the top, immaterial spirit. Between fell all living things. Simple plants appeared first, then primitive animals and fish, then reptiles, followed by birds and mammals. Occupying a middle position of this ladder stood human kind – half body, half human. Beyond human kind came the angels, and above all was God himself. For those with a vested interest in maintaining the traditional structure of human society, the ‘Great Chain of Being’ became a magnet. It explained and justified the inequalities of human kind, and vindicated a society in which everyone knew their place and no one had pretensions to rise. When taxonomies of human groups, namely race categories, were coupled with biological explanations such as those posed by the Great Chain of Being and Darwinian theory (Darwin, 1880), explanations of the diversity found to exist within the human condition became deterministic.

Determinism holds that all phenomena are determined by preceding occurrences and free will is a myth. Human conditions, seen as unchangeable through individual effort, are, therefore, explained by reference to earlier occurring events that are held to be causal. When linked with the Darwinian argument that all creatures are in competition, it stands to reason that those who are the ‘fittest’ will naturally survive (Martindale, 1981). Of course, the group to which Charles Darwin (1809-1882), the proponent of this theory, and his society belonged, were positioned as the fittest group, ‘white’ men being closer to God than ‘black’ men and women. All other human groups occupied inferior positions.

In the writings of European explorers, discoverers, missionaries and scholars deterministic reasoning was clearly used to make sense of whom or what they encountered and to allocate them inferior positions. For example, the indigenous peoples of the Americas were described as “not men with rational souls but wild men of the woods, for which reason they could retain no Christian doctrine, nor virtue nor any kind of learning” (Pagden, 1982, p. 23). Through the 19th century, the cruel result of deterministic thinking was its “justification of European superiority, the

expansion of their Empires, and the christianisation, colonisation, subjugation and exploitation of New World peoples” (Rosman & Rubel, 1995, p. 17).

Darwinian theory led to a number of followers who postulated a variety of positions, often referred to as ‘race theories’ all drawing from determinism and the idea of ‘natural selection’. It is worth devoting space to a brief review of these theories as they are often glossed over in the methodological literature. Martindale (1981) writes comprehensively of scholars who formulated Darwinist theories. I have relied heavily on his work to compile the following brief profiles.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) stood opposed to state interference in private activity and to state welfare arguing that such activity served to intrude upon and delay the process of natural selection. Martindale (1981) suggests that Spencer’s theories were very agreeable to business groups and captains of industry who justified their successful industrial positions as ‘survival of the fittest’.

William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) described as “the most vigorous and influential social Darwinist in America” (Martindale, 1981, p. 166) argued that the human situation was a struggle for existence and that it was through achievement that individuals, classes and societies would surmount survival. Owning the means of subsistence (property), the production of capital, increasing the fruitfulness of labour and making possible the advance of civilisation (Martindale, 1981) contributed to the captains of industry surviving and prevailing. Sumner’s approach provided justification and energy for the enslavement of Blacks, and the ‘reserving’ of Native Americans, to hasten the spread of capitalism in the Americas. It also reinforced the idea of individual effort, achievement and reward, and the ideology of democracy, all considered valuable by American society today.

In France, Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was concerned with the decline of aristocratic Europe (of which he himself was a member). He found race to be the key to history. Deterministic inequalities between racial groups were sufficient to justify the position of the aristocratic families in a superior position. In his view

everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth, in science, art, and civilization, derives from a single starting point, it belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe (cited in Martindale, 1981, p.169).

The work of Houston Chamberlain (1855-1927) strongly influenced German thought and opinion of themselves as the 'master race'. Chamberlain argued that modern civilisation derived from four sources: Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Teutonic civilisations. To the Teutonics, Chamberlain awarded the prize for the successful fusion of the Roman, Greek and Jewish traditions. That is, he positioned them over all others and claimed for them purity of race that prevented sterility, an understanding of leadership and loyalty to it, which all contributed to Germanic greatness. Here we see the roots of Nazism upon which Adolf Hitler acted. Two other scholars are worth mention especially for their contribution to psychology. Francis Galton (1822-1911), a cousin to Charles Darwin, is described by Martindale (1981) as creating a more scholarly version of the master race theory of Chamberlain. Galton asserted that individual differences were distributed across populations in different frequencies. Mediocrity was attributed to the majority of a population group. Few individuals were *par excellence* in ability. Individual difference was seen as a product of inheritance and education of the mediocre group would not change their position. This same thinking was used to explain the apparent differences between races. In the words of Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994, p. 23),

The theorising was simple: quality breeding stock yields quality offspring. ...The solution was also theoretically simple: give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable.

In the work of Galton, in turn continued by Karl Pearson (1857-1936), we find the roots of the Eugenics movement, that is, the construction of intelligence and its 'scientific' measurement. Intelligence testing, sterilisation, and preferential treatment of the upper classes and the superior race, are but a few practices which stand on the foundations built by Galton and his predecessors.

It is clear that the theorising of the above scholars both informed and confirmed the thinking of the Western world. Scholarly thought affirmed societal and social action; as well as class prejudice, 'race' discrimination and policies of extermination. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, policies of assimilation and integration were also informed by deterministic thinking (Hunn, 1961). The Western world named their superiority through rational, 'scientific' thinking. Through their

expansion into and colonisation of the New World, they claimed what they viewed as their entitlement.

There are important lessons to be learnt from this brief journey through scholarly history. First: that humanity is part of the same family. No one individual or human group is superior to another by virtue of inheritance or entitlement. Secondly, within group and between group differences are more likely to be the product of opportunity, social circumstance, culture or environmental factors rather than determinations based on 'race'. Lastly, although the construct of racial taxonomies has long been invalidated and rejected by the positivistic community as both false and dangerous, such taxonomies remain as 'social fact'. That is, through social use and reference they remain useful in social interactions and to meaning making, however mistaken.

The insidiousness of deterministic thinking in social relations of Aotearoa/New Zealand is just as evident today, as it was when the first colonists stepped ashore with their 'commonsense' view of the world (McCreanor, 1997; McCreanor, 1993). Such deterministic views are evident in media portrayals of Maori (McCreanor, 1989; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006) and Pacific Islanders (Loto et al., 2006) as: good or bad; violent; racially impure; having special privileges; being over sensitive; and trouble makers. While media representations of deterministic thinking may be a simple reflection of persistent racism in society at large, when evidence of such views become apparent in so called reputable research (Gould, 1996), then that is dangerously different. The discussion of cultural bias, stereotyping and drawing false conclusions based on a favourable attitude toward the group that one belongs is treated in the modern literature as ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism in research

That William Graham Sumner (1906) coined the term *ethnocentrism* to refer to "...the view in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p.13). As time and research has transpired, ethnocentrism is now suspected to be a universal cognitive process (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Smith & Bond, 1998; Triandis, 1994). It is suspected that we all have a tendency to be surprised at physical and cultural

differences and to make comparative assessments. In more contemporary definitions ethnocentrism is treated simply as an “evaluative preference for all aspects of ones own group relative to other groups” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2005, p.63). Triandis (1994) identifies four generalizations relevant to an ethnocentric tendency.

1. *What goes on in our culture is seen as 'natural' and 'correct', and what goes on in other cultures is perceived as 'unnatural' and 'incorrect'.*
2. *We perceive our own in-group norms, roles and values are correct.*
3. *We unquestionably think that ingroup norms, roles, and values are correct.*
4. *We believe that it is natural to help and cooperate with members of our in-group, to favor our in-group, to feel proud of our in-group, and to be distrustful of and even hostile toward outgroups (pp.251-2).*

Lonner and Malpass (1994) hold that researchers will invariably bring to the research enterprise ethnocentric views of what is natural, correct, normative, important, legitimate and reasonable, as determined by their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, professional socialization, and training in western methodology, and indeed, Western “science”. They note that manifestations of an ethnocentric bias in the research endeavour are often seen in:

1. A dwelling on what the researcher defines as pathological and the sensational aspects of minorities;
2. The explanation of phenomena outside of their historical, political and social contexts;
3. Interpretations that conclude deficiency, rather than difference;
4. Interpretations that conclude racial, ethnic or cultural inferiority or superiority;
5. Interpretations that conclude loss, rather than adaption;
6. The privileging of western dominant group derived knowledge over non-western, non-dominant group knowledge

Ethnocentric bias is not just confined to dominant group members, or to researchers trained in western methods; researchers who have been socialized in an

indigenous culture are also implicated (as is the writer). However, ethnocentrism is not necessarily negative:

Ethnocentrism gives coherence to collective consciousness by making it relevant - worthy of participation in, worthy of transmitting and defending. When a human population assumes that its collective consciousness-derived identity is not relevant, it generates feelings of inferiority and rootlessness; the group's ability to mobilize resources and organize, particularly against external threats, is inhibited (Stanfield, 1985, p. 393).

Maori, just as all people, need to maintain a sense of collective consciousness, derived through an ethnocentric position, to generate feelings of security, belongingness and identity. This is reflected in indigenous approaches to research. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) maintains that research conducted within a Kaupapa Maori framework must privilege and take for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori ways of knowing and being in the world. This includes Maori language and culture. Given the hegemonic and deterministic nature of the western world view, such an ethnocentric or ‘pro-Maori’ stance on research is not likely to have significant negative consequence, provided that the biases that might result are constantly scrutinized. In the next section I discuss the bias of self-contained individualism before going on to discuss the position of this present study as it relates to Kaupapa Maori research.

Self-contained individualism

Numerous writers have criticised the individualistic value orientation of the Western world view upon which much academic literature is based, particularly that emerging from the United States (Durie, 1984; Fox, 1985; Ho, 1985; Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1994; Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1985; Sampson, 1977; Smith & Bond, 1998; Stanfield, 1985; Thomas, 1991; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Derived from Judeo-Christian tradition, drawn upon by Social Darwinists (Martindale, 1981), and reinforced by capitalism and democracy (Guerin, 2004), individualism “affirms the uniqueness, autonomy, freedom, and intrinsic worth of the individual; [and] ... insists that each one assume responsibility for his or her own

conduct, well-being, and salvation” (Ho, 1985, p. 1215). Individuals are therefore responsible for their own success, and failure. Sampson (1977) uses the term *self-contained individualism* to refer to this value orientation. He defines this as a tendency towards: “... an individualistic social arrangement in which persons wish to be self-contained and self-sufficient in order to be successful” (p.774). The self-contained individual is one “needing or wanting no one, avoiding interdependence and contact with others so as to secure one’s own satisfaction” (p. 778).

Within American psychology, the bias of self-contained individualism manifests in a number of ways. In Table 3 below I have organised in the left column a selection of psychological constructs that are a primary focus of American psychology text books (eg., Hogg & Cooper, 2003). All of these constructs have a bias towards self-contained individualism. In the right hand column I have presented a related construct that stands in direct opposition, to highlight the bias of the construct in the left hand column. Taking the last item in the list as an illustration, many American psychology texts have a chapter dedicated to the discussion and explanation of deviant or abnormal behaviour, presenting explanations mainly at the individual level. Deviancy is behaviour outside the ‘normal’ or ‘acceptable’ range. It might also be described as those behaviours considered characteristic of ‘sub-culture’ groups, like ‘modern primitives’ (Pitts, 2003), gangs (Payne & Quinn, 1997), ‘metallars’ (Snell, 2006) or sexual deviants (Laurie & Evans, 2003). Such behaviour is constructed by psychology as at least strange, if not detrimental to the individual manifesting the behaviour, to others around them, or to society at large. Very little attention is given to the often adaptive and creative nature of so called deviant behaviour, nor to the historical, political and socio-economic back drops against which behaviour is enacted.

Table 3 Examples of self-contained individualism

<i>Constructs with a bias toward self-contained individualism</i>	<i>Constructs without the bias</i>
Autonomous/independent	inter-relatedness/interdependence
self-initiating	consultative
assertiveness	humility
conformity	pro-social behaviour approaches
deviant	adaptive, creative

The bias of self-contained individualism constricts attention to individualistic phenomenon of interest, and individualistic explanations. As the bias is towards viewing the individual as the ultimate unit of responsibility, the likelihood for both readers and researchers to fall into victim blaming and to create self-fulfilling prophecies is great.

A comment on the pervasiveness of American psychology is in order. Fathali Moghaddam and colleagues (Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1985) have been very active in highlighting and criticizing the dominance and negative impact of psychology that is developed and disseminated by the United States. He names this psychology the psychology of the First World. Psychologies that have emerged from Western nations, other than the U.S, he names as ‘the psychology of the Second World’. ‘Third World psychologies’ are those emerging from developing nations. Although he fails to name those psychologies of Fourth World nations, namely indigenous peoples who seek to survive and thrive within First and Second World contexts, his analysis of those Worlds that he has named is still relevant and worthy of discussion.

Moghaddam (1987) insightfully describes how the three worlds “have unequal capacities for producing and disseminating psychological knowledge and for shaping psychology” (p. 912). He describes the ‘industry’ of psychology in the First World as unrivalled and remaining dominant for two main reasons. First, is the availability of resources in the U.S, such as computers, laboratories, sophisticated research equipment, trained personnel, captured samples, university systems and curricula, and an intensive infrastructure, that far outweighs that available to Second

and Third World psychologists. Secondly, the First World not only produces psychological knowledge, but it actively disseminates and exports this knowledge to the Second and Third Worlds who have a lower productive capacity and greater need for imported knowledge. Having control and ownership over publication outlets, for example, publications of the American Psychological Association, further hastens the importing process. The impact of First World psychology upon the Second and Third Worlds is far greater than the reverse.

In addition to those biases described above, it is important to emphasise the monolingual nature of First World psychology (and much of the psychology of the Second World). Because English is the language of First World psychology it remains accessible only to those who understand English. It is also confined by the cognitive forms of the English language and the culture of the First World, in turn, constructing the world in a way particular to that language. English contains encoded western cultural meanings and assumptions. Other languages and cultures produce different cognitive forms that still remain largely inaccessible by First World psychology in spite of the work of cross-cultural psychologists.

Using Moghaddam's (1987) framework, New Zealand/Aotearoa would fall within the Second World. The impact of First World psychology is clearly evident in American text books that are set as compulsory reading in most of our psychology courses; the active Fulbright system that enables researchers from all disciplines in this country and the U.S to interact, and for that matter, with other countries who are able to dedicate resources for such engagement; the predominance of journals edited in the U.S; the attitude that off-shore appointments are more valuable than home grown academics; and in the modelling of course curricula against US standards. As the psychological needs of communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand far outweigh the productive capacity of the local psychology fraternity, the students who are trained become the products and importers, through need, of First World psychology. Before moving on, it is important to point out that the writer is very much a product of a colonial society and education system, and of a psychological discipline that continues the perpetration of Western institutions, attitudes and values. I am constrained by my training just as much as I am constrained by the environment and era in which I have been born. To assert that these constraints are irrelevant because I am Maori is not only inadequate, but dangerous. This idea will be further elaborated in the next section.

Maori approaches to research

The Maori scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century, such as Sir Apirana Ngata (1874-1950) Sir Peter Te Rangihiroa Buck (1880-1951), and Makareti Papakura (1872-1930), have set for Maori scholars of today a standard of research and achievement that, in my view, has yet to be matched. Viewed against the backdrop of improved technology, the ready accessibility of information archives, rapid transport and instantaneous communication facilities, the fact that we are still to surpass their example is somewhat of a mystery. Although this is not the immediate focus of this section, such reflection does turn the spotlight on to a period in our history where work by Maori scholars dominated. Until more recent times, with the exception of the occasional isolated and lonely Maori contribution, the major comprehensive academic works about Maori have been conducted by Pakeha or others from off-shore locations (for example, Ausubel, 1960; Ballara, 1998; Binney, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1977a; Hanson & Hanson, 1983; Heuer, 1972; King, 1977; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Ritchie, 1992; Salmond, 1975, 1991, 1997; Schwimmer, 1968b; Ward, 1973)

Over the last two to three decades there has been increasing participation by Maori as staff and students of academic institutions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Their active participation in both academia and in research with Maori spawned discussion of methodological and ideological issues about conducting research in Maori communities. This discussion was also in response to ongoing allegations made by Maori of researchers, generally. Stokes (1985b) and Te Awekotuku (1991) survey some of these allegations. They include:

1. Maori have been guinea pigs for academic research;
2. Some academics have made successful careers out of being Pakeha experts on Maori, having no ongoing commitment to those communities from which they extract knowledge;
3. Research about Maori has been written in an inaccessible academic framework and language;

4. Maori have not gained a great deal from the research process; research for the sake of knowing is pointless, as is research that tells Maori what we already know.

As debate about research in Maori communities has progressed, a new view of research with Maori has evolved. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* has produced what I believe to be a seminal work on indigenous people and the colonial impact of research, particularly as it relates to Maori. Post-colonial and Foucaultian in flavour, Tuhiwai-Smith profiles indigenous protests and highlights the challenges to Maori who choose to be researchers within their own communities. In her treatment of what has become known as a kaupapa Maori approach to research, Tuhiwai-Smith writes:

One of the challenges for Maori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space – first, some space to convince Maori people of the value of research for Maori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Maori involvement in research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, p. 183).

There is no doubt in my mind that ‘research’, that is: “the work undertaken to increase the knowledge available for utilisation by [Maori] society” (Stokes, 1985, p. 2) continues to be desperately required (Hui Taumata, 2005). Maoridom is changing, adapting and responding to the ecology in which it is embedded at an extremely rapid pace (Hui Taumata, 2005). If we choose not to generate knowledge that allows us to better understand ourselves and the world around us, the adaptations we are making, and the pathways we wish to follow into the future, we choose a position of marginalisation that will border on the eradication of ourselves. The idea that knowledge is power is, of course, central to this argument. However, the greater issue is really who has the power to control the research process and the knowledge generated (Sporle & Koea, 2004). A kaupapa Maori approach to research closely questions the intentions of the researcher, their commitment to those communities

they are working with, and makes salient issues of accessibility, participation and control by those who are the researched.

The other point made by Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) is the importance of employing methodologies and interpretive frameworks that are empowering and critical. In an analysis of Maori research approaches, Jill Bevan-Brown (1998) illustrates the variety of orientations and emphases taken by a range of writers with regard to research with Maori. She presents the outcomes of her analysis around 10 components that she argues can be used as a methodology for Maori research. She suggests that her 10 components “provide a philosophical base on which all Maori research, regardless of its area or subject of investigation, can be based” (Bevan-Brown, 1998, p. 244). In italicised text below, I summarise and present each component that she has proposed. I discuss the merits of each in relation to the current project as one way to consider issues relevant to research with Maori, and at the same time, to assess the robustness of the components Bevan-Brown has proposed.

Maori research must be conducted within a Maori cultural framework

Bevan-Brown argues that research with Maori must be premised upon a Maori value base and within a Maori world view. This project provides space and an open structure for participants to elaborate their experiences and views with respect to their identities. This has the effect of allowing the value base and world view of participants to drive the structuring of the research. That Maori ways of knowing and being have been privileged in this project serves to promote a process that is defined by the participant. My role has been to ensure that the method proposed is agreeable and adequately flexible to accommodate the needs and preferences of the participants.

Maori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required.

In my mind, aside from that of subject and research expertise, the essential issues in this component are what might be referred to as matters of *pacing and matching*. It is important that the researcher is able to locate and position themselves in relation to the participant. If the researcher’s level of cultural knowledge is greater than that of the participant, then it is important that the researcher pace and match themselves

according to the level of the participant to avoid the imposition of unfamiliar cultural frameworks, or of those that make the participant feel inadequate. At the same time, if the researcher feels that they are out of their depth, or if false assumptions are being made by the participant about the researcher's level of cultural competence, then it is incumbent upon the researcher to make this explicit to the participant. More often than not, this is likely to result in the participant adjusting their 'pacing and matching' style.

My research expertise has already been demonstrated through this work as it is presented in earlier and later chapters of this thesis. However, in carrying out this project, it was important that I had a clear idea of my subject area. This enabled me to make appropriate explanations to participants and to communicate to them that I understood the information that they were providing to me. In discussing Bevan-Brown's idea of subject, it seems equally important that the researcher have an idea of context, that is, social, cultural and political. Being embedded in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context required that I had an analysis, broader than my own personal position, of the impacts of this environment upon Maori identities. That I was also conducting research in Hawai'i required that I increased my understanding of the Hawai'i context, and that I assume a position of acolyte to those participants who were far more experienced and knowledgeable of this environment than I was.

Maori research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Maori people and Maori research should result in some positive outcome for Maori.

The importance and concern of this project to Maori has already been discussed in the previous chapter. As Dr Michael Hills put it, in that first year social psychology lecture I attended, an identity is a good thing to have for if it were not for an identity many of us would be lost to suicide, mental illness, and not have a very positive sense of being in the world. The value of this research is in the positive contribution it can make to Maori wellbeing, identity, and understanding culture change and continuities.

As much as possible, Maori research should involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process.

For as much as I agree with this component of Bevan-Brown's framework, the involvement of participants in this project beyond that of informants or interviewees

was not feasible due to distance, time and financial constraints, especially for participants in Hawai'i. Furthermore, that a participant agrees to be interviewed or to be an informant, does not necessarily mean that they also wish to analyse their own data, or that of other people, or wish to be further involved in the project. The researcher should afford to participants an opportunity to become more actively involved in the research process where and when feasible. Here, care needs to be exercised to avoid coercing or obligating a participant into a role that they would prefer not to have. In this project, I have remained open to further participation by informants and participants but have left this over to them to initiate this.

Maori research should empower those being researched. This empowerment should stem from both the research process and product.

The question of identity is a sensitive one. In this project, participants were invited to reflect upon how they came to be the persons they are today and the processes that they draw upon to maintain or develop their sense of selves as Maori. Such a process resulted mainly in participants recognising milestones in their lives, important decisions and pathways they had taken, and life changing opportunities that they had been exposed to. Recognising and dialoguing about these life events seemed to engender in the participant a sense of self-efficacy or empowerment. The participant was provided with an opportunity to 'take stock' of where they were, thus serving as a launching pad to future directions. The research process could have had an opposite effect, resulting in an increased sense of deprivation and dispossession. As far as I am aware, this was not an outcome. Further follow up of participants to establish this would be required, but was not undertaken.

The products of this research are numerous. They include teaching resources for lectures, conference papers (Nikora, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002; Thomas & Nikora, 1996), and, of course, this thesis. These products have allowed Maori students the opportunity to develop similar research directions around the topic of culture change and identity (Gibson, 1999; Goldsbury, 2004; Henry, 2001; Hewson, 2002; Huijbers, 1996; Merritt, 2003; Morrison, 1999; Paewai, 1997; Teddy, 2003; Whangapirita, 2003), and have stimulated audiences to think about the importance of identity, not just to participants in this thesis, but to people generally.

Maori research should be controlled by Maori.

To ensure that research with Maori is “carried out within a Maori cultural framework and that Maori interests and integrity are protected” Bevan-Brown (1998, p. 238) asserts that Maori research should be controlled by Maori. This raises the questions. By which Maori and how? To control, you must have power, something that I possess, but certainly not in great quantities! It seems to me that the importance of this component lies more in the adherence to ethical requirements and the resolution of ethical issues, funding, intellectual property rights, and the ownership and dissemination of knowledge.

I am required to meet those ethical requirements for research as set down by my institution. Although the reviewers of this project found that it adhered to stated research regulations and ethical standards prescribed by the University of Waikato, one still needs to be conscious of the fact that such codes are value driven, and derive from the Western research paradigm. This, in itself, makes a number of dilemmas salient. How does one deal with the individual as an interdependent being? What status does community authority and their value systems have in contrast to those established by institutions and ethical codes? How does one maintain confidentiality or anonymity when the researcher is reliant upon the goodwill of a community to facilitate access to individuals? What are Maori conceptions of ethicality? These are questions that are part of a much larger debate that is occurring amongst Maori and Pacific researchers (Baba, 2004; Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1998).

For this project the most concerning ethical issue for the researcher was entering the Hawai'i context that I was not a part of, and that I only intended to be in for a very short duration (3 weeks). Following my time spent in Hawai'i, distance has compromised the extent to which I have been able to maintain a relationship with those there, although I have made return trips to conferences in 2000 and 2002. With regard to intellectual property rights and the dissemination of information, I have a guardianship role in relation to information shared by participants with me. It has been shared with me according to a set of criteria negotiated with the interviewees. These are: assurances of confidentiality; my ability to use the information for this thesis, as well as dissemination through teaching, conference presentations and academic publications. More important to this contract is the ‘goodwill’ aspect of it. That is: that I will not use the information to bring individuals or communities into disrepute, or to cause harm to them in any way.

Indeed, individuals and communities party to this research should benefit and be empowered by its existence – an outcome that I would argue has, and will, continue to be achieved.

People involved in conducting Maori research should be accountable to the people they research, in particular, and to the Maori community in general.

Bearing a responsibility of caretakership and protection of participants and their information within Maori focused research goes beyond that of ensuring accuracy of information collected, confidentiality, and the product of benefit. The ability to discharge this responsibility is enhanced somewhat by establishing a research whanau of interest (Bishop, 1996), or by having kaumatua as mentors (Irwin, 1994). But these processes often ignore existing accountability systems that are established by whakapapa and interrelatedness structures, by historical precedent, and by reciprocal obligations.

How does this work? Let me use an example. Prior to my father departing for the USA on a Winston Churchill Fellowship in the 1970s, a carved tokotoko (walking stick) was presented to him. This act served to establish not only a relationship between the carver and my father, but obligated me as part of his family to maintain the memory of the act and mutuality with the carver's family. The carver's daughter resided in Hawai'i when I travelled there in 1996. While I was there, she extended hospitality to me on the basis of relatedness and on the actions of her father, serving to reinforce our sense of interrelatedness and, in that instance, my sense of interdependence. Within these interactions there is a responsibility to act reciprocally, with genuine intent, and for the benefit of respective parties. If actions contrary to the expected pattern result, then there are numerous avenues available to both parties to reveal irresponsibility and unaccountability.

I drew upon this system of accountability throughout the research process. With all participants I attempted to establish some point of connection, be that a kin relationship, acquaintances in common, a professional connection, or common historical events. The outcome of this process was the weaving of an accountability web around me that provided to participants avenues for them to air their concerns or hesitations about the research to me, directly or indirectly.

Before continuing to highlight the complexity of issues it raises, it is important to raise the question of 'who is the Maori community in general'? Is it the

community of participants? Is it the Maori community in Hawai'i? Is it the Maori community in New Zealand? Does it include the totality of Maori people, or a subset? And, at the end of the day, who are they? Perhaps the more difficult question is 'How does one remain accountable to such a broad and diverse yet somewhat undefined group? I have offered some answers to these questions as they relate to this research endeavour, but again, much more debate is required before clear answers will emerge.

Maori research should be of a high quality. It should be assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measured against Maori relevant standards.

The rigour of researchers who engage in Maori focused research should not be measured solely against Maori relevant standards, nor should it be assessed only through Maori defined methods. To do so would be to ignore the major, important and exceptionally rigorous contribution by the likes of Te Rangihiroa Buck, Apirana Ngata and Makareti Papakura mentioned earlier in this chapter. These researchers struggled at the intersection of the Maori world and that of Western research traditions. Yet they were able to attain rigour according to both traditions, without compromising the standards of either. I argue that those conducting Maori focused research must measure up according to both Maori methods and standards, and those established by Western research traditions. Choosing to view and measure research endeavour from one perspective, (ie., Maori or Western) risks privileging an approach that may well lead to negative consequence. The availability of a contrasting system aids in establishing rigour, quality and meaning.

A major difficulty in measuring a research project against Maori methods and standards, is that these are yet to be clearly established. The discussion by Te Awekotuku (1991) of research ethics in the Maori community as well as the ethical standards established by her have not been seriously followed, in spite of the fact that her work is frequently cited. The same might be said of standards argued for by Te Puni Kokiri (1999), Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), and by those contributors to the Te Oru Rangahau: research and development conference (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1998). In contrast, the Health Research Council of New Zealand (1997) the major funder of health research in this country, has fared differently. Control over standards, and over assessment and review procedures ensures that researchers at least follow those HRC advised guidelines (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 1997, 1998).

The obvious consequence for not paying heed to the HRC guidelines is non-funding, a strong motivator of compliance.

For this project, little attention was given at the outset to the literature base about standards for Maori focused research. When I first began conceptualising this project and submitted it to ethical review, such literature was very sparse. I passed muster, according to the ethical review process. But I was not confident about how it would be received within the Maori community. As a result, I carried out my own imposed review process that involved consultation with members within those communities that participants would be drawn from, as well as receiving criticism and feedback on my research proposal from Maori colleagues and relatives.

The methods, measures and procedures used in Maori research must take full cognisance of Maori culture and preferences.

It is important *not* to assume that Maori participants will prefer a Maori culturally derived method, measure or procedure. Matching and pacing, as discussed above, are vital. Additionally, it would be wrong to rule out the use of Western derived research processes upon the justification that they are culturally inappropriate and not preferred. This action ignores the potential of Western research processes to be adapted for use in Maori focused research. It also disregards the adaptive quality of Maori as a diverse group, and of culture as an exciting, changing and adaptive dynamic. The preference of the writer is to adopt that position advocated by Patton (1990), that being a paradigm of choices. The method must fit the problem, question, context and people being investigated. I argue that the processes employed in this project are cognisant of Maori culture and preferences, and receptive to, but not ignorant of, Western research paradigms.

Bevan-Brown's (1998) research components are helpful insofar as they point the researcher to important considerations in the research cycle. However, it would be dangerous to consider them as definitive or proscriptive for those reasons outlined above. Such an approach would result in the rejection of non-complying proposals or products that may be of various kinds of value or importance. Ethical review procedures and the 'control' of research should be facilitative and permissive. It should help to make research happen, and valuable research result. Indeed, the issue

of who watches the watchers, and who controls the controllers, still, in the New Zealand context, needs resolution.

The nature of knowledge

Knowledge is power. Those in the Western world were aware of this idea, and so too were Maori. In the Western world, the relationship to knowledge was promulgated around essential characteristics resulting in the stratification of humans (Great Chain of Being) and the subjugation and colonization of people across the globe. The knowledge foundations cumulatively assembled by the likes of, Spencer, Sumner, de Gobineau, Chamberlain, Galton, and Pearson, were, in one sense, an elaborate justification: of the superiority of those with the power to define; of lineage aristocracies, notably in the West, but also in many tribal societies; and of the spread of capitalism across the globe with its concomitant need to subjugate populations (slavery, indentured labour) for commercial gain. The primary beneficiaries were those with a relationship to knowledge that advanced these objectives. Parallels with this relationship to knowledge can be seen in everyday New Zealand and certainly amongst Maori. An often referred to proverb is:

*Ko te manu e kai i te miro, nona te ngahere,
ko te manu e kai i te mātauranga, nona te Ao*

*The bird that consumes the miro berry, masters the bush,
The bird that consumes knowledge, masters the world.*

While received knowledge might be that derived from the West, the purpose for its acquisition may well be different for Maori, that is, mastery of the world may well occur in different ways and for different reasons.

A number of Maori writers (Marsden, 1975; Pere, 1991; Rangihau, 1981; Roberts et al., 2004) have written about Maori epistemologies premised on the nature of relationships, interactions and ensuing moral frameworks, rather than on knowledge as logically linear. A knowledge system of the former kind may well present as circular, contradictory and confusing! But, if we look to whakapapa as a source of explanation we are able to see a sophisticated system of vertical and horizontal lattices that store, evolve, communicate, and give meaning and understanding to humans within their material and immaterial world of inter-

relatedness. The 'power' of such a knowledge system rests in the capacity to trace, give, extract, and harness meaning about the nature of relationships and interactions.

For students and researchers into the field of Maori social identities, it becomes essential that they are cognizant of such a relational and interactive knowledge system and value structure for it becomes vital to understanding the meanings that Maori negotiate and construct for themselves and each other.

Chapter Eight Study One Aotearoa

Introduction and overview

This data for this study was gathered over the 1994-1995 period from Maori resident in New Zealand. I was interested in understanding how Maori living in New Zealand in the 1990s conceive of and perceive those Maori social groups with which they feel a sense of belonging or connection. In this chapter I describe the aim of this study, how I recruited participants, the major characteristics of the sample that I obtained, the interview questionnaire and schedule, and the procedure I used. Ethical issues are discussed and my data analysis procedure presented.

Recruitment of participants

A purposive sampling procedure was used to recruit participants. As the name implies, purposive sampling involves recruiting members from the overall population to meet some purpose. The purpose of the research governs the selection of the sample and thus, excludes members of the population who do not contribute to that purpose (Robson, 1993; Simon & Burstein, 1985).

As my purpose was to glean a better understanding of how Maori think about their Maori social identities I drew upon the purposive sampling procedure to maximise their participation. I also wanted to avoid capturing an atypical sample and therefore used ‘stratification’ strategies (Simon & Burstein, 1985) to increase the diversity of experience amongst those selected. Stratification can be simply defined as process of selecting sub-samples of participants according to a common characteristic (age, gender).

Over the November 1994 – January 1995 period, we⁴ approached individuals who we, or others, knew to be Maori, and who were initially known to me or to my

⁴ A research assistant, *Angeline Rangihakahaerea Harawira*, was trained and supported by me, in recruiting participants, completing interviews, typing interview reports and coding. While she was

research assistant. Angeline or I explained the study to them. We provided them with an information sheet (Appendix 4), discussed any concerns they may have had, and made an appointment to interview them later, at a place that was mutually agreed. None of the participants refused to be interviewed because they did not self-identify as Maori. On concluding each interview, we asked the participant if they knew of anyone else who they identified as Maori, who might be willing to participate in the study – a procedure often referred to as ‘snowballing’ (Patton, 1990). Participants were more than helpful in this regard and kindly arranged for other people to contact us to make known their willingness to participate. By replicating this procedure with participants who had contacted us, we were able to secure our sample.

I was keen to maximise the diversity amongst participants to capture a broad range of issues and experiences, and to avoid recruiting a homogenous group. Towards the middle of the interviewing and recruitment process, I evaluated the extent to which we were obtaining a spread of people across different demographic categories. Where I considered that we needed to increase our efforts to recruit people who ‘fitted’ a particular demographic, we asked participants specifically if they knew of such people, for example, someone who was male, over 40 years old, or was not at university.

After each interview was completed, my research assistant and I discussed the process of the interview along with the nature of issues explored. Once I felt that the content of interviews was reaching a point where they were beginning to have a familiar and repetitive pattern about them I decided to conclude our data-gathering phase. In all, 28 interviews were completed. I completed 8 of the interviews, and my research assistant completed 20. Of these 28 interviews, only 20 were included for further analysis. This was due to two events. Four of the interview audiotapes were inadvertently recorded over, and four were inaudible and could not be transcribed. Of these eight interviews, six were with men and two with women. While we could have returned to the field to interview more men and more

assisting the progress of this study, she was also in the process of completing undergraduate studies at the University of Waikato. She has iwi affiliations to Tuhoe and Ngai Te Rangi.

participants generally, I considered that we had more than enough rich and detailed narrative commentary from participants to proceed to the data analysis stage.

Participants

The demographic characteristics of the sample are summarised in Table 4. The major characteristic of the group of 20 whose interview data was included for analysis, was that most participants were women (15) there being only five men. While most participants were living outside of their iwi region (14), most felt that they had had an iwi upbringing (13), that is, they were brought up with some knowledge and experience of living within their own iwi community.

Six participants were aged between 15-25 years; eight between 26-40 years; and six who were over 40 years old. All but five participants had had children. Most had either one (3) or two children (5) but some had up to eight children.

The number of siblings that participants had ranged from at least two through to 18. The average number of siblings that any one participant had was 5.3; however, this was skewed due to two participants having 9 and 17 siblings respectively. The birth position⁵ of each participant in their respective families was evenly distributed between being the first born (mataamua), born somewhere in the middle of the family, or being the last born (potiki).

Most participants had, or still were participating in formal education up to the tertiary level (16); six had participated through until the secondary school level with three participants still being secondary school students.

The usual occupations of participants included being tertiary students (4), secondary school students (3), a full time mother (4), working in the education sector (4), the social services (1), trades (1), or in the forestry (2) or meat (1) industry.

Many participants were or had been partnered⁶ (16); the ethnicity of all partners being Maori (15) with the exception of one who was Pakeha⁷. Over three

⁵ “Birth position” refers to the birth position of the participant relative to their siblings.

⁶ This includes participants who had separated from their partners or had been widowed.

quarters of the participants still had parents living (16), but only seven had grandparents who were still alive. For most (14) participants, their grandparents were all Maori – two had one Pakeha grandparent, two had two Pakeha grandparents, one had a Scottish grandparent, and one had two grandparents who were Tongan.

The religious affiliations of participants ranged over those religions that Maori are found to commonly participate in. These included Anglican (4), Catholic (3), Presbyterian (1), Ratana (2) and Ringatu (3). Six participants did not affiliate to any organised religious group.

Of the twenty participants, 13 had been raised in their own iwi geographical region, and seven were raised outside. Fourteen participants were currently living outside their iwi geographic region, and six within.

We were generally satisfied that the characteristics of the sample were sufficient to maximise the diversity of responses participants made. The dominance of women in the sample perhaps reflects our use of women as starting points for recruiting participants rather than men. The implication of this imbalance is that the narratives presented to us may be more reflective of the lives of women, than of men.

Interview questionnaire and schedule

Two resources were used to help facilitate the interview process: a structured questionnaire (Appendix 5) designed to gather demographic information from participants; and a semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 6) used during interviewing.

Demographics Questionnaire

The demographics questionnaire was administered prior to beginning the actual interview as the information gathered afforded us a superficial outline of the possible context in which the participant was embedded and likely to respond from. It also

⁷ One participant indicated that they were ‘unpartnered’ but had had a previous relationships with a Pakeha person.

Table 4 New Zealand Sample Characteristics

living in/out of tribal area	n	usual occupation	n	religion	n	no. of children	n	No. of siblings	n
in	6	builder	1	Anglican	3	0	5	1	3
out	14	education sector	4	Anglican (non-prac)	1	1	3	2	2
		forestry	2	Catholic	2	2	5	3	2
partnered or unpartnered	n	freezing worker	1	Catholic (non-prac)	1	3	1	4	3
partnered	12	high school student	3	Presbyterian	1	4	2	5	1
separated	2	mother	4	Ratana	2	5	1	6	2
widowed	1	social services	1	Ringatu	3	6	1	7	3
unpartnered	5	tertiary student	4	No affiliation	6	7	1	8	1
						8	1	9	2
								17	1
									x = 5.3
ethnicity of partner	n	education	n	iwi upbringing	n				
maori	15	high school	6	yes	13				
pakeha	1	kohanga reo training	1	no	7				
n/a	4	polytech	2						
		tertiary	11	grandparents still living	n	ethnicity of grandparents*	n	parents living	n
age	n			1 grandparent	2	m m m m	14	mother only	8
15 - 25	6	gender	n	2 grandparents	5	m m m p	2	mother & father	8
26 - 40	8	female	15	3 grandparents	0	m m m s	1	both deceased	4
40+	6	male	5	4 grandparents	0	m m p p	2		
				all deceased	13	m m t t	1		

*m=Maori p=Pakeha s=Scottish t=Tongan

provided a check against which to assess responses made by the participant to later questions. For example, a participant might have indicated a connection with only one hapu but indicated through the demographics questionnaire that their parents were different iwi. This would have entitled the participant to claim affiliation with at least two hapu. If such a discrepancy manifested itself through the interviewing process, we were in a position to investigate this.

Through the demographics questionnaire we sought from the participants typical demographic information. This included age, education background, usual occupation, and religious affiliation. We also gathered information about the number of siblings a participant had, their birthplace, whether or not they were, or had been, partnered and the ethnic and iwi identity of their partners. We also sought information about the number of children they had, whether their parents or grandparents were living as well as their ethnic identity. Lastly, we wanted to obtain some idea of the extent to which they might identify as Maori by asking whether they were raised in a geographic region associated to any of their iwi. We also wanted to know whether they were still living in a geographic region associated with any of their iwi.

Interview schedule

The interview schedule contained 30 semi-structured questions with prompts to explore specific information. The schedule was organised around five thematic areas: conceptions of a Maori identity; coming to know one's identity; thinking about iwi and hapu; maintaining hapu identities; and maintaining iwi identities. Items in the interview schedule and my reasons for their inclusion are described below according to the organising thematic areas.

Before proceeding I wish to clarify my avoidance of using the term 'identity' in questions put to participants. In designing the demographics questionnaire and interview schedule, I took particular care to avoid the use of the term 'identity'. I did this for a variety of reasons. First, my primary interest in conducting this study was to describe how Maori conceive of and perceive those social groups that they feel a sense of belonging or connection. It therefore seemed to be more appropriate to use terminology consistent with this objective. Secondly, use of questions such as

‘Describe your Maori identity to me’ I considered extremely intrusive. In my view, questions of this nature serve to position the participant where they may feel required to justify who they are and their identity as Maori. Lastly, the concept of ‘identity’ is complex. I did not wish to take up a position where participants either asked me to explain what the term ‘identity’ meant, or felt that I assumed a certain understanding when I had not.

Conceptions of a Maori identity

In this section, we attempted to discuss with the participant their conception of a Maori identity. To do this, I first established a framework within which our discussions could begin by posing the question: *Q1. When you first meet a Maori person, what are some of the things that you are curious about, or interested in knowing about this person?* I felt that this question provided an easy starting point to the interview in that most people could easily reflect on interactions that they had had with others they had met for the first time. The question also served to make explicit the curiosities or interests that the participant held of other Maori whom they had met for the first time. Through use of prompts, I explored with the participant the nature of their response to this question. I canvassed explanations as to why such information was important or of interest, in turn seeking to discover possible value positions that they might hold. This question was followed by a discussion about the nature of information that the participant would disclose to another under the same circumstances. In this way, I was able to discover, along with their justifications, whether the participant would have provided the same, or different information to that sought from others.

An exploratory question provided the base upon which to discuss those things that participants felt were important about being Maori. This question directly sought to determine the participant’s conception of a Maori identity and a Maori value base.

The final two questions in this section addressed the iwi and hapu affiliations of the participant and whether the participant felt more strongly connected with any one iwi or hapu. Reasons for a stronger sense of connectedness to a particular hapu or iwi were also discussed.

Coming to know one's identity

This section of the interview schedule contained questions used to explore the process the participant went through to arrive at how they currently identify themselves as Maori. Prior to posing the first question in this section, I made the following statement:

There are stages in our lives when we think differently about who we are. Sometimes changes in our lives (like going to school, going for a holiday, meeting people, getting married, working or having children) help us to come to know ourselves differently.

This statement, designed to have the participant focus on milestones, significant events or gradual dawning of knowledge as a result of involvement in activities, schooling, or interaction with other tribal or ethnic groups, was followed by the following three questions:

- Q5. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were Maori.
- Q6. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those iwi mentioned above.
- Q7. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those hapu mentioned above.

Thinking about iwi and hapu

In this section I asked participants to describe what they thought about when they thought of each of their respective hapu and iwi. I also asked them to identify the differences and similarities between each of their respective hapu and iwi. In asking these questions, I wanted the participants to describe to me the impressions that they held of each of their specific hapu and iwi groups. I also wanted to ascertain whether they were able to discern differences between them. My assumption here is that the finer the distinctions made, the more attuned the participant was to the nuances of each hapu and iwi group.

Maintaining hapu identities

Previous sections in this interview schedule focused on conceptions and perceptions that the participant held about being Maori. In this section, I turned my attention to discussing with the participants ways through which they maintained their connections with those respective hapu they had identified with. The initial questions focused on identifying activities that participants felt were important to maintaining their hapu connections, how often they *felt* they had to do these things, and what they *actually* did.

Recognising that maintenance activities often require resources and support and that engagement in such activities may have varied during their lives, I discussed with the participant those things that made it easier or harder for them.

In line with my questions about those processes or circumstances that might have made it harder for the participant to engage in maintenance activities, I wanted to also explore whether they had at any time in their lives felt as if they were positioned on the *outside* of their hapu. If they had felt this way, I conversed with them about what made them feel on the ‘outside’ and the strategies they used to cope.

Maintaining iwi identities

Questions 22 to 29 replicated those questions asked of the participant with respect to maintaining their hapu connections, but focused on their iwi connections.

The interview schedule concluded with an invitation to the participant to furnish further comments if they so wished.

Piloting of demographics questionnaire and interview schedule

Given the semi-structured nature of the interview schedule and the intention to engage the participants in a conversation rather than a ‘question/answer’ type exchange, the demographics questionnaire and interview schedule were gradually refined after each of the initial four interviews. At the conclusion of each of these interviews, each participant was asked to comment on the interview process, including the ways in which questions were introduced, the order in which they were

asked, and their appropriateness. These participants were also invited to comment on any other ways in which the process or focus of the interview might be improved.

Initially, we had a section similar to those that explored the maintenance of hapu and iwi identities but related to maintaining an ethnic Maori identity. We collected some data around this theme but as interviewing progressed the theme became increasingly redundant and was subsequently dropped from the interviewing schedule. Maintaining an iwi and hapu identity automatically meant the maintenance of a Maori identity, and, as a result, the items did not appear to illicit any new information.

Aside from the section on maintaining a Maori social identity, feedback from these participants resulted in a few minor changes to how questions were worded and ordered. However, the actual content of the questions did not change.

Procedure

As mentioned above, on contacting a potential participant, the study was explained verbally to them and they were also given an information sheet (Appendix 4) that provided information concerning:

- what the study was about;
- who the researchers were;
- the research procedure we wished to employ with them;
- how their information would be used;
- issues that we wanted participants to consider before agreeing to participate in the study;
- contact details for the researchers

We discussed any concerns the participants might have had, and made an appointment to interview them later, at a place that was mutually agreed to. This was usually at the participant's place of residence.

On arriving at the interview venue, the interview was usually preceded by something to drink and conversation about their day or of people who we knew in common. We always took along a packet of biscuits to contribute to the household. We also tried as much as possible to avoid scheduling appointments during the

dinner or lunch periods, as we did not want to oblige participants to provide a meal. Once these initial activities had been completed, the interviews usually progressed. We left it to the participant to indicate when they were ready to move on to begin the interview, which was usually within 10-15 minutes of our arriving.

Once ready to start, we went over the information sheet with the participant again, along with the consent form (Appendix 7) to ensure that they were fully informed about the study. Any questions or concerns that they had were discussed. We also asked the participants to sign off on their consent forms at this stage. We explained that signing the consent form was not only a process of formalising their informed consent, but also one of ensuring their protection. All participants completed consent forms.

In the first stage of the interview, we asked the participants to complete the demographics questionnaire. We allowed the participant to complete the questionnaire and provided assistance if they were not sure about what information to provide. Once the participant felt that they had finished the questionnaire, we checked to make sure that they had provided complete and clear information, before moving into the second stage of the interview.

All participants consented to having their interviews audio-recorded, and allowed us to take written notes. Although some participants showed some discomfort with the tape recorder, this soon dissipated as we moved through the initial questions. To help put participants at ease, we began the interview by assuring them that they had control of the recording equipment and moved the recorder to a position where they could easily turn it off if they wanted to. The advantage of doing this was that we could position the recorder in such a way as to ensure that the participant's voice was being clearly recorded (and still four tapes were inexplicably inaudible). We also assured them that they could refuse to answer any questions that they did not wish to answer, and that we would delete any information from the audiotape, or from our notes that they wish not to be recorded. This information was also provided on the informed consent form.

The actual interview progressed as a facilitated process with the interview schedule providing a guide to our conversation, and the researcher providing prompts along the way. The participant was given a copy of the list of questions and themes that we wanted to cover and participants were encouraged to respond to any part of

the schedule at any time. In other words, they were not required to address the questions in an orderly fashion.

Once it was clear that all areas of the interview schedule had been responded to, the interviews ended. At this point, we reiterated to the participant what would happen to their information. We explained that they would receive a written account of their interview based on notes taken and on the tape-recording. We also explained that we would invite them to make further comments or to write a response to the written account provided. On this note, we thanked the participant for their time. We also encouraged them to make further contact with us if they remembered any further information, or if they wanted to talk about any aspect of the interview or research.

Most interviews were on average around 1.5 hours in length with one taking up to 2.5 hours.

Ethical issues

In carrying out this study, I was guided by the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) that served to highlight ethical dilemmas and provided resolution for the same. A proposal for this study was also reviewed by the research committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Waikato. A number of ethical issues needed to be addressed in this study.

What seems to be an accepted practice in psychological research is to protect participants by taking steps to disguise their real identity in resulting publications and presentations about the research. Often times, the participant is not given the option to actually have their identity made known – the assumption on the part of the researcher being that participants would not wish to be associated with what they say. Indeed, I find this position rather peculiar, especially when in other disciplines (eg. anthropology, history) a contrary practice prevails. Rather than make a false assumption, I wanted to give participants in this study a choice about whether they wanted to make their identity known through publications or presentations that I might write or make. Although an item to this effect appeared on the consent form none of the participants opted to have their identity made known. This result does not necessarily mean that my assumptions about identity are false, as on other occasions when I have used a similar procedure, participants have been more than

willing to make their identity public, for example, in 70 interviews with Maori who had moko (Maori skin adornment). Perhaps in this study participants were a little self-conscious and sensitive of judgements that may be made by other Maori about the strength of their identity commitments.

Normally, participants are afforded the right to withdraw from a study or procedure at any time. I did not wish to deal with the potential eventuality of having to remove a participant's information from my analysis and write up procedures. To avoid this, I indicated on the consent form that the right to withdraw from the study was active up until the stage when participants had been given the opportunity to comment and provide feedback on their interview reports. I decided that the interval since initial contact by us, through until comments from the participants about their interview reports were received, provided ample time and opportunity for them to consider their participation in the study. I felt that if participants remained in the study after this stage, that they were likely to remain in the study through until completion. Only minor comments were received and no one chose to withdraw from the study prior to this stage, and neither were withdrawal requests received after this.

Other than making a small contribution of food to the household, no other koha or payment of participants for their participation was offered. Although I have a cultural preference to provide participants with koha, this was not possible due to an extremely limited budget. I did, however, hope that participants would view my work as affording them an avenue whereby their voices and stories could be heard.

Using a Research Assistant

Having the privilege of working on this study with a research assistant was a beneficial learning experience. While Angeline helped to offset my research load, another set of responsibilities emerged, that is, a responsibility to train, coach, debrief and discuss with her both her progress and that of the research overall. I had to attend to the small detail that researchers often take for granted when working on their own and in an unfunded capacity. For example, I had to arrange for audiotapes, recording equipment, transport, koha, and stationary, all tasks that I would have had to have done for myself anyway. I also had to ensure that Angeline had a thorough understanding of the overall project so that she could respond to participant

questions. Although we used a structured interview schedule, Angeline had to have the flexibility while in the actual interview to make decisions about whether to prompt or pursue or omit a line of questioning. I also had to ensure her adherence to the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) well as her safety, something we achieved through training and working closely together.

Data analysis

Angeline's assistance was invaluable during the data analysis phase of this study. There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis; their advantages and disadvantages have been widely debated in the social sciences literature (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Murphy et al, 1998; Patton, 1990; Robson, 1993; Silverman, 1997). Welsh (2002) discusses three data analysis approaches that might be broadly labelled: 'literal', 'interpretive', and 'reflexive'. The first approach centres on the exact use of particular language or grammatical structure. The second is concerned with sense making and meaning, and the third, the reflexive approach, attempts to focus attention on the researcher and her or his contribution to the data creation and analysis process. The analysis approach used in this study is usually described as 'thematic' analysis and in this instance, combines both interpretive and reflexive strategies.

Thematic analysis focuses on identifying themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour that emerge from a qualitative data set. Research aims tend to be towards the goal of understanding and meaning making, rather than predicting or controlling. It tends to be inductive in that "the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation under investigation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the phenomenon or setting under study" (Patton, 1990, p.44). As an analysis procedure, it involves a number of iterative steps, specifically, collecting, transforming, reflecting, coding, organising and patterning, and not necessarily in the order stated. I will explain what I mean by these steps and link this to the important part that Angeline played in this process.

Collecting data: After Angeline or I completed an interview, we usually sat together and discussed how the interview went, the nature of responses, and the patterns (similarities and contrasts) that we each saw emerging across the interviews. We also discussed possible explanations for these patterns that began our process of

theorising the data. I made notes of our discussions, in particular, emergent patterns and themes so that I could later refer to these as I more formally engaged in the analysis and writing process.

Transforming: Angeline and I took notes during interviews and audio-taped the sessions. I viewed this process as ‘data capture’ but for further analysis we had to transform these into interview reports which in reality were mainly verbatim transcriptions of the interviews. While a labour intensive process, it had the advantage of allowing us to further reflect on what participants were saying and making sense of their conceptions and lives. Again, Angeline and I made notes as we went along.

Reflecting: Listening to audio-tapes, discussing ideas with Angeline, producing transcripts, getting feedback on transcripts from participants and preparing the data for uploading into NUDIST, a software package to assist data analysis, allowed time for considerable reflection that later contributed to building a comprehensive picture of the collective responses of participants.

Coding: NUDIST assists researchers in their management and analysis of text data. While I had used NUDIST in previous research, I found that I was still learning about the benefits and disadvantages of the software as I moved through this project. Some of the benefits of using NUDIST were that we were able to: rapidly code, search and retrieve relevant data; automate clerical tasks; manage and evolve ideas and codes; and continually ask questions of our data and advance our theorising process. For all these benefits, the software does not ‘do’ the analysis; it does not think laterally or creatively, it simply provides a facility for doing so. In this regard, Angeline and I still had to work our way progressively through each transcript to code text and develop themes across the whole data set. While a laborious task, there is a certain amount of excitement to be experienced as a theme is identified and named, or when a theme is reconsidered in light of other emerging patterns. One of the major advantages of working with Angeline, was the clarity of her experience living as Maori, as part of a whanau, and as part of multiple hapu and iwi collectives. She had a clear conception of what those collectivities meant to her and a keen capacity to identify and explain what they meant to others. I, too, brought my own life experience as Maori and explanations to the research project and to the analysis of data. While a good thing, I acknowledge that we needed to stand back from time to time and be challenging and critical of each other and the extent to which we were,

or for that matter, were not overlaying our own values, judgements and expectations on to the data under consideration.

Patterning: Angeline and I often had long discussions about the validity of an identified theme. Was it something that sat within a broader more generic theme (higher order), or was it part of the detail (lower order)? How was it related to or influenced by other things? While coding took us into discussing minute details about how Maori conceived of their Maori social identities, ‘patterning’ allowed us to piece together these details and to describe ‘sub-plots’ in a collective narrative about Maori social identities.

Organising: The final stage of the analysis involved arranging our patterns into a narrative or a ‘story line’ to serve as a vehicle for presenting the findings of this study to others. This involved decisions about ordering of information, the logical progression of information, and its significance. This stage of the data analysis I completed on my own. Angeline’s time was taken up with other demands leaving me alone with the data. While I missed Angeline’s insights and her role as discussant of patterns emerging from the data, I found that I needed independent time to understand the totality of what participants had presented and space to move towards constructing a conceptual framework for presenting my findings.

The process described above is one that is common to most studies that employ an inductive approach to data analysis. ‘Real world’ research, that is, research outside the requirements for PhD researchers, tends to be something that researchers engage in with other researchers, as part of research teams engaged in collaborative enterprise with each other and those communities of interest. My working with a research assistant added reality to what, for the PhD candidate, is often a solitary pursuit. More importantly though, it has elevated the extent to which I have remained reflexive and critical in my work.

Once I completed this Aotearoa/New Zealand study, I moved on to the next stage in this project, a study of Maori in Hawai’i. This study is described in the next chapter.

Chapter Nine Study Two Hawai'i

I chose to complete my second study of Maori social identities away from the New Zealand context in Hawai'i. I set out here the aims of the study and describe those I interviewed as participants. The interview schedule, while related to the schedule used in my first study, is different and oriented to the participant's experience as a long-term sojourner or migrant adapting to a new society. The two studies should rightfully be viewed as independent from each other, rather than a progression. I conclude with comments about the data analysis process and how it varied from the process used in my first study.

Why Hawai'i?

It is difficult to understand the New Zealand context and those things that influence and impact on the construction of Maori social identities when the researcher and the community of interest are embedded in it. It is the classic problem faced by indigenous researchers engaged in the process of trying to understand our own indigenous communities, and, at the same time, ourselves. The advantages and disadvantages of 'insider' versus 'outsider' approaches to communities of interest have been discussed, particularly in the cross-cultural research literature, by Pike (1954; 1967); and Berry (1969). Most contemporary cross-cultural psychology research texts carry a discussion of this dilemma and the problems that stem from it (Berry, Poortinga, & Pandey, 1997; Brislin, 1990; Lonner & Malpass, 1994; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999). To summarise this discussion: the indigenous or 'emic' researcher often has difficulty seeing their own culture and context because it is a part of their own taken-for-granted every day experience. In contrast, the outsider or 'etic' researcher is often in a better position to recognise these aspects of the research field because they are not embedded within that situation or context. Of course, as I discussed in Chapter Eight, this position is not without its drawbacks, and, as a researcher, I need to bear these in mind.

In my study of Maori social identities, I wanted to 'escape' the Aotearoa context and my 'emic' position, so that I could view my subject from a different perspective. I

also wanted to continue my work with Maori people. I wanted to see if, and how, Maori enacted their Maori social identities in a different context. To do this, I chose to 'escape' to Hawai'i and to the small community of Maori who had made their way there. I could have chosen Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane or even London. These cities have a long history of receiving Maori sojourners and migrants, indeed, longer than Hawai'i. However, other things influenced my choice of Hawai'i as a research context. Choosing Hawai'i reflected my perception of Hawai'i as a safe environment for me. I did not want to find myself in a location where my personal safety became an all consuming activity to the detriment of my research objectives. I only had a small amount of time to spend in the field and I needed to be able to move around freely enough to talk to the people I needed to see. I also knew of an academic colleague prepared to assist with participant recruitment, a friend who was willing to host me while I was there. These things influenced my choice of Hawai'i as a research setting.

Recruitment of participants

In contrast to the environment, context and communities that I was familiar with in my first study, I knew very little about the Hawaiian context. I had visited Hawai'i on two previous occasions but for not more than one or two weeks. The first occasion was in 1991 to attend the Summer Workshop for the Development of Intercultural Coursework at Universities and Colleges - East/West Center, Oahu, Hawaii. While I enjoyed my visit, I did not have much time to see anything except the University of Hawai'i campus and Halls of Residence. I returned to Hawai'i in 1995 to attend a conference at Brigham Young University, at La'ie, but that was a short visit (6 days) without much time to learn anything about the Maori community there, other than that it was there. It was however, adequate opportunity to connect with one or two Maori people who would later afford me invaluable assistance in recruiting participants. One was Debbie Hippolite-Wright of the Institute for Polynesian Studies at Brigham Young University-Hawai'i (BYU-H) who had earlier enrolled as a PhD student at my own institution, the University of Waikato. As a lecturer at BYU-H, Debbie was in regular contact with Maori students, and other Maori affiliated with the BYU institution and with the Polynesian Cultural Centre. On Debbie's recommendation, I later made contact with Alice Unawai, whose role as

the President of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Hawai'i often meant that she was in contact with Maori living in Hawai'i, and with those who were visiting (like myself). In 1996, both Debbie and Alice had been living in Hawai'i for over 20 years.

In July 1996 I sent to Alice Unawai an information sheet (Appendix 8) to be used by her to explain the study and my purpose to other Maori in Hawai'i. At the time of contacting potential participants, Alice asked if they would be prepared to receive further information and to be a participant in the study. If they responded positively to this request, Alice recorded their contact details and with their verbal consent passed these details on to me. All of the people that she contacted expressed a willingness to participate. Towards the end of July 1996 she sent to me a list of names and contact addresses for 40 people.

Debbie Hippolite-Wright helped to promote this study to Maori students and Maori affiliated with the BYU institution and with the Polynesian Cultural Centre. She also carried out a similar process of contacting potential participants and forwarded their contact details on to me.

Late in July 1996, while I was still in New Zealand, and after receiving possible participant contact information from Alice and Debbie, I mailed to participants the demographics questionnaire (Appendix 9) with a covering letter (Appendix 10) explaining who I was, the study I wanted them to become involved in, and a contact information sheet (Appendix 11) that gathered details about how and when was the best time to make telephone contact with them to arrange interview venues and times. As I was about to leave New Zealand to travel in the USA, and to eventually arrive in Hawai'i in September 1996, I asked participants to return their questionnaires and contact information in a sealed envelope to Debbie Hippolite-Wright.

When I arrived in Hawai'i in September of 1996, 20 people had returned their demographics questionnaire and contact information sheets. I contacted these people to introduce myself and to make an appointment for an interview. I also contacted those who had not made a response. Many of these people still wanted to participate in the study but had not managed to return their demographics questionnaire or

contact sheets. I was not able to make contact with a few people and I later discovered that they were ‘off island’⁸⁸. Another had become ill and so I decided not to pursue their participation.

In all, I was in Hawai’i for three weeks completing interviews. During the course of contacting and interviewing people, I was also introduced to other Maori people who were not listed on the contact lists that either Alice or Debbie had given to me. Most of these people were relatives or acquaintances of those that I was about to, or had completed, interviews with. I spoke with these people about the study and sought their participation. I completed the demographics questionnaire with these people at the time of the interviews.

Criteria for participation

There were two criteria for selecting people for participation in this study. The first was that potential participants were identified by other Maori living in Hawai’i as being Maori and that they themselves identified as Maori in some way.

Identification by other Maori was achieved through the recruitment process carried out by Alice and Debbie, and other Maori whom I had contact with during the course of completing interviews. The second criterion was that a person had resided in Hawai’i for at least 3 months and intended on residing there for at least 6 months or more. This criterion was based on the assumption that 3 months would be sufficient time to have developed some understanding of what it meant to be Maori in that context. Having to reside in Hawai’i for more than 6 months meant that they were required to engage the Hawaiian context in more than superficial ways.

In all, 28 interviews were completed with 30 people. Two interviews were group interviews with two people in each.

⁸⁸ A Hawaiian colloquialism that refers to someone having temporarily left the island for some other destination.

Collecting demographic information

As mentioned earlier, the demographics questionnaire (Appendix 9) was posted to possible participants to complete and return prior to arranging an interview. I gathered this information before the interview to obtain a general idea of the participant's life circumstances. The information they provided assisted me to organise questions that I wanted to ask them in the actual interview. In the questionnaire I asked the participant to provide personal details about themselves, the household that they lived in and how they came to be living in Hawai'i.

Written instructions highlighted that the questionnaire was not a 'test' and that there were no right or wrong answers. The participant was also informed that they did not have to answer questions that they did not want to and that the information provided would remain confidential.

Prior to posting out the questionnaire I had my supervisor⁹ and three Maori graduates complete the questionnaire to ensure that questions were unambiguous and that the response categories were adequately broad enough to capture a wide range of possible responses. Minor changes to wording were made in line with the feedback from this group. In the final questionnaire drafted, there were 23 short answer questions. For most questions I provided 'tick' box type response categories, or a space for a written response. The questionnaire could be completed within 10 minutes.

The first 5 questions gathered information about birth place, countries lived in, length of residence in Hawai'i, and whether they were citizens of New Zealand or the USA. Responses to these questions allowed me to assess the extent to which a participant was familiar with either the Hawai'i or New Zealand context. Questions 6, 7, 10, 11, 21 and 22 sought information about the participants' age, sex, religion, whether they were partnered, educational qualifications and their main occupation. Questions eight and nine related to iwi and hapu affiliation. The participant was asked to state as many Maori iwi that they belonged to and were also given the

⁹ My Chief supervisor at the time was Professor David Thomas who during the course of my research took up a post with the University of Auckland. Prof Jane Ritchie subsequently took over duties from Prof David Thomas.

option to indicate that such information was unknown to them. With regard to Maori hapu, the same options were allowed. It should be pointed out that, if a person indicated that information about their iwi or hapu was unknown to them, that I did not take this to mean that the participant was not Maori. As gleaned through the interviews, there was usually a very good explanation as to why participants did not have access to this information at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Questions 11 to 14 asked the participant to describe the ethnicity of their partner, their parents and of themselves. This allowed me to make initial assumptions about the exposure that a participant might have had to other ethnic groups so that I could be aware of competing ethnic identities that might be of interest to follow up in the interview.

As I did not have the means to carry out interviews with people who were living on islands in Hawai'i other than Oahu, I also asked participants to indicate what island they resided on. All lived on the island of Oahu. Responses to this question also gave me a good idea of where participants were located in relation to each other.

In questions 16-19, I sought information about the household that the participant lived in and I was particularly interested in whether the participant resided with other Maori people. The assumption guiding this question was that close contact with other Maori may provide a framework within which a participant might more readily maintain their identity as Maori.

Although I asked participants to indicate their approximate income per week, this question was not well responded to even though those with whom I piloted the questionnaire did not find the question objectionable. This aside, it would appear that participants in the actual study found this question rather intrusive. I also suspect that if I had provided a range of responses (eg, \$20-40,000), this might have been better responded to as participants would not be required to be so specific.

The final question asked those participants who had not been born in Hawai'i to indicate the reasons that lead them to reside in Hawai'i.

Participants

The sample of participants consisted of 20 women and 10 men aged between 16 and 63 years. Nineteen participants were partnered, the others still single. This latter

group tended to be those who were studying at University. On average, the participants had resided in Hawai'i for 12.5 years. The longest resident had been in Hawai'i for 35 years, with 3 participants having arrived in the 6 month period preceding their interview for this study.

Table 5 Hawai'i Sample Characteristics

Countries lived in	n	Gender	n
Hawai'i	1	Female	20
Hawai'i & the USA mainland	1	Male	10
New Zealand & Hawai'i	15		
New Zealand, Hawai'i & some other country	9	Age	n
New Zealand, Hawai'i, USA mainland & some other country	4	20 years or less	7
		21-25 years	4
		26-40 years	5
		41-50 years	6
Arrived	n	50 + years	7
3-6 months ago	3		
1-3 years ago	6	Country of Birth	n
4-10 years ago	7	Hawai'i	3
11-20 years ago	4	New Zealand	24
20 + years ago	10	USA	3
Max = 35yrs, min = 3 months, mean = 12.5yrs			
		Citizen of the USA[†]	n
		I intend to in the future	4
		No	15
Religion	n	Yes	11
Anglican	2		
LDS	24	Citizen of NZ[†]	n
Other	1	Intend to be in the future	2
No religion	1	No	2
no response	2	Yes	26

* One participant did not indicate their age

† 7 Participants had dual citizenship of New Zealand and the USA

Locations in the mainland USA were the birth place for 3 participants and a further 3 had been born in Hawai'i. The remaining (24) were born in New Zealand. Eleven participants were American citizens and four intended to gain citizenship in the future. With regard to being citizens of New Zealand, two were not citizens, 24 participants were, and two intended to become so in the future.

Table 5 Hawai'i Sample Characteristics (continued)

Partnered/unpartnered	n	Educational Qualification	n
No	11	Still at school	13
Yes	19	Trade Cert	2
		Tertiary	9
		Other	1
		no response	5
Usual Occupation	n		
Music industry	1		
Assistant Professor	2	Reasons for moving to Hawaii	n
Entertainment Industry	9	To attend university	19
Exporter	1	To find work	4
Sales Manager	1	To reside with partner	4
Seaman, Canoe builder	1	Occupational requirement	3
Security	1	Moved with parents	1
Student	11	To reside with son or daughter	1
Teacher	2	other	3
Unpaid researcher	1	no response	2

* Participants could indicate more than one reason for moving to Hawai'i

With the exception of one participant who had only ever lived in Hawai'i, the majority had resided in a number of different countries that included countries other than the USA.

Reflecting my initial contact with Debbie Hippolite, a high proportion of participants (80%) were affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) which was reflected in where people resided. Most lived at La'ie, the location of the LDS Temple, Brigham Young University - Hawai'i and the Polynesian Cultural Centre. Many of the participants had found work or were studying at either BYU-H, or worked at PCC which has an explicit agenda to attract and employ peoples of the Pacific. However, there were some participants who lived

outside La'ie and the adjacent townships. These people tended not to be so involved with the LDS community, but still maintained contact.

I asked participants what their highest educational qualification was. One was still at high school, and 12 were studying at University. Nine participants held tertiary qualifications, and two held trade certificates.

Table 6 Ethnicity of Hawai'i participants, their parents and partners

Participant's identity	n	Mother's ethnicity	n
Maori	12	Maori	14
Maori - Part	1	Pakeha	4
Maori, American	1	Maori, Pakeha	3
Maori, Caucasian	2	Caucasian	1
Maori, English, Irish	2	Hawaiian, Maori	1
Maori, German	1	Maori, Caucasian	1
Maori, Pakeha	5	Maori, English, Jewish	1
Maori, Samoan, Tokelauan	1	Maori, English, Scottish	1
Maori, Scottish	1	Maori, Scottish	1
Maori, Scottish, German, Jew, Spanish	1	Pakeha, German, Irish	1
Greek, Maori	1	Scottish, German, Maori	1
Pakeha, Maori	1	no response	1
Hawaiian, Maori	1		
		Father's ethnicity	n
Partner's ethnicity	n	Maori	18
Maori	5	Pakeha	2
Hawaiian & other	3	American	1
Caucasian & other	2	Caucasian	1
Hawaiian	2	Greek	1
Pakeha & other	2	Hawaiian	1
Canadian & other	1	Irish	1
Maori/Pakeha	1	Maori - Part	1
Pakeha	1	Maori, English, Irish	1
Scottish	1	Maori, Spanish	1
Tahitian	1	Samoan, Tokelauan	1
		Scottish	1

The pursuit of a university education and to experience life outside of New Zealand were the most frequently mentioned reason for moving to Hawai'i and was usually associated with attendance at BYH-U. However, qualitative responses

indicate that once a participant had arrived in Hawai'i, other reasons for staying became paramount. For example, some participants met and married their partners and decided to stay in Hawai'i. Others valued the wider work opportunities found in the Hawai'i context, in contrast to what they viewed as limited opportunities in New Zealand. For those working in the entertainment industry, opportunities were far greater in Hawai'i than New Zealand. For those wishing to remain in the line of work that they were involved with, they had little choice but to remain in Hawai'i. The reasons provided by participants for moving to Hawai'i are further explored in the results section.

Of the 30 participants in this study, only 12 identified solely as Maori, the remainder identifying with one other ethnic group aside from Maori (15), or more (4). The way in which I have presented the participants' ethnicity in Table 6 is according to the order of ethnic labels listed by participants in their responses to the demographics questionnaire.

Of those participants who were partnered (19), six were partnered to people whom participants identified in some way as Maori, and five were partnered to people whom they identified in some way as Hawaiian. The label 'Caucasian' was also used to describe the ethnicity of the partners of two participants, and others were described as 'Pakeha' (3), Canadian (1), Scottish (1) and Tahitian (1). Although I have not listed the 'other' ethnic labels ascribed by participants to their partners, it does follow a pattern similar to how participants describe their own ethnic labels. This same pattern is also evident in the way in which participants have described the ethnicity of their parents.

In contrast to the New Zealand sample, it is clear that many participants in the Hawai'i sample come from mixed parentage and by descent could rightfully claim membership in a variety of ethnic groups. What is not known is the extent to which participants derived a cultural identity from those groups that they claim membership of.

Participants lived in a private house (12), flat (8) or student dormitory (8). Aside from those who lived in student dormitories, most resided with other family members (19) though one resided with other students in a household that was not a dormitory. All except 6 of the participants' households included one or more other Maori people.

Four participants were unable to identify those iwi that they belonged to. This was not because they did not belong to an iwi, but because they either could not, at the time, remember the name of their iwi, or the information was not immediately available to them. An example of the latter is of one participant whose grandmother was Maori but had since passed away. The grandmother had left New Zealand when she was young and never returned. Her family in Hawai'i knew little more than that she was Maori from New Zealand.

Table 7 Participant's household characteristics

Type of residence	n	Number of Maori in household	n
Flat	8	1	6
Private house	12	2	5
Student Dorm	8	3	3
no response	2	4	5
		5	4
		more than 5	5
		no response	2
Household composition	n	Number of people in residence	n
Students	9	2	4
Partner	4	3	6
Partner & Others	2	4	5
Partner, sons & daughters	10	5	2
Partner, sons, daughters & others	2	6	2
Father, Mother, Brothers/Sisters	1	7	2
no response	2	Dorms	7
		no response	2

Although participants could choose to identify with more than one iwi, the more frequently named iwi identified with were Ngati Kahungunu (13), Nga Puhi (7), Ngati Porou (5), and Raukawa (3), with Ngati Wai, Rangitane, and Rongowhakaata affiliated to by two participants respectively. A range of other iwi were also mentioned by only one participant. These are summarised in Table 8. Only half of the participants (15) named hapu that they belonged to. Two noted the names of families to which they belonged, rather than actual hapu. For seven

participants the hapu that they belonged to were unknown to them, and six participants gave no response.

Table 8 Participant's iwi and hapu affiliations

Iwi*	n	Iwi (cont)	n
Kahungungu	13	Ngati Maru	1
Nga Puhi	7	Ngati Toa	1
Ngati Porou	5	Ngati Whatua	1
Unknown	4	Ngati Whawhaki	1
Raukawa	3	Rongomaiwahine	1
Ngati Wai	2	Tainui	1
Rangitane	2	Tairawhiti	1
Rongowhakaata	2	Te Aitanga a Mahaki	1
Te Arawa	2	Te Ati Awa	1
Ati Haunuiapaparangi	1	Tuhoe	1
Ngai Tahu	1	Tuwharetoa	1
Ngai Tai	1	Grand	61
Ngati Apa	1		
Ngati Awa	1		
Ngati Hinehika	1	Hapu	n
Ngati Koata	1	family names	2
Ngati Kuia	1	Unknown	7
Ngati Mahuta	1	hapu named	15
Ngati Maniapoto	1	no response	6

* Participants could identify with as many iwi as they desired.

Demographics questionnaire and interview schedule

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (Appendix 12) used in this study was a derivative of the schedule used with the New Zealand participants but was designed to be more specific to the experiences of Maori in the Hawai'i context. One theme examined with participants in the New Zealand study, but not in this study, was how participants came to know themselves as Maori. I decided to leave out examination of this area and substitute it with an examination of what it meant to be Maori in

Hawai'i. I also made some changes to the order of questions and made greater use of prompts.

I piloted the schedule with my supervisor¹⁰ and three Maori graduate students at the University of Waikato who had lived in overseas locations to gain feedback on the clarity of questions, on the transitions from one thematic area to another, and on my interviewing style. Again, only minor changes to wording were made.

The interview schedule contained 24 questions, mainly open-ended, with associated prompts that were organised around four thematic areas. They were: being Maori in Hawai'i, maintaining Maori connections; thinking about whanau, hapu and iwi, and maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections. There was one final section of the interview schedule that dealt with general issues. Questions related to each of these thematic areas along with prompts used are described below.

Being Maori in Hawai'i

The first thematic area of the interview schedule focused on how the participant came to reside in Hawai'i, how 'being Maori' was part of their life in Hawai'i, how it was different to 'being Maori' in New Zealand, and the occasions that participants felt that it was important to identify themselves as being Maori. In designing these questions, I felt that these were easy 'openers' that participants could readily relate to and begin to discuss the nature of being Maori, generally, which was the focus of the section that followed.

Maintaining Maori connections

How participants maintained their Maori connections was the focus of questions grouped around this theme. If maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i or New Zealand was not a part of a participant's life, I explored the pathways by which they had arrived at this situation. If it was, then I explored with the participant the specific activities and frequency in which they engaged in such maintenance

¹⁰ Professor David Thomas

activities. Whether or not maintenance activities were difficult to engage in was also discussed, along with those things that make engagement harder or easier.

The last question under this theme explored whether the participant had ever felt like an ‘outsider’ to some Maori group and the reasons why this was the case. Their coping strategies were also sought.

Thinking about whanau, hapu, iwi and Maori

The next thematic area explored with participants in the interview sought to identify the conceptions that they held of their whanau, hapu and iwi. In particular, I was interested in the participant’s conceptual associations. For example, I asked the participant to think about their whanau and to describe to me those things that they thought about – those things that ‘popped’ into their minds. I asked them to do the same thing in relation to their hapu and iwi. In some respects, this was a preparatory line of questioning designed to get the participant to start thinking about issues that I would raise in subsequent areas of the interview.

For those participants who had disclosed in their responses to the demographics questionnaire that they did not know their iwi or hapu, I explored reasons with them as to why this was the case. Sometimes it was still appropriate to pursue questions about iwi and hapu, even if it was only to elicit a hypothetical response.

The final question under this theme attempted to explore the extent to which the system of whanau, hapu and iwi played a part in the participant’s life in Hawai’i.

Maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections

In the actual interview, the thematic area titled here as ‘maintaining whanau, hapu and iwi connections’ actually appeared as three separate areas. I did this to smooth the process of pursuing questions around each entity, that is, a whanau, hapu or iwi, so as to separate out the responses made by the participant in relation to each. This thematic area concerned those processes and activities that the participant engaged in to maintain their connections with their whanau, hapu and iwi both in Hawai’i and New Zealand. The questions posed closely approximated and followed the order of those asked of the participant about maintaining their Maori connections.

General

Three questions were posed in this section. The first related to advice that the participant would give to a home-sick Maori person who had recently arrived in Hawai'i. The purpose of this question was to illicit coping strategies about how to cope in the Hawai'i context. A further question explored the participant's intentions with respect to returning to live in New Zealand in the future and their reasons for returning or not returning. The final question invited the participant to make any further comments.

Procedure

The procedure for recruiting participants and for the administration of the demographics questionnaire has been described earlier in this chapter. Other than a few minor departures which are described below, the interview procedure for this study was the same as that used for the New Zealand study.

In contrast to the New Zealand study, where most of the interviews were conducted at the participant's home, many of the interviews conducted with participants in Hawai'i occurred outside of their homes. Venues for the interviews included restaurants, the beach, the grounds of BYU-H and the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. This is probably reflective of Hawai'i having a very warm climate that was conducive to such an activity being conducted outside.

Interviews that were conducted in the homes of participants were often preceded by a formal acknowledgement of me as a visitor from New Zealand. At such times, I made a response as appropriate to the occasion. This ranged from a simple 'thank you' to a formal mihi in response. As in the New Zealand study, I left it to the participant to indicate when they were ready to move on to begin the interview.

Most interviews were on average around 1 hour in length with older participants taking up to 2.5 hours.

Ethical Concerns

As in the New Zealand study, the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (1986) informed the study and my behaviour as a researcher. In addition to this, I undertook to abide by the expected behaviour codes that were in place at Brigham Young University – Hawai'i, and at other institutions that I visited out of due respect for the contexts that I found myself in, and for those people whom I interacted with. I found none of the expected behaviour codes personally or professionally compromising.

Although Hawai'i is a Western, English speaking nation, it is culturally different from the New Zealand context. Many colloquialisms abound, Hawaiian and 'pidgin' terms are used continually, and because I look 'local' I was often interacted with on that basis. When I found myself in situations where I was mistakenly identified or expected to act in a particular way, I made explicit my origins and ignorance of the Hawai'i context. I found that people appreciated this response, and were apologetic for making an incorrect assumption.

All participants in this study provided their informed consent either by choosing to complete a process (ie, to return the demographics questionnaire) or by signing a standardised written consent form (Appendix 13).

In contrast to the New Zealand study, participants were given the right to withdraw from the study at anytime. That no one in the New Zealand study withdrew provided me with the confidence that the same would be the case for this Hawai'i study. I have not been subsequently contacted by any participant for this purpose.

A proposal for this study was reviewed by the Research Committee of the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. A proposal was also sent to Debbie Hippolite-Wright and Alice Unawai of Hawai'i to review.

Data Analysis

The analysis approached used for the Aotearoa study, was the same used for the Hawai'i study. But there was a difference. In the first study I had the luxury of engaging the data collection and analysis stages in collaboration with a research assistant. In this study I was more reliant on my supervisors, Professors Jane and

James Ritchie, to question and challenge my assumptions and interpretations. In this respect I was very fortunate. Jane and James had spent significant periods of time in Hawai'i, on the island of Oahu, and between them, they were familiar with the context and its history. My own experiences of Hawai'i were not as extensive as theirs and I have benefited from their insights, challenges and criticism.

Chapter Ten Being Maori in New Zealand

In this first study, 20 Maori people living in New Zealand were interviewed to gain an understanding of how Maori conceive and perceive of those Maori social groups to which they feel a sense of belonging or connection. In this chapter, I report on conversations with participants beginning with the points they raised about being Maori, their hapu and iwi conceptions, and how they went about maintaining those connections. The lay out of this chapter generally follows the order of questions in the questionnaire used with participants. However, this order varies when it comes to describing participants' connections with their hapu and iwi. Here, I have decided to present the findings concurrently rather than consecutively to avoid repetition.

Being Maori

The Māori people trace their origins to eastern Polynesia, where their ancestors set off in canoes and travelled many thousands of kilometres across the Pacific Ocean to New Zealand. Māori define themselves by their iwi (tribes) who each tell powerful stories of famous ancestors and voyaging canoes. The encounter with the European settlers, and the struggle for control of the land and resources, had a dramatic effect on the Māori population, its economy and way of life. Over the centuries the tribes have adapted to new circumstances. Some have combined, while others have divided, and they have moved from place to place in the country known to Māori as Aotearoa. Today, tribal groups support their members in urban centres as well as in their traditional regions (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005, para 1).

Maori, as a social group, is a pan-tribal identity tied to our historic interaction with Pakeha and is given coherency through a common language, Te Reo Maori, and through familiar customary practices that have enabled tribal groups to understand and interact with each other with familiarity and predictability. Our shared commonality in the presence of a contrasting and threatening dominant group has contributed to a sense of solidarity and political commitment as an ethnic group. In

this section, I present the findings as they relate to: a) realising a Maori identity; b) things that participants are curious about when they first meet another Maori person; and c) those things considered important to being Maori.

Realising a Maori identity

Becoming conscious of ethnic and cultural difference and realising one's membership in an ethnic group is a position that most participants came to realise when they were young, most often while they were at school and in contact with ethnically different teachers and peer group. Many of the encounters that raised this awareness were negative. Some encounters exposed the participant to Pakeha racism, others separated the participant from their Maori peers, for example, the streaming of children into different classes based on the expectations of the school of Maori, or in some cases, on IQ testing, often engendering feelings of surprise, frustration, and a sense of injustice. Kura's experience is typical of participants in this study.

Primary school days. It was actually on the first day. For one thing not knowing how to korero Pakeha and having spoken Maori I got rapped over the knuckles for that! It told me that I was different. Different in two ways actually, the colour for instance and the language. I was a different colour (from Pakeha) and I was speaking another language (Kura).

In contrast, Amo felt that she always knew that she was Maori, but this fact was pushed home through particular events and circumstances.

I've always known I was Maori, from birth but there have been incidents in my life, like when I moved to Christchurch and there were no Maori there and I really got a culture shock and it really came to the forefront that I was a Maori. Again at school being in Maori culture groups. You know your close connections with family. I'm from a family of fifteen brothers and sisters so that also makes me aware that I'm Maori. But the first time was when I was in Christchurch and there were no other Maori, ... that freaked me out! Right out! (Amo).

For most of the participants, the outcome of these negative experiences seemed to be an increased valuing of being Maori. It is clear that participants had to deal with the fact of being Maori quite early in life. Although they were required to reference themselves according to the values and norms of the dominant Pakeha society that they were a part of, they also had to give meaning to their minority status and identity as Maori. Miria provides a summary of this process.

It wasn't anything someone told me, I can't ever remember my father saying, "you're a Maori and being a Maori is this, this and this". I learnt that I was different from other people and the way they interacted with me. It was a bad experience until I got to high school where I had a Maori teacher who I guess instilled and told us the positive things about being Maori. The good things about being Maori. I started hearing that it was good to be Maori, that you should be proud of being Maori. I also started learning about things Maori. At the same time I still experienced negative things about being Maori while I was at high school as well. But I was very, very pleased, very, very happy, and appreciative that I had someone there saying that there were good things about being Maori (Miria).

Encountering Maori

After talking with participants about how they came to realise that they were Maori, our conversations shifted to encounters they had with other Maori. I asked them to tell me about those things they were curious about in others, and what they would disclose about themselves when first meeting another person. This proved to be a valuable entry point into understanding how they conceived of themselves and others. All participants could recall, reflect on and talk about interactions of this kind.

When encountering another Maori person for the first time, participants expressed interest and curiosity mainly about how the other was similar to them; that is, where they were from, and, more importantly, whether they had some kin-relationship. To a lesser degree, occupation, physical and personal characteristics, like attractiveness, were thought by some participants to be important enough to mention. While explanations provided by participants about why they were curious

about such matters centred on their desire to establish a base upon which to build and ease the interaction, the overwhelming objective appears to be to establish relatedness.

Locating a person according to geographical regions or places was the initial point of curiosity most frequently expressed by participants. Asking where someone is from questions a number of things all designed to establish the same end goal that is, to encode enquiries into whether the other is, or is not, a member of a mutually shared sub-network of people who at least hold the same ethnicity in common. The information sought through this initial query may refer to the area where the other was raised, where they reside currently, or, more exactly, those iwi regions and groups they affiliate to. A response by Harema illustrates these ideas.

I always want to know where they are from. I want to know lots of things but I'm always curious to know where somebody is from. Usually that's the first question because that breaks the ice with most people you meet. It's at the beginning of a conversation because then you sort out who you might have in common. There is hardly a Maori you meet that you don't jointly share someone in common. Then you've got something to talk about (Harema).

The locating of the other according to place is the most apparent dimension of conversations had with participants. It was the first thing that participants referred to. As they were further engaged, it became obvious that the notion of 'place' was simply an entry point into diverse relational matrices where participants were poised to "hop across the whanau links, through marriages, offspring and adoptions" (Ritchie, 1992, p. 68) to establish relatedness. I would expand Ritchie's list to also include non-kinship networks such as those related to work, sports teams and codes, performing arts, and education institutions.

There seems to be a priority associated with the nature of relatedness discovered. Although participants' expressed enthusiasm if a relationship based on place, activity or work was discovered, this enthusiasm seemed to be less than one established on the basis of kinship. A greater sense of meaning and understanding appears to be associated with the discovery of a kinship relationship. Miria's comment below reflects this idea.

I would have a stronger connection or bond with the person who said they were family, but then if someone came and said to me, "I'm from Rangitane", it would be more distant or probably similar to how I'd feel about Motuahi. Yes there is bond but not as strong as if someone who came to me and said this is how we're related. If they could show me a whakapapa link and I guess the closer the whakapapa link the closer the bond that I would feel. I guess what I'm trying to say is that I identify more with the whanau or the extended family rather than the hapu or iwi. But by them saying I'm Motuahi or I'm from Rangitane as well, that to me is saying something about them and us, and that we do share something. Be it a shared ancestor, waka or whatever (Miria).

What is unmistakable in responses of the participants is the need for a knowledge and experience about places, events, social groups and relationships to be able to place the other in a context relative to their own. Accurate placement of the other depends on the initial information provided during the early stages of an encounter. Perhaps a better understanding of this can be gleaned by what information participants themselves choose to provide in such interactions.

Disclosing to others

In response to asking participants about the information they would disclose to other Maori in an initial encounter, some participants reflected a concern about context variables indicating that how they would respond to another would depend on who the person was, where they were from, and the circumstances under which the parties had met. Beyond these concerns, most participants anticipated disclosing information about or alluding to the places they grew up, their whanau name, the people they know or married, the iwi, hapu or marae they belong to. Indeed, the nature of information participants would disclose is very similar to that information they would want to know of others, as Hineko described:

What I wanted to know about them is what I'd tell them about myself. If it was a person who was from the same iwi I'd tell them who I knew or how I was related to them, how I know their family, how I used to be nice and slim! I want them to know that, because I was different when I was slim! I'd tell

them about my kids, what I've done and my husband (Hineko).

Their rationale for doing so is best illustrated by Miria who highlights the offensive nature of the question “who are you?” She then describes her process of information giving and the reasons why.

Who are you? Well that's a bit of an insult. I don't have many people come to me and say who are you. And I'd think that it would be a bit of an insult that question. I'd have to ask why are you asking and for what reasons are you asking. I guess again it would depend on how they said it, and the way said it. Oh, even then I would find that quite insulting and I'd have to know the reason why they wanted to know (Miria).

It would depend on who it was. If it was a Pakeha then I would say, "I'm from Dannevirke", because I believe they're just asking that question to make conversation. But if it was a Maori asking me 'where I was from', to me that's not just asking me the actual place I'm from, that's where they're asking me 'who I am' but in a different, a nicer, more gentler way I suppose. So I would say to them, Dannevirke but I would also add that however I was born and raised in Taupo because when they ask me who I am and I say Dannevirke, they might say, "well do you know such and such from back there?" or "oh I've been to the marae out at such and such", and that sort of thing and because I haven't been brought up there I'd feel the need to further explain that (Miria).

The information that Makere would provide to others reflects an earlier case of a ‘mistaken identity’ that has conditioned her recent responding.

In recent years people have come up to me and said "What nationality are you?" Because a lot of them think I'm from India. So, I've been telling them, "No, I'm a Maori!" And the more people say, "Are you from India?" the more I say "I am Maori". This is because I think that they are misinterpreting (Makere).

Well, I find different nationalities ask me if I am Indian. I went to a meeting about two years ago with my family and this Indian person tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Excuse me, but where do you come from?" I looked at him and I said, "I'm Maori!" Maybe it's a good way of defending my own identity because you get a chance to say "I'm

Maori". So I'm actually advocating I'm Maori because if they didn't ask me what I was then they would never get to hear the word Maori (Makere).

Those participants interviewed who were of fair complexion also had similar difficulties to Makere and found themselves providing information that asserted their identity as Maori, such as a Maori name, growing up or being affiliated to a predominantly Maori community, associating with Maori sports groups, clubs and the like. This leads on to the next topic which was those things that participants felt were important about being Maori.

Important things about being Maori

In asking participants about the 'important things about being Maori', I recognised that some people would be better able to do this than others. The question was a hard one in that it required participants to picture their lives as Maori, and to understand those things that symbolised and contributed to the development and maintenance of their Maori identities. While participants pointed to a variety of things they felt were important to being Maori, three themes dominated their responses. They can be best described as Maori motuhake (uniqueness as Maori), whanaungatanga (relatedness and relationships to other Maori), and kotahitanga (unitedness or solidarity as Maori).

Maori motuhake

Participants mentioned a range of things that can be organised under the theme of Maori motuhake. Maori motuhake refers to those things that make us different and, therefore, unique as a people. They are those uniquely Maori pathways of divergence from how other cultural groups may do or view things. They include language, customary practices and institutions like marae, and customary knowledge. They include those things that Apiranga Ngata described as essential components of "Maoritanga" (Ritchie, 1963, p. 37) and what Durie (1998d, p. 75) refers to as "taonga tuku iho" (cultural heritages). In line with this theme, this is what Whaitiri thought were important to being Maori.

Learning about ancestors, about the reo and Maori culture. It teaches me about mana, learning how to use Maori weapons like the mere properly. Being in the kapa haka is important because we also learn how to stand and do actions properly according to the Tuhoe people. It's our way of holding on to our culture. I think whakapapa is important too. Knowing who you are and where you come from (Whaitiri).

Though some participants held up positive divergences from other cultural groups as important to being Maori, they also spoke about negative interactions and consequences, both historical and contemporary, that set Maori apart from other cultural and ethnic groups. The comments made by participants reflected their shared consciousness and experience as a dominated minority that contributed to their uniqueness. For example, Kanapu refers to a shared history of hurt stemming from “historical crap”.

I think one of the strong things for me is a shared history. I am fairly aware of a lot of the historical crap that has gone down for the people who have gone before us, and that's the sort of thing that I share with other Maori that are here with us now. I feel strong about that and there's a lot of mamae (hurt) there for me when I think of some of the shit things that have happened to our people. That's one strong thing I feel in common with other Maori people. We come from the same place, we've had the same history and that's how it's been for us (Kanapu).

Related to those comments made by Kanapu are those by Hineko who clearly articulates what she sees as the risk of an assimilated future and the need to value and retain those things that make us uniquely Maori.

We were here first, but we get a raw deal from the government and that, ...poor Maori. We don't get the same opportunities, I think, as Pakeha and Islanders. We're not as recognised. We're keeping our culture alive and if we don't do it now, when our kids are our age they won't know anything about it. They'll be like white people running around (Hineko).

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga encapsulates the importance that participants placed on whakapapa, whanau, relatedness and relationships. As Ritchie (1992) explained, whanaungatanga is about those things that tie people together in bonds of association and obligation and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. In line with this, participants told me that knowing one's relationship to other Maori, whether they are immediate or extended family or hapu or iwi connections, are important aspects of being Maori. Knowing one's whakapapa or genealogy was repeatedly emphasised as central to being Maori. While whakapapa was important to Tomairangi, so, too, was the historical dimension of whakapapa. Tomairangi captures this dimension of whanaungatanga.

Family, not just the immediate family but inclusive of the extended family. Where you're from and also the history of where you're from and your people, as in your whakapapa, your waka, your rohe (Tomairangi).

If the lines and layers of whakapapa are viewed as 'scaffolding', then the historical dimension, that is, the narratives of relatedness and relationships over time and place might be described as the 'bricks and mortar' of whakapapa, the stuff that gives whakapapa meaning and contributes to a sense of whanaungatanga. Parehuia elaborates on the importance of this aspect.

The feeling man! That strong, 'know who you are, where you came from, how you got there, where you're going, not being lost' feeling. That's part of that identity buzz. It gives you that sense of identity (Parehuia).

Kotahitanga

The notion of kotahitanga has unity as its ultimate goal but also reflects the processes that people go through to arrive at such a point. These processes may be fiercely political and status or deed oriented, or, alternatively, just a part of the everyday mundane social interactions that people engage in. Participants told me that a sense of 'togetherness' was important to being Maori. This was not just about Maori

motuhake or whanaungatanga. It was about doing those things that allow Maori to live in accord, understanding and solidarity with each other.

I think the most valuable thing is being able to identify with a larger group. You really don't feel like it's just you in this world. You feel like you're a part of a bigger group who share a lot of the same values, and beliefs and I think that when I look at my personality or my nature, the sort of person I am, that includes being Maori. For instance, when you're asked that question it's highlighted more so when you come up against someone who is not Maori. I've worked in a situation where I've been the only Maori amongst three or four Pakeha, and the different values and standards I've had as opposed to those Pakeha, or non-Maori around me, really bring home to me the qualities that I have, that I can attribute to my being Maori. For instance, I'm the only Maori in (workplace X) up here now but the way that I act or react to different, or certain things that are different to the way they react, I attribute to being Maori (Miria).

Even though ‘living as Maori’ and incorporating tikanga Maori (Maori customary practices) into one’s life were mentioned frequently by participants, it was done within the context of seeing strength in belonging to a larger collective, be it whanau, hapu, iwi or Maori generally. From belonging to these collectives, a sense of kotahitanga ensues from knowing that there are positive iwi divergences, hapu divergences and even whanau divergences. The best example of this is in the dialectal differences in te reo Maori, each dialect locating the speaker to a place and iwi.

Having discussed with participants those things they felt were important to being Maori, our discussions turned to focus on participants’ connections and conceptions of their hapu and iwi.

Hapu and Iwi connections

All Maori can lay claim to multiple descent lines through fathers and mothers and grandparents, echoing back to cosmological origins, and rippling outwards across generations to result in inextricably complex webs of inter-relatedness. This is what James Ritchie (1963) observed in Murupara, what Salmond (1975) witnessed in the

cake cutting ceremony, what the Kingitanga movement relies on for continued commitment (Ritchie, 1992), and what the Crown assumes to be ‘proper way’ in their settling of historic grievances with ‘large nature entities’(New Zealand Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). Even the nuclear family spawns multiple social groups to which a person can claim.

I asked participants to tell me whether they belonged to any particular iwi or hapu and whether they felt more connected to any one group than some other. I also asked them to tell me about: what they thought of when they thought about their respective hapu and iwi; whether they saw any similarities or differences between them; and how they came to realise their iwi membership. In asking these questions, I made the assumption that the finer the distinctions made, the more familiar and attuned the participant was to the nuances of each of their respective hapu and iwi. Being ‘familiar’ and ‘attuned’ to one’s hapu and iwi does not necessarily mean that a participant had a positive sense of belonging or identity with these groups. Rather, it may suggest the presence of an enhanced range of knowledge, experience and relational resources that may serve as tools for engaging their hapu and iwi social environments in such a way that they are more readily included than others. In this section, I present the findings as they relate to: a) naming hapu and iwi; b) strength of connection; c) hapu and iwi conceptions.

Naming hapu and iwi

Seventeen participants could name at least one of their hapu, five could name two, two could name three, and one could name more than three. All participants could name their iwi and 14 indicated that they belonged to two or more iwi. Only four identified only one iwi. Three participants were unable to recall or could not name their hapu when asked. They were the younger participants; the older participants had no problems in this regard. In talking further with these younger participants, the inability to name one’s hapu was not unusual particularly given that these participants were raised outside their iwi and, therefore, hapu areas. While they may have visited or spent holidays in their hapu areas, it would appear that they were yet to learn finer details about their hapu.

Coming to know iwi and hapu

Unlike a realisation of being Maori, which occurred relatively early in life, a realisation of belonging to a particular iwi or hapu happened differently.

Collectively, participants mentioned an array of situations and events that helped to bring about a realisation of their iwi and hapu group membership. Many of the situations and events recalled were marae and hapu focused, that is, they were activities that facilitated, or provided the opportunity for a return to their marae in their iwi homelands. In a strict sense, these activities are more likely to facilitate and maintain whanau and hapu membership and identity. However, because of the interconnectedness of hapu and marae, it should not be considered unusual that participants in this study held such a focus. The curious aspect is the convergence of hapu and marae as the source of their iwi identity. Some of the activities that the participants related are described below.

Whanau reunions facilitate the coming together of whanau members, the strengthening of their relationships and the establishment of new ones, especially if there are new whanau members such as children or partners, the remembering of those who have died, and the simple pleasure and enjoyment of being together. Mihi, whaikorero, the recitation of whakapapa, stories, waiata, 'parties', eating, and quarelling are all vehicles that assist in engendering and cementing relatedness, both positive and negative.

Reunions are usually organised around the descendants of a particular ancestor or tipuna. That tipuna is usually at least three generations removed from the present, but can be up to five or six, depending on the number of descendants there are and how huge the event might become! To limit the expense and logistics of bringing people together, sometimes the tipuna are simply grandparents. The great thing about reunions is the knowledge that all those participating in the event are related. The key to enjoying and recognising the importance of the event is having a desire to find out the 'how' of relatedness.

We did a family reunion on my grandmother's side, ## years ago. We found out that my great great grandmother, I'm not sure how many greats there are - I think she was about an 8th Maori but she was brought up in a Maori community and didn't know how to speak English. She had this liaison with this Scottish sailor, got hapu but realised that they were

different and things weren't working out, so she ran away. She met someone else and proceeded to have about thirteen kids to him. ...It was while we were putting (these stories) together that I found out that there's another (iwi connection) as well, from her mother. Interesting stuff. How interesting those people were, not only finding out who they were, but their lives and how that influenced how I came to be (Manaia).

Tangi serve the function of drawing whanau, the wider hapu members, friends and associates together to play out the myriad of roles and responsibilities necessary for the smooth functioning of the mourning ritual. Everyone has a role, an obligation and a contribution to make. Perhaps this is why participants in this study, when returning to their iwi homelands and to their marae, did so most frequently on the occasion of tangi. It is at these times, when working closely together to complete tasks, to fulfill roles and responsibilities, or to discharge obligations, that the web of relatedness is revealed and given meaning. The revelation of connections may be prompted by simple observations and questions. For example, often I have been puzzled at the presence of a particular person at an event, or of a person performing a role that seems unusual. A simple "why is...?" question quickly clarifies the rightness (or wrongness) of their presence.

The ritual and practice of kawemate involves carrying the memory of someone who has recently died and grieving for that person along with others who have had recent bereavements, or with other whanau and hapu members, or at significant marae where the deceased was from or frequented. This is how the kawemate ritual helped Manaia to reconnect with the whanau and people of her father's hapu and iwi.

When we went back for the first time after my father died, because we hadn't been back in a long time, all the aunties came and saw us and sat down and told us who we were and who everybody was and who our whanau was. We had a sort of a get together about the marae, and the land that the marae was on and they took us all around to get to know who we were and where we came from. It was then that I realised what was so important about that place and belonging to that place. I would say I was fifteen, sixteen. It was sort of like a family reunion (Manaia).

There are other rituals and customary practices similar to tangi and kawemate that engender a sense of whanaungatanga, a sense of connectedness. I have explained above the institution of tangi and an event, but it also exists as a procedure. Here, especially during powhiri, the tangi is part of the whakaeke process that brings to life again memories of those who have passed, events and opportunities missed, and sadness's felt. The whakaeke, process of formal welcome, reaffirms identities and connections and bring those involved in the encounter closer together physically and psychologically.

On another level, the hurakohatu or the unveiling ceremony also serves to remember and memorialise those passed, but more importantly, releases immediate kin from the obligatory period of mourning. It frees them, and others, from the obligation to be sensitive and responsive to the passing of a loved one. Like reunions, tangi and kawemate, hurakohatu are events that present opportunities to gather, reconnect, reaffirm and to remember.

Some participants report taking their iwi group membership for granted - it was a fact of life that initially did not warrant examination or reflection. However, moving away from their iwi area, associating or meeting others from some other iwi or hapu, or attending events where people from other iwi or hapu participate - these circumstances provide contrasting opportunities. What was taken for granted position is contrasted with other positions and can lead to seeking how and why explanations. While the following quote elaborates these processes, it also highlights the danger of over-simplification about structures.

Well, when I was thirteen our Maori teacher at college set us an assignment, she said, "go home and find out your iwi and your waka" and that kind of thing and I went home thinking that was an easy assignment, because I knew my waka, and I knew my iwi. My kuia, my grandfather's sister was staying with us at the time and I wrote it all out for her and I gave it to her to look at and next minute she sat me down and told me that while we do have links into Kahungunu, Rangitane is our strongest. So all of a sudden I was to say I was Rangitane (Miria).

**INT: How did that make you feel?*

Very, very disillusioned. To me it was similar to finding out you were adopted. You know, one minute you know these are your parents, your mum and dad, and you've known that for

years, then all of a sudden someone came up to you and said you were adopted. So I felt quite disillusioned, believing that I was one thing for x-amount of things and then finding out I wasn't. But I've gotten over it now (Miria).

Collectively, people in this study mentioned participating in an array of situations and events that helped to bring about a realisation of their iwi and hapu group membership. They included: reunions, tangi, kawemate and other marae based activities, as well as finding themselves in circumstances that provided the opportunity for information to be sought. Interestingly, participants' conceptions of their iwi tended to focus more on hapu and its physical manifestation, the marae, rather than on how they and their hapu may have fitted into the broader iwi construct. While participants may have related the fact of their connection to different hapu, iwi, places, people and marae, this does not tell us much about how strong these connections were. This is covered in the following section.

Strength of connection

The cohesiveness and strength of a participant's connection or affinity with their respective hapu and iwi appears to be impacted by a variety of things. This includes the influence of inter-ethnic, inter-iwi, and inter-hapu marriage, the extent to which parents maintain connections with their whanau, hapu and iwi, and the extent to which they encourage the involvement of their children.

Although only 6 participants identified as having grandparents, parents or partners who were other than Maori, these significant non-Maori others appear to have influenced the cohesiveness and strength of a participant's affinity with their hapu and iwi. Their influence is at least two fold. Where significant others have acted to embrace the culture of their Maori partners, the outcome for their partner or descendants seems to be a far stronger understanding of where the participant fits into the network of kin that constitutes their hapu and iwi. When I use the term 'understanding', I am not referring to a fluency in whakapapa, or an adeptness in any specific Maori custom, or competency in te reo Maori. Too often these things are taken as the measure of being Maori, and of what it means to belong to a hapu and iwi. Here I use the term 'understanding' simply to mean a sense of comfort in, and commitment to, the activities that are occurring around oneself, in knowing that one

belongs and has a position from whence to say "this is where I come from", "this is where I belong", "this is who I am". Manaia's comments capture the sense of belonging and place that many participants expressed.

...So all we have to do is go back there, you don't know anybody and you just tell them your name and they know who you are. There's just an instant connectedness there. "Oh we know where you come from!" and you may not even know them. You feel as though you're at home even though you don't know them (Manaia).

Manaia's story is particularly interesting as she highlights the dynamics of an inter-ethnic marriage. 'The hand that rocks the cradle' is an apt metaphor to describe the influence over children that one parent, in contrast to the other, can have. The following comments describe Manaia's understanding of her family, the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriage and how it has influenced the respective members of her whanau.

Whereas it's a bit tricky with my mother. For lots of reasons. One I think is because my grandmother was very much a Pakeha. She only had a small bit of Maori. My grandfather was the full Maori but she played the dominant role in the relationship...(and) the dominant role in bringing up the children. They still had the same values because they were brought up with their first cousins but my grandmother was very aloof, very much a snob. So a lot of that translated itself to mum and her family, and in doing so I think they valued a lot of Pakeha things. But in saying that, I think intrinsically all those Maori values were there, looking after the family, the marae, the manaaki bit. I mean, when they go to the marae they're all very much in the kitchen because they're such wonderful cooks and they know how to cater very well, no matter how big the occasion and all the rest of it. We were all brought up in the kitchen. But for them that whole Pakeha bit was different, because they were used to it. Mum doesn't karanga or anything, she just plays the kuia who sits there and just agrees with everything. Her brothers and sisters are the same, none of them can korero. Because my father died when we were young, my mother had a heavy influence. So half my family, a large part of it, my brothers are quite happy to be, well not plastic Maori but not committed Maori. I shall tell you what that means. It means that they're Maori but they don't practise Maori culture, in the sense of going to the marae all the time, in the sense of going to Maori hui. They go to work, earn money, go home

and because they're married to Pakeha they acknowledge that they're Maori and that's about it (Manaia).

Manaia's comments also highlight another influence that inter-ethnic marriage may have. Where being Maori and part of a hapu and iwi network is not embraced by a significant non-Maori other, a possible outcome is a reduction in participation by the partner or descendant in hapu and iwi activities. For Manaia's brothers, the acknowledgement and identification by them as Maori might be referred to as a 'contrasting' position, that is, being Maori explains something (skin colour, relatives, accent) that is different from one's partner. Beyond that difference, all other things (ethnically speaking) are the same.

Some of the participants related accounts and outcomes of being a whangai raised by person(s) other than their biological parents, or the impact upon themselves of parents or grandparents who were whangai (see Metge, 1995 for full account of the whangai concept). The accounts of participants, their parents, or grandparents who had been adopted (opposed to being whangai) were also similar. Mereana, who was raised by her grandparents after her mother died, highlights some of the consequences of such a status. The strength of her connection with her father and his iwi is interesting. Mereana's father left his tribal area, the reason remaining a mystery. One might surmise that the reason may have been related to some negative consequence. However, the outcome of Mereana's circumstance is that she felt far more connected with the hapu and iwi of her maternal grandparents, than with that of her father. Mereana told her story below.

When I was young girl, I wasn't brought up by my father. I was brought up by my grandparents, my mother's people. I went to see my father on weekends. It was a bit like what you'd call visiting rights. He re-married after my mother died, I was only a baby. My grandparents ensured that I kept in touch with my father. In lots of ways all I knew my father for, from that very young age and growing up, right till I reached high school, was that he was my father and he was also the person who gave me my weekly allowance. Which is a crazy way of remembering one's father. But I knew him for nothing else. Of my mother's side I knew a lot about hapu activities because the old people were always down at the marae. With my father's side it wasn't until just before high school, that I discovered that my father came from another tribe ... (not from) down the pa. So, I knew my father came from another tribe but I had no idea which one. It wasn't until

I was quite old, in my late twenties ...that he actually told me where he came from. ...So I found other bits and pieces and long before my father died he talked a little more about his family and those were quite precious times he and I had. That's all I know about that Nga Puhi connection, what he told me and (he) knew very little (Mereana).

Participants often spoke in a 'matter of fact' way about grandparents, or earlier ancestors re-marrying or having more than one husband or wife, or more than one 'family'. However, how participants felt about their own parents remarrying and the presence of a 'step-parent' was more emotively charged. For some participants, like Kanapu, the presence of a step-parent was a positive and valued experience, enabling him to explore who his real family and father were. When prompted about the impact of not knowing or not having contact with his father, Kanapu said...

Well none really to be honest. It's been more of a thing for me to make contact with the whanau. My father knows that I'm back on the scene, he can take that or leave it. I haven't spoken to him, but I'm expecting to see him. He and his wife are going to be coming back some stage soon. I'm likely to meet them. The funny thing for me is that he's got another family and my position right from the start, from when I first made contact with the family, was that I didn't want to upset the apple cart, in some sense. If he feels okay about making contact, I'm fine. But it hasn't been a problem for me. I suppose part of that too is because my stepfather who is with my mum at the moment, they've been together twenty five years or something. I was only seven or eight when he came onto the scene. He's always been a good father figure to me in a lot of ways. So I haven't really had any problems with the fact that my real father hasn't been part of my life. But in saying that I'm not saying that I don't want him to be part of my life (Kanapu).

For Hiko, the experience was similar, yet different. This participant was bought up by his step father and had lived all his life in Tuwharetoa. Of his maternal mother's side, he knows that the family environment that his mother came from was quite harsh given that his grandmother died young and the task of raising other children was left to his mother. His grandfather also married again to a woman the same age as his mother. His impressions of his mother's side is that they were very 'hard'. He described his paternal grandmother's family as very humble and religious. Hiko is quite comfortable residing in Tuwharetoa where his step-father is from.

However, he is conscious of not belonging in the same ways as those who have a kin-connection to the area. This is evident in some interactions he has had with local people.

It's only till Tuwharetoa people start talking and asking where I'm from, ...they sort of change the subject when they find out I'm not from here. Usually, just like when I'm in Tuwharetoa and everyone here, they identify you through who your parents are and all that. You're sort of lost. When they find out your parents aren't from here they really can't identify with it. So you're sort of stuck with nothing you know. Well, that's how I feel sometimes (Hiko).

While not fully investigated, the narratives of participants suggest that if parents or grandparents have a strong connection to hapu and iwi then their children or grandchildren are also likely to develop a similar sense of belonging. Narratives also suggest that a sense of belonging can be compromised, particularly by remarriage, interethnic and inter-tribal marriage, and whangai practices.

I have presented and discussed above those factors that appear to compromise a sense of belonging to hapu and iwi. For this group of participants, these compromising factors appear to be experienced differently. Some spoke about these circumstances with a sense of acute loss and disconnectedness but others were quite philosophical, accepting their circumstance as a simple twist within their life journey – just another hurdle to overcome. It is perhaps this latter attitude that appeared to be adopted by participants in this study as they all discussed with me ways in which they navigated their circumstances to maintain, and in some instances, to reinvigorate their hapu and iwi connections and sense of identity. These issues will be further explored after consideration of the content of participants' conceptions of their iwi and hapu.

Hapu and iwi conceptions

A capacity to make fine distinctions between different iwi and hapu suggests a greater exposure, knowledge and experience of these groups. To illustrate, I draw a comparison with the knowledge gained by short-term versus long-term sojourners. A short-term sojourner might walk away from their experience having learned that

the Maori world is tribally structured and that iwi also consist of sub-tribes or hapu. They might also learn that tribal groups are affiliated with a specific location and that marae are associated with different hapu. In comparison, a long-term sojourner might come to know more about Maori-Pakeha encounter history, about tribal history, and the differences between tribal groups. They may also learn something of customary practices, like, marriage customs, family creation and whangai practices, and discern differences in ‘doing things’ between situations. As marae are salient physical structures, they may come to understand that carvings are not gods, but ancestors, that each marae, while structured similarly, has their own character peculiar to those people and social relationships that make marae ‘go around’. They may also learn that social relationships, lineal and lateral webs of relatedness, form the essential fabric of the Maori world. The important point I wish to make here is that capacity to discern difference between iwi, and between hapu, is dependent upon opportunity, exposure and engagement on either an actual or vicarious level. Coming to know these things takes time and energy. These are the things that were discussed with participants.

Thinking of iwi

Though participants came from a variety of iwi, they tended to think about them in similar ways. For example, whakatauki that epitomized their iwi were often recalled.

I think of the sea and the coast and seafood for some reason. Also I'm reminded of our whakatauki that was told to me about Kahungunu, 'Nga Tukemata O Kahungunu'. It's a whakatauki about Kahungunu. All it would take for him was a flutter of his eyelashes to bed a woman. So he was supposed to be this handsome, strong, warrior. He was handsome and strong and I remember knowing that his expertise was to provide food, so he was a good provider. But he used to woo these women from all over the country and take them to his bed. That's what I think when I think of Kahungunu. Beautiful, beautiful people (Miria).

In Miria's comment, she made reference to Kahungunu being a seaboard iwi. Similarly, when she thought about Te Arawa, she referred to what she saw as its

environmental location, that is, its situation in the Bay of Plenty volcanic and lakes district.

I suppose Te Arawa I associate with Rotorua. With Rotorua comes all the touristy, commercialised stuff. I also think about going to Rotorua when I was a kid, the smell and places like Whakarewarewa where you could see old Maori relics of whareniui and going and seeing all the hot baths where our people used to bathe and cook their food. So although it is quite touristy it's also quite steeped in culture. So when I think of Te Arawa I think of Rotorua and all those things there (Miria).

While participants made numerous references to place, some also shared their views of tribal custom and perspectives on their relatives that belonged to those iwi they were providing comment on. Kanapu, who was raised in Te Aupouri held this perception of Te Arawa, his mother's iwi.

I think there are things that need to be straightened up back there. Looking at Te Arawa, looking at a lot of the people that I've met from back there, I think a lot of Te Arawa men have got problems aye, myself ...I think they've got a pretty shit attitude towards women aye. I don't know why that is. Maybe that's just the way they are, the way they've always been and the way they hope it will always be. But I don't know, I think someone at some stage has got to go down and lay the wero down. I mean that's one of the things, I'm proud of being Te Arawa but that's one of the things about being affiliated down there that I cringe a little bit about. I'm very aware of that and I'm sure there are a lot of other people too, aware of the sort of crap that's going on (Kanapu).

Other conceptions of iwi included a focus on capacity in Te Reo Maori and preservation of tikanga Maori, like that held by Keita.

The people. The language because Tuhoe are quite renowned for te reo Maori, fluency in te reo Maori. Tikanga. Because they are the children of the mist. This is how I see it, there are a lot of hills and the mist rises from the hills and covers the land. I think it goes like that. When I hear 'children of the mist', I just identify it with Ruatahuna (Keita).

In contrast, Koha thought about the influence of Pakeha upon his iwi of Ngai te Rangi. Of his other iwi, Ngati Ranginui, he thinks about the extent to which it has been dominated by Ngai te Rangi. This is what he said.

I see it as an iwi that has been influenced heaps by Pakeha. Heaps and heaps. Although there have been benefits, in the long term I think they've been detrimental to our people. I can think of a lot of Ngai te Rangi people who in Pakeha eyes hold positions of responsibility and are well educated, like I said before they've had to compromise a lot of tikanga Maori to get to those positions. Of Ngati Ranginui I feel that they are not so much an oppressed iwi but an iwi that has been dominated by Ngai te Rangi. Ranginui have always been staunch in their Maori rather than the values of Pakeha and the advantage of taking that stance in the old days are being seen now. Ranginui is the flag bearer in tikanga and kapa haka now and yet they're the minority (Koha).

The things that participants thought about when thinking about their iwi are perhaps best summarised by Harema's comments.

My iwi Tuhoe ...I see hope for my kids, this may sound all warm and fuzzy and very nineties but it's true. I see that they are going to have a sense of pride that they are Tuhoe. I see an iwi that has survived the ages where everybody was getting caught up in the system. Thank God they were left behind. Thank God they were isolated. They have retained a beauty that no other iwi has managed to retain and I mean that very respectfully. With Tuwharetoa I see geographically a beautiful place. When I think about Whanau a Apanui it's probably the same as Tuwharetoa. I think about the marae there that I don't know. I think about all the whanau there that I don't know. That's what I think about. Whenever I think of Whakatohea it's really straight back to my grandparents I suppose. I think about the marae and that we don't go back there probably because we had our grandparents' homestead. We didn't really go back to the marae (Harema).

Most writers define an iwi as a corporate group comprised of hapu that have aligned politically for a greater collective purpose, primarily for protection and defence of their collective territory and status (Ballara, 1998). Epitomised by some founding ancestor, kinship and descent are tools that identify one's right to membership. In our conversations with participants, they did not start with a

definition of a tribe as one would expect in an academic work; rather, they referred implicitly to those vital elements that they unconsciously knew to be the basis of an iwi. Iwi might share elements in common, but they are not all the same. I asked participants to tell me about the similarities and differences between their iwi so that I could further investigate their iwi conceptions.

Iwi differences and similarities

As might be anticipated, participants referred to differences in the geographic location of their respective iwi, their proximity to urban areas, and their own engagement with their respective iwi groups.

Well, the main differences I see are the geographical location of the two. They seem to be so dissimilar. Ruamata is so close to a main city whereas our marae up north is isolated, it's not active in the same sense that Ruamata is. There always seems to be something going on down there whether they've got wananga reo, just having that kura there makes a big difference. Whereas marae up north the only 'hops' are tangi and things like that, and reunions, we've had reunions up there. But they just seem so different (Kanapu).

Pikihuia referred to her iwi being distinguished by different types of leadership.

As I said Kahungunu have such a vast area that they've divided themselves up into taiwhenua and the thing that is missing is one strong leader at the moment. With Raukawa, the ones who are leading it now were actually taken in hand by the elders so they've had the grounding. I think that's the major difference there because I think it would be unfair to say one is more of a 'go getter' than the other. I think every iwi is a 'go getter'. It's just a matter of trying to get it all together (Pikihuia).

Differences in customary practices dominated responses. This is what Amo said.

The strength of Tuhoe tikanga, reo, Maori values. practicing traditional Maori things and without money. Without having people pay them to do these things, they do it regardless.

Other things are the fact that the Te Arawa, Ngati Awa and Tuhoe have different kawa altogether. With Maori culture their kawa is different. Those are the general things that spring to mind at the moment (Amo).

I also asked participants to consider the similarities between their iwi. Interestingly, they appeared to find this difficult. Kanapu is able to identify fundamental similarities like whakapapa, having marae and a similar if not common tikanga, but like other participants, was reluctant to go much further than this.

I suppose there are if you're looking at them in terms of their structure and composition, like whakapapa ties and the identification with the marae and that sort of thing, but I suppose when I think about the two I see the differences a lot more than the similarities (Kanapu).

If the iwi that a participant was comparing were located close to each other geographically, then participants found it a little easier to identify similarities.

Heaps between Ngati Awa and Tuhoe. They're both on the fine line where the rangatahi are striving to learn a lot of their traditions but there are traditional barriers that they have to get over first. Both Ngati Awa and Tuhoe are proud iwi and they're not about to let their 'ihu hupe' come up and learn a lot of that stuff. Another similarity is the way they learn, their traditions through whakapapa which are really close, that's the same (Amo).

Mostly, participants found this question difficult.

Thinking of Hapu

As mentioned previously, many participants were able to identify as belonging to numerous hapu. Some of these hapu were within the same iwi group and reflected the descent lines of one parent, grandparent or other ancestors. Sometimes both parents were of the same iwi and belonged to various hapu in the one iwi. In the majority of cases, the parents of participants came from different iwi and a participants' belonging to numerous hapu across these iwi regions reflected this.

When participants thought about their hapu they usually had three anchor points: their marae, its symbolism and its environmental situation; the marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics; and the nature of their relationship or that of their parents or grandparents to the marae and its community.

The marae and its structures typically symbolise the genesis of the hapu. The wharenui (be it adorned or not) tends to be the most symbolic structure as it embodies and represents the ancestor that binds the different descent lines of the families that make up the hapu. The way that Amo and Parehuia conceive of their hapu reflects both what exists on a physical level, and what those things symbolise and call to mind.

With Ngati Koura I think of family ties, the wharepuni. I think of mother, my nan and my koroua who have died and then from there I think of all the people who have died away (Amo).

The Tupuna, Tuwhiwhia. Where our line is to him (Parehuia).

Clearly what is called to mind by Amo and Parehuia are ancestors, descent lines and people. In contrast, Keita and Mania think beyond marae structures to the natural environment and its peacefulness. Miria thinks about the prominence of the mountain range behind her marae.

I just think of the environment and how peaceful it is (Keita)

Also the forests up there, Tanemahuta and just the farm land and how isolated and peaceful it is up there (Mania).

I see a river and a mountain range and a marae and an urupa. The mountain range I suppose is the most prominent thing (Miria).

Other participants, like Mania mentioned oceans, lakes, rivers and mountains where their hapu and marae were situated.

I think of Cape Reinga, the lighthouse and where everything all meets. When I go back there I think of beaches, Ninety

Mile Beach and how it stretches right up to the top. And I think of all the other East Coast beaches and just how quiet and beautiful they all are (Mania).

The marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics were also thought of, on the one hand, signalling a sense of togetherness and fun, yet, on the other, signs of stress and dysfunction.

Tradition, tikanga, housie, golf tournaments, haka practice for our kids, we have it in our hall, our dilapidated dining hall. The struggle for money (Amo).

There are negative connotations when I think of my hapu at (...) because my family are involved in a gang (Keita).

A lot of people riding horses. That they're more into their language, speaking Maori than anyone else that I know of (Hineko).

Hatepe's response was significantly more detailed and intimate than others reflecting his involvement in the life of his hapu and marae. Nevertheless, he still referenced his ancestors, their symbolic representation, the importance of inclusiveness and the potential benefits of belonging.

Well like I said we're really trying to struggle setting it up and we're getting other people saying, "why are you using this name? You shouldn't be using this name, you should be known as so and so." We say why should we moan about it when the Kingitanga before them recognised that name, why should we change it now, our whakapapa proves that we come from that line. Just because we're not exposed to the European system of being registered as a trust, people are starting to kick up a fuss. We support that our tipuna be recognised, not so much for us, but for all those people under his umbrella, then they'll get a slice of the pie, whether it's for health, education or social problems (Hatepe).

The most consistent conception related those generations above those people spoken to, like parents and grandparents. Hapu and their respective marae were often referenced through mothers, fathers or grandparents, with the participant's group membership being established through these people.

The people that are there, my grandmothers relations, all her brothers and sisters and their kids (Hineko).

Te Aupouri - It was when dad died and we went to his marae up north. I asked mum where we were and she told me (Whaitiri).

Hapu differences and similarities

When participants were asked to identify differences between their respective hapu groups, the marae was central to their discriminations. Some referred to their ancestral houses being carved or not and to the general state of the facilities (well maintained or otherwise). Some spoke to the people being different, that is, they were different descent groups, had different histories, and were differently related to the participant (eg., mother's family or father's family).

Difference to me were just family wise. Two different families. The ones on the Te Rarawa side, they were sort of humble people and the ones on my grandfather's side, Te Aupouri, they were sort of wild, pretty hard, aye (Hiko).

Some talked about the geographic location of marae.

Well the main differences I see are the geographical location of the two. They seem to be so dissimilar. Ruamata is so close to a main city whereas our marae up north is isolated, it's not active in the same sense that Ruamata is. There always seems to be something going on down there whether they've got wananga reo, just having that kura there makes a big difference. Whereas marae up north the only 'haps' are tangi and things like that, and reunions, we've had reunions up there. But they just seem so different (Kanapu).

Related to Kanapu's comments are those by Mania whose focus is on how different hapu groups use their marae and for what purposes.

Nga Takoto are sort of ultra modern in lots of ways. The marae is like a house. A lot of my cousins up there are the die hard radicals that went to Waitangi every year to protest before it became popular and are still protesting now. A lot of their radical hui were all there. The marae was host to

anything and everything and I know down here it wouldn't be quite so open. It's not really a marae in the proper sense, it's just more a place (Mania).

Keita, whose hapu were closely located to each other, reflected upon the ways in which they helped each other out, given their resources.

More people go to Te Rewarewa because it's flasher and it accommodates more people. Ohotu only has one wharenuī and wharekai and you can't fit that many people there. If they have functions at Te Rewarewa and if there's not enough room for people to sleep they just go across the bridge to Ohotu (Keita).

Similar to when participants spoke about similarities between their iwi, they also found it difficult to talk about similarities between their hapu. Those whose hapu were of the same iwi tended to emphasise the relatedness of people between hapu, in many cases the people being the same. Some referred to the continuing struggle to find finances and some to the effort required to maintain an institution, particularly if they were located in isolated areas. Many participants, said of their hapu, that "...there is no one there now", "...they don't have any kaumatua", "...they've gone away to work", "...there's no one to look after the marae". But to most participants marae and hapu still seemed to matter.

There are a diverse range of issues raised here about marae and hapu. I have touched on most of them but only in a superficial way. I have purposefully avoided their exploration as one issue alone could easily become a major topic of research in and of itself! While I am passionately interested in these issues, their exploration will have to wait for some other future series of studies, for that is what it will take. Some of this work has already started, for example, with graduate work about the changing roles of Kaumatua (Davies, 2006), the changing institution of whangai (McRae, Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Rua, 2006), and the mediating effect of the media on Maori cultural concepts (Groot, Nikora, Hodgetts, & Karapu, 2006). In this regard, the way forward in examining developments associated with marae and hapu, will be to keep the idea of change and adaption central to the investigation.

Maintaining hapu and iwi identities

In the previous section I presented those results that related to belonging to iwi and hapu and their realisation of conceptions and sense of connectedness with these groups. I also described the perceived differences and similarities participants held of their respective hapu and iwi. In this present section, I turn my attention to ways that participants maintain their hapu and iwi connections, that is, their sense of relatedness, belonging and identification with their hapu and iwi. Below I present: the activities they engaged in; how often they felt they had to do these things versus what happened in reality; those things that helped or hindered their engagement in hapu and iwi maintenance activities; and how they coped if they felt like an outsider to their hapu or iwi group. Again, I have chosen to present the findings about hapu and iwi together as the activities engaged in and the facilitators or inhibitors of activities were mostly the same.

Things important to maintaining hapu and iwi connections

Hapu and iwi *membership* are inherited or ascribed positions, however, hapu or iwi *identities* are socially constructed, both acquired through social exchanges with others and dependent upon such for their maintenance and evolution. As a teacher of Maori students I have repeatedly observed Maori students stand and recite their claim to a particular hapu and iwi. I often wondered whether these were the only occasions they had had to make such memberships publicly known or whether there were other things that they did that were hapu or iwi oriented, that provided them with feedback to further evolve their identities. Participants in this study tended to focus their activities around two social settings: the marae or hau kainga and settings that were not of their hapu or iwi (eg., urban centres, social networks).

Te Hau Kainga

People who live alongside or in close proximity to marae and contribute to their physical maintenance as well as to the smooth running of marae activities are firmly described by metaphors such as ‘te wa kainga’, ‘te hau kainga’, or ‘te hunga kainga’, or simply, ‘the home people’. They are usually those who ‘hold the keys’ to marae buildings, are often the first contacted to book the marae for events, often sit on the

marae committee, and are those that you would normally expect to see at any event at the marae. These people perform a function, more than just that of grounds person, head cook or kitchen hand, orator or performer of waiata. For whanau members living away, their members of te hau kainga perform the important function of being the face of their whanau, the keeper of their ahi kaa; their home fire, and an important channel for information, social introductions to other whanau and hapu members, and for more practical things like providing a place to stay when whanau members visit.

Going home often there are the ones you see all the time and they are the ones who draw you back all the time (Pikihuia).

Well I'm pretty much dependent on my family and some of my extended family who actually live in the area, who were born and bred in the area to actually keep me in touch, to keep me posted, I'm very dependent on them. I always go back there when I'm asked to go back there, for whatever reason (Tomairangi).

For many of te hau kainga, making the ultimate commitment to their marae and hapu is not an easy task. Issues of employment and education still plague them and the need to sustain oneself is no different than it is for those who are living in towns or cities. Many survive on government pensions or travel to work in adjoining districts, or simply commute to towns or cities close by, some returning only during weekends. For some participants in this study, the desire to return home to te hau kainga was still strong and was aspired to later in life, once questions of income and self-sufficiency had been solved.

One of my plans is to move back to Hokianga, more specifically to Rawene. Catching the ferry from A to B, on one of my holidays, I realised how I'd forgotten how beautiful and tranquil the place was and how peaceful, and how much I miss the peace and quiet. There's no rush (yet). There's still a lot happening. So I decided in about ten, fifteen years time to move back there and establishing being from their again (Mania).

Going home

Although a desire to return to live in their iwi regions was apparent, making frequent returns to te hau kainga was perhaps the most common activity that participants saw as contributing to maintaining their hapu and iwi connections. The urge to return was particularly felt in the case of tangi and family events.

It's become increasingly important to me to go to tangi no matter what. That importance has become even greater in the last couple of years with the death of my natural father and the father that brought me up. Now I feel a lot of pressure and everybody's telling me that I have to go back. Apart from that I've always known within myself and I've done a lot of things like making sure that I'm part of committees that concern each of those hapu (Koha).

One's physical presence and participation in the events of the marae and working alongside those of te hau kainga were perceived of as contributing to a number of processes and outcomes such as those commented on below and in the following sections.

To go back as often as I can. To help out in the kitchen, setting the tables for the visitors. Things like that, working on the marae (Keita).

It's more important for me to maintain my iwi identities within those two iwi and outside, even if it's just by being there. I've noticed since my father died that even if I don't get up, people still mihi to me specifically. That's made me realise more, that I've got to be where ever our people go. And even if they don't go, it's important for me to be there. I went up to Whangarei to an unveiling of a woman who had been married to one of my relations. My uncle and I went. Out of this big crowd we were picked out. I mean it's only natural that you would but what I'm saying is that just being there is important (Koha).

Recognising relatedness

Related to Koha's comments above is the idea of returning to te hau kainga or one's iwi homelands. One's face is seen and the memory of one's family is revived, even if no one engages a direct conversation where these things are discussed. The real fact of simply being present creates curiosity and a platform upon which a person or

others might inquire directly, or indirectly as to how one "fits in" or how one is related. In Haneko's case, she was known to others, that is, others knew how she fitted in and where she belonged in their shared relational network even if she were still to develop this understanding.

I didn't know anyone when I first went back there, they all knew who I was but I didn't know anything about them and until I got to know them I didn't want to go back there. I didn't like going back there; I thought they were pretty uncivilised. My city upbringing (Haneko).

Without presence, the reality of relatedness is somewhat vicarious and difficult to cement. Participants in this study often spoke about their hapu and iwi connections in a vicarious way, that is, according to what their parents or grandparents or relatives had told them. These issues are addressed further below when I discuss those things that make it harder or easier to maintain iwi and hapu connections.

Ahi Kaa - Rekindling the fire

On one level, presence permits 'a place' for a person to be manifest or to reoccupy. In realising the place of a person within a kinship network, that whole network becomes represented within that one person. Memories of relatives who are absent or who have passed on are rekindled, remembered and events that they were a part of revisited. To be present means that many have been represented the effect being the rekindling and stoking of one's home fire.

Because we hadn't been back in a long time, all the aunties came and saw us and sat down and told us who we were and who everybody was and who our whanau was. We had a sort of a get together about the marae, and the land that the marae was on and they took us all around to get to know who we were and where we came from. It was then that I realised what was so important about that place and belonging to that place. I would say I was fifteen, sixteen. It was sort of like a family reunion (Mania).

With specific reference to the notion of ahi kaa, Miria told us:

Yeah, to go back there and just reinforce the bond or link that I have there. The other proverb, 'a face seen is a face known', sort of go down and do that sort of thing, so that I'm known and so that I can establish my links. And if ever I had children I would definitely make a move back down there because basically I wouldn't want my children to go through what I've had to go through, and that's living away from the area and not knowing, not being brought up around there with your cousins and relations (Miria).

Sharing the load

On a more practical note, the presence of another set of hands, another body, another mind, another knowledge set and practical skills helps to contribute to marae and hapu tasks and roles, even if that presence is for a short time only. There are always things to do at a marae or at the residence of someone living within te hau kainga. Sharing the load may simply mean providing a willing ear for others to sound off to. Or, it may mean preparing food, washing dishes, cleaning toilets, or performing tasks or roles as part of those rituals carried out on the marae. Participation in these activities provides a way for people to contribute and to feel a part of the immediate and ongoing life of a hapu and a sense of ensuring its continuity. Participation in the work of a marae contributes to a sense of belonging to a place. The contribution is tangible and visible and has the effect of sharing the load carried by those of te hau kainga.

For those hapu and iwi that have developed, in association with marae, 'new' institutions like health centres, kohanga reo, and radio stations, new roles are developed. Health centres spawn community health workers, doctors, nurses, and health promoters. Kohanga reo generate bus drivers, teaching staff like 'nanny', 'whaea' and 'matua', and cleaning staff too. Radio stations require announcers, reporters, recording artists, and invited guest commentators. New loads are created. New ways of fitting in and helping out emerge.

Living away

Almost three quarters of those I spoke with lived outside of their iwi regions and away from their hapu and marae. Some were first generation migrants, but most had been living away for more than two generations. This positioning is evident in the comments made by participants above. The majority of comments tend to focus on

going back or returning home. The task of maintaining their hapu and iwi connections without being physically present at their marae or in te hau kainga or iwi region was negotiated in a variety of adaptive ways but did not seem to be as important as returning home. Somehow, returning to re-greet and engage the physicality and demands of the hapu environment was far more meaningful and significant than other activities.

Recognising and being with others

In the absence of the physical presence of their marae, participants emphasised the importance of maintaining their hapu connections through socialising and being with others of their own hapu and iwi. The idea of hapu or iwi was conceptualised more as a relational kinship network, the hapu having 'closer' social significance than iwi. By this I mean that hapu relatives had shared families, marae and experiences in common even if these were primarily with whanau and extended whanau members.

Socialising with relatives and hapu here where I work or else when I go to Auckland going to see all the relatives. Just regularly connecting up with everybody (Manaia).

With regard to iwi, the experiences tended to be more global and less specific, for example, the Te Maori Art Exhibition involved different iwi groups whose members were called upon to provide exhibition guides, oral historians, and to act as hosts for the exhibition. Those who played these roles are able to talk of their experiences and find common iwi ground in this experience. The same is true of other events, like the Tuhoe Festival, or the National Kapa Haka festival.

Keep in contact with the people in Hamilton from Tuhoe, through parties, barbeques, sports and kapa haka. The group is Tuhoe ki Waikato culture group. The festival, we raise money for the Tuhoe festival. It's good too when you go back, in my first year when I got to know everyone up here and when I went back to Ruatoki it was a buzz to see them because I knew they were at teachers college and varsity too so it was good to go back and see them at Ruatoki (Keita).

Making one's self known to others

Like Keita above who participated in a recognised taurahere group (Tuhoe ki Waikato), going to particular schools and participating in specific clubs helped Whaitiri to maintain her hapu and iwi connections. These groups bring people from the same iwi together and help to reinforce an identity, shared sense of purpose, and provide a sense of belonging.

Participate in haka for Ruatoki School. Play in the Tuhoe, Ruatoki netball team for Mataatua games. Play in the school touch team and when speaking Maori drop the 'g' in our reo (Whaitiri).

In Whaitiri's case, the dropping of the 'g' sound when speaking Maori is a way for others to identify her as Tuhoe, and, at the same time, for her to assert her Tuhoe identity. For Kanapu, a university student, participation in the group called Nga Uri o Ohomairangi helped him keep in contact with other law students from Te Arawa, and to also become involved in issues of law that challenge Te Arawa. Of group meetings Kanapu told us:

If we hold them outside this rohe (Waikato) they're always in Te Arawa. We hold hui up here but only because there are a lot of Te Arawa law students. Obviously we're all based up here so it's convenient for us to meet amongst ourselves up here. But if we need to talk with people back home or talk about things we want to get going back home and it's related to people back there, usually we go back (Kanapu).

Urban environments have not always been kind to Maori. First generation migrants to urban settings adopted a number of strategies to 'fit in'. These included denying or playing down their Maori identities. More recent generations have chosen to challenge such adverse environments by being assertive and encouraging others to be so also.

Making my kids aware of who they are, where they're from. Always keeping in touch with people from home. Letting people know who I am and where I'm from. Usually when people ask me where I'm from I say I live in Taupo but I'm Ngai te Rangi. Just not being ashamed to say who I am and where I'm from. With my kids, making them proud of who they are and where they're from, encouraging them to learn

more, teaching them and encouraging them to want to learn more about themselves (Parehuia).

Frequency of hapu and iwi maintenance activities

How often participants felt that they had to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities varied between participants and according to the nature of activities. Some felt a need to engage in activities on a weekly basis. Others saw their engagement occurring only as a result of the death of an immediate family member which necessitated a return to their iwi homelands. It was the act of 'returning' that they held up as actual demonstration of a maintenance activity. In such an instance this might suggest that their hapu and iwi had little salience in their day to day lives and little relevance to their identity. Although true in some cases, this was not always so.

Participants engaged in other activities aside from returning to their hapu homeland. Relatively easy activities, like making a point of talking to people who participants met from their own hapu in everyday settings, or making telephone calls, were more likely to be mentioned by participants, and occurred more frequently than other activities.

Well my work is with a national body. I can get to hear messages up north quite easily. I just ring from work to the office up north. So I connect up during my work. Because I've got a well paying job I can afford to go up north and visit my family a lot. I ring up my family a lot. Being able to have holidays makes a big difference and even the nature of my job where I can have time in lieu so I can have time off makes a big difference (Manaia).

As Manaia suggested, the actual frequency of maintenance activities was influenced by availability of resources, the barriers required to be negotiated, the salience of their hapu and iwi within their own lives, opportunities that facilitated activity, and what I refer to as psychological factors that mediated or impeded engaging in maintenance activities. This latter influence refers to the participants' values, beliefs and feelings about their iwi and hapu which in turn allows us a picture of the extent to which maintaining their connections are desired. With these influences in mind I now turn to describing those things that participants identified as facilitating or inhibiting their engagement in maintenance activities.

Facilitators and inhibitors of hapu and iwi maintenance activities

There were things that made it easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities and things that made it harder. However, sometimes, things that made it easier also could make it harder and vice-a-versa. I describe these things below.

Work and Resources

Many participants commented on their work places. Those that saw their work place as a facilitator of maintenance activities were usually situated in occupational groups with a high density of Maori people either in the work place, or in the client group. They saw their work as providing opportunities to connect with relatives and others of their iwi and hapu group. Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, tertiary institutions and the like all afforded participants opportunities to actively identify themselves as Maori and as belonging to particular hapu and iwi groups, which in turn, allowed others to connect with them and to engage in relevant maintenance activities. As Kanapu had alluded to above, particular professions could also afford similar opportunities, like education, health and welfare, and law.

Work settings that did not have a high density of Maori workers or clientele usually did not afford such opportunities and were often perceived as inhibiting maintenance activities. In this instance, work was seen as a necessary activity. It was a means by which participants could, firstly, obtain resources to support themselves and their families, and secondly, engage in maintenance activities usually of the kind that meant returning 'home'.

Employment provides resources. This is not simply an income, but other things helpful to maintenance activities. For example, work places can be a site where communication technology can be accessed (eg., telephones, faxes, the internet). Sometimes participants, like Manaia above, had the opportunity to travel for work purposes either by air or road allowing face-to-face contact with other hapu and iwi members without the need to deplete their own personal resources.

Participants were very conscious of the need to work and to have continued employment.

Being in paid employment! It limits my ability to go (home to hapu homeland) as often as I want to and stay as long as I want to. Also being aware that the people I want to talk to are getting older and older and that I can't put off seeing them for much longer (Manaiā).

The fact of employment means that a person's time is no longer their own. Although being employed and having a consistent income allows for financial security and independence, not having the flexibility of time to enjoy that independence or to engage in hapu maintenance activities was expressed by some participants as frustrating and inhibiting. While annual leave, tangi leave, leave without pay, and flexible working hours all helped to facilitate absences from work, participants sometimes felt 'guilty' of being 'away' too often. In instances like this, some participants would assist another whanau member with fewer work obligations to attend tangi of their behalf. Inevitably, some just simply blocked out their hapu and iwi obligations and just stayed at work. If a participants' experience of an employer was that they were flexible and understanding of a participants' need to be absent from work to attend to hapu and matters, then this relieved the amount of anxiety that a participant experienced.

Although a person may be in employment and have an income, the extent to which that income is available to support engagement in maintenance activities depends on the portion of the total income that can be devoted to such activities. Maintenance activities are expensive, something participants were acutely aware of. For many participants an ability to drive and access to transportation were integral to engaging in maintenance activities, particularly for those who lived away from their homelands. Of course, having reliable transportation and the finances to purchase fares, or maintain a vehicle or pay for petrol were also contributors to transportation reliability.

Int: What makes it easier to do those things?

Amo: Just having a close relationship with the family. Got to keep in touch with aunties, uncles. kuia, koroua, that way it's easier. Also having transport and a telephone.

Int: What makes it harder to do those things?

Amo: For me personally it would be living away from the area. Having no mod-cons, no telephone, no transport, just living away from home.

Education

Many of our participants were engaged in tertiary education at polytechnic or university. This was similar to being employed in that there were likely to be serious consequences if classes or education assignment due dates were missed. Participants saw their investment in education as an important step towards gaining financial independence so that they could subsequently engage in maintenance activities.

But I foresee that things will get easier because there will be a natural inclination once I start working to actually go back there and do things back there and tie in those things with my work (Kanapu).

Those with children also took their children's education seriously. While there were some occasions when it was appropriate for parents to take their children out of school to attend tangi, hui or other events, mostly participants were reluctant to do so.

Supportive people

Participants felt that having others in one's life space supportive of maintenance activities helped to facilitate engagement. Some participants spoke about the need for their partners to be supportive of their need to connect and be with relatives. They spoke about having family members like parents and grandparents who encouraged engagement in maintenance activities and who could facilitate their connections with others. Kanapu spoke of having a kaumatua supportive of him and others learning about their marae and whakapapa and engaging in broader hapu and iwi activities. Many participants spoke about their need to be comfortable attending hapu and iwi events and that their comfort levels were related to knowing other people in those settings. Attending family organised events like reunions were helpful in this regard. Conversely, not having supportive others or people with an ability to connect a participant with others sometimes made engaging in maintenance activities difficult or uncomfortable. In some cases, it made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, particularly when whakapapa knowledge had passed on with people who had died.

Supportive others might also be described as those who acted as communicators, carrying news (even gossip) of others, events, and happenings going on within the broader network of kin. News of marriages, affairs, break ups, accidents, quarrels, politics, job changes, challenges and achievements contributed to maintaining social relations and networks, serving to keep people 'in the loop'. And this process was not place dependent. It was something that could occur across distances without the need to be where the action was. Digital technology has facilitated the lightning fast transmission of information, and has also allowed for the faster and more efficient transportation of people (air travel, good roads and cars) so that when they need to, they can also be part of the action.

Times in our lives

Participants were asked to reflect on whether there were times in their lives when it was easier to engage in maintenance activities, and, conversely, a time when it had been harder. The objective of my discussion with participants was to have them focus on their circumstances through different phases in their lives and to identify facilitators or inhibitors of maintenance activities.

Growing up

Yeah when I was at school. Because I was bright at school it was boring and I used to be able to con mum into taking me to all the hui. Because of the nature of my stepfather's job, he was a minister and went all over the place. I would want to go to. So, it was easy then, we went all over the place (Manaia).

Significant others played a major role in facilitating participation in hapu maintenance activities, in particular, parents and grandparents. Participants often focused on a younger time in their lives, mostly when they were still dependent. During this phase of their lives they recalled being taken to be with family and hapu relatives, to participate in hapu or iwi activities or to be at marae. They went on holidays and visited relatives both in their iwi homelands and in other places.

Highlighted in these reflections were participants' memories of the activities they engaged in as tamariki or as rangatahi, the people that they met, and the places they visited without the responsibility of having to consider finances, the care of children or work. The roles of those in their company also influenced the extent of activity and the ease in which they were engaged in it, as Manaia's comment above suggests. If a parent, caregiver or grandparent filled kaumatua roles at the marae, or were beneficiaries of land, or acted as an important connecting point in a hapu or iwi relational network then the opportunities that participants had as tamariki or rangatahi to engage in maintenance activities appeared far easier than at other stages in their lives.

Being single

Being unmarried meant for some participants that they were free of the expectations of, and responsibilities to, another. Moreover, being child free meant being more able to engage in maintenance activities without the worry of having to care for dependents, transport dependents, or find others to look after them. Being single also meant that others were of the view that the 'single' participant was more available to engage in maintenance activities. Related to being single is becoming and being an adult responsible for making decisions about coming to know, developing and maintaining one's own social and relational networks. Being single and an adult responsible for one's own decisions sometimes made it easier to engage in maintenance activities. In some cases it made it harder due to the pressure of competing social priorities with friends, work and sports mates. While this was true for some participants, others felt that their work and social activities especially those that brought them into closer contact with members of their hapu and iwi, helped to make engagement in maintenance activities much easier. However, in Parehuia's case, the former was more her experience. When asked about a time in her life when it was harder to engage in maintenance activities, Parehuia said...

Yeah, when I fell in lust. I left my brains between my legs. I suppose it was my choice, I chose it that way. I let it happen. I stayed out of contact with (home). There was one stage when I never went home for two or three years. I stopped fretting for a while. I lost myself for two or three years. There were regrets, not seeing nan and koro for all those

years, not having my (home) fix. I didn't realise how much it affected me until I went back after that long time. All the changes, how people had grown and I wasn't around to see it all or I didn't care at that time (Parehuia).

Being partnered

Being partnered brings with it all kinds of decisions that affect a participant's capacity to engage in maintenance activities. Deciding where to live, where to go for holidays, what activities have a higher priority over others, long-term partnership goals, the place of individual aspirations, whether the partner is liked or disliked by other family members, whether they are Maori, Pakeha or some other ethnicity – the considerations are endless and participants referred to many of them. For example, Pikihuia told me of her negotiations with her husband.

Yes, this might seem contradictory but when my children were growing up and I was always taking them back. It was always a battle with my husband. He saw it necessary to keep the links but he didn't see it as necessary to link up so often. I don't know whether it was because he was letting his own children down from his side, that would have been the only time that I found it harder (Pikihuia).

Being a parent

I have already mentioned those things about being a parent that sometimes inhibited engagement in maintenance activities, but sometimes having children made it easier. Some participants were motivated by their desire for their children to know their relatives and heritage. They wanted their children to know their whakapapa, stories of their hapu and iwi, waiata and moteatea, and to be actively engaged in activities that would facilitate these things. This involved returning home, attending marae activities and iwi festivals – anything that would help cement a hapu and iwi connection for their children. Although parents tended to most often express these sentiments, grandparents also expressed similar desires for their children and grandchildren suggesting that the wish to remain connected is something that persists through the life cycle.

Home and away

Participants felt that being ‘at home’ within the boundaries of one’s iwi homelands made it easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities. Some participants recalled periods in their lives when they had lived at home and how easy it was to attend marae, committee meetings, tangi, and other gatherings. In living away from home, they were able to identify the effort and resources required to do those things that they had previously taken for granted. Perhaps this is where the notion of a holiday or visit comes from. Holidays and visits might be conceived of as planned events that are saved for and organised with others. Having others to visit and holiday with, therefore, becomes important as ‘others’ often provide accommodation, activities, entertainment, and time out from children and partners. Moreover, a holiday or visit to an iwi homeland can provide spaces for recreation, for example, at lakes and rivers, in the bush and sea and at marae. Being in a heritage space also provides opportunity to recall stories, people and events, their recollection invigorating in and of themselves.

Those participants who resided close to their iwi homelands for example in adjacent areas found it much easier to return home more regularly. It was not as expensive or time consuming. For example, Keita told us:

When I was single I used to go back quite often and because I lived near the area anyway I used to travel back there to see the kids, my koro. Even when I lived in Rotorua I used to travel back because it was just an hour away. Now I'm in Hamilton it's a far distance to travel back. When I was single although I still went back I didn't go back as often as I would have liked to. Now, well now that I have a family, that comes first (Keita).

Disconnections

For me, the most poignant narratives told to me by participants concerned their feelings of being ‘disconnected’ from their relational networks. Feelings of disconnectedness stemmed from a range of sources. For some, it had to do with having left home a long time ago and being left in a position where they knew few if any people who resided in their iwi homelands. Not knowing anyone meant that they felt no urge to return. Lacking an urge to return was also related to reasons for leaving. Some participants told me of negative experiences that motivated their

leaving, or their parents or grandparents leaving which meant that they never encouraged their children to return. The negative experiences spoken of related to land disputes, disputes over family homes, domestic violence, the influence of drugs and alcohol, or simple misunderstandings.

What my mother and father did to that (place). Selling all that land gifted to them and I don't think those people like our family, to be quite honest. There's bad feelings (at that place) about us, also towards dad for selling his family land. Suffer the sins of the father they say. Just what the people at () feel about what happened in the past, that's what makes it hard for me to get down and fight, I feel that I can't. I feel like a stranger sometimes when I go back there and I grew up with all those people (Parehuia).

For some, their disconnectedness stemmed from being adopted out of their iwi group and not feeling as if they knew their relatives in their biological homelands.

I seem to concentrate on what's happening here instead of there. Because I've lived in Turangi all my life so I feel more at home around these parts then I do up there. It's only till Tuwharetoa people start talking and asking where I'm from, they sort of change the subject when they find out I'm not from here. I never really go out of my way to go up there and make contact with them. Yeah I'm not close enough to them. I'm not really close to anyone up there (Hiko).

Perhaps the most moving stories related to parents, grandparents or other relatives who had been a significant connecting person for the participant. Such connecting people were those who could facilitate connections with others and position a participant within a relational network that the rest of that network simply affirmed and accepted as their own. They were those people who knew their genealogical connections to others and who were known to others as such. When these people died before such connections could be facilitated, some participants felt somewhat robbed and unjustly excluded, while others were more philosophical and pointed to the connections that they did have. And others, like Tomairangi, just shifted their focus from one obvious connecting person to another.

Yes especially from his death. Getting back to the contact you're supposed to maintain with your people, that was hard the death of my father meant it was harder because with his death a lot of his knowledge went. The communication with the hapu wasn't the same. What helped me cope were the family members who knew me well, my father's brothers and sisters (Tomairangi).

On a more positive note, reconnecting can make a huge difference to how a person feels about their hapu and iwi. For example, Hineko did not know who her mother was. She was raised by her step mother and spend no time with her biological mother's iwi or people until she began to get into trouble and her family decided that it was time that her real mother became involved in her life. Of her relationship with her mother's iwi, Hineko told me "...once I met my mother, she knew everybody and I just felt at home".

The things that people do to maintain their connections with their hapu and iwi might be read as a reflection of the importance of their hapu and iwi to their lives and identities. For those who are living outside of their iwi and hapu regions, their attempts to maintain connections are complicated by distance; the day to day obligations and responsibilities of employment and the care, raising and education of children; as well as the financial and resource demands of communicating and travelling. On top of these are a person's subjective feelings about their hapu and iwi and the environment within which they are situated. Do they feel welcome? Do they have other relatives they know reasonably well enough to act as mediators with other members of their hapu and iwi that they do not know? Are they comfortable and at home with the expected tikanga of their marae, or does this create anxiety? Do they feel as if they have a way to make a meaningful contribution to the life of their hapu and iwi? Whether a person invests time, energy and resources into maintaining their hapu connections seems to depend on their answers to these questions. In the next section I examine these issues more closely by referring to responses made by participants to our questions about times that they felt like an outsider to their hapu or iwi groups.

Being on the Outside

Feeling on the ‘outside’ could mean different things to different participants. However, most participants responded in ways that indicated that ‘outsider’ meant being different, in some way, from the broader group, leading to feelings of awkwardness, if not exclusion. These feelings mostly stemmed from being stereotyped in a particular way. For example, after protesting against the Crown to highlight historic injustices against his hapu and iwi, Koha felt labelled as a ‘radical’ and a ‘militant’. Because of this, he feels that other hapu and iwi members are ‘careful’ in their associations with him for fear of getting into trouble or being stereotyped in a similar way.

Not being able to speak Maori, Keita found herself having to respond to how others viewed her iwi and their capacity in te reo Maori.

Yes, because I couldn't speak te reo Maori. Like when people see you and ask where you're from and if I said my mother was from Waimana and my father was from Ruatoki they say things like, "oh you're from Ruatoki, you must be really fluent in te reo Maori". I'd say no, I wasn't, because I was brought up differently from my older brothers and sisters who were taught the language. I wasn't. I was guided or directed into learning mainly Pakeha things and being educated in Pakeha schools. Te reo Maori wasn't really the in thing at that time (Keita).

Hatepe spoke of when he was not competent in te reo Maori and the anxieties he felt.

If you're not competent in the reo, you're going to feel you're an outsider anyway because most of the communication, sharing at hui, and things like that are in Maori, in the reo. Other than that, obvious signs of not understanding you, I think other people's body language sort of echo those sorts of sentiments. They feel uncomfortable or not really sure about what's going to happen next and what others are actually talking about, whether they're talking about you or someone else or something really important! (Hatepe).

Having left home to attend university, Keita has noticed the difference between those who have remained at home, and those like her who have left.

If you've stepped out of your comfort zone and they've stayed within theirs, they see you as being better educated than they are. It's the look that they give you when you go back. Like when you walk on the marae and you're nicely dressed and everyone else is in bush shirts and that, the way they dress and things like that. They're all in gumboots and they look at you and think "look at her she looks like a snob". They see you as being different. I didn't care what they thought. But once you've been with them for a while you tend to dress the same, speak the same and do the same things and get on better. Then you don't feel like an outsider (Keita).

In Parehuia's case mentioned earlier, her father had sold some land that other hapu members resented. Because of this, Parehuia felt stereotyped into the same 'wrong' category as her father.

Yes, people hold a lot of resentment towards Dad for what he did. Mum, us, we benefited from it and I suppose we were just as much at fault even though we were still kids. I still sort of feel like that now, with the older people, like mum's age, they say really sarcastic things. You just want to slap them and smack them out of that buzz. They don't want to let you forget what happened. Maybe we should never forget it anyway. It should never have happened. I coped by facing it, handling it, I wasn't going to let them get me down (Parehuia).

Hiko was similarly positioned.

They make you feel like they don't want to know you. I think it was because I wasn't brought up in the area. That and being white. Yeah a lot of it was being white. And something my mother did. Something she did that her father didn't agree on. She took off from home and stuff and she had kids along the way. She wasn't married too. In her later years when she used to take us back up there my grandfather didn't want to know us. I remember one time when we were kids up there and he wouldn't even come up to us. He used to just look at us funny (Hiko).

Pikihuia told me about returning to her marae and noticing changes in people and attitudes, causing her to ask questions of the people she was associated with.

I think it was going back and seeing the difference in the people and the different attitudes. That made feel 'is this really my whanau that I'm with?' Their attitudes had changed dramatically. The once closely knit whanau ...well most whanau didn't go home for whanau hui, a case of economics, so you were surrounded by more of the whanau that had left the area years beforehand and had returned with their children who you didn't know. The whole running of the marae on those particular occasions. They weren't the ahika running them. It was like strangers going home to put these things in order. You sort of thought 'is this my whanau, do they really belong here or am I on the outer?' It only happened once or twice (Pikihuia).

Makere, like Pikihuia, spoke to me about going home and asking after people.

I can recall different times when I've gone back and said, "how's the kuia down the road?" and they've told me that she's passed away. It makes me feel like an outsider because during those times I remember when I was living in Taupo and there was not much communication and until you go back and ask how's so and so and they tell you she/he died about a year ago ...it's times like that one feels aroha. And it's not from neglect or ignorance, it's only because of the distance away, and the family failing to let me know. ...It was hard coping because after a while I got a bit scared to ask about people. So, what I tried to do was, rather than wait for the family to get in touch with me, I had to make an effort to keep in touch with them and by doing that it helped me to cope better. So I wouldn't get embarrassed when someone told me that she/he died long ago (Makere).

The passage of time and the lack of connection with people were said by some participants, like Kanapu, to make them feel on the outside.

Well yeah. I certainly felt an outsider when I hadn't made contact with the people back there. That was the thing that really got to me I suppose. Just not making contact. Once I'd made contact it was fine (Kanapu).

While contact was important to Harema, knowing how one fitted in was more important.

Shit yeah, of course I have [felt like an outsider], for all those reasons I said before. You know you belong and that's what

makes it hard because you know you belong and they back there, your people know you belong, but you don't quite know how, you don't quite know where. For us it was harder because dad moved away when he was so young, he came from a small whanau that all moved away too, we've got nobody, immediate family that live there, we've got heaps of cousins and everything, but nobody to touch base with over the years. We would go there and have all the nannies but nobody who we could touch base with. It's knowing, that's the hardest thing. Feeling like an outsider because you know you belong and when you know you belong you start soul searching, you want to know where. You know how but you just don't know where (Harema).

From what participants told us, it would seem that there are many things that caused anxiety, discomfort, or unease leading to feelings of being an outsider. Participants recognised that some of these anxieties can be rectified, like learning to speak Maori or dressing in ways similar to others, or questioning where one belonged and finding a role and sense of purpose in belonging. However, some anxieties are more difficult to address, particularly stigmatising views initially held of parents or grandparents that have been transferred to participants, like being 'land sellers'. Some participants in this situation coped by situating the cause of the stigma with their parents or grandparents or coming to the view that it was the 'holders' problem, not the participants.

Perhaps the most revealing thing for this researcher was how many participants had experienced feeling like an outsider to their hapu or iwi. Almost two thirds of participants had felt like an outsider in some way during their lives. The cause of these feelings were various suggesting that a sense of belonging to hapu and iwi, or in my words, a sense of motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga with hapu and iwi are positions to be constantly worked at and sought after. In this regard, feeling like an outsider is perhaps part of the adjustments and evaluations that each person, relative to their social groups, must make.

Maintaining Maori Identities

To some readers it may have made more sense to discuss the maintenance of Maori identity earlier in this chapter. Instead, I have chosen to place it here to highlight the differences between maintaining hapu and iwi connections, as opposed to Maori

connections. Hapu and iwi maintenance activities were mostly focused on ‘going home’ and ‘home’ activities. Maori maintenance activities tended more towards what participants did or encountered in their everyday lives. Their comments had more to do with practising cultural values and behavioural patterns rather than emphasising relatedness and family heritage. It was in this part of our conversations with participants that relationships with Pakeha and mainstream society significantly entered into being Maori. Although ‘going home’ and ‘home’ activities were still mentioned as important to maintaining their Maori connections, the focus turned towards belonging to an ethnically politicised group of which they were proud to be a member. To avoid repetition, in the following sections I have chosen to mention only those ideas that vary from what participants told me about maintaining their hapu and iwi connections.

Connecting with being Maori

In contrast to hapu and iwi maintenance activities, maintaining connections with other Maori people appeared to be more easily achieved. This is especially true where a participant lived in an area where there is a high concentration of Maori people engaged in activities that primarily involve or benefit Maori people. Although the concentration of Maori is a factor in maintaining Maori connections, it is by no means the only one. It seems that these participants will seek out other Maori and prefer each other's company for a variety of reasons. They include preferring the company of Maori to that of Pakeha who were often perceived as intolerant, impatient, ignorant, class oriented and the like. Related to this is a pro-Maori attitude that reflects a valuing of Maori ways, values, beliefs, customary practices, and life styles. A result of this pro-Maori attitude appears to be an increased motivation to contribute to activities that benefit Maori people. On pro-Maori attitudes, many participants raised similar issues to those of Manaia who was by far the most detailed commentator on this matter.

Well I live with Maori. Then I don't have to justify why I do things. Maori practise the same kind of value base that I do, so I'm practising all the time, just the little things, like going to tangi, looking after each other, the table business. All these little things that actually when you're living with people

make a big difference. Pakeha don't understand where you're coming from, like sitting on tables. I live with Maori because then I can be Maori a lot more easily, and I don't have to justify and explain myself. At work I associate with Maori more than Pakeha, but for lots of reasons. Pakeha are quite hypocritical and snobby and this perception that they're better than Maori. They don't value Maori and no matter how qualified you are they would still have that same thing. It's their way of trying to feel good about themselves when they feel threatened about what they don't understand. That's their problem and it doesn't worry me. My clients are Maori as well. I work with Pakeha because I have to, but I concentrate more on Maori clients and Maori initiatives. I promote things Maori. Things I do for the love of it, which means I don't get paid. I help with Maori initiatives at school, helping them with the development of a number of Maori programmes. I'm also on the trust for Matua Whangai and even though the Resource Centre in town is a general centre there are a lot of Maori around it. Most of my mates are Maori. All my aunties that I go to when I'm in trouble are Maori that understand all the women's issues that come up when you're working in iwi work and for Maori communities. All my relationships since school have been with Maori (Manaia).

On a more personal level, some participants told me of how they had chosen to learn Maori and had taken courses to do so. Some had extended this further and were studying both Maori language and culture at university or polytechnic and were purposefully engaging in Maori activities like work place powhiri to gain further experiences. For them, it was not sufficient to claim an ascribed ethnic group entitlement, they also felt obliged to pursue and give body to the Maori language, values and customs. Hiko told us:

I read the Maori bible. Carving, Maori carvings, I just taught myself. I keep in contact with my mother and sister in Turangi, nearly every week. I take baby to Kohanga. I've got mostly Maori mates. My babies have their grandmothers' names. Natalie's nanny and my nanny (Hiko).

For those participants with Maori names, their names signal a Maori ethnicity. For some this can be problematic especially in a dominant group environment that does not value correct pronunciation.

I tell people I'm Maori, I help them pronounce my name properly. I try and pronounce Maori names properly. I think it's important. Most of the people who can't pronounce the names properly are Pakeha, and actually they're lazy. They're too lazy to pronounce names properly (Korako).

Being Maori and maintaining a Maori identity is probably best summed up by Kanapu.

Just by being proud of who I am would be the easiest way to do it. I suppose it's just doing things as a Maori. It's just a way of looking at life, things that you do, the people you're in contact, Maori and non-Maori, that's how they see you, you identify as being Maori, that's where you're coming from, all the things that you do and the way that you live, the way that you express yourself, you do all that within the context of your Maoriness and people recognise. I hope people look at me and they look at me as a Maori (Kanapu).

Frequency of Maori maintenance activities

Many participants were puzzled by questions about how often they felt they had to engage in maintenance activities. For most participants, it was something unquantifiable because every waking moment was spent 'being Maori'. Here is what Roimata realised when I spoke with her.

Being around Maori people all the time, my colour, the lingo that came out my mouth, what my grandparents used to tell me, my parents used to tell me, when I was young. Going to tangi all over the place. At marae, playing with only Maori people, there were no Pakeha. Taking the Maori language at school, at college. I only had Maori friends. In fact I'm only related to Maori people. I've only just realised that I only associate with Maori! (Roimata).

Some participants felt that living and being with other Maori allowed them to avoid having to justify how and why they behaved or thought in particular ways, therefore providing relief from living within the norms and values of the dominant Pakeha culture. Listening and being involved in the activities of other Maori that participants lived with or were related to was described as having a regenerating and refreshing affect.

Living with Maori makes it easy. This whole thing about justifying yourself and how you do things, at work I have that a lot, so coming home and not having to do that is really good. Also listening and being involved with other Maori issues through what my flat mates are involved in helps to regenerate things for me as well. Socially going out with Maori too. We take for granted a lot of our friends and what they're involved in and what they do, and really it's not like that all the time, so it's good to go out with the Maori I am involved with (Manaia).

But for some, being Maori was not so easy, or, should I say, obvious. They were fair skinned and hair lightly coloured leading others to mistakenly identify them as other than Maori (including Maori people). These participants were conscious of their need to work at being Maori all the time, that is, to articulate, display and demonstrate their ethnic group membership. Some purposefully wore taonga Maori, like manaia and hei tiki. Some carried kete. Some learned and spoke Maori, and others simply made sure that they informed those around them that they were Maori. These participants were aware that the world did not necessarily perceive them as Maori.

Facilitators and inhibitors of Maori maintenance activities

As mentioned earlier, the overwhelming view of what inhibits being Maori is the perceived pressure of belonging to a minority group, living in a Pakeha dominated world. Although their comments related mostly to work circumstances, the challenges to participants' being Maori and inhibitors of their desire and attempts to engage in Maori maintenance activities, were sharply felt across other Pakeha dominated settings such as educational institutions and public places. The following excerpt clearly captures the consequence and frustration of having to live and be within the Pakeha world.

Working with Pakeha all the time. It is hard, really hard, because they're so arrogant about their ability to do things and they're always wanting you to justify. Working with Pakeha makes it hard to be Maori because they don't want you to be Maori. They want you to be the Maori that they want you to be, not the Maori that you want to be. That's the

one who smiles happily, can sing and dance when they want you too and sits in the corner and doesn't push things. Not to be angry about what has happened. They want you to sit placidly and do what they want you to do (Manaia).

But even the expectations of Pakeha dominated environments can change. For example, the public and widespread resurgence of Maori culture and expectations from Maori and non-Maori alike that Maori will and want to express themselves as Maori creates a pressurised atmosphere. Some participants found this atmosphere invigorating and motivating. Others experienced it as inhibiting. Some participants felt that they were expected to adhere to customary practices, or adopt an attitude or have competencies and skills in things they either knew nothing of, or had very little experience of. Manaia also spoke of these issues.

Well it's getting harder every day, more now. Through all those wonderful loud mouthed radicals, Maori are more aware of what they've missed out on and what they've lost. There's this whole expectation that you go from A to Z right away, this 'Perfect Maori', whatever that may be, and because of the expectations now, it's really hard to be the Maori you want to be. You have to be highly successful in the Pakeha world and highly knowledgeable in the Maori world, have the reo, the tikanga, the whole historical perspective. Shit man that's a big responsibility. It's bloody ridiculous. But if we do a little step at a time and pass it onto our kids then one day it might happen. This new generation of people that will have both worlds (Manaia).

And as described in the section below about 'being on the outside', participants not only felt pressure from the Pakeha world to be Maori in certain ways, but also from the Maori world.

Being Maori across time

I have already described when participants became conscious of being Maori - an awareness process that occurred when they were children. The results presented thus far suggest that being Maori is a process of development, dependent upon opportunity, experience and life circumstances. The times in participants' lives when it was either easier or harder to be Maori corresponded with the times when they felt

it was easier or harder to feel a sense of hapu or iwi identity. Perhaps more significantly, participants mentioned most frequently their need to pursue their 'Maoriness' and to transmit this to their children. They wanted them to identify as Maori, not simply as a political statement, but as a vehicle for knowing who they are, where they are from, and how they are connected to others.

Being on the Outside

The things that set us apart from each other as Maori are various and reflect different experiences, opportunities and life circumstances. They also reflect the different ways in which Maori have historically reacted and adapted to the colliding forces of colonisation, intermarriage, assimilation, urbanisation and deprivation. There have been consequences and some of these are reflected in the ways in which the participants in this study spoke about how they have found themselves, from time to time, on the outside of being Maori. Participants often used the phrase 'takahi tangata' to refer to being trampled upon or trampled down by other Maori for not conforming to customary ways or to unwritten expectations, attitudes, behaviours or values of the group. Feeling on the outside is a relative positioning that accords with an ideal of what it means to be on the inside, that is, what it means to be Maori. Those who fulfil all the characteristics of an ideal Maori occupy a central position. Those who do not have the full complement of characteristics, skills or competencies fall in concentric circles away from the centre. In this way a ranking and ordering of people occurs. Their occupying a position provides justification for their actions towards others of exclusion, ridicule, reprimand, exposure, 'help', distancing and the like. For as much as Maori society can be inclusive, it can be also as exclusive.

I have already described how participants have often felt on the outside of hapu and iwi activities. Most of these experiences of exclusion also position such participants as being less Maori than those perceived to be applying the exclusionary pressure, even if that 'pressure' had the intention of being helpful. An inability to comprehend or speak Maori, lack of confidence, knowledge or anxiety about marae protocol or specific cultural behaviours, infrequent contact with other relatives or other Maori, wearing clothing that sets one apart from the group (eg., designer jeans), being privileged beyond the resource capacity of the group (living in a middle

to upper class suburb), 'hanging out' with Pakeha, or representing some family 'wrong', are all magnets for exclusionary comments or attitudes.

There were times when some participants felt on the outside of being Maori. They coped with this in the same way that they coped with feeling like an outsider to their hapu and iwi groups. They either addressed an incapacity (learned Maori or became more familiar with cultural practices) or developed what Manaia called a 'thick skin'. Being "thick skinned" is an apt metaphor that succinctly encapsulates what Dohrenwend (1973) labels as the 'internal moderators' of stress, or what Breakwell (1988) refers to as intra-psychoic coping strategies. Both authors are essentially referring to the same processes, that is, those psychological resources such as our values, evaluations, attitudes, cognitions, expectancies and general feelings that allow a person to cope with events or situations that are perceived as stressful. As Heller et al (1984, p.160) explained, "what is a threat (or stressful) to some people may be perceived as a challenge or even of no consequence to others". Stress, therefore, and how we respond and cope with stressful events is dependent upon our evaluation of them and the resources available to us to deal with them. With respect to social identity processes and in the context of this study, the experience of stress is subjective. It threatens an individual's identity structure rather than their physical wellbeing although ill health could well be a consequence.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has reported what participants discussed about being Maori and belonging to hapu and iwi. All participants came to realise that they were Maori when they were children. In their encounters with other Maori, they were mostly interested in positioning others in relation to themselves, particularly with respect to genealogical relatedness. Participants' comments about things important to being Maori centred on those aspects that make us uniquely Maori (Maori motuhake), genealogical relatedness and relationships (whanaungatanga) that engender a sense of belonging and identity; and a sense of group unity, accord, understanding and solidarity (kotahitanga).

All participants could name their iwi and most their hapu. Their hapu and iwi conceptions were mainly focused on their marae and on activities that were marae based, or based in their iwi homelands. Relatives were very instrumental in how

participants conceived of their hapu and iwi. Participants with parents or grandparents who had positive experiences and secure connections with others of their hapu and iwi were actively encouraged by them to do so, also. Anxiety, discomfort or feelings of distance about hapu and iwi was experienced when connections were either not encouraged or were somewhat tenuous, for example, when a parent left their iwi homelands after some dispute, or when a participant was a whangai, or when a participant did not feel as if they knew anyone remaining at their marae or 'at home'.

All could make comparisons between those different iwi or hapu that they belonged to, making comments about wealth, environmental setting, the marae's state of repair, and the nature of relatives, for example, 'posh', gang involved, drug addicted, 'weird', knowledgeable about the sea or bush, politically active, or whanau oriented.

Hapu and iwi maintenance activities overwhelmingly centred on 'going home' and being involved in hapu and iwi activities. There was a clear distinction made between activities engaged in by those who lived away from home (the majority of our participants) and those who lived at home. By circumstance, those who lived away engaged in more activities to negotiate distances and more activities in those locations where they resided, for example, hapu and iwi gatherings, or hosting people from home.

Participants reported engaging in hapu and iwi maintenance activities as often as they could, given the constraints of distance, resources, work and education commitments and time. There were times in participants' lives when it was both harder and easier to engage in hapu and iwi maintenance activities. However, the circumstance that seemed to make it easier to engage was having a significant other to both motivate and facilitate connections with others, for example, a supportive partner, a parent or grandparent to visit, or knowing someone 'at home' who could help the participant make connections with others. Conversely, a sense of disconnectedness could result from not having such support.

Maintaining Maori connections rested mainly on how participants maintained their hapu and iwi identities. Being Maori was in some ways synonymous with being of a particular hapu and iwi. But being Maori differed somewhat in that the focus was not so much on kin-relatedness but on belonging to a minority ethnic group and living in a dominant Pakeha environment.

Chapter Eleven Being Maori in Hawai'i

From my investigation of Maori social identities in New Zealand, I turned my attention to Maori in Hawai'i to see how Maori in that context conceptualized their Maori social identities. Over a period of three weeks in 1996, I interviewed 30 people. In this chapter, I report on those interviews and the discussions I had.

In the first part of this chapter, I begin by describing how participants came to be in Hawai'i; what the context has been like for them as Maori; how they went about negotiating their Maori identities in Hawai'i; and the identity maintenance activities they engaged in. Those facilitators or inhibitors of being Maori are then discussed along with times when participants felt on the outside of being Maori and the processes they used to cope. In the second part of this chapter, my attention turns to how participants' in this study conceived of and maintained their whanau, hapu and iwi identities. My reporting of these results follows a similar pattern to that used in the first part of the chapter.

How participants came to be in Hawai'i

Three primary reasons explain how people in this sample came to be in Hawai'i. They are: a) to find work; b) to attend university; and later, c) to be with their partner, children or parents. Other reasons implicit in the comments made by those I spoke with were to do with adverse conditions in New Zealand and Hawai'i's position in the Pacific as a meeting place between Aotearoa, other Pacific nations and the mainland USA.

Six participants had work opportunities that brought them to Hawai'i. Tony was a seaman and literally sailed in, liked the place, married a Hawaiian woman and settled down to have a family. Vicky, like Gary, Hirma, Audrey, and Roseanne were part of or had skills in the entertainment and tourism industry that also enabled them to take advantage of the opportunities that Hawai'i had to offer.

I went to Church College (to escape an adverse home environment) and then, because I was very talented with respect to kapa haka, waiata Maori and tikanga Maori, that became my ticket to getting out of Aotearoa and into the

entertainment industry. That is how I eventually ended up in Hawai'i. I was part of the initial group that came to manaaki to marae up here at the Polynesian cultural centre (Vicki).

Once arriving in Hawai'i, many of the participants went on to improve their education qualifications and therefore their employability. Some, like those described below, came to Hawai'i specifically for that reason.

Almost two thirds (18) of the people I spoke with came to Hawai'i to attend the Church College of Hawai'i (established in 1955), that, in 1974, became Brigham Young University-Hawai'i. As most of the participants (23) were members of the LDS church, it comes as no surprise that they chose to attend a church sponsored university to further their education. BYU-H provides a community of like-minded people, and the opportunity to pay one's way through university by working either on-campus, or at the adjoining Polynesian Culture Center.

Ngahuia arrived in Hawai'i in the late 1960's.

I got expelled from Queen Victoria and sent home. Everyone was disappointed with me especially my father. My father had applied to send me to school at all these different places. Like Hukarere - they didn't want me, Turakina - they didn't want me. So we applied to Church College. I guess the Mormons were into reforming all the bad kids -- so my father applied and I got an interview. It was a good interview and I got accepted. After a year at Church College, I saw that they had some good things that I wanted to be a part of. So I became a Mormon. I graduated from there and saw the opportunity to travel to Hawai'i to attend BYU which was then the Church College of Hawai'i. PCC had also opened around that time. I guess whenever we hear the word "Hawai'i" it holds adventure. So, I decided that I wanted to go to Hawai'i. I applied to come to college here and was accepted. That's how I got to be here (Ngahuia)

Of those who had arrived in Hawai'i in the last 5 years, Selena is typical.

I went to Church College in New Zealand. There was a friend of mine from Hawai'i who had come to Church College who influenced me to come to BYU-H. Getting out of New Zealand and out to the world, seeking new opportunities appealed to me. My family thought that it was good as none of my relatives had gone to university - this was an opportunity for me, and indirectly, my family. Some said, "What do you want to go away for", but I think the majority

of them were happy. I had no reservations about coming (Selena).

Similarly, Mary came to pursue higher education specifically to pursue doctoral studies at the University of Hawai'i - Manoa.

I first went to university in California, and then came to Hawai'i to do my doctoral studies after applying to a whole host of institutions. I choose Hawai'i because there seemed to be similar issues to what there were at home. There was a group of indigenous peoples here who I thought needed help. There was quite a good doctoral programme (Mary).

Many participants met and married partners while they were in Hawai'i or the mainland USA. Of those who were partnered (18), a third (6) had married other Maori. Five had married Hawaiians, one married a Tahitian, one a Pakeha New Zealander, and five had married people from Canada, mainland USA, or Europe. In working out their relationships and where they were to reside, Hawai'i was often chosen as a compromise between New Zealand and other world locations. Penny, who married a man from mainland USA, explains that for her Hawai'i "...was still in the Pacific and relatively close to Aotearoa, yet still in the USA and close to the mainland". For Ngahuia, her initial decision to stay in Hawai'i centered on her husband "...because I chose to marry a Hawaiian, I chose to stay here because this is his land - although I miss home". Moreover, as she now has grandchildren, they have

...become a more important part of my life and decisions. I also know that more will be coming along, and some will be in California. So, I thought that I would probably stay in Hawai'i between California and New Zealand (Ngahuia).

Second, third and fourth generation participants, born to parents who were in Hawai'i or mainland USA at the time of their birth, were a small number in this study (n=4). Some have New Zealand citizenship (2), some do not (2).

My parents had come here to go to school and as a result, I was born here. When I was 4 we return to Aotearoa and then returned to Hawai'i when I was 9. We went back again to Aotearoa when I was 12, and then returned again to Hawai'i

when I was 15 years. I have lived continuously here in Hawai'i since 1976 (Jason).

In contrast, and possibly representing a view of future Hawai'i born generations of Maori, Kane's story of arrival in Hawai'i starts with his grandmother.

She was, from what I learned, she was pure Maori. She's from my moms side of the family. She came here and married my grandfather. She had a pretty moko but I never met her. She lived on the big Island. This was around the 1900's. ... We don't even know how she got out here. We haven't even been able to trace the family in Aotearoa which is one of the reasons why I want to go to graduate school in Aotearoa. So, she came and lived here, and the short story is that I'm her grandson (Kane).

Faye's story is used here to summarise this section as it clearly illustrates the extent to which location, work, education, partners and children drew these participants to Hawai'i.

We made the decision to come here in June of 1980. The purpose in coming was first to give our children an opportunity to have a university education. We were just the average working family at home in Aotearoa and we would never have been able to afford to send them to university. The other reason was our daughter, Robyn, was here. She was one of the young adults that were asked to come over in 1972, to hostess in the Maori village. They needed young people in the Maori village at PCC. She had met this wonderful Hawaiian/Norwegian boy, and they married and had three children. We wanted to come over here and be with our children and that was our main purpose in coming (Faye).

Being Maori in Hawai'i

Asking participants to answer the question: "How is 'being Maori' a part of your life in Hawai'i?" required them to consider: what it meant for them to be Maori within a complex and diverse cultural environment; and how they carried their identity as Maori into daily social interactions while with friends, family/whanau and work contexts. They had to reflect on being Maori in interaction with other Maori visiting from New Zealand, and further, to make comparisons between the Hawai'i and New

Zealand locations. Five themes emerged from the analysis and will be presented below. They were: being valued within a culturally pluralistic society; having a sense of identity, pride and roots; acquiring cultural heritage; enjoying employment that contributed to being Maori; being Maori with other Maori; and asserting their identity as Maori.

It seems inadequate to describe Hawai'i as a culturally pluralistic society as it is something more than this. With waves of immigrants arriving in Hawai'i from the 1780's onwards, Hawai'i's ethnic composition is extremely varied. Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, German, Korean, Filipinos, English, Puerto Rican, Samoan, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian as well as peoples of pacific nations and the native Hawaiians, are a few of the groups that are obviously present within the small island state. Inter-marriage has led to people with multiple ethnicities, and the continued interaction of people with each other's cultural practices and beliefs has resulted in the evolution of a "*new and unusual community*" (McDermott Jr, Tseng, & Marezki, 1980, p.1).

From this deeply rich tapestry of diversity has emerged an interest, respect and valuing of people, their cultures, languages and life ways - something that Penny, Davina and others (n=14) in this study felt and responded to. In some ways this might be described as the 'currency' of Hawai'i - people are expected to have a culture, to be different, and to share that difference and be enriched by that of others. Penny and Davina told me that...

Being Maori has helped me in the sensitivities required to live here in Hawai'i. It's a very multicultural society. Being Maori has helped me to understand what is going on here, and to live here. The welcoming of another Polynesian (like myself) by the Hawaiian community - it's quite something. So being Maori has been a great assistance. The things that are important about being Maori are "coming from the heart and having the sensitivity" (Penny).

But I've realised there's other cultures that have their good merits. I've kind of grown to appreciate the Hawaiian culture and even realised that I'm Polynesian. You don't really think of yourself as actually being Polynesian but since coming here I've had to identify myself as Polynesian, and being Maori second. So I suppose I'm not saying that Maori's the best culture in the whole world. But you still are like proud of who you are. You just know that other cultures are just as important (Davina)

One is given the impression that to have a cultural identity and a unique language and cultural ways (that is, to be Maori) allowed many of those I spoke with to enjoy a very positive position for themselves relative to others in Hawai'i. Hare told me about how he had encountered "*people who have got nothing*" and how people from mainland USA "*...often view you with envy and wish that they had a culture like ours*". Nina elaborated on the importance of having a Maori identity.

The things that are important to being Maori here in Hawai'i are knowing your culture especially when others ask about it and you're able to tell them. Knowing where you come from and your ancestry. Knowing where you come from and having an identity is really important. I'm proud of being a Maori. It makes me feel good and proud of where I come from. Socially, by having a Maori identity it's sometimes easier to get to know people (Nina)

Nina also pointed out that it was "*an advantage to know where you come from. It increases your self-esteem*" particularly when being queried about such matters is such a usual and expected interaction between people. As Rachel said: "*Being Maori is interesting to other people. Because other people are interested, it makes you feel good.*"

For Selena, she saw the fact of her being Maori as core to her identity, and to feeling that she "*...belong(ed) to something*". The things that she felt made her Maori were her "*...background, my upbringing, things that my parents, whanau and grandparents have taught me, my traditions*".

In meeting and talking with this group of people (21), what is apparent in how they talk about being Maori is a humble yet infectious sense of pride and fortune in being special, unique and within the Hawai'i context, valued. So much so, that those who did not invest much in being Maori before they arrived in Hawai'i suddenly found their interests and energies being poured into rediscovering and reshaping their cultural identities and into deepening their cultural knowledge base.

Almost two thirds of participants (19), at some time since arriving in Hawai'i, had taken practical steps to increase their knowledge of tikanga Maori as associated with a broad range of cultural practices including te reo Maori. Maori language and culture classes were offered formally at BYU-H, and, informally, by Maori within the broader community. From time to time there were Maori who went from New

Zealand specifically to teach courses in tikanga and te reo at community colleges or at the University of Hawai'i, or who were simply passing through and were pressed into spending time with local Maori keen to measure their learning and to receive feedback. Participants had actively and repeatedly taken advantage of such contributors.

Neva, a student at BYU-H explained how after coming to Hawai'i a year ago ignited for her an interest in investigating her cultural heritage. Ivey who had lived in Hawai'i for 3 years and also attended BYU-H explained how the multicultural and international context made her want to know more and she too enrolled in Maori language classes. Yet this yearning to develop culturally was not restricted to those who were relatively recent arrivals. Of the nine participants who had been in Hawai'i for more than 20 years, almost all of them had continued to learn about te reo me nga tikanga. Jason explains his journey:

I think it helps me a lot knowing that I'm Maori. I've studied more about it since I've been in Hawai'i than when I was in New Zealand and then I got into carving and all kinds of stuff. Every day I think about it. We try and talk Maori to the kids. I think it has been good that we did move back and forth between Hawai'i and New Zealand because I got a real interest in things Maori, where as I think if Maori were all around me, I don't think my interest would have been as strong (Jason)

Cyril, who had been in Hawai'i for over 20 years commented on how newly arriving Maori students at BYU-H were *"just as eager as I am to learn"*. It surprised him no end that *"many of them don't know about our culture. That was a surprise for me"*. He explained that when they graduate and return to New Zealand, they have a background about their culture that they have learnt from Hawai'i. *"They are really excited. You can really see the change come over them"* (Cyril).

I also had the opportunity to talk with two participants, Audrey and Ngahuia, who had both arrived in Hawai'i over 20 years previously. Both were fluent speakers of Maori and had run language courses for others in the community, including students. Audrey did not actually tell me that she had run Maori language courses but many that I spoke with described attending her courses and the patience and compassion that she displayed towards them and their fledgling steps towards

language familiarity and competence. Indeed many learners were adults aged 50 years or more.

At BYU at 7.00am in the mornings I teach the Maori language. That's important to me. Back home when I was raised speaking Maori, it was everyday Maori. Now that I have to teach it, I find myself watching my sentence structure, ...where's the verb, the noun etc. I have to teach Maori properly. So, I teach them the proper way, and then I teach them the slang way. Anyway, I have found that my Maori has really improved. I've found that I've had to do research to make sure that I know what I'm doing. It builds my ego as well. It makes me feel like someone needs me. It makes me feel like I am sharing something of myself and of my Tipuna. I think that the students who come to my class are Maori so far. I think the next group will be Maori who have learnt Maori since Kohanga Reo. Right now I'm getting the group who missed out. They see their little brothers and sisters who are getting the language through kohanga reo so they are quite passionate about learning Maori here. They want to leave my class knowing something of their language and culture so that when they go home they don't feel as if they have missed out or been left behind once again (Ngahuia).

While in Hawai'i in places like Waikiki, Aloha Market, or some shopping mall my ears would be touched by the familiar melodies of Me he manu rere, or Pokarekareana, or Toia mai te waka nei. Curious and expecting to find some Maori troupe or visiting school or a kapa haka team, I would rush off to discover the source of song. What I usually found was one or two professional entertainers backed by guitar, ukulele or some electric device, who specialised in navigating their way through the melodies and dances of Polynesia. These entertainers may have been Maori but I suspect not. Often it was difficult to tell. For me (and others) the most confusing time was while I was visiting the Polynesian Cultural Centre.

The Polynesian Cultural Centre employs more than 1,300 people, about 70 percent of whom are BYU Hawai'i students (<http://www.polynesia.com/>). Added to this are staff who are not students and volunteers who give freely of their time. To run the PCC facility requires a diverse range of skills and competences. These include those in facilities maintenance, financial and HR management, cultural representation and performance, food preparation and provision, IT, event

management, cleaning, advertising and promotion, music and sound, only to mention a few.

Of those that I interviewed many had worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre during their time in Hawai'i. Although one or two newcomers spoke disparagingly of the decontextualised capturing and reproduction by PCC of Polynesian culture, most found that their work experience and environment was a major facilitator of opportunities to discover more about their cultural heritage - the greatest facilitator being the carved house and Maori village at PCC. Worked on by Hone Taiapa and students from the NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, it is a superb and absolutely excellent example of 19th Century carved houses, simply not what I ever imagined to find so far away from its traditional context.

For those I spoke with, being a part of the PCC environment and activities afforded them an environment that they felt ownership and pride in (the Maori village) and another way of being Maori.

Being Maori is interesting to other people. Because other people are interested, it makes you feel good. As an entertainer at PCC, I enjoy performing. I enjoy people who I talk to. I enjoy telling them about my culture and country (Ravina).

Hawaii, I learned so much about my own culture being away from home - working at the PCC, and working on the marae as well. To the tourist that we see at the PCC every day we only do the basics. We only give them a superficial view of what it is to be Maori. But behind the basics we're taught more in depth about what it's all about. So behind the facade we have been able to learn more in-depth stuff about the culture like the meaning and tikanga behind tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, powhiri and the protocols. Maori are coming over to Hawai'i all the time. And many koroua come and tell us a little bit at a time about things Maori. Those are the times when you really learn because when they come and they tell you a little bit at a time. After working at PCC for three years it adds up to how much you really get to know. That includes whaikorero and kapa haka. All this learning is just squashed in and you get to learn quite a bit. So the culture really is a strong part of us being Maori here in Hawai'i (Patrick).

It seemed that the Maori village also provided a learning challenge for those older participants who within the PCC hierarchy occupied managerial and cultural

advisory positions. However, it is more accurate to describe them as occupying kaumatua and kaitiaki roles in that they, along with others, teach and coach those in their charge and keep an eye on things. Two of these people were Cyril and Ngahuia.

When they came to ask me if I would manage the Maori village I said, 'I hope you guys know what you're doing.' I told them I haven't been exposed to my culture for the longest time. Anyway, the challenge for me then was to read about my culture and I'm still learning. I made some mistakes, and as far as protocol was concerned, mistakes were made because I didn't know any better. But the more I progressed, I learned, and I'm learning new things. People come up from home and sit down and talk and tell me things. So we have a good relationship with our young people that have come to learn and to be at school (Cyril).

Ngahuia, appointed as a Maori specialist to support the Maori cultural night show performances, also found the work challenging.

What I do is teach the kids how to do the haka on stage. I teach all kinds, like waiata-a-ringa, haka, singing, poi. I also have to compose Maori shows for PCC. I compose my own songs and every now and then I compose haka - but I prefer to use haka that have been composed by others. Anyway, I work hard at doing things well. You have to consider the themes, values and messages you want to communicate. ...For many students who come here, they get involved with Pakeha education and when they go home they feel like they have missed out on four years of being Maori, unless they are involved at PCC (Ngahuia).

For those who work outside of the Maori village (but still in PCC) the attitudes of tourists might be described as 'trying'. As alluded to before, when situated within a complex such as PCC (or even Hawai'i for that matter) identifying who is and who isn't Maori or Polynesian can be a difficult matter where stereotypes provide no reliable guide.

I think that tourists have this image of who is and who isn't Maori. If you're dark, then you're Maori. If you are fair, then they don't believe that you're Maori. It's obvious when you watch tourist behaviour. They all seem to gravitate towards those who are dark, rather than those who are fair. You see the same behaviour in other villages as well. It doesn't bother me anymore (Neva).

For others who worked outside of the PCC environment and in the broader Hawai'i context - as teachers, academics, and writers, business people and the like - work brought them into contact with a great diversity of people interested in where they were from, in Aotearoa, and in Maori cultural practices. For these participants this attention allowed them to feel special.

Many participants (n=14) spoke about maintaining contact with other Maori as important to being Maori in Hawai'i. 'Contact' was facilitated in a variety of ways. Taking Maori language classes, participating in meetings of the New Zealand Club, cultural evenings, meeting collectively as Kiwi's, helping to host visiting Maori from New Zealand and the like. An interesting development was that of a Hawai'i branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League with a number of spin offs that replicate activities and benefits achieved by the League in New Zealand.

Audrey told me:

As time has gone on, I have got on with doing those things that I would normally be doing at home. In my case I have carried on with starting a Maori Women's Welfare League here. I was a founding member of the group that was started in 1985. It's a great organisation with some good Maori women in it. We started off with about 6 people. There are a little over 200 Maori people living in Hawai'i, so of them, we have 12 stable Maori women in it with others that help out from time to time. Netball has also been an attraction and we run a healthy lifestyle netball team - we hope to send a team to the Kurungaituku (Netball) competition. Netball has had a number of spin offs, especially with those other Pacific nations who play netball - like Tongans and Samoans (Audrey).

Participants reported that Maori from New Zealand were frequent visitors to Hawai'i and that they enjoyed the contact that their visits allowed. Maori sojourners included relatives, school, kapa haka and sports teams, conference goers, people who were stopping over on route to some other destination, teachers, business people, political activists, and the like.

Gary felt that to be Maori in Hawai'i also required that he keep in touch with "everything that's going on in the Maori world". Gary, like others, told me of various visitors who had visited with them in Hawai'i.

I've also taken Maori language classes with (). She's had her people at top level from New Zealand come up - they come up every year. So that keeps us in touch (Gary).

Likewise, Mary told me of an Aunt who visited frequently and that helped her to “keep up” with her Maoritanga although she, like others, felt like they were “playing catch up”.

Most of all, contact with other Maori simply allowed participants to relax in a social and cultural context that was familiar, that is a context where cultural ways were taken for granted, where they didn't have to explain colloquialisms, or historical backgrounds and where they could reflect on the strange and different things that they encountered in the Hawai'i context.

I hang out with Maori people because we can relate to each other much more easily. We have something in common that we can talk about. Being Maori is an important part of my life (Ravina).

Ivey reinforced this view.

It's really good when you get together because you can relate better to each other. You can speak how you usually speak (Ivey).

In addition Rylan highlighted the support that she gained from being in contact with other Maori. This was a view reflected across most participants.

It's good because there's other Maori as well so it's not like you're suffering. I guess you can go to each other. They're always there. ... So it's really exciting to see other people and they've got new news and they know what's going on at home (Rylan).

In Hawai'i, Maori are often mistaken for being Hawaiian, or Japanese-Hawaiian, or Portugese, or French-Polynesian, or any other the vast array of ethnicities found in Hawai'i. In some cases, for Maori who are fair, they can be mistaken as Haole (White American). Although Maori could eventually ‘pass’ as being something other, such aspirations are often exposed by a rather nasal, over

correct way of speaking and pronouncing English, otherwise known as the New Zealand accent.

To others I have an accent, and because of that people set me apart as being different. I could pass as Hawaiian until I open up my mouth (Hirama).

It's like the first thing people notice. Then they ask... where are you from, or are you from New Zealand? It's like your main attachment with home and then like if you lose your accent it's like, I don't know (Rylan).

Some Maori sought to lose their accents and actively cultivate American ones; some successfully mastered Hawaiian pidgin, or at least part of it. But on the whole, having a New Zealand accent was viewed positively mostly because positive things followed from it that reinforced their uniqueness as Maori.

Often people think I'm something that I'm not -- they often may think that I'm from some other pacific island, rather than from Aotearoa. I don't get offended. I just correct them and say that I'm Maori. Then they often ask "what's that?" Often it's not until you open your mouth and start talking that they realise that you're either, not what they were thinking, or that you are Maori. It was strange to know that we had an accent. It's real weird. Every one tends to like it. I'm not self-conscious about it, but I don't want to loose it. I don't want to sound like a plastic American. If I did lose it, then I would hope that I'd maintain the values and learnings that I got from home - then I'd be sweet (Hare).

Rylan also spoke about losing her accent.

I mean the accents are so strong. I've got a friend who's from here. She's a local girl, and another from the mainland. They said that when I came back from home they couldn't understand what I was saying because my accent was so thick. So I kinda thought I must have been losing it (my NZ accent) while I was here, and not knowing it. Even like when I came back I noticed that they all had accents too. We're determined not to lose it (NZ accents) because it's part of home. So you don't want to lose your accent but I guess when you're talking to Americans you have to talk like them so they understand (Rylan).

For this group of people, accents were markers of difference, identity and origins. They facilitated interest and enquiries about their ethnic and cultural backgrounds as Maori. Accents and the interactions that came from having them identified also resulting in positive feelings of being unique and in some ways special.

Although few participants made specific reference to this practice, in those homes that I visited, expressions of being Maori were clearly evident. The photographs of whanau members or marae; the whakairo, kete, and contemporary Maori art; and the music collections, were all obvious and intended statements of being Maori. But expressions of being Maori were not restricted to the home. For some their everyday dress incorporated Maori motifs particularly those who worked in the Maori village at PCC. For those who could not afford such dress, their expressions of being Maori often resided in or were reinforced by the neck pendants that they wore. These ornaments were referred to, by participants, as “taonga” irrespective of whether they were, for example, matau, hei tiki, manaia, or kapeu.

No one mistakes me for being Hawaiian. We wear our Manaia a lot and people assume that I'm from New Zealand, but I'm not born in New Zealand (Raewyn).

Interestingly, different groups in Hawai'i wore 'taonga' that in the New Zealand context would attract a Maori ascription both to the item as well as the wearer. It was explained to me that, when positioned within a Pacific context, a hei matau could be equally claimed by Hawaiians, Samoans, Tongans and Maori thus limiting its value as an identity marker. What is fascinating is that a social understanding seems to have been negotiated around these objects. In the case of the hei matau, participants tell me that these taonga are more likely to be worn by Hawaiians. In the case of Maori, the manaia seems to be the negotiated marker.

Being Maori here in Hawai'i is a proud thing. It makes you really proud. Everyone wants to know you and what being Maori is all about. Everyone just loves us. I've never worn manaia before, and now I wear it everywhere. Now I'm starting to go to Maori classes -- it just makes you feel really proud. It's cool. I love it (Nina).

No one mistakes me for being Hawaiian. We wear our Manaia a lot and people assume that I'm from New Zealand, but I'm not born in New Zealand (Raewyn).

Diana, an academic and a participant, described the relationship between wearing taonga and being Maori.

Diana commented: I think that there is an affinity and recognition of who we are. I can walk across campus and pick young Maori out. If I'm wearing Maori taonga - then I think that they know that I'm Maori. I may not know who they are but I'll say "kia ora" to them, and they'll say "kia ora" back. We may not get engaged in a discussion of any kind, but recognition of who we are is there.

Comparisons with being Maori in New Zealand

To discuss with participants what they saw as being the differences between being Maori in the Hawai'i context versus the New Zealand context, I posed an explicit question: How is being Maori in Hawai'i different to being Maori in New Zealand? When their attention was directed in this way, four major differences were talked about. They were living amongst a diversity of minority groups; not being considered Maori enough; having challenges and opportunities not available New Zealand; and not having to engage the 'down side' or negative aspects of being Maori in New Zealand.

Before presenting these differences, it is important to note that most (n=23) of the participants, of their own volition, chose to leave New Zealand to pursue education or work opportunities, or to be with partners. Irrespective of motivation, all have found themselves in a situation where they have to 'make the most of it'. Returning to New Zealand is expensive. For some, relinquishing their stay in Hawai'i is not an option, and for others a rather remote one. Indeed, almost half of the participants, although hopeful, did not make a definite expression about returning to New Zealand. When people are faced with having to 'make the most of it', it is not an uncommon pattern that people (students, sojourners, migrants, refugees) construct their 'new' circumstances in a more positive light than their 'old'. This tension and construction is evident amongst the responses made by participants in this study.

As discussed earlier, participants talked positively about the far more diverse context of Hawai'i (n=7). The absence of a dominant culture defining group (Tyler, Brome, & Williams, 1991) and the presence of many cultural minorities created what participants described as a far more welcoming and accepting social environment. Penny experienced a "great sense of freedom", in being a part of a multicultural environment and in being able to escape the "social conformities" present in New Zealand that in her view had been caused by British socialism. Touching on a sense of 'pleasantness', Judy highlighted that:

Being in Hawai'i and in the Pacific gives you get a nice feeling. It's nice having Polynesian people around you. It's nice not to feel alienated. It's also nice to be involved with different things (Judy).

Some participants (n=5) when in the New Zealand environment, felt that they were not considered as Maori by others mainly because of their appearance. In the Hawai'i context, most participants mentioned that they often had to actively identify as Maori as the probability of being 'mistakenly' identified was very high. This is discussed below in the section about actively identifying as Maori.

In New Zealand, even when their appearance was in line with what others thought was 'typical', sometimes their behaviour was not. They were still not considered Maori enough. Some of this, in my view, had to do with the extent to which they felt linguistically or culturally fluent. Roseanne, embarrassed by her family's lack of linguistic and cultural fluency, had this to say:

The part that I found hard while I was growing up was the embarrassment of not being able to speak Maori, and not knowing my Maoritanga. I know my father felt the same way. Particular as we've been a prominent family in the community. That's been the underlying thing that we regret missing out on. So, one of the things that I've been looking closely at is that I would like my son to be able to speak Maori. So, I've been learning Maori a little bit (Roseanne).

For some participants (n=9), being in Hawai'i allowed them the freedom to explore what it meant to be Maori. They felt more able to engage in language and culture learning activities. The participants' thoughts on this are reflected in those comments already reported above.

Negative evaluations about being Maori in Hawai'i were very few, but there were some. Four participants referred to being Maori in Hawai'i as a vicarious experience, something that was experienced from afar, or out of context.

When you talk to many Maori people here in Hawai'i about things Maori, much of their comments are made in isolation from an Aotearoa/Maori context. For example, it is very difficult to learn Maori here in this context. When you don't have a context where you are immersed in culture and language, it is difficult to learn. When you are displaced and taken out of the culture, things like language are very difficult to maintain (Mary).

Karen said a similar thing:

The way I am now is that I'm not a rich Maori. I'm not a poor Maori. I'm not doing anything for Maori other than my own children. But I think I'm doing quite a lot for the Polynesians that I'm in contact with here in Hawai'i. I do expose them to some of my Maori culture but I feel that it's the culture of yester-year. There's no way that I could teach them anything of today's Maori songs and culture (Karen).

People I spoke with (n=6) commented positively about the challenges and opportunities offered by the Hawai'i context and economy. For Audrey, leaving the familiarity and support systems of her whanau and iwi enabled her to confront life's challenges directly and in her own way. She only had herself to rely upon.

Yes - because you have more challenges here. In Aotearoa you have the whole whanau and iwi support around you. You tend to sit back and let the rest of the clan do things for you. Here in Hawai'i, you are literally on your own. You have to fend for yourself more; you have to express yourself more. You become more independent and you do more things and you realise more talents. Whether you are a male or female I never would have realised that I would have accomplished half of the things that I do now, had I not met the challenges of living in a different environment here. Had I stayed in Aotearoa I think I would have been more laid back and let the rest of the whanau carry on half of the stuff and I would have only done half of my stuff. I would not have been as aggressive as what I have been here. Because I found out that I could do those things that I had to, I knew that I would be able to do the same things in Aotearoa - without being too

lazy. Basically I would have said that, a long time ago, I was basically a lazy person. Getting a degree never entered my mind - never! (Audrey).

Karen had a similar experience to that of Audrey recognising opportunities not just for herself, but for her children who she had raised in Hawai'i.

When I left New Zealand, my father said to me - remember who you are, and go to church. That meant for me, remember who I am. I'm a (surname). I'm coming here to Hawai'i to get an education so that I can be self-supporting. We had a big family. Farming was going out. This is how I feel about being a Maori here. It seems like I've got better control and that there are more things offered here for my children to advance (Karen).

Some participants carried with them an optimistic belief in the 'American dream', that is: "that all men (sic) are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (Dworkin, 1996). The idea of being justly rewarded for one's efforts and labour is integral to the American Dream. This is apparent in what Hirama told me.

Unless you're educated, in New Zealand you will have a hard time raising your family. Whether you're educated or not, in Hawai'i you can still make a living provided you work hard. I think the American dream is still alive (Hirama).

In general, participants welcomed the challenge of facing life directly and away from the complacency that whanau and iwi were seen to create. Hawai'i, as part of the United States, was seen to provide up opportunities that were there for the taking provided that one developed the appropriate skills necessary to take advantage of them. In contrast, New Zealand was viewed as lacking in opportunity, restrictive and as one participant put it, a 'dead end'.

Participants often referred to the downside of life in New Zealand (n=11). Repeatedly, of the New Zealand context, participants described or made reference to New Zealand 'levelling' behaviour, or 'tall poppy' syndrome, where "criticism of those who are seen to be high achievers...or who stand out too much above the others ...[are] cut down to size" (Thomas, 1995, p.70). Reference to such levelling

behaviour was most often made by describing a story about crabs in a bucket. Fiona told me:

I'm reminded of the story - the crabs in a basket. When one crab tries to get out and it's nearing the top all the others will pull him down...(Fiona).

Judy's experience of trying to start a business in New Zealand highlights the essence of this metaphor. She told me:

In 1986 we went back to Aotearoa. I wanted to start a business. I went to see a number of Pakeha business people and they loved my ideas. When I went to see Maori people, they saw me as a Maori American. That pissed me off. To think that they would look at me like that rather than as a Maori person who was coming home -- that pissed me off. I just found that when I went home that I was 10 years ahead of a lot of people and their ideas. Maori people couldn't visualise things although Pakeha people could. It's a shame, a real shame. There is a tendency back home to not allow people to get ahead. That is a big thing. When they see you trying to do something -- bang, down you go. I think it's a Maori thing. If only they would unify. ... People are always trying to pull you down instead of giving you that push (Judy).

Roseanne had a similar view to Judy, but situated the cause of "Maori negativity" to what one might describe as lack of motivation.

I also came across a certain amount of negativity among Maori people, which I've never had. I don't believe in the chip on the shoulder thing. I believe that we all have potential as human beings to go out and do what we want. We should get out and do it. We should not use our ethnicity as an excuse for why we aren't getting places, because it's not. There are several, many reasons why things might not go your way. You've just got to have the self-esteem to keep persevering. You've also got to know what you want (Roseanne).

Kay expressed disappointment with Maori people generally. She felt that Maori were not furthering their education, and that government 'benefits' simply had the effect of subduing people.

To me they subdue the Maori people but not encouraging them to work. The dole is too readily available, and there is minimal difference for some people between the wage they get when they're working, and the dole. Why should I go to work! To me it's a suppression. I see so many Maori people that should be in school. The other thing is why is filth beautiful? When I was growing up, at least I was clean. It seems now that the dirtier you look, the more grubby you are (that's all the Polynesians), the tougher and the meaner I am. I think why is this? Is it because I've got this free money to stay looking dirty. So, with that I think I don't want to take my kids back to that. My kids are still in school - they're 21 and 22 years old. But at least they have respectful jobs (Kay).

Many participants referred to the hostile social environment that Maori in New Zealand live in. They referred to racism and being treated negatively. Diana provided an insight on this experience.

When I went home for a year in 1994 it was very easy for me to be angry at Pakeha. Coming from this (Hawai'i) nurturing environment where being brown and being Maori is viewed positively -- to go home and feel covert racism and having my mind opened to that, made me angry (Diana).

Negotiating a Maori identity

How a person views themselves is not necessarily congruent with the views of others. In the Hawai'i context, it is too easy to make inaccurate attributions about a person's ethnicity, cultural fluency and country of origin. In talking with Maori in Hawai'i, I discussed with them the occasions when they felt they had to identify as Maori; how they went about doing so; and why it was an important activity for them. Through our discussions, I tried to gather an appreciation of the everyday identity negotiations they were involved with.

Only one person felt that they did not have to identify themselves as Maori and some people (n=4) felt that they had to do it all the time. Most participants fell somewhere in between and the need to identify as Maori usually resulted from particular types of social interactions.

Some participants (n=9) reported that they were often asked whether or not they were Maori, or where they came from, particularly by tourists or by people encountered as part of work activities and settings. Some participants emphasised that this was not a strange or unusual occurrence and would respond to such enquiries without offence. Indeed, they had come to expect such questions within the Hawai'i context, as Peter explained.

On a daily basis I identify myself as a Maori to tourists if they ask me about my background. Consciously I don't think everyday that I'm Maori but there are times when I refer to my culture because there are so many cultures here in Hawai'i that one must do so to differentiate from the other cultures (Peter).

A few participants (n=3) who actively participated and moved within Hawaiian communities often felt the need to make their Maori identity visible.

The major occasions are when I'm at meetings with Hawaiian people. I normally make a silent statement of my ethnicity by wearing my Maori taonga. It's also apparent in the accent that I have. I use the greeting "kia ora". All these things contribute to identifying me as Maori. I find that I don't have to verbalise the fact that I'm Maori -- it's apparent in my presentation (Vicky).

Ngahuia had similar experiences.

During sovereignty gatherings with Kupuna. I go with my husband as his wife. I guess they look at me as Hawaiian. I say that I'm Maori. Often I find that the people that I meet and introduce myself to, like the Kupuna, have actually been to New Zealand and have been (home), so we end up having a good chat to them (Ngahuia).

Participants also said that they often had to identify themselves as Maori to other Maori people. Maori people new to the Hawai'i context (like me) find it difficult to discern a New Zealand accent among those who were Maori.

When groups come from New Zealand, it's good to go and visit and know that I'm part of the group, even though most of them don't think so (that I'm Maori) (Jason).

It's very strengthening and spiritually uplifting when people from home come here and we get to identify ourselves with them. It's great because when we interact, we are interacting on the same level or even higher. We're learning all the time. The whole interaction, for us, is out of this world. It takes us from this environment, to an environment at home. It embraces you and you're lost in it for a moment. When they are gone, you're back to normal again (Gary).

Participants had many ways of asserting and telling others about their Maori identity. Some actively wore taonga Maori such as manaia (n=4), others (n=2) used the greeting "kia ora", or relied upon their accent (n=3) or personal presentation (n=3) to communicate identity. Yet others actively sought out the company of other Maori (n=4) feeling that that was statement enough. For many participants (n=10), their social interactions required some degree of disclosure about their Maori identity particularly when asked directly. HIRAMA's response was typical.

In my type of job I meet people everyday and many ask me where I am from. I tell them that I am Maori and that I'm from New Zealand. It just goes on from there. Most people don't know much about New Zealand. They haven't had that much contact with Maori people. So, when I say I'm Maori, they don't really know what that is. But since Once Were Warriors came out people seem to be much more aware (HIRAMA).

The reference to the movie 'Once Were Warriors' demands a comment. This movie was not so much about 'being Maori' but about a culture of poverty and deprived social status. It profiled low-income housing, vicious violence, gang warfare, alcoholism, child abuse and neglect, suicide, and the subjugation of women. Most participants in this study, I believe, would shy from these portrayals. What I believe they do find inspirational is the resilience of the lead character Beth, that is, her capacity to rise from the grimness of her situation and find a new life for her and her children by returning to rural Maori New Zealand, and to somewhat romanticized Maori customs. I suspect that HIRAMA above is referring to these latter representations, rather than the former.

Some participants described circumstances where they felt the need to be assertive or proactive (n=5) about being Maori as Ravina and Nina described.

Quite a bit. There are a lot of people here passing as Maori. You have students who are not Maori who dance in the Maori group at PCC. They get to the point where they are telling others that they are Maori, or questioning Maori about whether they know their culture or not. I find that it's important for me to identify myself as Maori, especially when there are people around who are trying to sell themselves as being Maori (Ravina).

Yes. When people think I'm from Australia. That makes me feel stink. Other than that I don't feel a real urge to stand up and inform people, only if they ask (Nina).

Given the awkward circumstances that some of the participants often found themselves in, there was a sense of always having to 'come out', to disclose something about themselves that is either overlooked or inaccurately attributed. As Jason has described above, Neva describes here.

Almost all the time because I don't look Maori (Neva).

People in this study saw the task of identifying as Maori as important. They felt that it was "one's identity" (n=6), reflecting who they were and their pride (n=4) in being so. Jerald and Penny captured this sentiment.

It makes me feel proud to be Maori. I am proud of my heritage. So I see that when I find myself in situations where I can actively identify as being Maori, then I do (Jerald).

It's important as a connecting factor between people who share the same spirituality -- it connects you to others. It involves aroha, warmth and spirituality. It's important to me because it's part of my identity. A part of who I am (Penny).

Following from Penny's comments about 'connecting factors', some participants (n=6) identified a place for themselves relative to others in identifying as Maori. Vicky summed this up.

Knowing who you are is important. That that 'knowing' is based on whakapapa is also important. Through knowing oneself in this manner, gives oneself a sense of identity, and a sense of where you come from as a people. When you are able to whakapapa back to 'mai ra ano', then that gives you a sense of continuity -- gives you a much greater sense of being Maori, being from a particular tribal group and being

descendant from specific ancestors and belonging to a specific whanau (Vicky).

There were other reasons regarding the importance of identifying as Maori that were mentioned only by a few. For Roseanne, being Maori was essential to her livelihood...

It's important because it's my identity and it's also my income and what my professional work rests on (Roseanne).

And Raewyn benefited by the learning opportunities that presented:

It's important to identify myself as Maori to other Maori so that I can learn Maori ways and be respectful to other Maori (Raewyn).

Lastly, George highlighted the search by others for the "authentic Maori":

Guests who visit PCC want to know whether you are real Maori or not. They want to know that what they are looking at and seeing and the people whom they are interacting with are in fact the "real" McCoy! (George).

Maintaining Maori Connections

How participants maintain their Maori connections was the focus of questions grouped around this theme. If maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i or New Zealand was not a part of a participants' life, I explored the pathways by which they had arrived at this situation. If it was, then I explored with the participant the specific activities and frequency in which they engaged in such maintenance activities and difficulties encountered.

Only one person felt that maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i had not really been a part of their life in Hawai'i. Maude, who had lived in Hawai'i for 30 years at the time of interviewing, did not see herself as religious and therefore, did not feel that she had much in common with Maori who were. She viewed the church structure in which they lived as too restrictive and limiting for her. Also, she talked of Maori social relationships being quite political. Although grateful for the achievements that political activities and movements had made, such did not appeal to her. Maude was not totally isolated from being with other Maori,

but it did seem that the connections and opportunities she had to engage Maori were few and far between. Also, her conversation suggested that a role identity had far more salience in her life than a Maori social identity.

It's only on the odd occasions that I connect up with Maori people. They are so busy with their lives. I am not connected with other people; I'm not involved with anything unless there is a structured Maori thing that we are going to do.... Often there would be Maori people travelling through that would come and stay with me and I would go out and join in their activities. But that was a while ago. I don't have too many people coming through now and I think it's because of the life I am rarely here. I'm either travelling or working or I'm not available. I'm just too busy (Maureen).

Ten participants felt that maintaining connections with other Maori was not a major part of their life in Hawai'i but that this was influenced by time, distances, busy schedules and opportunity. For example, Penny described how to attend a meeting with Maori in La'ie required that she travel for 1.5 hours from Honolulu, the return trip taking about 3 hours. As La'ie is where most Maori in Hawai'i lived, it is not surprising that most organised Maori activities took place there.

Others referred to the Maori community in Hawai'i being made up of different sub-groups that did not always see eye to eye and who did not always provide the type of social satisfaction that was sought by participants. For others, it was easier and more satisfying to maintain contact with a broader group of people, namely New Zealanders or 'Kiwis' as they were often referred to, as they were in contact with New Zealanders more frequently. The other pattern to emerge related to those ethnic and social groups that partners belonged to. For example, Rachel, who was going out with a Samoan maintained what might be described as 'convenient' contact with other Maori, but tended to seek out the Samoan social contacts of her partner.

Even so, all participants maintained some contact with Maori in New Zealand, some more than others. There were also different reasons for keeping in touch. How participants maintained contact with other Maori and their reasons for doing so are discussed in the following sections.

Maori focused activity

Most people I spoke with engaged in a broad range of activities to maintain their Maori connections, rather than just simply one activity. The activity types that I identified were: organised, opportunistic, purposeful, passive, role related, and social. These are described below.

Organised

Get involved with the Maori Women's Welfare League. If there are any Maori function going we are normally involved in it. People call me. When you get Maori groups coming in to Hawai'i, we get together. Usually there is someone who calls around and let's everyone know who is going to be here and when and we organise to get together (Judy).

There are a number of Maori focused clubs and associations that people were members of. These organisations met regularly, and in some way, had a Maori focused agenda that members sought to realise. One of the frequently mentioned organisations (by 10 participants) was the Maori Women's Welfare League. Other organisations were the student Kiwi Club (n=8) and the New Zealand expatriate associations (n=1). The PCC based Kiwi Club is an association of students at PCC from New Zealand. As many of the students were Maori, it was an organization structure that Maori participated in and supported.

The Kiwi club. That makes it easier because there are such a lot of events and activities. Amongst those events there is usually one set time when we can all get together. We have like a devotional, or a sing song, or a food festival. There are a lot of activities that bring us together (Neva).

These two latter groups tended to be inclusive of all with origins from New Zealand but still provided the opportunity for Maori to come together, socialise and be involved in regular organised activity. Although not a club or association, the marae at PCC served as a centre for Maori focused activity both formal and informal. Activity at the marae involved people beyond those who worked in the Maori village

at PCC and served as a centre for meeting and welcoming people, for weddings, birthdays, celebrations and other gatherings.

Opportunistic

A third of participants (n=10) mentioned activities that were 'opportunistic' in nature rather than formally organised and structured. For example, taking the opportunity to meet and be with Maori from New Zealand who were visiting Hawai'i. Ivey described how she took advantage of opportunities that come her way.

Often people at the Maori Village will put on a hangi -- I really miss New Zealand food. So, when we have a hangi I'm the first one there. It's only been in the last few years that we have hangi and stuff. Often this coincides with Maori groups or new Maori students coming to BYU. So, we'll also have a powhiri to welcome and get to know them (Ivey).

Purposeful

Some activities were more deliberate and considered than others. These were activities where participants (n=10) purposefully set out to achieve a specific Maori focused goal, like learning te reo maori me nga tikanga, or seeking out Maori experts or enrolling in community or institutionally based courses of study. This type of activity might also include activities like participants teaching their children or others about nga mea Maori (Maori customs).

Gary, who was 63 years old at the time of being interviewed, told me that it's never too late to learn:

I am involved with learning the Maori language - through the rakau method. Arahia Unawai comes out here every week and we come together. We are speaking the language and it's awesome.

Passive

Some activities were more 'passive' in nature. Examples are reading books or magazines, watching television programmes and videos, or listening to Maori music

even though the acquisition of such resources may have been quite difficult. Passive activities were mentioned by a few participants only (n=4).

Role related

Many participants occupied work roles directly related to their ethnicity or Maori cultural fluency (n=8). Some were engaged in teaching or leadership roles that accentuated their ethnicity or drew upon their cultural fluency. Some were employed specifically as Maori cultural experts, entertainers or performers where their role in the tourism and entertainment industry was to provide an insight into the Maori world. As such, the roles that they occupied served to attract and keep them in contact with other Maori. Others occupied more incidental roles within the tourism and entertainment industry, like in 'food and hospitality' or management. Nevertheless, they were still expected to be ambassadors for their countries of origin and their cultural groups.

Roseanne, who is a professional Maori entertainer, described how her role facilitated contact with others.

I have connections with the Polynesian Cultural Centre and often perform down there. I go out there and see the young people who are homesick. I say hi and perform and sing for them. Sometimes (we) go out and help with some of the vocal coaching. Outside of Hawai'i I keep in touch with Maori who are in the entertainment industry. It's part of who I am professionally. They're all my friends, so we often have reunions and I often connect up with them when I'm at home (Roseanne).

Social support

Associating and maintaining a Maori focused social network in Hawai'i is a challenge due mainly to the small number of Maori, and their congregation in one particular area in Hawai'i. Nevertheless, participants (n=17) seemed to overcome this barrier to maintain relationships with other Maori, to meet or visit in each others homes, to talk on the phone, and to share resources and information.

I run into Maori people all over the place on a daily basis. From time to time we get involved in various events when the occasion arises. Normally if someone comes here we will get involved. Once a week I may visit some other Maori person. There are just so many here - there lots and lots. I would say that there are about 100 families here (Hirama).

Transpacific connections

I also maintain contact with people in New Zealand. I took a basketball team on a tour of New Zealand. The whole team were either Maori or part Maori -- all born and bred in the USA. We went all over the place. We stayed on marae almost all the way through. The kids loved it (Hirama).

Not only were participants engaged in maintaining connections with Maori who were living in or moving through Hawai'i, many (n=11) were active in maintaining relationships with those living in New Zealand and also in other countries around the world. Some were more active in their engagement than others, making annual or biennial return trips to New Zealand (n=5), phoning or receiving calls from home once or twice a week and bringing Maori resources back into the Hawai'i context (music, news, ideas, magazines, video's). While some were initiators of transpacific maintenance activities, others were less so and for a variety of practical reasons. Some just could not meet the cost of annual or biennial airfares, or international phone calls even though they would have liked to have engaged in such activities more frequently.

In contrast to those participants who were proactive in initiating transpacific activity, there were no participants at the other end of the continuum. In some small way all participants were in connection with those in the New Zealand context, even if it was to send or receive the odd postcard from time to time.

Reasons for Maori focused activity

To organise participant's responses I have drawn off the five types of social support identified by Orford (1992). These types are: esteem, companionship, informational,

emotional and material. They are described below with examples from those I spoke to.

Esteem

For two thirds of participants (n=19), reasons of esteem motivated Maori focused activity. Participants reported feeling a sense of belonging, of pride and solidarity, and self-acknowledgement (as well as from others) of the value of their being Maori. They felt affirmed, valued and acknowledged which led to a capacity to affirm, value and acknowledge others.

Connecting with other people, and carving makes me feel proud (Jason).

It creates an affinity and a recognition of who we are (Diana).

It gives me a reminder that I have Maori in me (Raewyn).

It makes me proud that I have two Polynesian bloods - Maori and Hawaiian. I always knew, but now I have experienced it. It empowers you more. It made my focus both Hawaiian and Maori (Kane).

Companionship

This type of support reflected satisfaction in having and participating in positive social interactions. Half of the participant group (n=15) reported engaging in social activities with friends or relatives. These activities ranged from 'hanging out' with friends at the beach or in town, or 'popping into' each other's homes. Telephone calls, lunch, being together at meetings or events, all contributed to a sense of companionship.

Informational

Informational support involves gaining advice or guidance or feedback on how one thinks about both specific and general things. It also involves having a means through which to access information about those things that matter to an individual.

It keeps me grounded. It gives me a sense of belonging. After living in Utah, there is practically no contact with other Maori people. It feels a lot better to be with Maori people. Being with my people helps me to know my self. Having been away and lived in places where there are no Maori people for so long in the mainland, you forget how Maori people are, and how you should be. So, being around Maori helps me to understand my own feelings and how I think. Sometimes I think that it is just me who does these things- but it's not. It's about being Maori (Jerald).

For Jerald, and others (n=13), their engagement in Maori focused activity brought them into contact with people and resources that could provide them with an array of information. Information included news about the arrival of visitors or Maori migrants to Hawai'i, where and whom to access expert knowledge from, of events and social gatherings, and most importantly for some participants, news from home. For many, having information led to the realisation of other forms of social support like material or emotional support.

Emotional

You get the feeling that you aren't alone. You know that there are other Maori out there. It's not just me. Often you feel surrounded by foreign things and foreign people. So it's good to be able to just identify with other Maori. My boss has been here for quite a while. It's good just talking with him. And when he goes home he brings back Minties and peanut slabs and it's a piece of home. It helps me to not get homesick. It makes me not miss my family so much (Ivey).

For a third of participants (n=10), emotional support was a motivator for Maori focused activity. Overcoming loneliness, homesickness, feeling different and isolated, and simply having to 'make it' were all motivators for connecting with other

Maori. There seemed to be an affinity and expectation of 'sticking together' and persisting and battling on, particularly by participants who were relatively new to the Hawai'i context. Indeed, the reflections of longer residents on when they first arrived were similar.

It allows me to be myself as a Maori person with other Maori. It allows us to share in who we are (Gary).

I also coded here responses, like Gary's, that related to feeling culturally supported, that is, participants gained support by themselves, in that being Maori and Maori ways were taken for granted. They could find relief, for a short while, from the continued fact of their ethnic and cultural difference always being under scrutiny and attracting attention.

Material

The provision of material support is perhaps best described by Patrick when he got married and by Fiona in playing host to Maori from New Zealand.

We do have those occasions of the Maori community coming together. For example, for weddings. Especially for us because we're poor, right. We got married here but it was the Maori community that came together, and they did our wedding for us. That's not uncommon because we all understand especially with students who are poor. So when things need to be done that's when we come together and we know that we have to support each other... otherwise we'd be out on our own. We wouldn't be able to do quite a bit. So it's through those connections and being Maori or from New Zealand that we're able to do a lot more than if those connections were not there (Patrick).

If it were not for our Maori connections, our ties to our Maori people, somehow or other I think we would have gone home. Where we shine in our Maori Women's Welfare League is that we host our people from home and we've had people here come who have taken ill at the airport and because we have been there we've been able to bring them home and look after them. One was for two months I think, two or three months (Fiona).

The above accounts by Patrick and Fiona might be considered by some as large scale examples of material support, but other less noticeable examples were reported. Examples are, people helping each other out with baby sitters; or looking after the kids; or giving each other rides to town; or sharing text books or resources from home, or from each others home. About a quarter of participants described some exchange of material support.

Frequency of participation in Maori focused activity

I asked participants about how often they participated in activities that helped them to maintain their Maori connections. Their responses were varied and often depended upon the type of activity they were thinking about at the time. For example, those who focused on organised activity responded according to when activities were organised. For example, the Maori Women's Welfare League usually had monthly meetings. Opportunistic activity occurred when ever the opportunity arose which may have been anything from monthly to three yearly, and role related activity happened on a daily basis often spilling over into other spheres of a person's life.

Most people engaged in a number of activity types. Two thirds of the sample engaged in up to three activity types, and a third up to six activity types, the latter group usually reporting a higher frequency of engagement.

Overall, of the 24 participants who responded to this question, 12 felt that they were engaged in activity on a daily basis, four engaged often, seven were infrequent engagers, and one felt that they rarely participated in maintaining their connections.

I discussed with some of the participants (n=24) whether they felt as if they had enough contact with other Maori or wanted more. Over half (n=13) told me that they desired more contact with other Maori and wanted to participate more often in Maori focused activity. Seven participants were less ready to provide an unqualified response pointing to the realities of living in a diverse setting, of having to work, and of having a range of activities and commitments. Roseanne explained:

Certainly wouldn't like less. Ideally, it would be nice to have quite a bit more. My lifestyle being what it is, I firstly have

my family to accommodate and they're really important. They're my top priority. After that, I have a career. So there's also the time factor. If there were more Maori groups here, then I would be more than interested. For example, it is really difficult for us to meet as a Welfare League. People are busy and they have work. It is really expensive to live in Hawai'i and a major concern is economics, so people work really hard here to make ends meet. Many people have three jobs! That takes up a lot of your time. A lot of time there isn't enough time to do things that are possibly more social in orientation (Roseanne).

Lastly, four respondents felt that they had enough contact with other Maori, some like Selena, pointing to a need "to be involved with a whole range of people".

Facilitators of Maori maintenance activities

In the previous section, a number of maintenance activities were identified and reported. I organised the activity types around six types. They were organised, opportunistic, purposeful, passive, role related, and social. All these activity types contributed certain outcomes for different people. These included outcomes related to esteem, companionship, information, or emotional and material support.

Most participants engaged in maintenance activities in some way (some more frequently than others) and few felt that they had enough Maori contact, the majority wishing for more. In this section, I consider those things that participants identified as facilitating maintenance activities, or in short, those things that made it easier to maintain their Maori connections.

Finances

Eight participants mentioned that having a secure financial position would help them to maintain contact with other Maori in Hawai'i and in Aotearoa. Work and income are direct pathways to obtaining resources to support social interaction with other Maori and with 'home' environments. These resources include the ability to pay for travel expenses like petrol, having a reliable motor vehicle, or an ability to pay for telephone and fax calls or airfares to make return trips to Aotearoa, or to other destinations where there are other Maori. Hare, a student at BYU-H highlights the simplicity of this equation and a creative use of 'collective' resources.

In terms of Aotearoa, I know that finances would make it easier. Having whanau and friends in Aotearoa who let me call "collect" helps (Hare).

Audrey and Fiona both remarked that a secure financial situation had helped them to keep in touch with others and to participate in Maori maintenance activities. Audrey's pattern of contact with relatives and friends in New Zealand is enlightening.

I have a job that allows me to have a 3 month holiday every year. So, I know that every year I can go home for three whole months - even if it's over winter. I love it. I love to hear that rain. My philosophy is that I work in Hawai'i but I live in New Zealand. The job is here but my home is New Zealand. That's another reason why I'm still here. If I didn't have that 3 month holiday I know for sure that I would not be here. Two weeks is not enough. I feel that you have to go home every year - that's what I've been doing. Going home recharges my battery - it gets flat by the time I get home. The minute I get off that plane and breathe in Aotearoa then I know I'm home. Just landing on the earth charges me up, along with meeting the people again. Going to whatever is going on in the country that also gives me a charge. I just don't go home to see whanau, I move around to see what the issues are and what's happening (Audrey).

Fiona reflected on the attitudes of others towards Maori living in Hawai'i, in that others thought that they were wealthy. She attempts to correct this perception.

The biggest struggle I have found here has been financial. People seem to think because you live in Hawai'i that you must be wealthy to do so. But I have found out that yes, you do have to have a lot of money, but if you know where to go to do the shopping, to get the specials you can survive (Fiona)

What is revealing in Fiona's comments are the cultural 'drivers' for allocating resources in the way that she does. The cultural driver, in this instance, were the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga

A lot of times you have to go without and many times you have to make a decision like am I going to spend this money on this for some frivolous purpose, or am I going to spend it on this because we have a family group coming from home and everybody's going to call in. It was the aroha, the hospitality and the teachings of the old people that enabled me and my husband to grow up this way and we have taught our children to do that too ... (Fiona).

In contrast, the cultural driver in Audrey's case is what Tuhoē dialectually refer to as Matemate-a-one, that is, a yearning for home and home relationships.

Lastly, Diana referred to the convenient Hawai'i location and the comparative expense of living in some other location.

Being in Hawai'i has made it easier and possible, in contrast to say living on the mainland. The fact that it only costs \$US500 compared with \$US1000 to fly home makes it easier (Diana).

Connecting people

Over a third of those that I spoke with referred to the way that other people such as travelling groups, parents, friends, or children helped to facilitate their contact with other Maori in Hawai'i. Ngahuia felt that maintaining contact with other Maori was made easier by others contacting her, rather than by her having to make the effort all the time. Diana drew my attention to the convenient location of Hawai'i and its reputation as a 'meeting place', particularly for Maori engaged in global travel.

The fact that we're in Hawai'i and it's in the middle of the Pacific on the route of all the airlines where people have to stop here has made it more possible for me to make and keep connections with Maori people (Diana).

Maude revelled in connecting with Maori, particularly with kaumatua who affirmed her cultural essence as Maori and as she says, allows her "to connect more readily" (Maude).

When I really connect with the odd Maori person I love it. The memories are indelible. They have affected my life and they will never go away. When we went to the MWWL

conference last year spoke with the old Maori woman about how the youth of today are slowly losing the essence of being Maori. She recognised that I still had the mana of being Maori, and that was a real buzz for me. We were very fortunate to have not lost the mana of being Maori. We were lucky - my mother was a real tiger when it came to quietly maintaining things Maori. She thought that she had walked away from it all but in her own way, many of the things that she did were Maori, and she passed those things on to us. It has not been until later years that I have recognised those activities as being uniquely Maori. Meeting up with Maori elders is really special for me, and allows me to connect more readily (Maude).

The more frequently mentioned type of ‘connecting person’ was the visitor from Aotearoa. Judy commented that when visiting groups come or when her mother visited and wanted to visit others then she would make an effort to engage with other Maori, otherwise “I stay away” (Judy). Raewyn remarked that:

...when other Maori come over to visit us here - that makes it easier. Mom always tells other Maori that the house is open to them. So they always come down to see us (Raewyn).

Elaborating on the ‘visitor from home’ is Mary who makes specific comment on the vicarious nature of being Maori in Hawai’i.

The best connections that I’ve made are when people come here from home, or when I go home. When you’ve been here for a long time, you lose touch with developments at home. So, a lot of what we do, even in this small community here is almost Maoridom a la Hawai’i style. So, it’s a little bit different. Some of these people have been away from home for 20-30 years. So even though their roots and attachments are strong, some of their directions have become different to what is happening at home because of the Hawaiian environment in which they are living. It’s almost like we are Maori vicariously. Maybe we’ll get together on occasion and do a few action songs and things like that but it’s almost like our knowledge of things Maori is a ‘static’ knowledge. The things that we do are based on the things we know and remember. It’s not until people come up from Aotearoa and say here are all the new developments, or when we go home and see what is happening that things change. It is a living micro-culture but when you are at home everything is changing and you’ve got different values and goals and

directions, so when you are out of that, you tend to be focussing on goals and values and things Maori, but they may be ten years old. Then you go home and they say, "oh, we gave up on that - forget about that stuff". It's almost like an artificial existence in some ways (Mary).

People and organisations that make an effort to keep people informed of events, activities and news within Maori communities in Hawai'i and in New Zealand were appreciated. They kept people in contact with each other.

Culture club/Kiwi club - they send out newsletters with newsy bits and pieces about who's getting married and who's having babies. Church. I have a friend who e-mails me in New Zealand and tells me about things that are happening at home. I'm always going into the New Zealand web pages. They have photos of home that I love looking at (Ivey).

Children and partners were important facilitators of connections with other Maori and with things Maori (n=6). Diana spoke to me about the motivating effect her children had on her to learn things Maori and to ensure that these things were passed on to her children.

Trying to impart my Maori values and beliefs to my children is very important to me. When you have children things change. Priorities change. I am very proud when my children automatically bring kai and drink out for our visitors. When they do that I feel as if I'm doing something right. It's not a conscious thing for them. But when I see them doing things automatically my heart feels good that they have picked up something from me - it makes me cry. I think that I'm very conscious of imparting things Maori to my children, more so than some Maori in Aotearoa -- because we are not at home. We read Maori legends as their bedtime stories. So that my children know all about Maui. They know the stories better than I do. My husband also reads these books to them. So, their bedtime stories haven't been 'Hansel and Gretel'. They have been Maori stories. Music -- Te Ku, Te Whe by Hirini Melbourne. We play that and other Maori music -- contemporary, and more traditional sounds -- we play it because we enjoy it. If you listen to some of the traditional sounds, to other people it might sound spooky. But our kids just love it. Just having it in our home helps me and my children. This is stuff we like and this is what we do (Diana).

All these processes, that is, visitors from Aotearoa, making the effort to attend gatherings, producing, disseminating and reading newsletters, sending emails/faxes and making telephone calls all help to connect people with each other.

Time

Most of the people that I spoke with in this study were very busy. They worked or were studying or bringing up a family and had active social lives that included participating in church, sports, or community activities. Some of these activities enabled participants to be in close contact with other Maori, particularly those whose work or social roles focused on teaching or promoting Maori culture. But for a small number, even though they may have wished for things to be different, adding to what they were already doing seemed to be a burdensome request. This is illustrated in what the following participants told me.

The motivation and inclination are there -- it's just the time to do these things. I just don't have it (Mary).

Obviously time and a more regular life style would make it easier (Roseanne).

I guess if I had less commitments (Karen).

Mostly time out of our busy schedules (Penny).

If I weren't studying, and if I had more time and finances then it would probably be easier (Jerald).

Organised activity

Participation in groups such as New Zealand or Maori focused associations (Maori Women's Welfare League and Kiwi Club), or in Maori language and culture courses brought the participants in contact with others and in contexts that they were familiar with. They felt comfortable and motivated to attend and participate in activities. Such activities I refer to as 'organised activities' as they usually require time to arrange, facilitate and schedule.

Organised activities made it easier for some participants (n=12) to engage in activities that helped to maintain their Maori connections. 'Organised' activities included those things that were part of their everyday, ordinary and normal routines. This may have included being in a 'work' setting where they were employed to depict, teach or learn Maori culture, for example, at school or University (n=5).

If I'm going to live and work here then probably the only real way that I'm going to keep my connections with Aotearoa is to work connection activities into my professional life. So, I'm moving to establish some collaborative research programme with other academics at home where I can go home, and perhaps exchanges can be made here (Mary).

Clubs and associations or friendship networks that facilitated Maori focused activities also served as maintenance vehicles. The Maori Women's Welfare League, the Kiwi Club, and the network of Maori students at BYU-H were often mentioned networks (n=4) that frequently organised events and activities.

The Kiwi club. That makes it easier because there are such a lot of events and activities. Amongst those events there is usually one set time when we can all get together. We have like a devotional, or a sing song, or a food festival. There are a lot of activities that bring us together (Neva).

Some participants (n=4) highlighted the fact that activities could be organised until one was "blue in the face". People needed to have a desire to want to engage in such maintenance activities, they needed to be motivated and willing to attend events and occasions.

It's the desire and the will to associate and engage people. If that is there then it shouldn't be a problem. You've got to have a purpose to getting together and people need to be straight shooters. I'm a straight shooter. If they're dedicated to that kind of mind then fine -- but if there are crooks around -- then forget it (Judy).

What makes maintenance activities harder

In as much as there are things that facilitate contact and the maintenance of connections with other Maori people, there are equally things that are inhibiting. Many facilitators are equally inhibitors. For example, the presence of resources such as time, finances, connecting people, and organised activity were identified as facilitating maintenance activities. But the flip side to this is that their absence is seen as a barrier to contact with others.

Two thirds of the participant group identified inhibitors of maintenance activities. From their responses four themes were apparent: community tensions, lifestyle, distances, and resources.

Community tensions

Gossip, back stabbing, politics, arguments, exclusiveness - contribute to creating community tension (n=5). Participants like Judy have chosen to respond to this in the following way.

Often times there is just too much gossip and I don't want to be a part of that. Life is too short to be sitting around gossiping about things. My husband and I are 'do it' type of people. We don't have to get involved with back stabbing communities. In fact, the community that we live in has a nice feel to it. It's a small community. Everyone knows each other. We get involved with different clubs. And so you're establishing your friends. That's important. I walk every morning, and meet people along the way and we all know each other. It's a wonderful feeling to belong somewhere. That belonging feeling makes me feel good. It's important (Judy).

Unlike Judy, HIRAMA recognises that community tensions make connecting with other Maori difficult at times but he does not allow that to bother him.

When we are unsettled as a group. When we have in fighting among our own Maori people here in Hawai'i. But I normally don't let that bother me (HIRAMA).

More specifically, Ravina spoke frankly about the tensions apparent between the PCC Maori village, participants in the PCC Nightshow, and those who are simply students at BYU-H without any involvement in cultural promotion activities.

The politics that go along with it. It tends to stand out more here because there are less of us. Because my room mate works in the village then I get in on a lot of the stuff that they do -- I lucky. If you're not involved with village stuff then it makes it harder to be involved with that lot. There's a lot of crap that goes on even with the PCC village group, and night show group. They tend to be exclusive (Ravina).

I should note that these tensions are not unusual and are an important part of any community or society of people. Community tensions, balanced by community achievements, care and satisfaction, contribute interest and development for its members.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle demands (n=10) such as the need to work or attend to educational goals, to care for family and to meet commitments over and above maintaining connections with other Maori people were the most frequently mentioned needs that inhibited Maori maintenance activities. The people that I spoke with in Hawai'i were extremely busy people. Some held two and three jobs, and many who attended university were also working to finance their education. They therefore felt that their time was rather compressed. Roseanne highlights these barriers.

My lifestyle being what it is, I firstly have my family to accommodate and they're really important. They're my top priority. After that, I have a career. So there's also the time factor. If there were more Maori groups here, then I would be more than interested. For example, it's really difficult for us to meet as a Welfare League. People are busy and they have work. It's really expensive to live in Hawai'i and a major concern is economics, so people work really hard here to make ends meet. Many people have three jobs! That takes up a lot of your time. A lot of time there isn't enough time to do things that are possibly more social in orientation (Roseanne).

Distances

Related to time, is the perceived distances (n=4) that people need to negotiate to be together. Fiona told me about when her and her husband first arrived in Hawai'i and the priority that they placed on having a car.

You have to have a car. You cannot get from point A to B without a car and when we first arrived here my husband had a car. That was one of the first things. We had an opportunity to buy a home at the time but it wouldn't have worked out because the repayments would have far exceeded what my husband was earning at the time. But he made sure that we had a car and I'm afraid we'd be absolutely lost without a car. In fact my husband bought a car, which my daughter uses and she bought a truck, so between her and her dad he has the truck for work and that's how we help each other. That's how we're able to survive (Fiona).

As mentioned previously, the majority of Maori in Hawai'i live outside of Honolulu in La'ie. Penny who resided in Honolulu felt that the distance to La'ie was significant (almost a 2 hour bus ride, about 1 hour by car). To attend meetings or gatherings or to visit people required some forward planning and often could not be a spontaneous event.

Related to distances, was the travelling distance between Hawai'i and Aotearoa. Although only an eight hour plane trip, the perception of distance was made further by the cost of the airfare. Able to relate in person with family and friends in New Zealand and on a regular basis was an unreasonable expectation for most in this group, the majority negotiating this gap through telephone calls, email, faxes and the like.

Resources

Time, money, access to telephones, computers, fax machines, reliable transport - all these resources support the goal of maintaining connections with other Maori in Hawai'i and Aotearoa. For most participants, this was the raw reality of their existence in Hawai'i and tied directly back to the need to work.

Feeling like an outsider

Having discussed with participants the ways in which they relate to other Maori in Hawai'i and in New Zealand and the means by which they maintained their Maori connections, I next discussed with them the idea of 'being on the outside'. I wanted to know if there were times when they felt as if they were different from those groups that they were members in, times when they were positioned on the 'outside', or 'othered'. I also wanted to know how they coped with this positioning and what strategies they employed.

Of the 30 participants who responded to this question, 22 said that there had been times in their lives when they felt like an outsider to things Maori or to Maori groups. Their reasons for feeling this way tended to reflect their experiences with other Maori people, or the circumstances in which they were raised, or adequacy or inadequacy with te reo me nga tikanga Maori. The situations that raised feelings of being an outsider were those where groups, experiences, appearances or competencies were brought into contrast. At these contrasting moments, participants had the occasion to simply reflect on the presence of difference. However, sometimes the circumstances and the resultant contrasts were sharper and more acute often requiring an immediate response (for example, when one is spoken to in Maori with the expectation that they would reply in Maori). These latter circumstances were often experienced as more stressful than the former. I present the reasons why participants felt like 'outsiders' to Maori activities and groups below.

Appearance

How a person appears and presents themselves influences how others perceive and behave towards them. Equally, how others perceive and behave towards us will also influence how we feel and react. Jason's comments to me reflect this.

I know that I'm Maori and I know who my ancestors are. But often when for example, I walk into a marae it's automatic that I know someone is thinking "who's this", because of the way that I look. In that respect, that often makes me feel like an outsider. Whereas I have a brother who is dark and he doesn't have any problems. When people find out that we are brothers, it amazes people (Jason).

Participants (n=4) like Jason and Neva referred to situations where people make inaccurate attributions based on how they appeared. In Jason's case, he was sensitive to the attributions made by others and of the problems that could potentially be created. Neva and Ivey talked about similar situations which contribute to feeling like an 'outsider'.

Because I'm a lot fairer. My husband is dark. So often, Maori people and other Polynesians will only talk to him and not me because they don't think I'm Maori. So I often feel excluded. Most other Maori know who's a Maori. You can tell by the way they dress. The standard of dress is different. We're clean cut. We're not as loud when we talk (Neva).

I am quite fair and sometimes other Maori don't think that I'm Maori (Ivey).

Judgements from outsiders

Judgements made by others contributed to participants (n=4) feeling positioned on the outside. Vicky sometimes felt that Maori visiting from New Zealand passed negative judgement on her and the activities that Maori in Hawai'i were engaged in.

Often when people from home come to PCC and watch us perform, sometimes they will pass negative remarks - like the performance is a "plastic" performance and that those performing (us) are plastic Maori. I get very hurt and offended by this, especially when they don't see the amount of time and energy that is put into working, developing and preparing for performances. They also don't see the investment that is made by the kids in the performances that they do (Vicky).

Te reo me nga tikanga

For the majority of participants (n=10) who described times when they felt like 'outsiders', a large number referred to an assumption that they be competent or engaged in learning te reo me nga tikanga, or at least actively promoting learning. Mary points to a perceived intolerance on the part of advocates of te reo me nga

tikanga and the impact that such intolerance has on those who are perhaps less competent or interested.

Because there is such a push at home to promote Maori language and culture (which I think is extremely important) there comes with it in some instances an intolerance with those who are not up with the play. I would say that a lot of Maori people back home who are not associated with academia are maybe being left behind by those who are associated with academia. The attitude is like: "oh, so you can't speak the language -- oh there must be something wrong with you". It's like there is something lacking with you. I've also spoken with people not associated with academia and their response is: oh well, I'm not going to do it. (Mary).

Many participants felt acutely aware of their lack of fluency with te reo Maori and commented on situations where this lack of fluency had been highlighted. Diana, Maude, Karen and HIRAMA were some participants who passed comment about language fluency.

Another thing that happened at that powhiri was that I was listening to the whaikorero just wishing I could speak Maori. I felt at a complete loss. ...I thought to myself, damn - I feel more comfortable in the Pakeha world, than I do in the Maori world. I don't want to feel like that (Diana).

I felt like an outsider because I can't speak Maori. I feel envious of Maori people who have the opportunity to be doing things Maori. When I see Maori are full of pride, and they carry themselves good I feel envious (Karen).

The only other area where I feel funny is that I can't speak the language. Over the last 10 years or so, there has been a big resurgence in Maori - every man and his dog can talk now. I have nephews and nieces and they can speak - but I can't. I wish that was there when I was a little boy (HIRAMA).

When I can't speak the language and when I'm frightened that I won't do the right thing. (Maude).

Following from Maude's comment is the desire on the part of participants to "do the right thing". Participants spoke of the negative judgements made by Maori

visiting from New Zealand, but this was not the only group of Maori who passed negative judgements. Rylan spoke to me of her experiences with an association she belonged to and feelings of being on the outside because she “wasn’t good enough”.

...I wanted to go to it 'cause I wanted to learn culture and stuff. But the people that were teaching it, made me feel uncomfortable. It was like if you didn't know the poi or the haka then don't be here. Because the people that were teaching that, they've been living here for a long time. They were Maori but they couldn't be bothered teaching you and that kind of made you feel uncomfortable. So a lot of us never turned up (Rylan).

Group dynamics

Groups are dynamic. They will change and adapt as people gain entry or exit groups taking or bringing resources, attitudes or aspirations with them. Also, people will feel more or less a part of a group as they both change, develop and adjust to the social and physical ecologies that they and their affiliate groups are a part of. Certainly, the Maori groups that I became aware of in Hawai’i seemed to me to be no different from any other Maori social identity group. The comments made by Audrey, Ngahuia and Jerald below simply reflect the reality of belonging to a Maori social identity group and responding to the dynamics involved. Six participants made comments similar to those noted below.

There have been times when I've felt like an outsider to the Maori group in La'ie. I just felt that they were living in their own little world which they decided was their world and not that of any other Maori... I felt that I had a right to be there. If there was a Marae there, then I had a right to be there. It was supposed to be a Marae for all Maori not just one tribe - it belonged to the LDS church. So my persistence in going out there paid off and then I got accepted by the Maori out there. There was a tendency to say that any Maori who was not LDS or involved in the activities out there was not welcome. Those were my hard times there (Audrey).

Sometimes I haven't been invited to events and activities. Or sometimes I haven't been able to attend some events -- I find out after that they have been talking about me. These times I feel like an outsider so I just support from the back. I know that our tipuna would say, 'be involved, go and peel potatoes,

be a part of it". I actually think that it's the best way (Ngahuia).

There are some Maori that I don't know - they are new here on Campus. They tend to hang out together. They don't go out of their way to know me and that sort of makes me feel on the outside (Jerald)

Coping Strategies

Tizard and Phoenix (1993) provide a helpful framework to organise the different types of coping strategies that participants in my study have identified with regard to feeling like 'outsiders'. Their framework employs four categories to describe what an individual might do to cope with a stressful situation: a) mentally defusing the threat, b) avoiding or escaping from the threatening situation, c) tackling the situation directly, or d) taking steps to prevent or reduce the effects of the threat. I present the coping strategies used by participants in my study according to the strategy types identified by (Tizard & Phoenix, 1993).

Defusion

Mentally defusing the threat involves modifying the way in which one feels about a situation in an attempt to minimise its stressful impact. Nine participants mentioned coping strategies that fall within this category. For example, Vicky coped with the negative judgements of others by ignoring them. Jason coped with the inaccurate ethnic attributions made by others by explaining:

Just be myself and let them figure it out. It's more their problem than mine (Jason).

Maude and Rylan coped in similar ways:

In a Maori context, I have to calm myself down. I have to change gears and accept that Maori view me differently and I often think differently about them (Maude).

I don't feel totally outside, you just realise that they're more familiar (with each other, they're) more of a group (Rylan).

Avoidance or escape

Avoiding or escaping from the threatening situation means removing oneself from the situation, or attempting to avoid stressful situations. Four participants indicated that they had used avoidance strategies to cope with events that position them as ‘outsiders’. Maude found it difficult to be in Maori dominated environments and found them to be times of high anxiety and choose mostly to avoid them.

Most of my anxiety comes from not knowing what people expect of me in a Maori context. So I am constantly watching and observing so as to avoid infringing some rule or expectation. I'm always observing myself within those contexts - like how I stand up, sit down, etc. In most Maori contexts I feel like an outsider because there are so many things that I don't know. Until I can psych myself up to attend hui or Maori dominated environments - I don't know if my nerves can handle it. It's a different energy (Maude).

Rylan, like Natalie and Jerald, commenting on a social event where others in the group would make her feel uncomfortable and acutely aware of her inadequacy with tikanga Maori, choose simply not to attend.

Direct action

Taking direct action simply refers to immediate and direct action that reduces or removes the threat or source of stress. Four participants suggested coping strategies of this nature. These strategies involved simply “getting on with people who are different to yourself (Tony)” or “telling people straight, sorry I cant speak (te reo) (Hirama)”, or in Neva’s case, “by asserting myself as Maori”.

Prevention

This strategy involves the individual may taking steps to prevent or reduce the effects of a stressful situation. There are many possible variants to this strategy. The participants (n=7) most likely to use this strategy were those who felt inadequate

about their cultural or linguistic fluency. The suggested coping strategy was to find ways to improve their fluency.

What I would like to do, is to have the time and the opportunity to learn and to speak the language again. I learnt a little bit because I went to a country school. But given my background in language and cognition, I would like to learn again. I think it would be different (Mary).

The next time I went back to Aotearoa, I enrolled in a Te Reo Maori class. I returned to Hawai'i and started talking to other Maori about whether they would be interested in getting into a Maori class. I approached (Ngahuia) about teaching a Maori class. I approached the university about the need for a Maori language class - all self interest of course. I think that just being with other Maori here and talking about the need for being involved with Te Reo was my way of dealing with it (Diana).

Polynesian dance class. I got my friends to teach me. I went and joined the culture group (Ivey).

Maori Social Identities: Whanau, Hapu and Iwi

In my discussions, I sought to explore with participants conceptions of their whanau, hapu and iwi. For example, I asked participants to think about their whanau and to describe to me those things that came into their minds. I asked them to do the same thing in relation to their hapu and iwi.

For one participant I choose not to pose questions to her about her whanau, hapu or iwi. Earlier in the interview she had disclosed that the circumstances under which she left her whanau and New Zealand were not favourable or very pleasant. I considered the line of questioning that I wanted to pursue as simply inappropriate in her case. Others I chose not to ask these types of questions depending on how receptive they seemed to be during the interview. They were those who had not disclosed a hapu or iwi affiliation and who may have been potentially embarrassed by my line of questions.

I also explored with participants the part that whanau, hapu and iwi played in their lives. Participants could choose to respond in three different ways. Firstly, that

these structures played no part in their lives at all. Secondly, that they played a part in their lives in either the Hawai'i context or the New Zealand context, or thirdly, in both contexts.

In the sections below I report on those conceptions that participants had of their whanau, hapu and iwi, and the part that these structures played in their lives. I also report the views held by those participants who felt that either a whanau, hapu or iwi construct did not play a part in their lives in Hawai'i. Later in this chapter, I present the ways in which participants go about maintaining their whanau, hapu and iwi connections.

Conceptions of whanau

Twenty seven participants related to me their conceptions of whanau. Four primary themes emerged from the data gathered. They were: family conceptions; relationships; children; and being Maori.

Family conceptions

Almost two thirds (n=18) of the sample held conceptions of whanau that rested on the nuclear family, that is, parents and children as a social unit. Even though immediate or nuclear families were a large part of their conceptions, for eight participants, extended family also played a part. Extended families included cousins, aunts, uncles and other relatives.

I think of my immediate family and my first cousins. A lot of my first cousins, on my Maori side, live in Utah. We are a really close family. Every little occasion - the family gets together (Jerald).

Relationships

When asked to think about whanau, half the sample (n=15) raised conceptions that highlighted relatedness, that is, relationships with children, fathers, mothers, grandparents, cousins, aunts and the like. Others thought about connections with other more distant relatives and the gatherings that occur from time to time. The

value and closeness of relationships was also commented upon. For Gary, his relationships with his children and his 36 mokopuna were all very important. To Diana, she thought of the “love/hate” relationships she had with members of her whanau and the practical realities of keeping relationships warm and alive.

Love/Hate. The scraps. I feel that it's part of whanau life.We love each other and want to be together and then we can't stand each other sometimes. That's what whanau life is all about. You howl when you have to leave, and again when you see each other. But, if you stay too long together you're at each other's throats. It's because you have a life of your own. ...We really can't always be together because we have our own houses, we live far away from each other, and we don't have a clear consensus because each of us has our own very different and diverse lives. But, we love being together. When I think about our whanau get togethers I think about food, singing, spirituality, an emotional revival (Diana).

Mary speaks about the closeness she feels to her father's family.

My father came from a family of ten brothers and sisters. My father was three quarters Maori, and my mother was about one eighth Maori. On her side they had a very western, Pakeha upbringing. ...most of my connection to family has been on my mother's side, although I'm still quite close to some of my cousins on my father's side. Of the ten families, only a couple of the families I would be close to (Mary).

Children

Although half the sample (n=14) were parents, only 6 participants explicitly mentioned their children as part of their whanau cognition. Ngahuia was concerned that her children “*learn enough skills and that they are doing the right things*”.

Maude reflected on her children being supported by a Maori spirit.

My kids took being Maori all for granted. They have a difficult time coping in the world because that's missing for them. A Maori spirit is important. It's similar to the aloha spirit. It enables you to cope with the rough world.

Tony reflected on the specialness of children.

I think of the good times, the singing, the feeds, the hangi, of those people of a similar age to me and I think especially of the kids and of how you cannot neglect any of them. There is a very soft place in my heart for kids. You know they are my little gifts from the whanau, from the iwi or from the waka.

For these participants, supporting and being aware of their children was an important part of what whanau meant to them.

Present role of whanau

Twenty one participants felt that their whanau played a part of their lives in Hawai'i. Seven participants¹¹ reported otherwise and qualified their responses by providing explanations. Penny, with reference to whanau, hapu and iwi, told me:

No, except that I know that I have them. As I said, I never learnt until late in my life what it meant to be Maori. I never felt whole. And after I found out ... that side of me I felt whole. Knowing that those concepts are there gives you a very secure feeling about your roots (Penny).

On a different note, Maude told me about how she had endeavoured to not be so concerned about her whanau, and hapu and iwi.

Not in the traditional sense. In a strange way they do. I have done everything to release my constant concern for my family. It has been such a part for me and I always think of my mother's constant concern for 'the family'. I wanted to release that because I think they needed to lead their lives knowing that I was always here. They needed to do it to enable them to cope because there isn't anyone else out there. They need to create their own whanau where ever they go. It's a tough world. So I have done everything I could to support them in a different way. More in a spiritual way rather than in a traditional sense (Maude).

¹¹ For one participant I felt it inappropriate to ask questions of this nature.

Other participants, although they maintained contact with their immediate family either in Hawai'i or New Zealand found that contact with their broader whanau group was simply not a part of their present lives.

Audrey, even though she maintained close contact with whanau in New Zealand felt that there was little in the Hawai'i context to support her conceptions of whanau, hapu and iwi. She said:

There is nothing around me in Hawai'i that would reinforce those concepts. In terms of things that would strengthen me, I would say no. I would have to go home (Audrey).

Conceptions of Hapu

When asked to name their hapu on the demographics questionnaire that I circulated to participants prior to the interview, only 14 of the 29 participants did so. I was conscious of this at the time of interviewing and expected that many would not be able to provide an adequate response to this present line of enquiry. This was not the case. Only five of the 28¹² participants did not provide a response to my questions about their hapu conceptions.

At the centre of their hapu conceptions were institutions such as the marae, family and whanau, and whakapapa that connects and binds relationships, in turn providing a sense of place and identity.

Marae

Seven participants had conceptions of hapu that centred upon the institution of marae. As a physical structure, the marae is geographically situated. It provides a location from which people can claim association with others and a place identity in common.

¹² See footnote one.

I think about my connections with my extended family and the area where my marae and family are originally from (Peter).

The marae also serves to embrace and care for people. It was this function that Ngahuia referred to:

In a way we also treat our own home as a Marae. We've had lots of big groups come through - a little too big for our cess-pool to handle! Perhaps a marae would be better so that we can accommodate people (Ngahuia).

Family

Family and whanau were also a central construct within people's conceptions of hapu. Family and whanau were understood to be a part of the larger social structure of hapu but the extent of involvement, knowledge and sense of relatedness to the broader network was sometimes compromised by other processes. Ivey refers to her grandmother that served to connect her to her broader hapu group.

I don't really know much about my hapu at all. My grandmother, who knew all that stuff, has since passed away. She's gone, and so is all that stuff - that information. She knew all the genealogies - she would correct others. My dad wasn't interested. He would just walk out of the room. He thought it was boring. And now, it's all gone. It's gone. When I was at home I had a little bit of contact with our marae but as the generations go down, we've had less and less contact. When we were at the marae for my grandmother's tangi, my grandaunts and granduncles would try and teach us mokopuna about the Maori side of things - but we were kids, and we didn't really listen. Now, I wish we had (Ivey).

The 'family/whanau' construct as part of hapu and iwi is perhaps most simply captured by Rylan...

Like small family and bigger family and biggest family (Rylan).

Whakapapa

Reference to whakapapa, genealogies, relatedness and connections were made by eight participants. Just as Ivey did above with regard to the connecting role that her grandmother played, Gary referred to the importance of kinship relationships and the care and support inherent within those connections.

Your blood line, your relationship with the people of your hapu and the people that you know. There are strong ties with those people, and also to those who have passed on. Some of those ties have been established well before the next generation has come along. We should recognise and observe that. The hapu to me is a crucial part of my life. If you go back there, I know that they will support you - doesn't matter what you do. If your tikanga is forthright then they will support you. You seem to get that embrace, that aroha nui from the hapu (Gary).

Jason also made reference to relational links and his reliance on his parents to make connections, or on explicit enquiries made by himself of others.

I wish I could see them more often. I see a lot of my first and second cousins but there are a whole lot that I really don't know. My dad and mum can figure out the links but I can't do that. I have to ask them how we are related. I would like to put faces with names (Jason).

Engaging in whakapapa in order to establish one's position in relation to others within the broader hapu group is a process that establishes belongingness and identity.

Identity

Ten participants made reference to the identity function served by hapu membership. Judy only thought of her hapu when she had to identify herself to others. The same was true in Mary's case, particularly with regard to "...claiming an identity and an affiliation (to others)". For Penny, her hapu conception was simply stated as "My family, my people, my roots".

Present role of hapu

Ten participants felt that their hapu played a part in the lives in Hawai'i, but the majority (n=18¹³) felt this not to be the case.

Patrick highlighted the most obvious occasion when a person in Hawai'i may refer to hapu but on the whole, felt that there was nothing tangible within the Hawai'i context about the hapu concept.

When it comes to hapu and iwi, there's nothing physical, you know, there's no connection. It's all mental or it's all by word, yeah, from so and so iwi. These are my iwi and that's about it. There's no real link other than what you have inside, that's all. There's no communication between the iwi at home and us, or the hapu for that matter. There's only communication between the whanau (Patrick).

Fiona spoke about the absence of hapu groups as real social entities.

Well for immediate families they're very close. Unfortunately we don't have that much in the way of individual hapu here, you know and so what we relate to really is when the people get together because that's when you get the representatives of all the different tribes and sometimes I feel sad because it's not that we don't want to (get together) (Fiona).

And Hirama reflected on the absence of hapu involvement while growing up.

Not really. I was brought up in a Church environment in Bridge Pa, so I guess I didn't come to know too much about my hapu. Maybe if I was brought up in Nuhaka or Wairoa, then I might know more (Hirama).

Conceptions of Iwi

Twenty seven participants were able to name those iwi that they were members of. One person just simply could not remember at the time of being asked, and the other

¹³ See footnote one.

was deprived of such knowledge due to their Maori great grandparent having left New Zealand and not maintaining connections with their kin folk. Interestingly, this did not prevent these two people from making a response about their conceptions of their iwi groups.

Of those who were not included in this response set, one participant was not posed this question due to the negative circumstances under which she separated from her whanau in Aotearoa. As mentioned earlier, I felt that it was not appropriate to pose such questions to her.

How participants conceived of their iwi group was not too dissimilar to their conceptions of hapu. Conceptions of iwi were anchored around five themes: membership; identity; whakapapa; iwi characteristics; and dynamics.

Membership

The fact of membership and affiliation to an iwi group was mentioned by eleven participants. For Mary, her iwi were membership groups to be claimed irrespective of familiarity or contact with others.

I claim Ngaitahu on my mother's father's side but haven't really been connected to that community or group. I do feel a connectedness with my father's side, to Kahungunu (Mary).

With membership and affiliation comes a desire to know more. For example, Raewyn, was born on the Mainland USA, had never lived in Aotearoa, and had only visited New Zealand on a few occasions.

I'm sure about iwi. I know what tribe I'm from. We have our own canoe and all. It makes me feel important. It always reminds me of my background and makes me want to go into more about my background (Raewyn).

Identity

For some participants (n=5), belonging to an iwi group afforded them a platform upon which they could identify themselves to others. Judy said that: *I only think of*

iwi when I have to identify myself to others. For Kay, her conception rested on her ability to “know what I am and where belong”. She further said that:

Much of my learning about my iwi has come from books. Much of what I read in books I relate to things that my father had taught me. But that information has only come back to me in recent time, through recent learning. I have a tribal history that is not too clear to me at the moment, and I'm proud of it. I don't brag about it -- because that's what I've been told and that's the way I've been brought up. I know what I am and where I belong.

Whakapapa

Eight participants made reference to their iwi conceptions resting on connectedness, genealogies and relatedness to others. This sense of connectedness included reference to eponymous tribal ancestors; relationships with extended whanau members; and the act of finding connections through tracing whakapapa. For Phillip, this involved thinking about her he was descended from, particularly his grandparents.

When it comes to iwi, I think about my four grandparents and their connections because they were all really from four different iwi. So I think about them.

Iwi characteristics

Often, participants (n=7) referred to iwi differences, challenges and their uniqueness.

I think about the different iwi. I like to get to know their kawa and things like that. I don't say too much to many people, just look, listen and learn (Gary).

Diana's thoughts about her iwi were as follows:

That's very clear. Because our iwi is very small, sometimes I think of our hapu as our iwi and vice-versa. It's trying to assert itself as an iwi, but it's very small. Its origins are sort of a break away from a larger iwi. Where I come from there are a lot of small iwi -- and the marae services many of them.

They are all also very integrated in the sense that there has been a lot of intermarriage. I can't say one iwi without refer to the others (Diana).

Dynamics

Clear in some participants (n=5) conceptions of iwi was the notion of iwi as a dynamic interactional concept. Participants thought about the relationships that they had with the broader group and ways in which they could make a contribution to their iwi advancement. For example, Ngahuia thought about “*what I can do for my iwi*”. Diana, whose thoughts about iwi have been presented above, focused on the interaction between hapu, marae, and other related iwi in her region. On a different note, Maude thought about the iwi dynamics of her mother’s “funeral”.

My mother's funeral. Mum was funny. She would always say that we were not to tell “those Maori”, if she died because they would come and take my body. We (as a family) were terrified/mortified. We didn't know what was going to happen, let alone what to do. She was so afraid of what goes on in the Maori spirit world. She was terrified of being buried on the family plot back up north. She didn't want to go there. She had all this stuff in her head. She was very afraid.

Ravina simply told me “*I think of all the issues*” highlighting the extent to which iwi, as a corporate entity, engages in political processes.

Present role of iwi

The role of iwi in the lives of these participants appeared more salient than that of hapu. Nineteen participants felt that iwi played a part in their lives with nine being of a contrasting view¹⁴. Participants in this latter group felt that an iwi construct was either simply a very small part or not part of their lives at all. Comments reported by Patrick and Audrey above reflect this opinion.

¹⁴ See footnote one.

Maintaining Connections with others

Whanau

Twenty five¹⁵ of the 29 participants maintained connections with their whanau within the Hawai'i context, or with whanau in New Zealand or in other parts of the world. Given that the majority (n=18) of conceptions about whanau centred on participants immediate families, it should be of no surprise that participants spoke mostly, but not exclusively, about maintaining connections with siblings, parents, and children.

Most of my immediate family live here in Hawai'i. I have seven siblings. Five live here in Hawai'i, two live on the mainland. My mother also lives here. Four of us are married and have kids. We have our own little whanau/hapu here and it's good. It's important (Jason).

I am passionately attached to my immediate family. My father died this January which was quite devastating. Part of my whole 10 years of being here has been part of being able to fulfil a whole lot of goals that I never thought I could. But also feeling somewhat guilty for every year I was here, it was a year away from my family. So, my family and extended family have always been important to me. Nothing is more important than my immediate family (Mary).

I have no other whanau here in Hawai'i. I had a niece here last year but she has gone home now. She was here for about three years, got married and went home. I maintain a lot of contact with my whanau back home. They have a lot of land issues and things. To check out how everyone is, who has passed away etc. Since being here in Hawai'i I have been home about 5 times. I go home about every 5-7 years (Ngahuia).

¹⁵ As explained earlier, it was inappropriate to ask one participant this question. Another simply had no other relationship to being Maori other than a Maori ancestor who came to Hawai'i three generations previously. One had left Aotearoa 20 years ago and had maintained very irregular contact. The last simply explained that connections to whanau were not part of her life.

The whanau focused activities that participants engaged in; their reasons for doing so; the frequency of activity; and those things that facilitate or make engaging in whanau focused activity harder are described in the sections that follow.

Whanau focused activity

Activities that served to maintain connections with whanau outside of Hawai'i, either in New Zealand or other parts of the world, were engaged in by 20 of the 25 participants. These activities did not vary too much from those used within the Hawai'i context although distances, finances or time sometimes needed to be negotiated. Therefore, I have chosen not to report on 'transpacific' activities separately, but rather, as part of the total sub-sample of those responding.

Reunions, birthdays, Christmas, Easter, weddings, birthdays – are occasions that draw whanau together either by desire or obligation. They are occasions that allow whanau to keep in contact with each other and to explore their relatedness particularly if newly met. Seven participants mentioned organised events as activities that helped to maintain their whanau connections.

We get together for holidays, birthdays and for events like weddings and funerals. Mainly we come together for big events. When there are culture days at school, it's mostly our kids in the haka team - so we're there as a family to support them. It reminds me a lot of growing up in Aotearoa (Jason).

We have reunions. We are trying to have a reunion of the family here in Hawai'i. Whenever there's a meeting at home, they fax copies of the minutes. We use the fax quite often (Judy).

Although organised events provide opportunities for whanau to come together, there are other occasions that are not tied to specific dates or holidays, but rather to visits made by whanau members. Parents came to visit, brother, nieces, cousins came on vacation, and some whanau members were simply passing through. Eight participants made mention of opportunistic occasions that serve to maintain whanau connections. For those who had whanau in Hawai'i, like Jason, the frequency of opportunistic occasions was of course, more likely.

The large majority of participants (n=22) were motivated and purposeful in their attempts to maintain their whanau connections. They wrote letters, they travelled to be with and to visit others, they made phone calls, used email and faxes, and some made videos to send to whanau members. Diana's comments are insightful particularly the references made to a developing whanau type, that of the international whanau of which most participants in this sample were attempting to manage.

E-mail plays a part. I talk to my brothers and sisters everyday - so we keep up. They keep me abreast research wise and I with the play on what is going on for people in my generation and the younger generation -- how they are developing. We are very keen to know what younger people think of their Maori identity and what type of contribution they can make. I think that as a whanau, my brothers and sisters are very aware of how we are developing as Maori, and how we are developing our children's identity - whether they live in Australia, Aotearoa or Hawai'i. I think our family feels a need to conceptualise how our family acts. It's an international whanau and I think we want to have the same types of feelings. It's a different kind of Maori whanau but we still want to have the extended bonds. So we are using e-mail, trips, reunions - instead of getting together for a hui from all over the country, it's now from all over the world. The playing field is just a bit bigger. It's just another generation's way of keeping connected. So in another two years, our whanau is having a reunion here in Hawai'i. The last one was in Aotearoa. Of course we ring each other. I return home to Aotearoa quite frequently. We're always in touch (Diana).

As noted above, the majority of participants were purposeful and active in maintaining their whanau connections. This also included passive activities (n=7). Passive activity simply involved the whanau reaching out to participants, or responding to their 'reach out' activities. These were activities like receiving mails, phone calls, visits or simply remembering whanau members. Fiona told me about her grandmother's 'black book'.

And then my grandmother, she has a black book. Remember the old account books that were about this long and about this wide and they had pounds, shillings and pence. There's writing in there of her father, my great grandfather. There

are recipes for arthritis and constipation. My grandmother has written up her genealogy and has linked herself to all those canoes of the fleet, which goes to show you we were all one people but we're different tribes and I treasure the pages. Actually I went to have a look and it's way down at the bottom of all the stuff in the store cupboard but you know these are things that I treasure ... (Fiona).

Reasons for whanau focused activity

Earlier (see page 268) I used Orford's (1992) taxonomy of social support to report on the reasons why participants engaged in activities to maintain their Maori connections. I have used the same taxonomy here to organise the reasons for whanau focused activity.

What participants 'get out of' engaging in whanau maintenance activities relates mostly to achieving a sense of relatedness, belonging and having place with others, that is what Orford (1992) refers to as esteem factors. Esteem factors motivated the majority of participants (n=22). As Mary puts it:

It keeps me connected. It reinforces who I am. It reinforces the fact that I belong to a history and a place in the world (Mary).

Only two participants mentioned material support in their comments to me, but this was never their sole reason or primary reason for engaging in whanau focused activity. Audrey mentioned the loan of a motor vehicle from whanau members to help her move around New Zealand when she returned to visit. Patrick commented on the need for help from his family when he moved back to New Zealand.

Surprisingly, receiving emotional support was mentioned by only two participants.

From the contact I have with my whanau, I get a lot of uplifting and strength. Like when I'm going through a hard time it's good just to hear and talk with whanau (Selena).

Perhaps this was due to the nature of my questioning that may well have directed participants to think more about a sense of belongingness, that is, esteem factors, rather than emotional support.

Obtaining a sense of belongingness is related to being informed of the activities of whanau members, and of whanau activities. The need for informational support was mentioned by 12 participants.

It keeps us connected. It keeps us abreast of what is happening with each other. It makes us feel a part of each other's lives (Diana).

Just keeps me up to date with what is going on with the whanau. Makes me feel like a part of what they are doing (Jerald).

Earlier I reported that half the sample (n=15) fulfilled their need for companionship by maintaining satisfying social interactions with other Maori people. Interestingly, none of the participants mentioned a need for companionship as a motivator for maintaining their whanau connections, even though some referred obliquely for the need to overcome whanau 'squabbles' or 'fall outs'.

Frequency of participation in whanau focused activity

Some participants were in contact with their whanau on a continuous daily basis, particularly those who lives in a household with their children, or other siblings or parents. Others may engage whanau once or twice a week by making or receiving visits, phone calls, faxes, or emails. Over half the participants (n=17) were in contact with other whanau members at least fortnightly. Six participants were in contact with their whanau every 2 months or so, and two were infrequently (once every year or so) in contact. Most participants desired more contact with their whanau (n=19) but six felt that due to resources, proximity and time constraints, that they had enough contact.

Facilitators of whanau maintenance activities

Outside of a will to do so, resources were the greatest facilitator of whanau maintenance activities (n=17). Participants mentioned three classes of helpful and sometimes necessary resources. They were finances (n=8), time (n=3) and technology (n=10), namely phones, email, faxes, video's, air travel and other modes of transport, along with the ability to access and use such technology (knowing how to use email, knowing how to drive).

If I were more economically sound. If I had the luxury of money to spend to get me more into contact with other Maori people. Obviously time and a more regular life style would make it easier (Roseanne).

Connecting people were also mentioned by five of the participants. Connecting people were whanau members who kept in touch and initiated contact with the participant. They were also people who brought news of the whanau to the participant even though they may not have been related. Connecting people can help to share the burden of cost sometimes felt by participants.

Obviously having more money would make a difference because I could ring more often. Having them write to me, or call me makes it easier. Just having them write is great. I have friends here and they are also in contact with my family back home, so that makes it easier (Nina).

Whanau encouraging me to ring. Whanau who let me ring collect (Hare).

Close proximity also made it easier for participants (n=4) to get together, and also reduced the expense of staying in contact. Time spent travelling was also reduced and opportunistic occasions increased. Two participants felt that their work circumstances helped to facilitate contact with their whanau. For both of these people contact with Pacific peoples including Maori was an expectation of their employment.

What makes whanau maintenance activities harder?

Four participants felt there were no factors that made maintenance activities harder, but most mentioned something. Whanau dynamics occur in various forms. Some participants felt estranged from their whanau, others mentioned bad relationships, and some referred to issues of socio-economic status. Whatever the dynamic, these sometimes got in the way of connecting with whanau (n=7).

Having a bad relationship with your whanau and feeling scared to contact them because you'll get a negative or unenthusiastic response (Sylvia).

I used the theme 'whanau dynamics' to also refer to stressful events that occur within the whanau. Roseanne reflects on when whanau members pass away in New Zealand.

I guess you don't really think about maintenance activities. I guess you try hard not to think about home, and about getting home sick. The times when I do think about it, are when there is a tragedy or something is wrong. Often you can't go home and do something about it. That's when it's difficult. That's when you realise that you have made quite a major step to live away from your home. It's mostly people I miss - but you put that behind you and you don't really think about - you don't want to think about it (Roseanne).

Lifestyle factors, such as work and school commitments, having busy schedules, choosing to live in Hawai'i were mentioned by five participants, and surprisingly, only two participants explicitly mentioned distance away from New Zealand as being an inhibitor. Resources, like finances, technology and time were the most frequently mentioned inhibitors (n=10).

Negotiating a whanau identity

I asked those that I spoke with about the occasions when they asserted or made known a whanau identity. Even though the majority of participants maintained connections with other whanau members, a third of the sample (n=10) reported that there were few occasions within the Hawai'i setting when they identified themselves

according to their whanau. Those that did report doing so, did so when in interaction with other Maori (n=15) or when asked (n=2). Two participants felt that they constantly had to make known their whanau identity but this appeared to have more to do with others mistaking their surnames as being associated with some ethnic group other than Maori.

Whereas a Maori identity was made known to others through clothing and taonga that participants wore, or by their accents, greeting or appearance, a whanau identity was less perceptible. Participants reported the process of whanau identification as one reliant on explicit disclosure or recognition of their whanau name – most likely to be relevant when in the company of other Maori.

Only to other Maori. It's not necessary when in interaction with other peoples as their concepts are different to ours. Most Maori that I run in to, I always ask them who they are and where they are from, and the conversation goes on from there. It just gives me an idea of their background, who they are, where they are from. And, I assume that it's the same for them (Hirama).

Diana, explained the importance for her of keeping her maiden name after she married, and of giving her children names that reflected their parentage.

It gets back to me having difficulty carving up my identity into whanau, hapu and iwi. That's me. It's all of it. The fact that I've kept my maiden name serves to identify my whanau. To me it's a way of giving mana to those who have gone on. Not only to my parents, but to all my tipuna. I am part of who they are, and they are part of me. Keeping my maiden name was a very conscious decision to keep my maiden name. My children refer to me by my maiden name. I also choose to take on my partner's name too (I have a hyphenated name), for our children. Just like our children all have Maori names, and Pakeha names significant to my partner's whanau (Diana).

For Diana, the fact of her maiden name served to identify to others her whanau identity.

Whanau – feeling like an outsider

Most participants (n=20) had not experienced being on the ‘outside’ of their whanau, although nine had. Of those that had, their feelings of being an outsider related mostly to distance and lack of involvement with other whanau members and activities. For example, Ngahuia felt that she had been away from her whanau for a long time and hankered to get together with her whanau more often. Maude complained of not receiving replies to her communications. Rylan and Ivey felt as if they were missing out on things. Selena, after she returned home after seven years, felt as if she was still treated by her mother as a young girl.

Some participants felt categorised as part of the ‘American’ side of the whanau. Audrey told me:

Some times they say: “there she is. She comes from Hawai’i. She must be rich! Why can I live in Hawai’i?” (Audrey)

Jerald said this of his whanau:

Sometimes the New Zealand side of the whanau perceive me as belonging to the American side of the whanau, given that there are so many of us living in the USA. They don't make me feel like an outsider, but sometime I feel like I've become part of the American side when I would much rather be part of the New Zealand side.

Others told me of having to deal with other whanau dynamics. For example, Maude felt a little “strange” when having to settle her mother’s will after she died, and Neva felt a lack of control when her whanau took over the arrangements for her wedding.

The nine participants who felt on the outside of their whanau used three different strategies to cope with their positioning. Most (n=6) went about mentally diffusing their discomfort and accepted where they were positioned by others even though they often felt hurt or left out. As Audrey said:

So, remarks like that you ignore them and you carry on. You still also carry on caring for them despite remarks that might hurt (Audrey).

Ngahuia and Selena suggested that they would tackle their feelings of being on the outside of their whanau directly. For example, Selena who felt as if her mother treated her as still a young girl talked it over with her.

My mother and I talked it over. There was a lot of crying. My family members knew that I was different and had changed, and they told me so. I thought it was a good change - I had grown up. I took the attitude that my whanau had to understand that I had been away for three years and you can't come back the same as what you were. As a whanau, we talked about it (Selena).

The other coping strategy used by one participant was to take steps to reduce the effects of feeling like an outsider. Jerald, who felt treated as part of an “American whanau” when he wanted to be a part of the “New Zealand whanau” said that he coped in this way.

I try and learn as much about my Maoritanga, my whakapapa, so that I can become more knowledgeable on my Maori side.

Hapu

As reported above, 18 participants felt that the hapu construct was not a part of their lives within the Hawai'i context. This was also reflected in the number of participants who told me that they maintained connections with their hapu. Eighteen people indicated that they did not maintain any connections. Of the 11 participants who did, their maintenance activities varied across four different types of activity, with much of this activity occurring in the New Zealand context rather than Hawai'i. The activity types identified were organised, opportunistic, purposeful and passive.

Six participants said that they involved themselves in activities organised around their hapu. They mentioned attending marae functions when home in Aotearoa, or while in Hawai'i, getting together for events, or to host visitors who were passing through Hawai'i. These activities were organised over time, rather than simply happening, and require energy from participants, rather than simply being opportunistic.

Opportunistic activity, that involved little energy on the part of the participant, but presented opportunity to engage with members of hapu or in hapu activities were mentioned by none of the participants. Hapu members who are passing through Hawai'i always present an opportunity for relatives to gather. The same is so of people who return to New Zealand and bring news back to Hawai'i of hapu relatives or events.

Seeking out whakapapa, writing letters to Hapu committees, or engaging in decisions about hapu land, are all purposeful activities that reside outside of those that are organised or opportunistic. Five participants mentioned engaging in these types of activities.

Two people I spoke with identified passive activities, namely engagement in activities initiated by others. For example, Diana rarely had much to do with her hapu but really enjoyed the odd occasion when she was contacted by others in her hapu.

Reasons for hapu focused activity

Of the 11 participants who engaged in maintaining their connections with their hapu, the main reason for the activity was related to esteem factors (n=11), that is, feeling a part of, belonging to, and being a member of an identity group. Gary maintained contact with his hapu group so that "they remember who you are". Audrey engaged in whakapapa activities that brought her into contact with iwi members. For her, whakapapa activities enabled her to include and educate her siblings, nieces and nephews whom she felt "neglected their Maori side". Hare reflected on maintaining his hapu connections in New Zealand prior to his arrival in Hawai'i and the sense of relatedness he was inspired with.

Not in Hawai'i, but it is somewhat when I'm in Aotearoa. In Aotearoa our family would always go out to Ratana Pa - a lot of our whanau live there too. We get to see them and catch up on things. We would often go to the 25th's. It's good when we go with our grandmother because she knows everyone - she tells us who are our Aunties and Uncles. We catch up with those we know already, and get to meet those that we don't know. It sort of has an impact on me in Hawai'i. Before I left Aotearoa, Dad told me who my hapu

relations were here but I haven't managed to connect up with them yet. I haven't had the time yet (Hare).

Selena had a similar response to that of Hare.

When I'm in Hawai'i, I don't tend to keep in contact with hapu relations or events. But when I'm back in Aotearoa we have quite a bit to do with our Marae as we live quite close. So we're always down there helping out in the kitchen. It's my mother's marae so she goes to the marae for Tangi, whanau meetings and the like. Every time there's someone in the area that dies we go to the tangi. It's the way we've been brought up - to go and pay your respects. It doesn't matter if you don't know them.

One participant received material support from others in their hapu, two felt a sense of companionship, and three saw other hapu members as helping them to meet their information needs.

Frequency of participation in hapu focused activities

Of the eleven participants who told me about their involvement in hapu maintenance activities, most were rare participants (n=6), that is, their participation occurred maybe every two or three years or so. The more frequent participants (n=4) engaged in hapu maintenance activities two or three times a year, if not more. Only one participant felt that he participated in hapu activities continuously. Cyril worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre and everyday he participated in activities of the Centre's marae. In this regard, he felt that he was engaged in marae atea activities that had a direct association to how he constructed a sense of hapu identity in Hawai'i.

Do you wish for more contact?

Two of the eleven participants felt as if they had enough contact with their hapu. Cyril, who worked at the Polynesian Cultural Centre, felt that his daily activities there occupied more than enough of his time, and simply had other things to do.

Diana tells a different story that is not lacking in a desire to maintain contact, but rather, unfavourable circumstances preventing positive and safe relationships.

... I don't think me and my children can feel safe within my hapu as there is still a lot of sexual abuse that occurs. My children's safety is paramount, over and above my desire for connectedness with my hapu. I'm sad that it's like that, but I don't think that some people are ready to deal with those issues. So in response to that at some point I have to remove myself. But perhaps the fact that I've removed myself gives them cause to think that I'm better than them. It's not that I feel that I'm better. It's about protecting my children. However, in some respects I had a wonderful childhood was those same people and I wished that my children could experience that too.

In total, nine of the eleven participants who maintained contact with their hapu desired more.

Facilitators and inhibitors of hapu maintenance activities

Connecting people, proximity, and resources were reported to contribute to facilitating activities that helped participants maintain connections with their hapu.

Having people from their hapu visit, or connect them with others of their hapu were mentioned by three participants. Ngahuaia's brother contacted her about hapu events and dynamics in Aotearoa, and Judy was thankful that others contacted her when hapu relatives were passing through Hawai'i. These 'linking' people made it easier to maintain connections.

Resources (n=3) like having a job and finances, or work that supported contact with hapu members served to facilitate contact and connections. One participant felt that the marae at PCC helped to engender a 'hapu feeling' amongst other Maori within Hawai'i but this was also complicated by the fact of its dual purpose (commercial tourist attraction). Resources were also mentioned by four people as hampering hapu maintenance activities.

Most participants engaged in hapu activities in the New Zealand context. Not surprising then, the majority (n=7) felt that their efforts would be more easily facilitated if they were living in Aotearoa, indeed seven participants felt that not living in New Zealand was an inhibitor of hapu maintenance activities.

Two other things were seen to inhibit hapu maintenance activities. They were the particularly busy lifestyles (n=2) that some participants led, and negative dynamics (n=2) that put people off maintaining hapu connections. Diana's story above illustrates this.

Negotiating a hapu identity

Only six participants felt that there were occasions within the Hawai'i context important enough for them to identify their hapu identity. For Gary, whenever he extends a mihi, he actively identifies his hapu and himself. As someone in the art industry, Jason believes that it is important to identify who he is.

To validate my work, or if I have something to say - it's important to being able to say who you are, who your family and hapu is, so that you can support the point you are making. It's mainly important for my art. I usually put a tag on my art that explains my art piece and identifies who I am. I even do it for art pieces that aren't related to things Maori - it's like a stamp that says "this is me" (Jason).

Judy actively identified her hapu when she mixed with Hawaiian people.

Especially when you mix with Hawaiian people. It's important to tell them that because they are starving for information too. Especially as it may relate to their culture. So you tell them and they say "what is it" and then you tell them. They say "wow". Then they start opening up to you. I think that anytime you have to deal with Polynesians, you do tell them because it's also a part of them. A lot of them basically know something, so what you're doing is bringing it closer to them to understand. They basically have a template that you fill in (Judy).

And this is what Audrey told me.

Every time that there are encounter rituals (in Aotearoa) and when I'm in a tribal area different to my own, I think it's very important for me to identify my hapu. If I'm teaching or taking classes I want to identify myself as coming from a tribe and a hapu. I don't just want to come from New Zealand. That's ongoing all the time, at work, at school. Even though I have dual citizenship! (Audrey).

Diana didn't really look for 'occasions' to assert her hapu identity, it was something that was simply always there.

Anyway, my hapu connectedness is a connectedness with my own tipuna and the aroha that I feel for them. I don't really look for the 'occasions' to express that. It's always there. There is security in knowing the stories of my tipuna and part of that has got to do with them, and their stories living on in me, as I along with them I will live on in my children. So I see that thread that joins us (Diana).

Feeling on the outside of hapu

Eight participants told me of times when they had felt like outsiders to their own hapu. Of these eight participants, four related experiences to do with their upbringing and not really knowing people of their marae or hapu. Their experiences of being 'outsiders' relate more to lack of opportunity and experience, rather than to people of their hapu actively excluding them. Mary highlighted this.

When the family is so focused on itself, there is a de-emphasis on other things like hapu and iwi. I guess I claim an affiliation, but not an active involvement. Apart from being on the periphery of hapu and iwi activities (like visiting someone, or going to a meeting) there really hasn't been a major focus on hapu and iwi. It's not because people in those groups that has shut us out -- it was more because of my upbringing (Mary).

Furthermore, Jason describes how a lack of contact and experience with his hapu and marae during his upbringing contributed to a lack of knowledge about hapu history.

Being so far away and living away from home for so long. If I were to go back to the marae where I am from I would only know say, two or three people. So not knowing people would make me feel a bit like an outsider. Also, not knowing so much of the history in terms of what has been happening. Because I've lived here in Hawai'i so long I have a sense of history here, and other people can position me in that history and remember me as a little boy - and I remember them. I don't have that history back in Aotearoa. I've been wanting

to go home, just to make that connection, and to see how things have changed (Jason).

For two participants, distance from New Zealand and the fact of living in Hawai'i meant that they missed out on activities, or were not told of events, such as the passing of people. This sometimes made these two participants feel like outsiders.

Two participants had lived away from New Zealand for a significant number of years and felt somewhat awkward in no longer knowing people who frequented their marae. Lastly, Judy sometimes felt alienated from her hapu particularly "When I went home and I was called an 'American Maori' (Judy)".

Coping on the outside of Hapu

Participants employed three strategies to help them cope with their feelings of being on the outside. They were diffusing their feelings (n=3), tackling situations directly (n=1) and engaging in preventative measures (n=4) to reduce their feelings of being on the outside.

The three participants who engaged diffusion strategies tended to express inevitability about their situation – living away from Aotearoa, or being raised apart from their hapu group were seen as circumstances over which they had little control. Their resulting coping strategies reflected this.

I do what I can do. If anyone comes to Hawai'i I do what I can for them. If they need a place to stay my home is open. If they want something then I'm there -- particularly if they are from my hapu. I feel like I do what I can do. I understand that I'm not at home keeping the home fires burning. I'm not part of that everyday life. So, it's reasonable to feel like an outsider. I just do what I can do (Diana).

Judy's coping strategy was somewhat different from Diana's reflecting different circumstances that lead to feeling on the outside. Judy's response to being called an 'American Maori' was to simply tackle the situation directly.

I got really mad and went for the jugular. But usually I will confront people - I don't go around the back (Judy).

The most frequently employed coping strategy was that of acting to prevent feelings of outsidership from arising. Gary “tried hard to keep in contact and to maintain contact with people who I know will tell me what is going on”. Jason, like Hare, coped by “standing back a little and trying to get to know people”.

Iwi

Iwi focused activity

A third of the participants (n=11) indicated that they engaged in activities that contributed towards maintaining their iwi connections. The activities engaged in were mostly purposeful (n=9) where participants initiated contact with others and deliberately pursued iwi activities with others. For example, Ngahaia told me that she...

I always make sure that I make contact with various people from my iwi who come here, and people who pass through Hawai'i either ring or visit. Most of the (iwi) people or people from (home) make contact with me. Many of the people at home who know of others who will be travelling through often tell them to look me up or give me a call. They will always ring. I will always make sure that I will make contact with them on the phone or go and pick them up. When (tribal elder) was alive, he was my main contact. Often if I call home to New Zealand, I usually call straight home. I've had people send me video tapes of what is going on in (iwi homeland), like the ...festival and things (Ngahaia).

Two participants reported involvement in organised activities, for example, iwi festivals, or hura kohatu. On a more local note, Audrey's involvement in Maori Women Welfare League activities contributed to maintaining her iwi connections and served to encourage connections with and between others.

Very important. I can't imagine not making iwi connections. I maintain my connections through the Maori Women's Welfare league. Through the Leagues activities you stress with the league members the importance of tribal ties. Many

of the people in our league are thoroughly engrossed in their environment, their jobs and their pursuits of their jobs. I have the feeling that they tend to forget their tribal links. So what I do is remind them and encourage them (Audrey).

Some participants (n=4) relied solely on opportunistic events or occasions. People from New Zealand visiting being the most frequently mentioned example. A couple of participants were more passive in maintaining their connections.

A lot of the connections are made through family. In some ways it has been a real strength, and in some ways it has built alienation. Because I haven't been actively involved in that larger community (Mary).

Not me. Mom does that more. When my parents do connect with people from our iwi, that's when they bring us/me in. She gets us to meet these people who are our relatives and she explains who they are (Raewyn).

Reasons for iwi focused activity

The major theme that arose from analysing the eleven responses to my inquiry about what participants gained from engaging in iwi focused activity was that of esteem (n=10). Participants reported gaining a sense of belongingness, identity and community.

They keep me in contact, and keep me connected with those that are important to me, and to those activities that are an important part of who I am. It is through doing things together that binds the whanau, hapu and iwi together. There is a great tie, a great yearning for roots. Your roots are there. Doesn't matter what you say, or where you go, you just have to tap into your hapu and iwi in the right places and you are back home (Gary).

Four participants identified their iwi connection activities as being an informational source.

It enables me to know what is going on (Jason).

I enjoy talking with my people. It's important for me to know what's going on in (iwi homeland) (Ngahuia).

Frequency of participation in iwi focused activity

The frequency of engagement in iwi focus activities by the eleven people I spoke with occurred mostly infrequently (n=5), that is, say every three to six months or so, and mostly as occasions arose. Three participants reported a higher frequency rate (1-3 months), and some rarely (n=2). Nine of the eleven participants desired more contact, and two felt that they had enough.

Facilitators and inhibitors of iwi focused activity

The processes or things that helped to facilitate iwi focused activity were the existence of connecting people (n=4), proximity to others (n=4), and resources (n=5).

Connecting people took various forms but all served to connect the participant to activities that were iwi focused. For Diane, her children helped motivate her to ensure that she engaged in iwi focused activities to ensure their identities. For Raewyn, having her mother around to introduce her to her iwi relatives provided her with a point of entrance into her iwi community.

Being back in New Zealand eased engagement in iwi focused activities as the capacity to interact with people, to visit iwi homelands, and to take part in iwi events and occasions was much higher.

Perhaps if I go home more often. I think there are a lot of things that I miss out on. Even Tangi I would like to be home, just to be there to support and perhaps to let them know that I'm still alive and learning, and to give more (Ngahuia).

Resources, such as time and money were often cited as easing participation in iwi focused activities. Jason reflects below on those things that make it easier.

The internet. Time. The urge to remain interested.

The things that made it harder for these eleven participants to engaged in iwi focused activities centred on life style (n=4), namely “work hassles” (Mary), and competing

activities (Audrey and Selena). Distances (n=3), or rather proximity to New Zealand and to iwi networks and homelands also made it harder. Mary told me

Proximity. If I were living at home it would be easier and those contributions that I did make would be likely to have a greater impact and be much more meaningful than here. Living long distance away from home makes things a lot more difficult (Mary).

Resources (n=4) such as time and finances were also seen as barriers. For three participants, nothing made it harder. One interesting comment made by one participant, which I suspect may well be felt by others, was the influence of their partner on their participation in iwi activities, particularly within their own homelands. For Ngahuia whose husband was Hawaiian, the thought of living in her own tribal homeland created a dilemma for her.

If I went home, it would be harder for me to watch my husband live in a country that he is not a tangata whenua to. But, I'm happy here knowing that he is on his own land. I'm happy knowing that my people haven't forgotten me and as long as I haven't forgotten what I have been taught of my culture to pass on to my children, that helps me live here in Hawai'i. If I wanted to get more involved with my culture and Maori stuff, then the way is to go home to New Zealand - - but I don't think that I would be as happy. I've things here that keep me going (Ngahuia).

Negotiating an iwi identity

Seventeen participants responded to my questions about the occasions when it was important for them to assert an iwi identity¹⁶. Most indicated that it was most likely

¹⁶ This question came towards the end of the questionnaire and some participants were tiring of the process. I chose to omit this question to hasten the conclusion of the interview. Also, some participants were not iwi identified and the concept, from their perspective did not play a part in their lives.

that they would assert such an identity while with other Maori. Two participants only did so when asked, and one felt that they continually asserted such an identity.

Especially when meeting other people. It's interesting because we all come from different tribes. When we meet up with people and they tell you what tribe they're from, it makes you curious. You want them to learn about your tribal group, but you also want to learn about them as well. Maybe we might have a connection with them. I think that's cool -- that's awesome. I always get curious when I hear about tribes and stuff. I can then go more into it and start talking about genealogies (Raewyn).

Participants provided a variety of explanations about the importance of identifying one's iwi group but most focused on two things. Firstly, the vehicle that iwi identification provided for connecting to others, and secondly, the extent to which it was a method of revealing one's identity to others.

It is a way of connecting and letting others know who you are. Often just by saying what iwi you come from is sufficient to allow them to make a connection with who you are (Gary).

Well, I'm interested in knowing where other people are from, and they're often interested in knowing where I'm from. An iwi identity helps to contribute background information (Hirama).

Well, it's who I am. It's my roots. Other people then get a better picture of who I am (Hare).

Feeling on the outside of iwi

Of the 29 participants I interviewed, I asked 19 of them whether at anytime they had felt as if they were on the outside of their iwi.¹⁷ Eleven had not, but eight had.

Being raised outside of their iwi homelands (n=2), having spent a long period of time away from New Zealand (n=3), and lacking people to help them connect to

¹⁷ See note 2.

others (n=3) in their iwi were the foundation upon which feelings of being an outsider for these participants were built.

Jason felt positioned on the outside by those of his iwi that did not know him. This is how Ngahuia felt.

I guess it's because I was not brought up amongst that iwi and there are so many of them here -- and they act differently to me, and to what I know is right as a Maori person. The other part is that many people identify me as belonging to one iwi only -- and don't associate me with other iwi. Sometimes they get a shock because I also identify with other iwi. It's also difficult in those instances where iwi are having competitive banter. For example, (one iwi) versus (another). I often feel like I am left out when the (people from one iwi) get together. Sometimes I feel a bit mokemoke being the only one from (my iwi) here. I survive by relying on my husband, my kids, my moko, and my photo's of my tipuna (Ngahuia).

Others felt on the outside due to being absent. Mary told me:

Only in the sense that in my absence, things go on. It's interesting because when I go home and see my cousins who were English speaking Maori like me -- they are now becoming well grounded in the language and tikanga, they are embracing it. From that perspective you feel like an outsider -- not because they have made me one, but because I haven't been around and they've gotten on with the goals and directions. If I didn't value that, then I wouldn't care. The hard thing is that I do care. Part of feeling like an outsider is because of the paths that I have chosen. Life at home has just gone on (Mary).

Some felt an inability to connect with their iwi relatives because they either simply did not know who they were, or had no way of finding out.

Yes. There was. That was my mother and my aunties and uncles. If ever I went out with them they'd introduce me, this is so and so. My dear mother was a great one for that but she's gone now and incidentally I'm the only one left (Fiona).

Coping on the outside of iwi

For some participants (n=3), they felt that their capacity to do something about their feelings of being on the outside were limited. They coped by simply accepting their circumstances and feelings.

I guess I've just blended into where I am now. I've focused my energy on the community I was brought up with and my friends and immediate family (Neva).

The circumstances of one person, enabled them to address the cause of their feelings directly. Jason, who was often mistaken as non-Maori coped by “correct(ing) them and tell(ing) them that I’m Maori” (Jason). Two participants sought to reduce and prevent future occurrences of feeling like an outsider by trying hard to stay in contact with others, gathering information about iwi activities, and reorienting their careers to be more in touch with other iwi members and activities.

Home Focused Thoughts

Moving and making a life for oneself overseas naturally generates both excitement and anxiety about the move, work, and meeting new people. For some, this apprehension is quickly overcome as they make adaptations appropriate to their new environment; for others the transition takes longer. This sometimes emerges as homesickness where there is a preoccupation with home-focused thoughts. “*There is a yearning for and grieving over the loss of what is familiar and secure: most often it is about the loss of people - family and friends - but it is also about the loss of places and routines*” (University of Cambridge Counselling Service, 2002, para 1-2).

But for a few, the majority of participants were born and raised in New Zealand. Most left New Zealand directly for Hawai’i, but others settled in Hawai’i only after visiting other destinations around the world. I asked participants about the advice they would give to a Maori person who was homesick. Most (n=26) participants had a comment to make. These comments focused either on times when they themselves had to overcome a bout of homesickness, or when they helped others to.

Five themes emerged from responses to this question. These are presented below.

Motivation and purpose

For some participants (n=10), homesickness distracted the homesick person from pursuing their goals or purpose for being in Hawai'i. It was seen as a condition that could interrupt and in some cases draw a halt to a person's endeavours within the Hawai'i context. Fiona told me of her experiences in supporting students at BYU-H.

We have on occasions had students who come over here and they've been here for three or four months and they're so homesick they want to go home. If we happen to hear about it and we're talking to them we encourage them to stay. We tell them.... give yourself another three months and you'll find that you'll feel totally different. Those who have listened have. When they've graduated, they've said oh, we're so glad we stayed. I know one went back to New Zealand, one went back to Australia. They were just so homesick for family; they just opted out and went home. One of them I heard a couple of years ago was very very sorry that they didn't stick it out. They realised that they had a wonderful opportunity and that they didn't have the stick ability to hang in there and endure to the end. That's when I think we need our support systems. A lot of these young people come over here. Well, it's like the brochures that they put out on Waikato University it makes everything look so glossy and so beautiful, you know. But that isn't what it's like. Once you get over looking through those rose coloured glasses and get down to life and the nitty-gritty, you find it's a very different kettle of fish (Fiona).

In advising a homesick person, an understanding of their circumstances and reasons for being in Hawai'i was seen as important to the type of advice given. For Audrey, the fact that she had others supporting her to achieve her goals was an important mediator of homesickness.

I would check the situation out. Ask why they are here, what their goal or purpose is here in Hawai'i. That in turn will determine the nature of my advice. It depends on their circumstances. I guess when I was home sick, my cousins were there supporting me to achieve my goals. I also had

these wonderful Hawai'i people who were very loving and took care of me. Had I been on my own, I would have been on the next plane, the next day (Audrey).

Related to a person's motives for being in Hawai'i are those questions raised by Diana

If they are homesick, I often wonder why they are here -- are they running away from something? Are they running to something? I ask them whether this is really where they want to be (Diana).

From the perspective of Penny who had spent 20 years away from New Zealand, she commented that

The homesickness is not likely to go away. But if you can remove that emotion and channel that energy into what you have to achieve here, then you'll probably be better off (Penny).

Comments by Karen on the consequences of being without goals and motivations are informative.

But I'm different -- I don't get homesick because I came over here for a reason. So, if a person is homesick then maybe they've lost their reason for being here. If that's the case then they should go home otherwise you'll find yourself in trouble, if not a burden to others (Karen).

Emotional support

Gaining emotional support to mediate feelings of homesickness was seen by about half of the respondents as a necessary task particularly if a person was feeling sad or down or missing their whanau. Giving a person time out from their usual routine or circumstances and providing a caring ear to allow a person to talk about their feelings were viewed as ways of supporting homesick people.

I'd ask them over. I'd make them feel loved. Usually people get homesick because they're missing a family unit. Make them feel loved and help them get over it (Judy).

We all have problems. As part of work we are advised to not get too involved with problems that the students have. However, we try and do as much as we can. We talk to the kids. More than likely, the kids have got problems at home. It's important for us to let them know that we are right with them. Sometimes we take the kids home to give them a break (Gary).

I cope with homesickness by talking to my room mate. She thinks that I'm a real strength. Like a couple of weeks ago my brother lost his baby. That was really sad and made me real homesick. That made me realise just how very far I was away from home. My spirituality helps me. Because I can talk to my room mate helps me out. Being with other Maori helps also because they're the closest thing to family (Nina).

Social networks

For as much as having people to provide emotional support was viewed as important, so too was companionship. Having friends and social networks was seen to facilitate a number of outcomes for the homesick person, particularly those who miss their family and friends in the New Zealand setting, and those who encounter hardship or misfortune within the Hawai'i context which could sometimes spawn bouts of homesickness.

When my son had to have an operation, that was difficult too. The thing that is a comfort to me is that you know that they (whanau in Aotearoa) are concerned. That makes a real difference to me. I know that if there was a way, they would be here. That strengthens us. Additionally, there is really good support here. We don't have a car and our son had to go into Honolulu every week. It was our friends around here that knew what our need was and they offered their cars to us. So the support system is not just Maori, but others in this community as well. However, we know that there are specific Maori people that we can absolutely rely on.

When I first arrived here I was really homesick. I wanted to go home. I guess I had really high expectations of this place but it was a real wash out. I guess I expected people to show us around but that didn't happen. Like when I arrive at my room, my room mate was fast asleep, and there was someone sleeping my bed! No one helped me settle in or anything. I

guess I expected more of a welcoming. I was really lonely and afraid. Other people who came from Aotearoa knew other people but I didn't. I felt isolated. The first two days I just bawled my eyes out and wanted to go home. But since then I've met some people, and made some friends so I don't feel so bad. I still get homesick from time to time, but that's ok (Nina).

Distractors

Having company helps to distract the homesick person from being pre-occupied with thoughts about home (n=7). They help to distract the homesick person. Distractions can be brought about by others, or they can be brought to focus by the homesick individual themselves. Tony provides some good examples of how to distract a homesick person.

Let's put a hangi down! Get the guitar! One thing that we miss here and it's easy to get homesick because there's a lack of that Maori spontaneity. A lack of that fun love. Off the top ...I'd say let's have a do (an event) - think up a reason to have some kind of get together. If you can't go home, or you don't have the airline ticket, I'd say let's go catch a fish or let's do something natural. For us, that makes us feel a little closer and in this place, there's fun right here on the beach. It's better than Downtown Honolulu (Tony).

Selena, when she felt homesick distracted herself in the following way.

When I am home sick I usually go out and have a good time. I try and think about the consequences of giving up the opportunities that I have here at the moment. I think about the consequences of giving up all the chances of being away from home, of going to university, and developing further options in life. That usually motivates me to get on with life (Selena).

The option of home

In talking with these participants, the option of recommending to a homesick person that they return home seemed to always be a possibility. The assumption of there being a home, a whanau and purpose for people to return to in the New Zealand

context seemed to underlie many responses. Five participants made explicit comments that related to home as a constant and as a source of strength, as being there even though they themselves were somewhere else. For example, Jason said “Enjoy it while you can - you can always go back”, and Ngahuia said: “If something really tragic had happened then maybe my advice to them would be to go home”.

Homeward bound

One of the final questions I asked participants was about their intentions to return to live in New Zealand. I wanted to gain some idea of the extent to which participants saw their futures as residing in the New Zealand context, or somewhere else. Only seven participants had firm intentions about returning to Aotearoa. Gary and Audrey who were both over 50 years old had definite intentions of returning home but no immediate plans to do so. Younger participants, who were mostly at BYU-H, had more concrete plans.

I'm planning on going home next year. I know that if I go home now, before I've finished things here, I may feel like I wouldn't want to come back. I need to finish what I'm doing here first before I go home (Ravina).

Patrick, who was about to move back to New Zealand with his wife and two children to support had this to say.

I don't think that it's going to be easy. I've been away for four years and I feel somewhat disconnected. I'm unsure about the changes that have occurred at home. I don't want to be pessimistic, but I don't want to be overly optimistic. I expect it to be difficult for many reasons - not just because I'm Maori. I expect our financial position to be difficult - we're not rich here, so being poor at home probably won't be too different. We're use to living on a certain income. I expect that finding a job will be difficult for a number of reasons. Perhaps one would be because I am Maori. Perhaps because I have a degree from Hawai'i. That might be difficult. However, my time here has given me the confidence and the ability to face whatever comes up (Patrick).

Only two participants had no intention of returning to New Zealand. These two people had been away from New Zealand for over 20 years and had married people from the USA. Ngahuia, who was now a grandmother explained:

I've thought about that quite a lot. I've always felt that I've always wanted to live where my husband needs to be to accomplish his goals. So his main goals have been to be proficient enough in his field to help his people. I guess I should have been the same way -- Maybe I'm helping my people here. Every time I've made a decision about my life it has always been around my children and whanau -- that's the importance of whanau to me. My other whanau and mum and dad have already passed away. When they were still alive, I often wanted to go home but only if it was good for my husband and kids. I also wanted for my children to be in a place that would help them with their education, careers, and futures. I guess I feel that this is the place for them ... I don't think that I will go home. I did think that if my partner passed on then I would perhaps go home and be a kuia. I thought that way until my grandson came along - that change it for me. My moko has become a more important part of my life and decisions. I also know that more will be coming along, and some will be in California. So, I thought that I would probably stay in Hawai'i between California and New Zealand. My answer to your question is - probably no -- I won't be going home. But I plan to make a mark here. I feel good that I am making an impact on Maori who come to BYU. I think I have a good situation here -- I can still be very Maori, yet live with my husband, and here in Hawai'i (Ngahuia).

Although they may have intentions, the majority of people I spoke with in this sample were unsure or yet to make a commitment to returning home in the immediate future. For some (n=7), like Ngahuia, their responses were influenced by their partners, some of whom were Hawaiian, others of which were of some other Pacific or mainland American ethnicity. Cyril, however, chose to stay in Hawai'i because of his wife's medical condition.

Well, the only reason I chose to stay here ... is a concern for my wife. She suffered with asthma, and ever since she's been here she's been good. As soon as we get back to Hamilton or down to Rotorua she'd develop a bad cold. She gets sick every time we go home. And since we've been here, she's only had the odd attack. And that's the only reason I'm

staying here. If she wasn't so sick, I'd be back home. For me, I'd like to go back tomorrow (Cyril)

Others (n=4) would like the best of both worlds, that is, to be able to return and live part of the year in New Zealand, and the rest of the year in Hawai'i, taking advantage of the climate and work opportunities.

Yes. Someday I do. I would actually like to live in both places. That's my ultimate goal to live in both places, both during the summer. I'm not really into cold weather. It would be in the near future as I would like my kids to grow up there. Perhaps I'll live up north because it's warmer, but most of my whanau live in the cold parts. Actually I'll probably go where ever my wife wants to go. I like both places. However, I would still like to have my home base here (Jason).

Four participants felt that there were few opportunities for them in the New Zealand context and for a variety of reasons, considered the context a somewhat hostile one. For example, Vicky was yet to resolve her “negative childhood history” with her whanau, and Kay and HIRAMA felt that Maori in New Zealand were having to deal with too many social problems, and that there were few financial opportunities. This latter point was one of the reasons why many of the participants were delaying their return to New Zealand.

Nine participants told me of a variety of goals they wanted to achieve before returning home. Many of these goals resided around their pursuit of qualifications.

Yes. At the moment, I'm enjoying have a break from New Zealand and I like going home on holidays. I intend to go on from here to University in Provo, Utah. After that, I think I would like to go home. I think it will be good to finish all my schooling here before going home (Neva).

For Peter and Jerald, their goals centred on employment.

We intend to return to New Zealand. I've looked into going to university at Waikato. My wife is from Tahiti, so we are considering going there for a holiday after I graduate. If there are employment opportunities I will consider working there and then eventually moving back to New Zealand to settle down (Peter).

Yes - depending on the career that I go into. If it is a career that will allow me to, then I will (Jerald).

Others simply wanted to experience more of life and travel.

I mean coming here is just a temporary thing. It's just a way to experience something else ... to have a little bit of travel... (Rylan).

I intend to stay here for 2 years, and then go on my mission, come back here to finish my education and then see where I go. I would like to go back to live in New Zealand. But it all depends. I may get married -- I don't know. I want to go back to New Zealand and perhaps set up a psychology practise. I don't think I want to live away from Aotearoa too long. Who knows what could happen (Neva).

Chapter Twelve Discussion and Conclusions

In this study, I explored both the old and new places Maori find themselves in and how they forge their social identities within them. I investigated how Maori viewed their connections with and conceptions of their Maori heritage or kinship groups and Maori ethnic group. I made these explorations with Maori in New Zealand and Maori in Hawai'i. In this chapter I begin by summarising the major themes arising from my analysis of the qualitative interviews conducted with participants. I then discuss these themes against that literature reviewed in the earlier chapters of this thesis. Before concluding with a discussion of future research directions, I discuss the implications of these findings, the unique contribution that this research has made, and highlight the limitations of this work.

Summary of findings

Conceptions of Maori social groups

The majority of participants in this research could identify with their whanau, hapu and iwi heritage groups. Participants claiming membership in only one whanau group, one hapu group, and one iwi were the exception rather than the rule. In the sections below, I present how participants conceived of and maintained connections with their respective heritage groups.

Whanau

For Maori in Hawai'i, their conceptions of whanau centred mainly on their own nuclear family, and, for some, spread to include extended family members. The nature of relationships between whanau members had salience, some relationships being positive, and some not so positive. Aside from those who had children living with them in Hawai'i, few were in regular face to face contact with other whanau members. They knew that they were a part of a whanau but the concept seemed to have reduced salience in their day to day lives in Hawai'i.

While I did not explore directly the nature of New Zealand participants' conceptions of whanau their interviews were scattered with references to

relationships they had with other whanau members like their own children, siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles and aunties. Whanau atawhai or adopted whanau were also referred to. Most of these participants seemed to desire continued relationships, yet like the Hawai'i participants, some also wanted to distance themselves from those that were not so positive.

Hapu

When New Zealand participants thought about their hapu, their conceptions included their marae, its symbolism and its environmental situation; the marae community, its people, their politics, social issues and their general characteristics; and the nature of their relationships or that of their parents or grandparents to the marae and its community.

For Hawai'i participants, at the centre of their hapu conceptions were institutions such as the marae, family and whanau, and genealogic relationships. It afforded participants an identity but was conceived of in an abstract and distant fashion. Most felt that the concept of hapu had little tangible meaning for them in Hawai'i and was an identity they considered more relevant to the New Zealand context.

Iwi

Membership; identity; whakapapa; iwi characteristics; and iwi dynamics were central to iwi conceptions held by both Hawai'i and New Zealand participants. For New Zealand participants, there seemed to be more depth to their conceptions with more concrete examples and critical insights derived through lived experiences. They seemed to have more opportunities than the Hawai'i participants to interact with tribal others and to see themselves as tribal beings. This was so much the case for Hawai'i participants who again conceived of iwi as something located within the New Zealand context.

For New Zealand participants, in many ways, their hapu and iwi conceptions overlapped. They did similar things to maintain both their hapu and iwi identities, and most of their activities tended to be situated at the marae of their hapu. Added to this was the greater emphasis on participation in activities situated at their marae, or in their iwi homelands. They were activities that involved going home, being at the

marae, being with others, and making a contribution. They were activities that in some ways were presented by New Zealand participants as having more legitimacy over other activities that might occur away from home. For both New Zealand and Hawai'i participants, irrespective of what they might have done with others of their in-groups while away from home, the tribal homeland was unmistakably conceived of as being situated at the centre. It was seen as the source and historic context of their identities.

Maori

Ethnicity as Maori was conceptualised differently by each group of participants. For Maori in Hawai'i, being Maori meant being valued within the culturally pluralistic context of Hawai'i; having a sense of identity, pride and roots; acquiring cultural heritage; enjoying employment that contributed to being Maori; being Maori with other Maori; and asserting their identity as Maori.

New Zealand participants pointed to a variety of things they felt were important to being Maori, but three themes dominated their responses. I described these as Maori motuhake (contributors to uniqueness as Maori), whanaungatanga (contributors to relatedness and relationships to other Maori), and kotahitanga (contributors to unitedness or solidarity as Maori). In contrast to Hawai'i participants who were a minority amongst minorities, being Maori in New Zealand was positioned differently. It was constructed as being a minority embedded and dominated by a Pakeha majority.

Maintaining connections

Participants engaged in a variety of activities to maintain their Maori social identities. The activity types identified were organised (taking language classes, attending reunions), opportunistic (attending tangi and hui, visits by family, holidays), purposeful (self-initiated activities like phone calls, writing letters, teaching children histories and customary practices) and passive (being the recipient of connecting activities initiated by others). All participants engaged in these activity types to a lesser or greater degree to maintain their identities as whanau, hapu or iwi members.

For New Zealand participants, there was the added dimension rooted in their situation as a dominated minority. There was an edge of resistance. Engaging in activities to maintain their Maori identities was both about retaining their sense of uniqueness and connection with in-group members, and resisting assimilation to the dominant majority. This was not the case in Hawai'i. Engaging in Maori activities was supported by a context where everyone was expected to engage in ethnic identity activities. Being Maori in Hawai'i was about negotiating an identity different to other Polynesian groups like Hawaiian, Samoan and Tongan. Maori were often mistaken as members of these groups.

As mentioned above, the concepts of whanau, hapu and iwi tended to have a reduced salience in the lives of Hawai'i participants. There were few opportunities to engage other whanau, hapu or iwi members mainly because these identities were seen by them to have more relevance in the New Zealand context. What mattered in Hawai'i was being Maori and it was at this level that participants seemed to have the most meaningful connections.

Facilitators and challenges

Education was seen as a pathway to employment, to having an income and being able to afford the necessary material resources like transport, telephones, and internet connections, to connect across distances with other in-group members.

In-group maintenance activities were perceived as secondary to education and work activities, activities vital for meeting immediate survival needs. As education and work activities consumed a large portion of participant's time, time became a precious commodity. Time had to be made for in-group maintenance activities particularly by those participants whose education and work life mostly engaged out-group members. Most participants expressed reluctance to take time off work or time out from education activities and they tried to compartmentalise their in-group maintenance activities away from their education and work lives. As most participants lived outside of their iwi homelands, and saw going home as the most legitimate way to maintain their connections, going home activities occurred when tangi or annual leave entitlements allowed, or during school holidays or long weekends. For Hawai'i participants, the expense of travel was prohibitive and on

average, return trips to New Zealand tended to occur about every 2-5 years although some managed more frequent returns.

Partners also influenced participation in maintenance activities. If a partner was supportive and encouraging, then engagement in maintenance activities was more likely. If they were not, then participants had to surmount this challenge first. But this was not always easy. Sometimes partners did not have the same feelings of attachment to their partner's people or places. Sometimes they saw engagement in the maintenance activities of their partners as time wasting, expensive and draining of partnership resources that could be spent in other ways. Some participants successfully surmounted these difficulties, others did not. And for others, involvement in their partner's in-groups held greater attraction and meaning.

For both participant groups, organised activities like participation in local clubs, associations and networks were important ways that they maintain connections with others. Organised activities could usually be planned for and timed to occur outside of work hours, but for some participants, their work lives helped to organise their connecting with others and their capacity to organise, for example working at the Polynesian Cultural Centre, in Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, or being members of the Maori Women's Welfare League.

For all participants, connecting people were vital. Connecting people were those who could facilitate connections with others and position a participant within a relational network; the rest of that network would simply accept the participant as their own. In some ways, participants themselves all acted as connecting people for others of their in-groups they came in contact with. They drew on their genealogical and experiential maps to position and locate others in a web of relatedness that spanned geographies, histories, events, workplaces and other networks. But some connecting people were more important than others. Their absence or distance from participants was more intensely felt. They were people who could verify beyond question a participant's existence and right to be a member of an in-group. They were uncles, aunties, parents, grandparents and other relatives who participants knew and were comfortable with and who prepared and smoothed the way for them, making it easier to engage other members of their in-groups, to engage in heritage activities and to take up specific roles. When such people died or were inaccessible, as in the case of closed adoption, often a great gap was felt especially if opportunities to connect with others were reduced.

Participants all felt that at different stages in their lives that engagement in maintenance activities was either easier or harder. As children, maintenance activities were seen to be easier mainly because parents and grandparents helped to facilitate these activities. Being single and without the complications of partners or children meant that participants were more independent and could engage more freely in such activities, if that is what they chose to do. Some recognised that they chose to engage more in friendship and work networks and had wished that they had done otherwise. Having children was both a blessing and a burden. Some felt that their children restricted their movement, limited their resources and capacity to engage others. Others, however, saw children as a motivating reason. They wanted an identity for their children. They wanted them to know who they were, where they came from, and who they were related to. They wanted them to experience a sense of heritage, belonging and pride. They saw engagement with other in-group members as the way to engender this.

Being on the outside

Most participants had experienced a sense of exclusion, of being different, distant, sometimes disconnected, or, for whatever reason, on the outside of their various Maori social groups. In most cases, participants were able to reconcile their sense of being on the outside through self-improvement, modifying their behaviour, confronting others, reframing judgements by others, increasing or decreasing their participation in in-group activities, or, in the rare instance, by withdrawing. In both the New Zealand and Hawai'i groups, there were a few participants who had disconnected and withdrawn from specific whanau relationships which they had no future desire to pursue.

Home

For Hawai'i participants, home was New Zealand and it was assumed that Maori in Hawai'i had a home, a whanau and place to return to in New Zealand. To return to New Zealand was not an impossible proposition. In contrast, for Maori in New Zealand home related to marae and spaces in tribal homelands. Going home, other than for the occasional visit, did not seem to be a real option. Participants referred to

the 'empty' nature of tribal homelands. There were few people, few employment and educational opportunities, and few meaningful connections. People had moved away, and for the better; better education, better employment, better opportunities, and in some instances, better relationships. A future permanent return to one's tribal homeland did not seem to be on the agenda for these participants. While participants in Hawai'i could easily relate to homesickness as something that commonly occurred amongst new Maori migrants to Hawai'i, the idea seemed either inappropriate or impractical for New Zealand participants. In some ways, it held little legitimacy, especially when one's tribal homeland was often just a couple of hours drive away, if not less than a day's travel.

Discussion

For all participants, making sense of their identities was worked at continuously. They realized that their identities were not static categories with prescribed meanings, but, as Young (1999) and Moscovici (2001) suggested, histories and processes to be negotiated and worked out with others over time. All participants identified in some way with their Maori heritage groups and Maori ethnic group, yet, apparent in most narratives were influences that enhanced or diminished their experiences of these identities.

Many participants in this study referred to personal idiosyncratic characteristics (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) as they related to how they were perceived by others. For Maori in New Zealand, fair hair and skin complexions often attracted inaccurate ethnic attributions. They were often mistaken to be Pakeha. For Maori in Hawai'i who had 'brownier' features, they were often confused as being Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, or of some other Polynesian extraction. These participants were all presented with the opportunity to escape categorisation as Maori, had the capacity to, yet they chose not to. These participants clearly valued their social identities as Maori and as theorised by Tajfel & Turner (1986) and (Hopkins, 1997) took steps to influence how others perceived them. Participants in New Zealand tended to be offended (and sometimes made equally offensive responses) if they were categorised as Pakeha, whereas those in Hawai'i considered being identified as belonging to some Polynesian ethnic group part of the fabric of living in an ethnically diverse context. Instead of being offended, they took

significant steps, like some do in New Zealand, to present symbols of their ethnic identification through the clothing and accessories they wore, by taking pride and retaining their New Zealand accents, and kindly but firmly correcting inaccurate attributions. For these participants, to consider passing might be described as antithetical to their sense of Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. And there is always the risk of being caught out (Breakwell, 1986) by someone able to recognise, reclaim and reinvest within the individual, that membership and identity they are seeking to avoid.

I find it difficult to identify any groups that do not experience some form of tension between members. Participants in this study responded to in-group tensions variously. Even though participants could all identify with and discussed a sense of belonging to their Maori heritage groups, during their lives, most had experienced being on the outside and different in some way from other in-group members. While most negotiated these feelings by developing and using coping strategies typical of those identified by Dohrenwend (1973) and Breakwell (1986), a few participants articulated an explicit want to escape those Maori heritage groups they had a right to claim membership in.

Earlier studies (Hohepa, 1964; Metge, 1964; Ritchie, 1963) all identified Maori who had withdrawn from negative whanau circumstances by moving away from an area and by disassociating from or avoiding lived relationships (Metge, 1964). Reasons for doing this were mostly to do with feeling uncared for, abused, neglected, having limited opportunities or simply having dissatisfying experiences. Tajfel (1981) holds that if a group does not make a positive contribution to an individual's self-esteem or regard for themselves, the individual may respond by choosing to leave.

Despite a desire by some to distance themselves from negative experiences with their whanau, and sometimes hapu, most felt unable to execute a complete withdrawal. Social identity theory points our attention to the possible presence of important values which are themselves a part of the individual's acceptable self-image (Tajfel, 1981). These values create a binding effect for group members. For these participants, escaping genealogical relatedness is an objective made difficult through the expectations and probes by other Maori wanting to position and understand them within a whanau, hapu and iwi based relational network. This is a process that participants themselves valued through their own enactment of the same

process with other Maori. To continue to participate in these ways of relating, participants had to know their pasts, however positive or negative, the option to disclose negative experiences being the prerogative of the participants themselves.

Though some participants mentioned negative whanau experiences, significantly more referred to the negative aspects of being Maori, of being a dominated stigmatised low status minority in New Zealand plagued by discrimination and prejudice (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999), and by drugging, drinking, crime, sexual abuse, unemployment, benefit dependence and low health status, aspects exacerbated by negative stereotypical media reporting (McCreanor, 1989; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006). Participants in this study did not see themselves in stereotypical ways but recognised that broader New Zealand society did. It was harder to escape these representations, even in Hawai'i. Consistent with Tajfel's (1981) views on social identity, and to combat negative group attributions, participants in this study chose to emphasise the positive aspects of being Maori rather than the negative, that is, they emphasized those activities associated with Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga, and kotahitanga. Maori in New Zealand tended to report a want to engage in social justice activities to change the low status position of Maori, more so than Maori in Hawai'i. Indeed, Maori in Hawai'i tended to feel an absence of negative stereotyping while in Hawai'i, but not in New Zealand. They reported a greater want, since being in Hawai'i to positively pursue the development of their heritage identities through learning te reo me nga tikanga Maori and participating in kapa haka groups, all in-group related activities and reflecting what I see as a quest for what Turner (1987) termed 'prototypicality' or the perceived positive ideal representation of what it means to be Maori. For Maori in New Zealand where it was difficult to escape or distance oneself from negative stereotypical representations, there seemed to be little option but to pursue positive identity development activities with other in-group members like learning te reo me nga tikanga Maori to reinforce their sense of Maori motuhake or uniqueness and pride as Maori.

An interesting aspect of the results mentioned above is that the perceived source of negative stereotyping for Maori in Hawai'i was not the broader dominant New Zealand society, or the ethnically plural society of Hawai'i, but other Maori in New Zealand. Maori in Hawai'i perceived Maori in New Zealand as seeing them as not quite Maori enough, or inadequately committed to being Maori. They were

sometimes seen as the American part of the whanau, not unlike how rural Maori saw Auckland Maori in Metge's study reported in 1964. The frequent negative assessments of their New Zealand counterparts must be read against a history of their moving away from New Zealand, and through determination to acquire work and education, their participation in the American dream of prosperity (Cullen, 2003). In discussing these findings, the point I wish to make here is that different Maori groups will perceive their destinies differently, and in turn, will perceive each other differently. Some will be attracted by what others do, and some repulsed or pushed away. Certainly the New Zealand participants spoke about each other in this way and freely commented on the tensions they felt between themselves and others. These in-group tensions nevertheless appeared to be constrained by a commonly held quest for Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. They seemed to be value orientations that hold people and groups together reflecting the possibility that such orientations are themselves a part of what Maori see as critical to their individual and group self-image (Tajfel, 1981).

What is not explained by Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory is what appears to me to be a diminished association with hapu and iwi identities amongst Maori in Hawai'i. Being of a particular tribe only really mattered to other Maori who were tribally oriented and to whom it meant something. For Maori in Hawai'i, an iwi identity did not seem to have the same salience as it did for Maori in New Zealand. There were few events or opportunities for coming together to engage as tribal beings. If there were visiting groups from New Zealand who were tribally identified (eg., Rangiwewehi haka party), the whole Maori community of Hawai'i tended to turn out to engage them, not just those of the same iwi group as those visiting. Perhaps the only iwi group with any possibility of doing this in any meaningful way were those participants who identified as being from Kahungunu (n=13). But I found no evidence to suggest that they organized in this way.

Even though there appeared to be a diminished association with hapu and iwi identities in the Hawai'i context, most Hawai'i participants still remained fiercely proud of their iwi heritage, with a reported increased re-engagement upon return to the New Zealand context where their iwi identity was more likely to be probed by other Maori. For New Zealand participants, being iwi identified was expected by other Maori, for that is what it means to be Maori when amongst other Maori. This finding clearly demonstrates the situated nature of Maori social groups and identities.

Identities are enacted in situations where it has meaning for those participating in exchanges lending support to Tajfel's (1981) view that no individual or group lives alone. To be a group requires existence amongst other groups.

I must be careful not to give the impression that tribal identities were not important in the Hawai'i context. They just did not seem to have the salience that I am accustomed to witnessing in the New Zealand context. As James Ritchie (1992) recognised of Ngati Poneke in Wellington in the 1950's, for participants in Hawai'i, tribal affiliation and relational networks were still seen as significant assets and acted upon for certain outcomes and operated over the vast distances between Hawai'i and New Zealand and other places around the globe. Though not an obvious manifest identity (Fitzgerald, 1972), when in situations of engagement with Maori from New Zealand in the Hawai'i context, like this researcher who sought to probe hapu and tribal identity assets, resources, and relationships, Hawai'i participants demonstrated few difficulties in manifesting what I recognised as appropriate tribal probing. My probing and positioning of them was usually preceded by their probing and positioning of me. They recognised that their tribal identity was important and meaningful in my interactions with them and they called what might be described as their latent identities (Fitzgerald, 1972) to the fore. My point here is that Hawai'i participants are not without a tribal identity; it is a latent identity, waiting to be picked up in appropriate situations.

How might the overlaps of hapu and iwi conceptions by New Zealand participants in this study be explained? Is this in some way related to the latency of an iwi identity in the Hawai'i context? Maori in New Zealand had similar conceptions of their hapu and iwi groups with their hapu marae and environs, marae centred activities and roles, and tribal landscapes being dominant in both conceptions. If the marae is the central conceptual point of entry for participants into their hapu and iwi identities, then it should be of no surprise that these two identities are closely related, and for some, the same. Participants who belonged to more than one hapu within one iwi, tended to hold conceptions that distinguished differences and similarities between hapu more clearly. They also seemed to have a greater capacity to stand back and see a broader tribal picture with their hapu being a part of that picture. How participants maintained connections with their hapu and iwi also informs this result. For the New Zealand participants, although they often reported meeting and engaging in hapu and iwi activities away from their iwi homelands,

meaningful hapu and iwi activities were those that involved going home, returning to marae and associated tribal areas, marae rising again to a central place in their conceptions

Similar to Auckland Maori in the 1950's (Metge, 1964), with the demands of work, family, education and other social engagements, hapu and iwi maintenance activities that involved returning to iwi homelands were mostly infrequent, maybe occurring, on average, once or twice a year and usually for short periods of time during school holidays or long weekends. In Metge's study, she theorized that city born or second generation Maori migrants held abstract conceptions of their homelands, a conception periodically fed by stories of home, visits and involvement with relatives, and return visits for holidays or hui, and, in some cases, longer stays from a few months to one or two years. I wonder about Metge's use of the term 'abstract' to describe her participant's conceptions of belonging to hapu and iwi based communities. It has a relative quality about it that gives greater legitimacy to the conceptions of first generation migrants, over those of second or later generations. It suggests that conceptions held by these latter groups are inadequate, lesser and vicarious, and the former more authentic and somehow more real. It fails to recognise the acknowledgement by migrants of *nga hau kainga* as the spring of their Maori, iwi, hapu and whanau identities, and it fails to recognise adaptation to new circumstances. What if, as for most participants in my research and indeed most of the urbanised Maori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), a vicarious, sporadic relationship is all that one has? What happens is that it becomes the lived reality; what it means to belong to a hapu and iwi group. For all but a few marae centred tribal communities, this is the reality that Maori away from their iwi homelands are now living.

In circumstances removed from the immediacy of tribal homelands, how do Maori give substance to their iwi identities and what satisfaction is gained? The answer is that they do the same things that James Ritchie found of Ngati Poneke Maori in the 1950's (Ritchie, 1992), and what Joan Metge (1967) found of city Maori in Auckland in the 1950's. They research their own tribal histories, tell stories, learn whakapapa, learn *te reo me nga tikanga*, participate in *taurahere haka* groups, go to parties and other social events together, receive and communicate news of home and of each other, and participate in iwi activities where and when they can. They do this to feel a sense of satisfaction, commonality, social cohesion,

belongingness and connection with those heritage groups they are entitled to and perceived to be a part of. In my view, the key ingredient in all of this is the notion of relatedness. Without a sense of relatedness, loyalty will inevitably shift to other social groups more personally meaningful and satisfying; the identity groups departed from decreasing in salience and significance.

Although participants did not speak explicitly about shifting their sense of relatedness away from their traditional iwi and hapu groups, for many, this is exactly what they were doing. For example, Maori in Hawai'i manifested all the characteristics of a hapu group, and in some ways, an iwi group. There was a sense of in-group social cohesion (Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001). They knew each other. They had contact with each other. They were involved in each others affairs. There was room to influence the activities of the broader group and to invest time in each other. There was a sense of trust, connectedness and civic engagement (Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001). They were a socially connected community in and of themselves. They could point to a history of migration that explained their existence as a group in Hawai'i. They could converge their membership in the LDS Church and church cosmologies with those of Maori. They could relate a shared history of struggle as Maori surviving away from their traditional homelands in Hawai'i. Making a contribution to the building of the Hawai'i LDS Temple cemented their commitment to other church members and to Hawai'i, but building the marae complex at the Polynesian Cultural Centre drove home their identity as a unique hapu/iwi group. The marae complex can be read as symbolising their genesis as a new iwi with the capacity to engage other iwi as equals.

New Zealand participants did not speak explicitly about shifting their sense of relatedness or loyalty away from their traditional iwi and hapu groups. I am not surprised by this. The New Zealand participants were not selected for their membership in any specific community, and for that matter, neither were the Hawai'i participants. It just so happened that there was a commonality amongst them that engendered the sense of community (Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002; McMillan & Chavis, 1986) I encountered. The New Zealand participants were selected simply because they were perceived to be Maori. They shared some commonalities but these did not seem to bring about a sense of solidarity as a group. If membership in a distinct urban sodality like being member of the Waipareira community of west Auckland (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1998), or of the Tuhoe taurahere group Tuhoe ki

Waikato (Nikora, Guerin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004) were set as a selection criteria, then perhaps a similar pattern to that found amongst participants in Hawai'i may have emerged. Only further research will confirm this as a real pattern. Nonetheless, with a history of moving and adapting to new circumstances and environments it is not such a strange idea to think that new and different forms of hapu and iwi will emerge.

Being homesick was viewed by Hawai'i participants as a legitimate response to being away from home. Maori in New Zealand are not permitted such emotions. 'Home' is New Zealand, and more specifically, home is found in one's tribal homelands. Neither previous literature, or this study has given much thought to the homesickness that Maori living outside of their tribal territories may well feel. With the under diagnosis of depression amongst Maori and the increasingly horrifying incidence of mental health disorders (Durie, 2001) examination of homesickness should be prioritised in future research.

Possible implications

What I have discussed so far in this chapter I consider predictable and not very extraordinary. We have seen similar results in earlier studies by students of Ernest Beaglehole, Ralph Piddington, and more recently by Mason Durie. In some ways, this work updates the time gap in the canon of knowledge even if I collected the data for this research a decade ago. Since then, much has changed. The fact of Maori resilience is recognisable in the emergence of a national iwi based radio network (Te Mangai Paho, 2003), the Maori Television Service (<http://www.maoritelevision.com>), the proliferation of Maori language medium instruction through all stages in our public education system (Cooper, 2004), through Maori health centres and social programmes (Durie, 1998d), in Maori business (<http://www.foma.co.nz>), and even in the proliferation of the practice of moko (traditional skin adornment) (Nikora, Te Awekotuku, & Rua, 2004). There are more Maori university graduates and significantly more holding PhD's across a range of disciplines (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

To be Maori is a source of pride. This was not necessarily the case at the turn of the 20th century when Maori were expected to slip from the face of the earth, or in the 1950's when they were expected to become detribalised assimilated brown New

Zealanders (Piddington, 1968), or in the 1970's when urbanised Maori youth were creatively growing their own gang culture to find pride, purpose and fellowship (Anae, 2006), or in the 1990's when Maori found new and creative ways of calling attention to injustices through occupations, protests and marches (Barclay & Liu, 2003), the Foreshore and Seabed hikoi in 2004 being the largest ever made on parliament in this country's history (Ruru, 2004).

In this opening decade of the 21st century, with mounting public demands to hasten the process of hearing, negotiating and settling historic grievances against the crown, the very notion of what constitutes a tribe, tribal organisation and identity has become unsettled (The Waitangi Tribunal, 2007). The tribal world continues to observe the post-settlement challenges experienced by Tainui and Ngai Tahu, some in wonderment as they find themselves on the verge of imploding as they struggle with issues of mandate, leadership, unification, adapting customary practice and establishing a firm foundation for the future (Byrnes, 2004). The post-settlement world will disestablish the old structures of Maori Trustboards and runanga in favour of new governance entities and asset holding companies (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). They will require different skill sets and competencies and will have goals beyond trusteeship (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004). If the current increasing census trend (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) towards identifying tribally continues, it is fair to anticipate that the number of people wishing to register as beneficiaries will also increase demanding clear inclusion and exclusion criteria, and attention and servicing. But will the same hopes and aspirations for unity, leadership and representation be invested in these new structures as was and still is the case for many Maori Trust boards and runanga? Will the mana of an iwi transfer to these new entities and the people who work within them or will it go elsewhere? How will those living at a distance from the centre of tribal life, treat with that centre, and the centre with them? Will the apparent urban/rural divide be reconciled? Will iwi in the post-settlement era be able to maintain a sense of cohesiveness as an iwi group or will their members simply become shareholders in a larger corporation with few other commonalities but the corporation its annual meeting of shareholders? The findings of this study suggest this possibility.

A unique contribution

Through this chapter I have continually returned to concepts of Maori motuhake, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. I argued that they are values, beliefs and ways of being together, despite separating distances. They appear to engender pride, solidarity and social cohesion. Irrespective of what I have discussed above, I am still of this opinion. All participants spoke to these values in some way or another indicating their desire to retain and perpetuate these values in interaction with other Maori people. Maori heritage identities still had meaning in their lives. If, in the future, we are to support a continued and enhanced sense of identification with heritage identities, then we need to find ways to intensify how Maori live and experience a sense of whanaungatanga, Maori motuhake and kotahitanga with these identities.

Central to such a project will be to reverse the recent trend towards flippant, hollow, and unexamined applications of the concept of whanaungatanga. As one participant in this study commented "...it's all mental or it's all by word, yeah, from so and so iwi, these are my iwi and that's about it". For this participant there was no connection, no sense of relatedness, nothing shared, and nothing connected.

Whanaungatanga encapsulates the importance that participants placed on connectedness, relatedness and relationships, those things that tie people together in bonds of association and obligation that give meaning to relationships across time and place (1992). In chapter ten I referred to the lines and layers of whakapapa as 'scaffolding'. The narratives of relatedness and relationships over time and place I described as the 'bricks and mortar' of whakapapa, the stuff that gives whakapapa its relational quality and contributes to a sense of whanaungatanga. Without this, whakapapa is, to me, a mostly abhorrent picture of genetic descent with echoes back to pictures of the evolution of humankind. What the findings of this study suggests is that in our pursuit of whanaungatanga, we must ensure that we are pursuing the appropriate narratives of relatedness and relationships and that the descent groups and their contexts really are those that matter to Maori in all their diversities. I went into the Hawai'i context assuming that a traditional whakapapa premised on kinship relationships was the most salient in the lives of Maori in Hawai'i. While I was not wrong, I was not totally right either. Previous literature demonstrates the adaptive nature of Maori people. There has always been a capacity to cohere in new ways.

The emergence of uniquely Maori religious movements like Ringatu and Ratana, and of military units like the 28th Battalion, and of social movements like the Maori Women's Welfare League, Nga Tamatoa, and of uniquely Maori gangs like Black Power and the Mongrel Mob, all testify to this capacity. More recent movements like Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Destiny Church and even The Maori Party, all do the same thing.

These new groups fill a gap, a gap between traditional heritage groups and the new contexts that Maori find themselves in. New groups, like the community in Hawai'i, also evolve new meanings for their members and new ways of belonging together. They present a new and more immediate way of being Maori. Furthermore, if their purpose succeeds in capturing the imagination of Maori by appealing to certain ideologies such as language preservation, Maori pride, dominant group resistance, or simply being Maori together, then a sense of uniqueness and solidarity and in-group cohesion will result. This I refer to as Maori motuhake those things that make us different and, therefore, unique as a people. It encapsulates all those things that contribute to us evolving and becoming Maori cultural beings different from other cultural beings. In this regard, Maori motuhake is a product of people, their relationships with each other, their histories of survival as Maori, and anticipated futures together as Maori.

The notion of kotahitanga has unity as its ultimate goal but also reflects the processes that people go through to arrive at such a point. These processes may be fiercely political or status or deed oriented, or, alternatively, just a part of the everyday mundane social interactions that people have. Participants told me that a sense of 'togetherness' was important to being Maori. This was not just about Maori motuhake or whanaungatanga. It was not just about doing those things that allow Maori to come together. It was about having a sense of belonging to a group that was more than an abstract notion. They sought after face to face lived experiences where there was opportunity to be involved in each others affairs, to influence the activities of the broader group and to invest time in each other. But to do this there needs to be a sense of trust, connectedness and participation. Kotahitanga is about achieving these ideals for it is from the achievement of these things that new ways of being Maori will emerge.

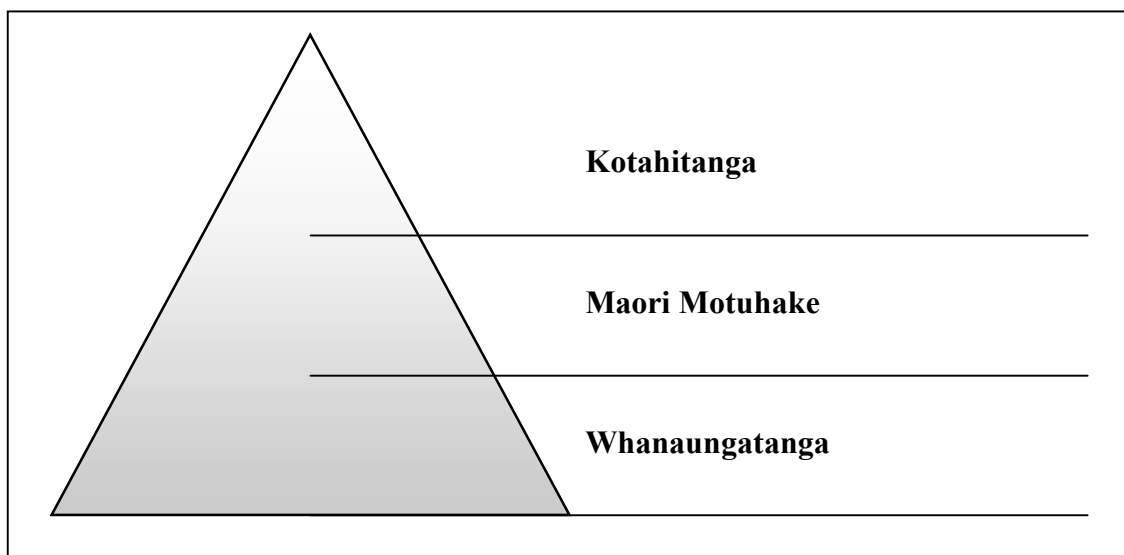


Figure 3 Building a Maori sense of identity

Presently, conceptual frameworks depicted as hierarchies are not fashionable. Relational or multidimensional ones are. I have purposefully chosen a hierarchical representation to signal the critical importance of whanaungatanga to being Maori. Being meaningfully connected and related to others as part of a broader social group is essential to an individual's personal health and to developing positive Maori social identities. Whanaungatanga is essential to a Maori sense of wellbeing. Without it, we lose our identities and we lose ourselves.

Methodological issues

The methodological approach used in this research can be criticised for being a water fetching exercise. A bucket is dipped into a stream, a continuous flow of richness and complexity, giving up to the researcher a bucket of water. While the researcher may be very happy with her bucket of water, what the researcher fails to apprehend is flow, natural rhythm, purpose, gravity and synergy. What is captured is different to what exists in the stream. It has changed. And that is what the researcher is left to look at.

When looking in the watery bucket of data captured from the research setting, an astute researcher will also apprehend their own reflection peering back. The researcher is the central processor in the research project. They take in data and produce outputs in a form understandable to themselves, and hopefully to others too.

This is a transformation process that is fraught with the possibility of ethnocentric interpretations, an issue addressed in the next section below.

Suffice to say, that earlier research has suffered from the same methodological pitfalls experienced in this study and I am sure that many future studies will too. As human movement and coexistence increasingly becomes more complex, the task of capturing the richness and diversity of targeted communities and population groups will not become any easier. Perhaps the only way forward is a combined emic and etic resource intensive integrated multi-layered approach to learning about the fullness of people's lives. At the very least, the initial objective should be to build a cumulative picture with end-on studies that revisit and add to the body of knowledge that exists.

A lot of research results, as is the case here, are crude snapshots of a minute part of people's lives at a certain time and place. As a researcher, I walked into the lives of participants with an interviewing schedule and audio-recorder, sat with them for one to two hours, collected a narrative about how they relate to various Maori social groups, and then exited. Although I attended to the context I saw them embedded in, the context was not examined in fine detail. That was not the focus. That was not the starting point. I pulled participants into my frame about Maori social identities, a frame that narrowed my view away from other social identities that may have been of significance to participants, and more importantly, to my understanding of them. The most significant drawback of this approach is what I see as my failure to thoroughly examine the overlap and interface of Maori heritage identities with other social identities (Mormon social groups and urban sodalities). Although the prior literature is informative in this regard, my theorising about such multiplicities is purely speculative rather than substantive. This oversight gives rise to the need to be cognisant of other belief systems that may be instrumental in influencing and informing Maori social identities and must be an area for examination in any future research not only in Hawai'i but also in other Maori communities where membership in other social groups contributes to daily lived reality.

Areas for future exploration

In the literature, identification with a community is seen as a separate construct from a sense of community (Obst & White, 2005). Identification does not necessarily lead to a sense of community, that is, feelings people have of belonging, that they matter to one another and to the group, and have a shared faith that their needs will be met through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). More research is required to better understand the pressures upon a Maori sense of community, the nature of those communities, and for that matter, whether Maori still find such communities and associated identities meaningful in their lives. Having a better understanding of these communities, how members enact their relationships with each other, and the meanings they derive, will provide a more robust foundation for the development of law, policy and service delivery.

To achieve a better understanding of Maori communities requires re-examination of assumed fundamental values, customary cultural practises, rituals and events, and mundane daily life. Research about the latter is probably the most important as it is from mundane life that cultural patterns emerge. In this regard, ethnographic qualitative studies like the earlier 'Kowhai' and 'Rakau' studies (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946; Ritchie, 1963) and those by Metge (1964) are likely to be more fruitful than quantitative 'dipping into the stream' approaches.

Group rituals play a significant role in people's lives and in the life of Maori communities. Salmond's (1975) examination of hui, Maori rituals of encounter, still remains as the most significant work in this area. In the last 25 years, no substantial studies of rituals about important life events like birth, parent and grandparenthood, 21st birthdays, marriage, and death and grieving have been completed. The contemporary Maori world is replete with competitive (regional and national sports and cultural events) and celebratory events (graduations, award ceremonies) but have not captured the imagination of researchers. This needs to urgently change.

Maori living away from their tribal homelands and away from New Zealand are a significant resource pool for originating whanau, hapu and iwi, and to the Maori world generally. Participants in this study clearly saw the source of their heritage identities in their tribal homelands. When they could, and when relational connections allowed, there was a willingness to return to these areas to renew connections, to recreate and to make community contributions. In recent years, brain

drain, or human capital flight; the emigration of trained and talented individuals to other nations or jurisdictions (Ahmad, 2004) has become an increasing concern for the New Zealand Government (Clark, 2001). Integral to this concern is the challenge of harnessing the knowledge and skills of expatriates to benefit New Zealand as a nation. Recognising that the return of expatriates may not occur in the near future, greater attempts have been made to form mutually beneficial collaborative relationship (Kea New Zealand, 2006). Tribal and urban authorities need to do likewise and they need to do this in creative ways. Although tribal festivals, sporting events, and celebrations are great opportunities to reconnect with people, not everyone enjoys kapa haka, or playing netball or rugby, or listening to tribal elders intoning. There are many ways to engage. The key challenge is to do so in meaningful mutually beneficial ways.

To conclude, cultural cognitions begin as seeds and are nurtured by environmental conditions, opportunities and experiences, and through our social interactions. If properly tended to, our cultural cognitions will provide continuity with our pasts and a foundation upon which to negotiate and construct our future selves.

In navigating the Pacific Maori arrived to New Zealand with what they had. These included some material items but the most invaluable were cultural cognitive resources; ways of organising, discovering, harnessing, adapting and thriving. These were the seeds for Maori survival in New Zealand and they continue as the seeds for survival in the new worlds in which Maori now find themselves.

E kore au e ngaro. He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea
I will not be lost, as I am one of the seeds scattered from Rangiatea.

References

- (2005, Feb 1). Through mists of time. *The New Zealand Herald*.
- 'Aha Punana Leo. (2006). E ola ka 'olelo Hawai'i: The Hawaiian language shall live. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/>
- Abbott, M. W., & Durie, M. H. (1987). A whiter shade of pale: Taha Maori and professional psychology training. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 16(2), 58-71.
- Ahmad, O. B. (2004). Brain drain: the flight of human capital. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 82(10), 797-798.
- Allport, G. E. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. New York: Double Day.
- Anae, M. (2006). *Polynesian Panthers*. Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub.
- Archer, D. (1975). *Race, identity and the Maori people*. Unpublished MPhil, University of Waikato, Hamilton NZ.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. A. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 20-39.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1960). Acculturative stress in modern Maori adolescence. *Child Development*, 31, 617-631.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1961). *Maori youth*. Wellington, NZ: Price Milburn and Co. Ltd.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1964). Review of the book *Making of a Maori: A Case Study of a Changing Community*. *American Anthropologist*, 66(5), 1210-1211.
- Baba, T. (2004). *Researching Pacific and indigenous peoples: issues and perspectives*. Auckland, N.Z.: Centre for Pacific Studies The University of Auckland.
- Ballara, A. (1998). *Iwi: the dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Barclay, K., & Liu, J. H. (2003). Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of bicultural relations in New Zealand print media. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 3-12.
- Barker, J. (2005). *Sovereignty matters: locations of contestation and possibility in indigenous struggles for self-determination*. Lincoln, N.Z.: University of Nebraska Press.
- Beaglehole, E. (1936). *Hopi hunting and hunting ritual*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Beaglehole, E. (1937). *Some Modern Hawaiians*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1938). *Ethnology of Pukapuka*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1941). *Pangai, village in Tonga* (Vol. 18). Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1946). *Some modern Maoris*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Beaglehole, E., & Ritchie, J. E. (1958). The Rakau Maori studies. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 67(2), 132-154.
- Belich, J. (1996). *Making Peoples - A History of New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Press.

- Belshaw, H. (1940). Maori Economic Circumstances. In I. L. G. Sutherland (Ed.), *The Maori People Today*. Wellington, N.Z.: The New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bentley, T. (1999). *Pakeha Maori - The Extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.
- Berry, J. W. (1969). On cross-cultural comparability. *International Journal of Psychology*, 4, 119-128.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaption (Lead article). *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5-68.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., & Pandey, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Volume 1 - Theory and methods* (Vol. 1). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Best, E. (1972). *Tuhoe, the children of the mist* (2nd ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Bevan-Brown, J. (1998). *By Maori, for Maori, about Maori - is that enough*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- Binney, J. (1979). *Mihaia: the prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu*. Wellington, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Binney, J. (1997). *Redemption songs: a life of the nineteenth-century Maori leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories - Whakawhanaungatanga*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.
- Bock, P. K. (2000). Culture and Personality Revisited. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(1), 32-40.
- Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. J. (1975). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: a phenomenological approach to the social sciences*. New York: Wiley.
- Breakwell, G. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. London: Methven & Co. Ltd.
- Breakwell, G. M. (1988). Strategies adopted when identity is threatened. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 1(2), 189-203.
- Brewer, M. B., & Brown, R. J. (1998). Intergroup relations. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology. Volume 2* (4th ed., pp. 554-594). New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Brigham Young University Hawai'i. (2007). Welcome to BYU-Hawaii. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.byuh.edu/>
- Brislin, R. W. (1990). *Applied cross cultural psychology*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Brooke, J. L. (1994). *The refiner's fire: the making of Mormon cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, R. (1993). Ko wai ahau? *Mana Magazine*, April-May, 87-88.
- Brown, R., Condor, S., Matthews, A., Wade, G., & et al. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 59(4), 273-286.
- Buck, E. B. (1993). *Paradise remade: the politics of culture and history in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Buck, P. (1954). *Vikings of the sunrise*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcombe and Tombs.

- Buck, P. (1962). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombes Ltd.
- Butterworth, G. (2003, 16 December). Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera 1875/1876? - 1930. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 16 April, 2004, from <http://www.elections.org.nz/elections/pandr/vote/maori-seats.html>
- Byrnes, G. (2004). *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand history*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Cassidy, C., & Trew, K. (1998). Identities in Northern Ireland: a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 725.
- Clark, H. (2001). Catching the Knowledge Wave Conference. Wellington, N.Z.: Prime Minister's Office: <http://www.executive.govt.nz/speech.cfm?speechralfh=34852&SR=0>.
- Cloher, D. U. (2003). *Hongi Hika, warrior chief*. Auckland, N.Z.: Viking.
- Condliffe, J. B. (1971). *Te Rangi Hiroa - The Life of Sir Peter Buck*. Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombes Ltd.
- Cooper, G. (2004). *Te rerenga a te pirere: a longitudinal study of Kohanga reo and Kura kaupapa Maori students*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Cowan, J. (1955). *The Hauhau Wars, 1864-1872* (Vol. II). Wellington, N.Z.: R. E. Owen.
- Cowan, J. (1966). *Tales of the Maori bush* (2nd ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: Reed.
- Cowan, R. O. (1990). Temples in the Pacific: A Reflection of Twentieth Century Mormon History. *Mormon Pacific Historical Society*, 109-122.
- Crabtree, B. F., & Miller, W. L. (1992). *Doing qualitative research*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Cram, F., & Davis, W. (1994). On knowing. *Mana Magazine*, 5, 82-83.
- Cross, W. E. J. (1995). In search of blackness and afrocentricity: The psychology of black identity change. In H. W. Harris, Blue, H. C., & Griffith, E. E. H. (Ed.), *Racial and ethnic identity: psychological development and creative expression*. (pp. 53-72). New York: Routledge.
- Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993a). Constructing a sense of home - place affiliation and migration across the life cycle. *Sociological forum*, 8(4), 547-572.
- Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993b). A place to call home - identification with dwelling, community, and region. *Sociological quarterly*, 34(1), 111-131.
- Cullen, J. (2003). *The American dream: a short history of an idea that shaped a nation*. Oxford England ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cummings, D. W. (1961). *Mighty missionary of the Pacific: the building program of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, its history, scope and significance*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft Inc.
- Darwin, C. (1880). *The Descent of Man*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Davies, D. J. (2003). *An introduction to Mormonism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, S. (2006). Kaumatua: Roles of kaumatua and future directions. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 128.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Deschamps, J. C., & Brown, R. (1983). Superordinate goals and intergroup conflict. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22(3), 189-195.

- Dohrenwend, B. S. (1973). Social status and stressful life events. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 28, 225-235.
- Dudden, A. P. (2004). *American empire in the Pacific: from trade to strategic balance, 1700-1922*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum.
- Dudley, M. K., & Agard, K. K. (1990). *A Hawaiian nation*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Na Kane O Ka Malo Press.
- Durie, A. (1998a). *Me tipu ake te pono: Maori research, ethicality and development*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development Conference 7-9 July, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1984). "Te taha hinengaro": An integrated approach to mental health. *Community Mental Health in New Zealand*, 1(1), 4-11.
- Durie, M. H. (1985a). Maori health institutions. *Community Mental Health in New Zealand*, 2(1), 63-69.
- Durie, M. H. (1985b). A Maori perspective of health. *Journal of Social Sciences and Medicine*, 20, 483-468.
- Durie, M. H. (1988). The Treaty of Waitangi and health care. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 102, 283-285.
- Durie, M. H. (1989). The Treaty of Waitangi perspectives for social policy. In I. H. Kawharu. (Ed.), *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*. (pp. 280-299). Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1994a). *The CHI model - a culturally appropriate auditing model. Guidelines for Public Health Services*. Wellington, N.Z.: Public Health Commission.
- Durie, M. H. (1994b). Maori and the state: professionalism and ethical implications for a bi-cultural public service. *Public sector*, 17(1), 20-25.
- Durie, M. H. (1995a). Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Maori identity measure. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 104(4), 461-470.
- Durie, M. H. (1995b). Tino Rangatiratanga Maori Self Determination. *He Pukenga Korero*, 1(1), 44-55.
- Durie, M. H. (1998a). Puahou: A five part plan for improving Maori mental health. *He Pukenga Korero*, 3(2), 61-70.
- Durie, M. H. (1998b). *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The politics of Maori self-determination*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998c). The Treaty was always about the future. In K. S. Coates & P. G. McHugh (Eds.), *Living relationships: Kokiri ngatahi* (pp. 189-193). Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998d). *Whaiora: Maori health development* (2nd ed.). Auckland, N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1999a). Mental health and Maori development. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 33(1), 5-12.
- Durie, M. H. (1999b). Marae and implications for a modern Maori psychology - Elsdon Best Memorial Medal Address - Polynesian Society Annual General Meeting, 1999. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 108(4), 351-366.
- Durie, M. H. (2001). *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Maori Health*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2003). *Nga Kahui Pou: Launching Maori Futures*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.

- Durie, M. H., Black, T. E., Christensen, I., Durie, A. E., Fitzgerald, E., Taiapa, J. T., et al. (1996). *Te Hoe Nuku Roa - Maori profiles. A report to Te Puni Kokiri* (No. THNR 96/1): Massey University, Department of Maori Studies.
- Dworkin, R. M. (1996). *Freedom's law: the moral reading of the American Constitution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Elections New Zealand. (29 March 2004). Maori and the Vote. Retrieved 15 April, 2004, from <http://www.elections.org.nz/elections/pandr/vote/maori-seats.html>
- Eliason, E. A. (2001). *Mormons and Mormonism: an introduction to an American world religion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Elsmore, B. (1999). *Mana from Heaven - A Century of Maori Prophets*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Feagin, J. R. (1991). The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiracist Discrimination in Public Places. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 101-116.
- Firth, R. (1959). *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.
- Firth, R. (1972). The exchange of gifts. In R. Firth (Ed.), *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (Second ed., pp. 393-432). Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.
- Fisher, A. T., Sonn, C. C., & Bishop, B. J. (2002). *Psychological sense of community: research, applications, and implications*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Fitzgerald, E. D., Durie, M. H., Black, T. E., Durie, A. E., Christensen, I. S., & Taiapa, J. T. (1996). Whaihuatatau. *He Kupenga Korero*, 2(1), 34-42.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1970). The first generation of Maori University graduates: A historical perspective. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 5(1), 47-62.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1972). Education and identity: A reconsideration of some models of acculturation and identity. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 7, 45-58.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1974a). Maori acculturation: evolution of choice in a post-colonial situation. *Oceania*, 44(3), 209-215.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1974b). The Maori university graduate and the sentiment system. *Anthropological quarterly*, 47(2), 169-181.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1977a). *Education and identity: a study of the New Zealand Maori graduate*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1977b). Male and female identity among New Zealand Maoris. *Delta*, No 20, 32-37.
- Fleras, A., & Spoonley, P. (1999). *Recalling Aotearoa. Indigenous politics and ethnic relations in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.
- Forster, J. (1975). Maori-white relations in New Zealand. In D. G. Baker (Ed.), *Politics of race: comparative studies* (pp. 191-209). Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Fox, D. R. (1985). Psychology, ideology, utopia and the commons. *American Psychologist*, 40, 48-58.
- Franke, V. C. (2000). Duty, Honor, Country: The Social Identity of West Point Cadets. *Armed Forces & Society: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 26(2), 175.
- Gedicks, F. M. (1999). "No man's land": The place of Latter-day Saints in the culture war (Mormon isolation, denominational beliefs, and the contemporary American political climate). *Brigham Young University Studies*, 38(3), 145-162.

- Ghosh, E. S., & Kumar, R. (1991). Hindu-Muslim intergroup relations in India: Applying socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 3(1), 93-112.
- Gibson, K. J. (1999). *Maori, women and dual ethnicity: investigating pathways of identity development*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Goffman, E. (1962). *Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (1st ed.). Chicago: Aldine.
- Goldsbury, S. (2004). *Maori service users' experiences with clinical psychologists*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Gorst, J. E. (1974). *The Maori King*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Capper Press.
- Gough, B., Robinson, S., Kremer, J., & Mitchell, R. (1992). The social psychology of intergroup conflict: An appraisal of Northern Ireland research. *Canadian Psychology*, 33(3), 645-651.
- Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasurement of man* (Revised and expanded ed.). London: Penguin.
- Grace, J. T. H. (1959). *Tuwharetoa: A history of the Maori people of the Taupo district*. Wellington, N.Z.: A.H & A.W Reed.
- Grace, P., Ramsden, I., & Dennis, J. (2001). *The Silent Migration - Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.
- Greymorning, S. (2004). *A will to survive: indigenous essays on the politics of culture, language, and identity*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Grimshaw, P. (1989). *Paths of duty: American missionary wives in nineteenth-century Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Groot, S., Nikora, L. W., Hodgetts, D., & Karapu, R. (2006). Cultural vehicles and the Maori print media: What cultural concepts are used to communicate health messages to Maori? *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 139.
- Guerin, B. (2004). Analyzing Social Contexts through Time. In *Handbook for analyzing the social strategies of everyday life* (pp. 237-264). Reno, Nevada: Context Press.
- Guerin, B., & Miyazaki, Y. (2004). Analyzing Rumors, Gossip, and Urban Legends through their Conversational Properties. Unpublished manuscript. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Hall, S. (1992). The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In S. Hall & B. Gielben (Eds.), *Formations of modernity* (pp. 276-320). Cambridge: Polity Press and Open University.
- Hanson, F. A., & Hanson, L. (1983). *Counterpoint in Maori culture*. London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1959). The Maori agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth century. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68(2), 61-79.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1960). Maori agriculture after the wars (1871-1886). *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 69(4), 354-367.
- Hargreaves, R. P. (1961). Maori flour mills of the Auckland Province, 1846-1860. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70(2), 227-233.
- Harré, J. (1966). *Maori and Pakeha - a study of mixed marriages in New Zealand*. New York, London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations [by] F. A. Praeger.

- Harris, F. C. (1999). *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, M. (1983). *Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Hawke, S. (Ed.). (1998). *Takaparawhau: the people's story: 1998 Bastion Point 20 year commemoration book*. Orakei, Auckland, N.Z.: Moko Productions.
- Hay, R. (1998a). A rooted sense of place in cross-cultural perspective. *The Canadian Geographer*, 42(3), 245-247.
- Hay, R. (1998b). Sense of place in developmental context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18(1), 5-29.
- Health Research Council of New Zealand. (1997). *HRC Guidelines on Ethics in Health Research*. Auckland, N.Z.: Author.
- Health Research Council of New Zealand. (1998). *Guidelines for researching on health research involving Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: Author.
- Heller, K., Price, R. H., Reinharz, S., Riger, S., Wandersman, A., & D'Aunno, T. A. (1984). *Psychology and Community Change: Challenges of the Future*. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Helms, J. E. (1995). An update of Helms's white and people of color racial identity models. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. Chapter 9). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Henry, J. L. (2001). *The health experiences of rural Maori: social, cultural and economic aspects*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Heuer, B. (1972). *Maori women*. Wellington, N.Z.: Published for the Polynesian Society by A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Hewson, D. A. (2002). *Individualism and collectivism: a comparison of Maori and Pakeha self-concepts*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Ho, Y. F. (1985). Cultural values and professional issues in clinical psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40(11), 1212-1218.
- Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. (2003). *The Sage handbook of social psychology*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Hohepa, P. W. (1964). *A Maori community in Northland*. Auckland, NZ.: A. H. Reed & A. W. Reed.
- Hopkins, K. M. (1997). Supervisor intervention with troubled workers: a social identity perspective. *Human Relations*, 50(10), 1215.
- Howard, J. A. (2000). Social Psychology of Identities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 367-393.
- Howe, K. R. (2006). *Vaka moana: voyages of the ancestors: the discovery and settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman: Auckland Museum.
- Howitt, D., & Owusu-Bempah, J. (1994). *The racism of psychology - Time for change*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hui Taumata. (2005). *Hui Taumata 2005: Summary Report*. Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.
- Huijbers, K. (1996). *Maori women in Taranaki and their experiences in health*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Hunn, J. K. (1961). *Report of Maori Affairs*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.

- Hunt, B. W. (1971). *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in New Zealand*. Unpublished MA, Brigham Young University, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Ihimaera, W. (1998). *Growing up Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: Tandem.
- Ilohia, N. (1996/97). No longer in no man's land. *Mana*, 28-30.
- Indigena, F. S., & Kothari, B. (1997). Rights to the benefits of research: compensating indigenous people for their intellectual contribution. *Human organisation*, 56(2), 127-137.
- Ingham, J. M. (1996). *Psychological anthropology reconsidered*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Irwin, K. (1994). Maori research methods and practices. *Sites*, 28, 25-43.
- Jackson, M. (1998). *Research and the colonisation of Maori knowledge*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau - Maori Research & Development Conference, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- Jahoda, G. (1999). *Images of savages. Ancient roots of modern prejudice in Western Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, P. T. H. (1959). *King Potatau: an account of the life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori king*. Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society.
- Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission. (2007). A Brief History. Retrieved 20 May 2007, from <http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.html>
- Kame'eleihiwa, L. (1992). *Native land and foreign desires: how shall we live in harmony? Ko Hawai'i aina a me n a koi pu'umake a ka po'e haole: pehea l a e pono ai?* Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kanahale, G. S. (1986). *Ku kanaka, stand tall: a search for Hawaiian values*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: Waiaha Foundation.
- Kant, J. (1976). *Critique of Practical reason, and other writings in moral philosophy*. New York: Garland.
- Katene, F. B. (16 November 1942). *Letter to Hon P. K. Paikea, Minister in Charge of Maori War Effort*. Unpublished manuscript, National Archives, Wellington, N.Z.
- Kawharu, I. H. (1975). *Orakei: A Ngati Whatua Community*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Kea New Zealand. (2006). Kea New Zealand's Global Survey of Expatriate New Zealanders: Everyone Counts. Retrieved 25 June 2007, from <http://www.keanewzealand.com/news/eoc-summary.html>
- King, M. (1977). *Te Paea, a biography*. Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder and Stoughton.
- King, M. (1991). *Whina. A Biography of Whina Cooper*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.
- King, M. (2003). *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.
- Kluckhohn, F., & Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, Illinois: Peterson.
- Koziol, H. (2003, 16 December 2003). Hirini Whaanga Christie, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 30 April, 2004, from <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Lal, B. V., Munro, D., & Beechert, E. D. (1993). *Plantation workers: resistance and accommodation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Landauer, L. B. (1999). *Pearl: the history of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor*. Lake Tahoe, CA: Flying Cloud Press.

- Laurie, A. J., & Evans, L. (2003). *Outlines: lesbian and gay histories of Aotearoa*. Wellington: N.Z.: Lesbian and Gay Archives of New Zealand.
- Levine, R. A. (2001). Culture and Personality Studies, 1918-1960: Myth and History. *Journal of Personality*, 69(6), 803-818.
- Levine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes and group behavior*. New York: Wiley.
- Lonner, W. J., & Malpass, R. (1994). *Psychology and culture*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., Chamberlain, K., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16(2), 100-118.
- Lowe, J. (1990). *The Australian Maori population: a demographic analysis based on 1986 Australian and New Zealand census data = Nga Maori ki ahitereria*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Planning Council.
- Ludlow, D. H. (1992). *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lutz, S. E., & Ruble, D. N. (1995). Children and gender prejudice: Context, motivation, and the development of gender conceptions. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development: A research annual, Vol. 10* (pp. 131-166). London, England UK: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, Ltd.
- Mael, F. A., & Ashforth, B. E. (1995). Loyal from day one: Biodata, organizational identification, and turnover among newcomers. *Personnel Psychology*, 48(2), 309-333.
- Marcus Newhall, A., Miller, N., Holtz, R., & Brewer, M. B. (1993). Cross-cutting category membership with role assignment: A means of reducing intergroup bias. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 32(2), 125-146.
- Marsden, M. (1975). God, Man and Universe: a Maori view. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*. Wellington, N.Z.: Hicks Smith and Sons.
- Martindale, D. (1981). *The nature and types of sociological theory*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Massey University. (2005). Nga Kaupapa Rangahau: Research and Maori Health Development Programmes. Retrieved Jan 13, 2005, from <http://maori.massey.ac.nz/research/index.shtml>
- McCreanor, T. (1997). When racism stepped ashore: antecedents of anti-Maori discourse in Aotearoa. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 26(1), 36-44.
- McCreanor, T. N. (1989). Talking about race. In H. Yensen, K. Hague & T. McCreanor (Eds.), *Honouring the Treaty: an introduction for Pakeha to the Treaty of Waitangi* (pp. 90-112). Auckland, NZ.: Penguin Books.
- McCreanor, T. N. (1993). Mimiwhangata: Media reliance on Pakeha commonsense in interpretations of Maori actions. *Sites*, 26, 79-90.
- McCreary, J. R. (1968). Population growth and urbanisation. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties. A symposium* (pp. 187-204). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.
- McDermott Jr, J. F., Tseng, W., & Marezki, T. W. (1980). *People and cultures of Hawai'i. A psychocultural profile*. Honolulu: John A. Burns School of Medicine and University of Hawai'i Press.
- McHugh, P. G. (1991). *The Maori Magna Carta: New Zealand law and the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press.

- McMillan, D., & Chavis, D. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.
- McRae, K. O., Nikora, L. W., Te Awekotuku, N., & Rua, M. (2006). Remembering, understanding and experiencing whangai. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 58, 166.
- Merritt, K. (2003). *Rangatahi wahine overcoming the odds*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Metge, J. (1964). *A New Maori migration: rural and urban relations in Northern New Zealand*. London: University of London Athlone Press.
- Metge, J. (1967). *The Maoris of New Zealand*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Metge, J. (1976). *The Maoris of New Zealand : Rautahi*. London ; Boston, Routledge & K. Paul.
- Metge, J. (1986). *In and out of touch : whakamaa in cross-cultural context*. Wellington N.Z., Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J. (1995). *New growth from old: the Whanau in the modern world*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J. and Campbell, D (1958). The Rakau Maori Studies. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67(4), 352-386.
- Meyers, M. D. (1997). Qualitative research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 21(2), 241-242.
- Miller, S. I., & Fredericks, M. A. (1994). *Qualitative research methods: social epistemology and practical inquiry*. New York: P. Lang.
- Mitcalfe, B. (1964, August 7). The Uncomfortable Spotlight - A review of the Book *The Making of a Maori*. *New Zealand Listener*.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2005). Maori New Zealanders [Electronic Version]. *Explore Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved 22 June 2007 from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/en>.
- Moghaddam, F. M. (1987). Psychology in the Three Worlds: As Reflected by the Crisis in Social Psychology and the Move Toward Indigenous Third- World Psychology. *American Psychologist*, 42, 912-920.
- Moghaddam, F. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1985). Psychology in the Developing World: An Evaluation Through the Concepts of "Dual Perception" and "Parallel Growth". *American Psychologist*, 40, 1144.
- Monin, P. (2001). *Hauraki Contested 1769-1875*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.
- Moore, J. D. (2004). *Visions of culture: an introduction to anthropological theories and theorists* (2nd ed.). Walnut Creek, Ca.: Altamira Press a division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Morrison, L. (1999). *The good and the bad times: Maori women's experience of gambling*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Morrison, S., & Kiefer, K. (2003). *Kamehameha: the warrior king of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Moscovici, S. (2001). *Social representations: explorations in social psychology*. New York: New York University Press.
- Murphy, E., Dingwall, R., Greatbatch, D., Parker, S., & Watson, P. (1998). Qualitative research methods in health technology assessment: a review of the literature. *Health Technol Assessment*, 2(16), iii-ix, 1-274.
- Mutu, M. (1998). *Barriers to research: The constraints of imposed frameworks*. Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research & Development Conference, Palmerston North, N.Z..

- Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J., & Barnes, A. (2006). Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology, 11*(2), 183-196.
- Nairn, R. G., & McCreanor, T. N. (1991). Race talk and common sense: Patterns in Pakeha discourse on Maori/Pakeha relations in New Zealand. *Journal of Language & Social Psychology, 10*(4), 245-262.
- Neich, R. (1993). *Painted histories: early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Neich, R. (2001). *Carved histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- New Zealand Psychological Society. (1986). *Code of Ethic*. Wellington, N.Z.: Author.
- Newman, K. (2006). *Ratana Revisited: an unfinished legacy*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Ngata, A. T. (1943). *The price of citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.* Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Ngata, A. T. (1972). *Nga Moteatea*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed for the Polynesian Society.
- Nikora, L. W. (1995a). *The maintenance of Maori tribal identities in Aotearoa: A working paper*. Paper presented at the Ethnicity and Multiethnicity Conference, Brigham Young University, La'ie, Hawai'i, May 10-13.
- Nikora, L. W. (1995b). *Maori tribal and hapu identity. Report of preliminary findings*. Paper presented at the Hui '95: Maori and Psychology Conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.. February 11-12.
- Nikora, L. W. (1996). *Heritage connections: Maori tribal identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Paper presented at the XIII Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Montreal, Canada, August 12-16.
- Nikora, L. W. (1998). *The role of cultural property in maintaining the identities of New Zealand Maori*. Paper presented at the Claiming the stones/naming the bones: Cultural property and the negotiation of national and ethnic identity Conference, St Johns College, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, April.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000a). *The literature on Maori identity: where are we going?* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000b). *Maori identity and research*. Paper presented at the Te Kawa a Maui Seminar Series, Victoria University of Wellington, N.Z.
- Nikora, L. W. (2000c). *The Treaty of Waitangi and Maori identities*. Paper presented at the EWC/EWCA 2000 International Conference: Building an Asia Pacific Community, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
- Nikora, L. W. (2002). *The ethical review of psychological research: Wriggling, wrangling and wiping one's way around those "cultural" questions*. Paper presented at the Hawai'i International Conference on Social Sciences, June 11-15, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Nikora, L. W., Guerin, B., Rua, M., & Te Awekotuku, N. (2004). Moving away from home: Some social consequences for Tuhoe migrating to the Waikato. *New Zealand Population Review, 30*(1&2), 95-112.
- Nikora, L. W., Te Awekotuku, N., & Rua, M. (2004). Wearing Moko - Maori facial marking in today's world. In N. Thomas, A. Cole & B. Douglas (Eds.), *Tatau/Tattoo - Bodies, art and exchange in the Pacific and Europe*. London, England: Reaktion.

Oaker, G., & Brown, R. (1986). Intergroup relations in a hospital setting: A further test of social identity theory. *Human Relations*, 39(8), 767-778.

Oakes, P., Haslam, S. A., & Turner, J. C. (1998). The role of prototypicality in group influence and cohesion: Contextual variation in the graded structure of social categories. In S. Worchel, J. F. Morales, D. Paez & J. C. Deschamps (Eds.), *Social identity: International perspectives* (pp. 75-92). London: Sage.

Obst, P. L., & White, K. M. (2005). An exploration of the interplay between psychological sense of community, social identification and salience. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 15(2), 127-135.

Office of Treaty Settlements. (2004). *Healing the past, building a future: a guide to Treaty of Waitangi claims and negotiations with the Crown* (Summary ed.). Wellington, N.Z.: Office of Treaty Settlements.

Office of Treaty Settlements. (2006). Ngati Whatua o Orakei Agreement in Principle - Minister's Press Release. Retrieved 11/02, 2007, from <http://nz01.terabyte.co.nz/ots/LiveArticle.asp?ArtID=94391604>

Orange, C. (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z.; Winchester, Mass., USA: Allen & Unwin: Port Nicholson Press

Orange, C. (1995). Two Peoples: One Land. *Northern Perspectives [Electronic version]*, 23(2).

Orange, C. (2003, 23 March). The Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945. *We Never Had It So Good? Themes from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 5, (1941-1960)*. Retrieved 18 April, 2004, from <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/mweo>

Orford, J. (1992). *Community Psychology: Theory and Practice*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Oyserman, D. (2001). Values: Psychological Perspectives. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 16150-16153). Online: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/referenceworks/0080430767>.

Paewai, M. K. (1997). *Cultural safety within clinical psychology: a Maori perspective*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..

Pagden, A. (1982). *The fall of natural man*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Papa Ola Lokahi. (2004). Native Hawaiian Health. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.nativehawaiianhealth.net/#>

Papakura, M. (1986). *The Old-Time Maori*. Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press.

Parliament Visitor Services. (2004). Maori Members of Parliament from 1868. Retrieved 22nd May, 2004, from <http://www.ps.parliament.govt.nz/schools/texts/maorimp.shtml>

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Pawley, A. (2000). Obituary: Bruce Biggs. *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/search/story.cfm?storyid=CF304954-39D9-11DA-8E1B-A5B353C55561>

Payne, B., & Quinn, P. (1997). *Staunch: inside New Zealand's gangs* (New ed.). Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.

Pearson, D. G. (1990). *A dream deferred: the origins of ethnic conflict in New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.; Boston: Allen & Unwin: Port Nicholson Press.

- Pere, R. (1991). *Te Wheke: Whaia te maramatanga me te aroha*. Gisborne, N.Z.: Ako Global Publishers.
- Persuitt, D. (2000). *Joseph Smith and the origins of the Book of Mormon* (2nd ed.). Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland.
- Piddington, R. (1950). *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Vol. 1). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.
- Piddington, R. (1968). Emergent Development and 'Integration'. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties; a symposium* (pp. 257-269). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.
- Pike, K. L. (1954). Emic and etic standpoints for the description of behaviour. In *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Pt. 1 (preliminary edition)* (pp. 8-28). Glendale, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pike, K. L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Pitts, V. (2003). *In the flesh: the cultural politics of body modification*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pomare, M., & Cowan, J. (1930). *Legends of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Fine Arts (N.Z.).
- Pool, I. (1985). Introduction. In Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (Ed.), *Population of New Zealand* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-53). New York: United Nations.
- Pool, I. (1991). *Te Iwi Maori - a New Zealand population past, present & projected*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Public Health Association. (2003, 4 July). Press Release: Mason Durie Honoured 2004 Public Health Champion.
- Pugsley, C. (1995). *Te Hokowhitu A Tu - The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Rangihau, J. (1981). Being Maori. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri* (pp. 165-175). Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul.
- Ritchie, J. (1957). *Childhood in Rakau: the first five years of life*. Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Psychology Victoria University.
- Ritchie, J. (1964a). *Maori families* (Vol. 18). Wellington, NZ.: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Ritchie, J. (1977). *Tamariki Maori*. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Ritchie, J. (1978). *Chance to be equal*. Cape Catley: Whatamongo Bay.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1970). *Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand*. Wellington, NZ: AH & AW Reed.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1978). *Growing Up in New Zealand*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1979). *Growing Up in Polynesia*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1981). *Spare the Rod*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1984). *The Dangerous Age*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1990). *Violence in New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin.
- Ritchie, J., & Ritchie, J. E. (1997). *The next generation: child rearing in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.

- Ritchie, J. E. (1963). *The making of a Maori: a case study of a changing community*. Wellington, N.Z.: Reed.
- Ritchie, J. E. (1964b). *Race relations: Six New Zealand studies*. Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Psychology Victoria University.
- Ritchie, J. E. (1992). *Becoming Bicultural*. Thorndon, Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers & Daphne Brasell Associates.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (1985). *E tipu e rea: Polynesian socialization and psychological development*. Hamilton, NZ: University of Waikato Centre for Maori Studies and Research.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (1998). Seventy Five Years of Cross-Cultural Psychology in New Zealand. The XIV International Congress - "The Silver Jubilee Congress" of the International Association from Cross-Cultural Psychology, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, August 3-8, 1998.
- Ritchie, J. E., & Ritchie, J. (2003, 16 December). Beaglehole, Ernest 1906 - 1965, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 9 September, 2004, from <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Roberts, M., Hasami, B., Benton, R. A., Satterfield, T., Finucane, M. L., Henare, M., et al. (2004). Whakapapa as a Maori Mental Construct: Some implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification for Organisms. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16(1), 1-28.
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Rosman, A., & Rubel, P. G. (1995). *The tapestry of culture. An introduction to cultural anthropology* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Rothbart, M., & Lewis, S. H. (1994). Cognitive processes and intergroup relations: A historical perspective. In P. G. Devine & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Social cognition: Impact on social psychology*. (pp. 347-382). San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.
- Ruru, J. (2004). A politically fuelled Tsunami: The foreshore/seabed controversy in Aotearoa me Te Wai Pounamu New Zealand. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 113(1), 57-72.
- Salmond, A. (1975). *Hui: a study of Maori ceremonial gatherings*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Salmond, A. (1991). *Two worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Salmond, A. (1997). *Between worlds: early exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773-1815*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sampson, E. E. (1977). Psychology and the American ideal. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 35, 767-782.
- Schneider, S. K., & Northcraft, G. B. (1999). Three social dilemmas of workforce diversity in organizations: A social identity perspective. *Human Relations*, 52(11), 1445-1467.
- Schrader, B. (2005). *We call it home: A history of state housing in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Schwimmer, E. (1966). *The World of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: AH & AW Reed.
- Schwimmer, E. (1968a). The aspirations of the contemporary Maori. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties. A symposium* (pp. 9-64). Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood & Janet Paul Ltd.

- Schwimmer, E. (1968b). *The Maori people in the nineteen-sixties; a symposium*.
- Scott, D. (1975). *Ask that mountain: the story of Parihaka*. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann.
- Segall, M. H., Dasen, P. R., Berry, J. W., & Poortinga, Y. H. (Eds.). (1999). *Human Behavior in Global Perspective - An Introduction to Cross-cultural Psychology*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Sheehan, M. (1989). *Maori and Pakeha - Race Relations 1912-1980*. Auckland, N.Z.: MacMillan.
- Silva, N. K. (2004). *Aloha betrayed: native Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Silverman, D. (1997). *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Simon, J. L., & Burstein, P. (1985). *Basic research methods in Social Science* (3rd ed.). New York: Random House.
- Skevington, S. M., & Dawkes, D. A. (1988). Minorities at work: Men in a woman's world. In D. Canter & J. C. Jesuino (Eds.), *Environmental social psychology. NATO ASI series. Series D, Behavioural and social sciences, No. 45*. (pp. 272-280). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Smith, P. B., & Bond, M. H. (1998). *Social psychology across cultures*. London: Prentice Hall Europe.
- Snell, D. (2006). *What's it like to be a heretic?: heavy metal communities in practise*. Unpublished M.Soc.Sci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. (16 December 2003). Ngata, Apirana Turupa 1874 - 1950, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Retrieved 15 April, 2004, from URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. (Ed.). (1988). *Na To Hoa Aroha* (Vol. 1). Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Speer, P. W., Jackson, C. B., & Peterson, N. A. (2001). The relationship between social cohesion and empowerment: Support and new implications for theory. *Health Education & Behavior, 28*(6), 716-732.
- Spender, D. (1985a). *For the record: the making and meaning of feminist knowledge*. London: Women's press.
- Spender, D. (1985b). *Man made language*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Spindler, G. D. (1952). Personality and peyotism and Menomini Indian acculturation. *Psychiatry, 15*, 151-159.
- Spoonley, P. (1993). *Racism and ethnicity* (Rev. ed.). Auckland, N.Z.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spoonley, P., & Hirsch, W. (1990). *Between the Lines - Racism and the New Zealand Media*. Singapore: Heinemann Reed.
- Spoonley, P., Pearson, D. G., & Macpherson, C. (1991). *Nga Take: ethnic relations and racism in Aotearoa/ New Zealand*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.
- Sporle, A., & Koea, J. (2004). Maori responsiveness in health and medical research: clarifying the roles of the researcher and the institution (part 1 & 2). *New Zealand Medical Journal, 117*(1199), Online at: <http://www.nzma.org.nz/journal/117-1199/1998/content.pdf>.
- Stanfield, J. H. (1985). The ethnocentric basis of social science knowledge production. *Review of Research in Education, 12*, 387-415.

- State of Hawai'i Data Book. (2000). Retrieved 19 March, 2007, from <http://state.hi.us/dbedt/>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2001). 2001 Census of population and dwellings - cultural diversity tables. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2001-census-data/cultural-diversity-tables.htm>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Quickstats about Maori: 2006 census*. Wellington, N.Z.: Statistics New Zealand.
- Stewart, B. (1993). Ko wai ahau? *Mana, Jan/Feb*, 94-95.
- Stewart, T. (1997). Historical interfaces between Maori and Psychology. In P. Te Whaiti, M. B. McCarthy & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i rangiatea* (pp. 75-95). Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press: Bridget Williams Books.
- Stokes, E. (1985). Maori research and development. A discussion paper prepared for the Social Sciences Committee of the National Research Advisory Council. Hamilton: University of Waikato.
- Stryker, S. (1987). Identity theory: Developments and extensions. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives* (pp. 83-101). New York: Wiley.
- Stryker, S., & Statham, A. (1985). Symbolic interaction and role theory. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed., Vol. I, pp. Chapter 6. pp. 311-378). New York: Random House.
- Sumner, W. (1906). *Folkways*. New York: Ginn.
- Suzuki, S. (1998). In-group and out-group communication patterns in international organizations: implications for social identity theory. *Communication Research*, 25(2), 154-182.
- Swarbrick, N. (2006). North Americans. In *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. updated 21-Dec-2006: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/NorthAmericans/en>.
- Szaszy, M., Rogers, A., & Simpson, M. I. (1993). *Te timatanga - Tatau Tatau: Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toko i te Ora: Early stories from founding members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*. Wellington, N.Z.: Maori Women's Welfare League: B Williams Books.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 61-76). London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1998). *Introduction to qualitative research methods - a guidebook and resource* (3rd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Te Awakotuku, N. (1991). *He tikanga whakaaro. Research ethics in the Maori community*. Wellington, N.Z.: Manatu Maori.
- Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team. (1999). *Te Hoe Nuku Roa Source Documents: Baseline History* (No. THNR99/P/5): Te Putahi a Toi, Massey University.
- Te Mangai Paho. (2003). *Te Mangai Paho Maori Broadcasting Funding Agency*. Wellington, N.Z.: Te Mangai Paho.
- Te Pumanawa Hauora. (1998). *Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research and Development Conference 7-9 July*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

- Te Puni Kokiri. (1999). *Evaluation for Maori. Guidelines for Government Agencies*. Wellington: Monitoring and Evaluation Branch.
- Teddy, L. (2003). *Place attachment and traditional place: an examination of the land, identity and wellbeing relationship between Ngai Te Ahi and Hairini Marae*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Terry, D. J., Callan, V. J., & Sartori, G. (1996). Employee adjustment to an organizational merger: Stress, coping and intergroup differences. *Stress Medicine*, 12(2), 105-122.
- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. (2007). Newsroom/Statistical Information. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://newsroom.lds.org/>
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1991). *The Ngai Tahu report, 1991 (Wai 27)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker and Friend.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1992). *The Ngai Tahu sea fisheries report, 1992 (Wai 27)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker and Friend.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (1998). *Te Whanau o Waipareira Report (Wai414)*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publishers.
- The Waitangi Tribunal. (2007). *Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Impact of the Crown's Treaty Settlement Policy on Te Arawa Settlement Policy on Te Arawa Waka WAI 1353*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publications.
- Thomas, D. R. (1986). Culture and ethnicity: Maintaining the distinction. Special Issue: Contributions to cross-cultural psychology. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 38(3), 371-380.
- Thomas, D. R. (1988). Development of a test of Maori knowledge. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 17(2), 59-67.
- Thomas, D. R. (1991). *Cultural pluralism and development: Applications in education and learning*. Hamilton, N.Z.: Department of Psychology, University of Waikato.
- Thomas, D. R. (1995). *Understanding culture and ethnicity: Patterns and policies in plural societies*. Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato.
- Thomas, D. R., & Nikora, L. W. (1994). Maori, Pakeha and New Zealander: Ethnic and National Identity among New Zealand Students. *Journal of intercultural studies*, 1(17), 29-40.
- Thomas, D. R., & Nikora, L. W. (1996). Maori, Pakeha and New Zealander: Ethnic and national identity among New Zealand students. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 17(1/2), 29-40.
- Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). *Black, white or mixed race?* London: Routledge.
- Trask, H.-K. (1999). *From a native daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawaii i* (Rev. ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Trimble, J. E., & Medicine, B. (1993). Diversification of American Indians: Forming an Indigenous Perspective. *Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series*, 17, 133 - 151.
- Tuan, Y. (1996). Space and place - humanistic perspective. In J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone & A. Rogers (Eds.), *Human Geography - an essential anthology*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd & University of Otago Press.

- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Tyler, F. B., Brome, D. R., & Williams, J. E. (1991). *Ethnic validity, ecology and psychotherapy: A psychosocial competence model*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Underwood, G. (2000). Mormonism, the Maori and Cultural Authenticity. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 35(2), 133-146.
- University of Cambridge Counselling Service. (2002). Homesickness. Retrieved 29 October 2002
- Van Wagoner, R. S. (1989). *Mormon polygamy: a history* (2nd ed.). Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books.
- Vaughan, G. M. (1972). *Racial issues in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Akarana Press.
- Vaughan, G. M. (1988). The psychology of intergroup discrimination. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 17(1), 1-14.
- Vaughan, G. M., & Hogg, M. A. (2005). *Introduction to social psychology* (4th ed.). Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Walker, R. (1989). Maori identity. In D. Novitz & B. Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and identity in New Zealand* (pp. 35-52). Wellington, N.Z.: Government Print.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.
- Walker, R. (1998). Marae: A place to stand. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri - Aspects of Maoritanga*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed.
- Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua - The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Walsh, W. J. (2007). Overview of Mormonism. Retrieved 22 May 2007, from <http://www.aboutmormonism.com/mormonism.html>
- Wanhalla, A. (2007). Housing Un/healthy Bodies: Native Housing Surveys and Maori Health in New Zealand 1930-45. *Health and History*, 8(1), Online: <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/hah/8.1/wanhalla.html>.
- Ward, A. (1973). *A show of justice: racial "amalgamation" in nineteenth century New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Ward, A. (1999). *An Unsettled history: Treaty claims in New Zealand today*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.
- Wax, M. L. (1991). The ethics of research in American Indian communities. *American Indian Quarterly*, 431 - 456.
- Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(2), Online: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs/>.
- Whangapirita, L. (2003). *Taku manawa: patterns of alternative health care practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Unpublished M.SocSci, University of Waikato, Hamilton, N.Z..
- Williams, D. V. (1999). *'Te Kooti Tango Whenua' - The Native Land Court 1864-1909*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers.
- Williams, W., Williams, J. N., & Porter, F. (1974). *The Turanga journals, 1840-1850: letters and journals of William and Jane Williams, missionaries to Poverty Bay*. Wellington, N.Z.: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press.
- Wilson, O. (1985). *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: a quarter century of upheaval*. Dunedin, N.Z.: McIndoe.

Winiata, M. (1967). *The changing role of the leader in Maori society*. Auckland, N.Z.: Blackwood and Janet Paul.

Womack, M. (2005). *Symbols and meaning: a concise introduction*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Young, T. R., & Arrigo, B. (Eds.). (1999). *The Red Feather Dictionary of Critical Social Science*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1 English Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

The Text in English

Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands - Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

W HOBSON Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.

[Here follow signatures, dates, etc.]

Appendix 2 Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

The Text in Māori

Preamble

KO WIKITORIA, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei. Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana. Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei. Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangtiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON,
Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waiangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga

Appendix 3 English Translation of the Maori Treaty Text

(This English translation of the Maori treaty text, made by Professor I H Kawharu, was printed in Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, 1988, pages 87 88).

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

Victoria, The Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Maori and European living in a state of lawlessness.

So the Queen has appointed me, William Hobson a captain in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the subtribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

The First

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land.

The Second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands,

villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The Third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

(signed) William Hobson
Consul and Lieutenant –Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation and the subtribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and mark thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth day of February in the year of our Lord 1840.

The Chiefs of the Confederation

Appendix 4 Study One Information sheet

Te Whare Wananga o Waikato Psychology Department

Information sheet for study on the Social Identities of Maori People

Thank you for the opportunity to seek your participation in this study. This briefing sheet contains information that:

1. explains what the study is about
2. describes who the researchers are
3. describes how we would like you to participate in this study
4. describes how the information that you provide will be used
5. describes issues that we would like you to consider before agreeing to participate in this study.

What is this study about?

Maori people have often been 'defined' by everyone else other than themselves. This study is interested in the variety of social identities that Maori people have; how they were formed; what these identities mean; and how they are maintained. We hope that the information that you provide in this study will contribute to drawing a more accurate picture of who we are.

Who are the researchers?

Linda Waimarie Nikora: is a staff member of the Psychology Department at Te Whare Wananga o Waikato. She is also seeking to complete Doctoral Research in the area of Social Identities of Maori people. She is of Tuhoe and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti descent, and has research and teaching interests in the area of Maori development and Psychology. Linda is the primary researcher for this study.

Angeline Rangihakahaerea Harawira: is a student who is in process of completing undergraduate studies at Te Wharewananga o Waikato. She is of Tuhoe and Ngai Te Rangi descent. Rangihakahaerea is the primary research assistant for this study.

What are you being asked to do as a participant in this study?

You are being asked to participate in an interview with either Waimarie or Rangihakahaerea where you will be asked a series of open-ended questions. The interview will probably take about 2 hours.

We will be taking written notes and tape-recording the interview but you will still have control over what you wish to have recorded on tape or written in any of the notes that are taken.

After the interview, we will return to you a written account of our interview based on notes taken during the interview and on the tape-recording. At that stage we will invite you to make comments or write a response to the written account that we provide to you.

How will the information that you provide be used?

As a teacher at University I (Linda) hope to use the information that you provide as part of my teaching and research activities in the area of Maori and Psychology.

At some time in the near future I intend to begin a Doctoral study where I hope to draw upon the information that you provide here to help define further research in this area. Irrespective of whether I get to start any further research in this area, the results of this study will be given back to you through summary reports and more widely to Maori people generally through articles in either journals or magazines, or at Conferences or Hui. However, if I do go on to use the information that you provide here as part of a Doctoral study, the report arising from that study will be held in the University of Waikato library.

What are the issues that I need to consider before agreeing to participate in this study?

Normal practice in research is that we would agree to protect the identity of those people that participate, namely you. This means that steps are taken to disguise and protect the real identity of those people who have provided information to us. So, when the information is presented to other people we will disguise your name by

perhaps using a different name, or calling you a ‘participant’. If your job or a particular role (e.g., the Maori Counsellor at a school) makes it difficult to disguise your identity, then these facts might also be disguised.

Sometimes disguising your identity is a good thing as it protects your privacy and allows you to tell us things without the fear of other people knowing who you are. However, you may not wish to disguise your identity and may be quite happy to have your name associated with the information that you provide to us. Prior to the interview you will be asked about your preferences in this area.

We also want to make sure that you choose to participate in this study of your own free will. You may choose to withdraw your information from this study at any stage up until you have commented and returned the report of your interview that we send to you. If you do choose to withdraw, the information that you provided will not be included in any further activities related to this study. Furthermore, during the interview we would like you to refuse to answer any questions that you may not wish to provide a response to, or to withdraw or amend any of the comments you make to ensure that you are satisfied with the information that you provide.

As part of normal procedures we will be asking you to sign a form prior to starting the interview indicating your preferences regarding the protection of your identity, and that you understand what is described in this section.

What will you get out of this study?

Due to an extremely limited budget we are unable to provide monetary payment for your participation with this study. However we hope that you will see your participation in this study as a way of contributing to providing information on a topic where there is extremely limited information available.

How to contact us?

If you have any queries at all about this study or what we are asking you to do, we will welcome the opportunity to talk more about this with you. Our contact details are:

Waimarie	07 8562889 Ex 8200
Rangiwhakahaerea	07 8555180

or, you can leave a message with the Psychology Department secretary on...

07 8562889 Ex 8302

Na, Waimarie maua ko Rangiwhakahaerea

Appendix 5 Study One Demographic Questionnaire

Demographics Questionnaire

Interview Number:

Date of Interview:

Age: please tick one

15-25

25-40

40+

Gender: please tick one

Male

Female

Education background:

Please describe your highest formal qualification (eg, Sch.Cert; M.SocSc)?

Was any part of your formal education kaupapa Maori? Please describe the nature of this education (eg, Bilingual education; Ataarangi)

Usual occupation: When you are normally employed, what is your usual occupation?

Religion affiliations: Describe those religious groups that you affiliate to. Please indicate whether you are an active or non-active participant in these groups.

Iwi/hapu upbringing: Were you raised within the geographical boundaries of any particular iwi that you affiliate to?

No. of siblings. How many siblings were you actually raised with?

Place in family: What birthplace do you occupy as relative to your other siblings? (eg, 4th of 7)?

Partnered/unpartnered: Have you resided with a partner for three years or more?

Ethnic identity of partner(s): How would you describe the ethnic identity of your partner?

Iwi identities of partner(s): How would you describe the iwi affiliations of your partner?

No. of children: How many children do you have?

Parents still living: Are your parents still living? Please tick one of the following boxes.

- Both are still living
- One is still living
- Both have passed away

Grandparents still living: Are your grandparents still living

Ethnic identity of parents: How would you describe the ethnic identity of your parents?

Mother _____

Father _____

Ethnic identity of grandparents: How would you describe the ethnic identity of your grandparents?

Maternal grandmother _____

Maternal grandfather _____

Paternal grandmother _____

Paternal grandfather _____

Living in/out of tribal area: Do you currently reside within the geographic boundaries of any one of the iwi groups that they identify with?

YES

NO

Appendix 6 Study One Interview Schedule items

CONCEPTIONS OF IDENTITIES

1. When you first meet a Maori person, what are some of the things that you are curious about, or interested in knowing about this person?

In what ways are these things important to you?

ii. How would you respond if you found out that this person was similar to you in some way? For example, were of the same iwi etc (Insert most appropriate 'belonging' word).

iii. Why would you respond in this way?

2. When you first meet a Maori person, what kinds of things would you want this person to know about yourself?

a) Explore reasons for providing the information that they did.

i. Why would you want them to know this about you?

3. What things do you feel are important about being Maori? Explain why.

4. Do you belong to any particular Iwi or Hapu groups? (Determine mother's - father's).

MotherFather

i. Iwi

ii. Hapu

a) Do you feel more strongly connected with any one of these groups more than some other? (Investigate why).

i. Iwi

ii. Hapu

COMING TO KNOW ONE'S IDENTITY

Preamble: There are stages in our lives when we think differently about who we are. Sometimes changes in our lives (like going to school, going for a holiday, meeting people, getting married, working or having children) help us to come to know ourselves differently.

5. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were Maori.

6. If you focus on your life, can you talk about how you came to realise that you were of those Iwi mentioned above.

7. If you focus on your life, can you talk how you came to realise that you were of those hapu mentioned above.

THINKING ABOUT IWI AND HAPU

8. When you think about your Iwi (insert each Iwi name) what do you think about?

9. Of those Iwi that you belong to, what are the differences between them?

10. Of those Iwi that you belong to, what are the similarities between them?

11. When you think about your Hapu (insert each Iwi name) what do you think about?
12. Of those Hapu that you belong to, what are the differences between them?
13. Of those Hapu that you belong to, what are the similarities between them?

MAINTAINING HAPU IDENTITIES

14. What things are important for you to do to maintain your hapu connections?
15. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you feel you have got to do these things?
16. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you actually do these things?
17. What things make it easier for you to do these things?
18. What things make it harder for you to do these things?
19. Was there a time in your life when it was easier to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
20. Was there a time in your life when it was harder to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
21. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an 'outsider' in those hapu that you have mentioned? What was it that made you feel this way? How did you cope?

MAINTAINING IWI IDENTITIES

Note: Check that a response is made for all Iwi that px associates with.

22. What things are important for you to do to maintain your Iwi connections?
23. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you feel you have got to do these things?
24. Of those things that you have mentioned, how often do you actually do these things?
25. What things make it easier for you to do these things?
26. What things make it harder for you to do these things?
27. Was there a time in your life when it was easier to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
28. Was there a time in your life when it was harder to do those things mentioned above? Describe.
29. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ in those Iwi that you have mentioned? What was it that made you feel this way? How did you cope?
30. Further comments

Appendix 7 Study One Consent form

Participants Copy

Name of Research Project: Social Identities of Maori people

Name of Researcher: Linda Waimarie Nikora &
Angeline Rangiwhakahaerea Harawira

Name of Interviewer:

Please initial alongside those items that you agree with.

1 I have received an information sheet about this study.
I have had a chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people.
Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2 I agree to participate in this study.
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any stage up until I have commented on and returned the report of my interview that is sent to me by the researchers.

3a I agree to have my identity protected and remain anonymous.
Any information used from my interview must be disguised by the researchers.

OR

3b I agree to have my identity associated with the information from the interview that might be presented in any written reports or publications.

4 I agree that the information that I provide in my interview may be quoted in any report or publication that might result from this study (subject to 3 above).

5 I agree that the information that I provide for this study may be used for teaching purposes; or used as part of a Doctoral Study that Linda Waimarie Nikora may conduct on this same topic area in the future.

Signature: _____

Printed Name: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Copy

Name of Research Project: Social Identities of Maori people

Name of Researcher: Linda Waimarie Nikora &
Angeline Rangiwhakahaerea Harawira

Name of Interviewer:

Please initial alongside those items that you agree with.

1 I have received an information sheet about this study.
I have had a chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people.
Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2 I agree to participate in this study.
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any stage up until I have commented on and returned the report of my interview that is sent to me by the researchers.

3a I agree to have my identity protected and remain anonymous.
Any information used from my interview must be disguised by the researchers.

OR

3b I agree to have my identity associated with the information from the interview that might be presented in any written reports or publications.

4 I agree that the information that I provide in my interview may be quoted in any report or publication that might result from this study (subject to 3 above).

5 I agree that the information that I provide for this study may be used for teaching purposes; or used as part of a Doctoral Study that Linda Waimarie Nikora may conduct on this same topic area in the future.

Signature: _____

Printed Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 8 Study Two Information sheet

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Research Information sheet

Provided to Alice Unawai and Debbie Hippolite-Wright for distribution July 1996

He mihi mahana, he mihi manaakitanga ki te iwi Maori e noho ana i nga motu o Hawai'i. Tena ra koutou katoa. This is a research information sheet designed to introduce Maori who are resident in Hawai'i to who I am; to describe the research that I am interested in, and to invite Maori to participate. Thank you for taking the time to read.

Who am I?

My name is Linda Waimarie Nikora. I am of Ngai Tuhoe and Te Ai-tanga-a-Hauiti descent. I am in my early thirties and currently reside in Hamilton, Aotearoa where I am a lecturer in Kaupapa Maori Psychology at the University of Waikato. Although I am on university staff, I am also a struggling student making fledgling attempts to complete the research component of my Doctoral studies. I hope that the research that I am involved in will help better the understanding of Maori people, both home and abroad, and will contribute to our development in the future.

The research that I'm interested in

The research area that I am interested in is the development and maintenance of Maori social identities. To be Maori means different things to different people and we express our identities in many different ways. This depends on numerous things, for example, how and where we have been raised, the era we grew up in, the situations we find ourselves in, the people we interact with, and how we see ourselves developing in the future. I have already completed an initial study that involved interviewing Maori in Aotearoa about what it means to be Maori and the activities that they engage in (eg., participating in Marae activities) to maintain their Maori identity. To build on my initial study, I would like to explore similar issues

with Maori resident in Hawai'i. The exploration of these issues will involve completing interviews with Maori in Hawai'i that focus on the following areas.

1. How being Maori in Hawai'i is thought about and expressed by Maori people
2. The part that whanau, hapu or iwi identities play in being Maori in Hawai'i
3. The activities that Maori in Hawai'i take part in to maintain their Maori identity
4. The advantages or disadvantages to being Maori in Hawai'i.

By exploring these issues, I hope that I will be able to identify ways in which Maori moving to Hawai'i to reside may be supported in their adaptation to the Hawai'i context. The findings may also be useful for those travelling to reside at other destinations in the world (eg., Australia, London). Likewise, the findings will be useful in identifying ways in which communities in Aotearoa (both traditional and non-traditional) might better support activities to maintain the Maori identity and cultural practises of their Maori members.

Interested? What's required?

I am particularly interested in making contact with people who identify as being Maori, and who have resided in Hawai'i for at least six months. Why six months? I expect that it probably takes this long to adapt to the Hawai'i context and to come to some understanding about what it means to be Maori in Hawai'i. If a person has only just arrived in Hawai'i (ie., in Hawai'i for less than 6 months) but intends to stay longer than 6 months I will be interested in making contact with them too.

The actual interviews will take 1-2 hours depending upon the depth to which people wish to explore those areas outlined above. I anticipate being in Hawai'i from September 5th, 1996 for 3-4 weeks. However, I wish to send further information to people who indicate an interest in this study so that they can get a better picture of what the research is about and what will be required of them. When I arrive in Hawai'i I will be engaged in some of the following activities.

Make phone contact with people who have indicated a willingness to participate in this project. During this communication, I will check that people understand the purpose of the research, what their involvement will entail and again check out that

they are prepared to participate. A mutually agreeable time and place for an interview will be established. This phone contact will also serve to allow myself and participants to get to know each other a little (ki te whakawhanau tatou kia tatou).

As it is difficult for me to write notes and give my full attention to those that I will be interviewing, participants will be asked to allow me to audio-tape our discussions. The audio-tape will be for my reference only, and will not be accessed by anyone else. Should people prefer not to be audio-taped, I trust that they will permit me to take notes.

The actual interview will be a semi-structured discussion around those areas outlined above. Those who agree to be interviewed will be sent a set of questions/thematic areas to think about prior to the actual interview so that they have a bit of time to think about what they might actually say in the interview. I will provide an opportunity to answer all questions that participants might have of me prior to any research procedure beginning.

Once I have had time to come to grips with all the information that people have provided through interviews, and have progress through some of the initial writing stages, I will send a summary report of the findings of the study to all participants. A full report of the overall doctoral research will be made accessible via the BYU-H Library [should they allow me to do so].

How to indicate an interest to participate?

If you are interested in participating then firstly let me extend my thanks and appreciation. To allow me to send you information about the study you need to let me know what your contact details are. There are three ways you can do this:

Send your contact details to: *Alice Unawai, President of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Hawai'i* Fax 808 5337 826, Phone 808 5366 515, Email ALYSU@Poi.net

Send your contact details to: Debbie Hippolite-Wright, Institute for Polynesian studies, Brigham Young University - Hawaii, Box 1979, Laie, Hawaii. Fax 808 293-3664, Phone 808 283-3665, Email Hippolid@BYUH.EDU

I am grateful to both Alice and Debbie who have generously agreed to collect contact addresses to send to me. They both have access to electronic mail which is much more faster than the usual post.

You can send your contact details directly to me in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My contact details are: *Linda Waimarie Nikora, 173 Totara Drive, Hamilton, Aotearoa.*

Fax 64 07 8562-158, Phone 64 07 8562-889 Email L.Nikora@Waikato.ac.nz

As of the 3rd of August 1996, I will be on route to Hawai'i via mainland USA. I will be unable to pick up mail sent by standard post, but I will still be able to access e-mail. So, my preferred way of receiving contact details is by e-mail, or through Alice or Debbie. I hope that you will find value in this project that I am proposing. I am excited about it and trust that others will be excited being able to share experiences that may be of benefit to others. I look forward to meeting all who are interested in this study and extend my thanks and gratitude to you for taking the time to read this information.

Manaakitanga, Linda Waimarie Nikora

Here are the details you should send Alice, Debbie or myself. Please fill in and send.

First Name Surname

Postal Address

City/Town State

Zip/Postal Code

Phone Hm Phone Wk

Facsimile Email

Appendix 9 Study Two Demographics Questionnaire

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Study by Linda Waimarie Nikora (1996)

University of Waikato

Hamilton/Aotearoa

Background Information Questionnaire

This questionnaire asks you to provide personal details about yourself, the household that you live in and how you came to live in Hawai'i. I am gathering this information before the actual interview with you so that I can get a general idea of your life circumstances. Information that you provide in this questionnaire will also help me to organise questions that I would like to ask you in the actual interview.

Please note that this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. If there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, then leave blank. The information that you provide will remain confidential (do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire).

This questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete. Please read each question carefully and write your response in the spaces provided. *Kia ora.*

1. What country were you born in?

2. In what countries have you lived in over the last 20 years?

3. What year did you take up residence in Hawai'i?

19_____

4. Do you hold USA Citizenship?

Yes

No

I intend to in the future

5. Do you hold New Zealand/Aotearoa Citizenship?

Yes

No

I intend to in the future

6. What sex are you?

Male

Female

7. What is your year of birth?

19 _____

8. What Maori iwi do you belong to? State as many as you wish.

OR

Unknown to me

9. What Maori hapu do you belong to? State as many as you wish.

OR

Unknown to me

10. What is your religion?

Anglican

Presbyterian

Catholic

Methodist

Baptist

Ratana

Ringatu

Latter Day Saints

No religion

Other religion - please state

11. Are you married or living with a partner?

YES

NO skip next question

12. How would you describe the ethnicity of your partner?

13. How would you describe your own ethnicity?

14. How would you describe you parents' ethnicity?

Father

Mother.....

15. Where in Hawai'i do you usually live? *Provide name of town/city and Island*

Town/City

Island

16. How many people are currently living in your household? (*include children and babies*)

Enter number

17. Including yourself, of those who live in your household, how many would you describe as having Maori ancestry?

Enter number

18. What is the type of residence are you currently living in?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel, motel or guest house | <input type="checkbox"/> Student dormitory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Private House | <input type="checkbox"/> Flat or Apartment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caravan, cabin or tent in a motor camp | <input type="checkbox"/> Other [please state] |

19. Who are the persons that usually live in the same household as you?
(include children and babies)

Tick all the boxes which apply

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother/grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> My sons/daughters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My mother/father | <input type="checkbox"/> My brothers/sisters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Other persons [flat/room mates] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I live alone | |

20. In US currency, what would be your approximate income per week after tax?

US \$00 Enter an approximate dollar amount.

21. What educational or job qualifications have you obtained since leaving school?

- Still at school
- No qualifications since leaving school
- Trade certificate or diploma
- Nursing certificate or diploma
- Teachers certificate or diploma
- Polytechnic qualification
- University qualification
- Other qualifications *[please describe]*

22. What is your main occupation? (e.g., student, accountant, house manager)

If you were not born in Hawai'i, which of the following reasons lead you to reside in Hawai'i? *Tick as many that apply.*

- Moved with parents
- Moved with grandparents
- Moved with other relative
- To reside with partner or spouse
- To reside with son or daughter
- To attend University
- To find work
- My occupation requires that I live in Hawai'i
- Other reasons *[please describe]*

Appendix 10 Study Two Letter to Participants



The University of Waikato

Linda Waimarie Nikora
Psychology Department,
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton
Aotearoa/New Zealand

School of Social Science

Email L.Nikora@waikato.ac.nz
FAX 64 07 856-2158
TEL 64 07 856-2889

23rd July 1996

Address...

Tena koe [name of participant]

He mihi atu tenei ki te koe, te iwi Maori hoki e noho ana i nga motu o Hawai'i, i runga i te putake tawhito o te rapa i te hono; a, ki te panui atu i te ara o aku mahi, hei ara toro whakaaro atu i a koe. No reira, tena ra koe.

Alys Unawai recently suggested that I contact you as a person who may be interested in participating in a research project that I hope to complete over the September 1996 period while I'm in Hawai'i. But first, let me explain who I am.

My name is Linda Waimarie Nikora. I am of Ngai Tuhoe and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti descent. I am in my early thirties and currently reside in Hamilton/Aotearoa where I am a lecturer in Kaupapa Maori Psychology at the University of Waikato. Although I am on university staff, I am also a struggling student making fledgling attempts to complete the research component of my Doctoral studies. I hope that the research that I am involved in will help better the understanding of Maori people, both home and abroad, and will contribute to our development in the future.

The research that I am interested in explores the following questions:

1. How being Maori in Hawai'i is thought about and expressed by Maori people
2. The part that whanau, hapu or iwi identities play in being Maori in Hawai'i
3. The activities that Maori in Hawai'i take part in to maintain their Maori identity
4. The advantages or disadvantages to being Maori in Hawai'i

The research activities that I hope you will continue to be interested in, will involve you completing a quick 10 minute questionnaire and returning it to me, followed by an interview. The questionnaire is enclosed with this letter for you to fill in and return. In the interview I hope to talk with you about your experiences of being Maori in Hawai'i. The interview should take between 1-2 hours. All information that you provide me with will be kept confidential. None of your personal details will be disclosed to anyone else.

To help me organise my time while I'm in Hawai'i, I have enclosed a form for you to indicate the best time for me to telephone you to make an interview time. Please return this along with your questionnaire.

Thank you for taking the time to read. I trust that my request is not an imposition, and I look forward to meeting you in September when I arrive in Hawai'i.

Naku noa, Linda Waimarie Nikora

Appendix 11 Study Two Contact Information Sheet

Contact Information Sheet

FullName	<input type="text" value="FullName"/>	<input type="text" value="Intv. No"/>
Postal Address	<input type="text" value="Postal Address"/>	
Town	<input type="text" value="Town"/>	
State	<input type="text" value="State"/>	
Country	<input type="text" value="Country"/>	
Zip Code	<input type="text" value="Zip Code"/>	
Phone (Home)	<input type="text" value="Phone (Home)"/>	
Phone (Work)	<input type="text" value="Phone (Work)"/>	
FAX No	<input type="text" value="FAX No"/>	
EMAIL	<input type="text" value="EMAIL"/>	

Please tick

The best time to contact me is during the ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Morning	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Afternoon	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Evening	
The best time to interview me is during the ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Morning	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Afternoon	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Evening	
The best day to interview me is ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Monday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tuesday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wednesday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Thursday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Friday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Saturday
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sunday

Aku mihi kia koe mo to whakaaro ki ahau, na Waimarie

Appendix 12 Study Two Interview schedule

Maori Social Identities in Hawai'i

Study by Linda Waimarie Nikora (1996)

University of Waikato

Hamilton/Aotearoa

Interview Schedule

Being Maori in Hawai'i

1. How did you come to live/be born in Hawai'i? [If born in Hawai'i].
 - Follow up from Demographics Questionnaire
2. How is “being Maori” part of your life in Hawai'i?
3. How is this different to “being Maori” in Aotearoa?
4. On what occasions is it important for you to identify yourself as being Maori?
 - Explain why it is important

Maintaining Maori connections

5. Is maintaining connections with other Maori people in Hawai'i/Aotearoa an part of your life?

6. What specific things do you do to maintain your Maori connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?
7. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to some Maori group?
 - What was it that made you feel this way?
 - How did you cope?

Thinking about whanau, hapu, iwi and Maori

8. When you think about your whanau, hapu or iwi what do you think about?
 - Get response for whanau, hapu, and iwi.
9. Do whanau, hapu or iwi play a part in your life in Hawai’i?
 - How? Response for whanau, hapu and iwi.

Maintaining whanau connections

10. Is maintaining connections with your whanau a part of your life in Hawai’i?
 - Explain why / why not

11. What things do you do to maintain your whanau connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?

12. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular whanau?
 - Explain why it is important

13. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own whanau?
 - What was it that made you feel this way?
 - What did you do about it?

Maintaining hapu connections

14. Is maintaining connections with your hapu a part of your life in Hawai’i?
 - Explain why / why not

15. What things do you do to maintain your hapu connections?
 - Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?

- What things make it harder?
16. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular hapu?
- Explain why it is important
17. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own hapu?
- What was it that made you feel this way?
 - What did you do about it?

Maintaining iwi connections

18. Is maintaining connections with your iwi a part of your life in Hawai’i?
- Explain why / why not
19. On what occasions is it important to you to identify yourself as belonging to a particular iwi?

Explain why/why not

20. What things do you do to maintain your iwi connections?
- Get specific examples
 - What do you achieve? Are these things effective?
 - How often do you actually do these things?
 - Would you wish to do these things more often?
 - What things make it easier for you to engage in maintenance activities?
 - What things make it harder?

21. Have there ever been times when you have felt like an ‘outsider’ to your own iwi?

- What was it that made you feel this way?
- What did you do about it?

General

22. If you were to give advice to a home sick Maori person who had recently arrived in Hawai’i. what would you give tell them?

23. Do you intend to return to live in Aotearoa sometime in the future? Why?

24. Further comments