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**Pākehā Roots: Is claiming a Pākehā identity based on ethnic
heritage or ethical choice?**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
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Abstract

Development of a Pākehā identity has been an ongoing process since the first influx of people from the Northern Hemisphere set foot on the shores of Aotearoa. Originally the term Pākehā served as a generic term to distinguish early European colonisers from the Indigenous population who came to be known under the generic term of Māori. Both of these terms separated two groups of residents that have come to be known under the broader title of New Zealander.

Chapter 2 begins with providing definitions from a range of sources describing some origins and definitions of the term Pākehā, discussion around the appropriateness of the term and how it can be used in our current timeframe to show empathy with Māori and their struggle for self-determination. A brief overview of human migration to the British Isles then the resulting migration to Aotearoa provides historical context to our pre-Pākehā heritage. Following this is a snapshot of some of our earliest Pākehā settlers which leads into the extent our governing bodies enlisted assisted immigrants to populate and provide infrastructure for this new colony of the British Empire.

Chapter 3 delves into the angst-ridden territory of authentic existence championed through the existential philosophical movement. Tempered with a more compassionate approach from communitarian philosophy we are provided with a means to explore the many layers that build not only individual identity, but a collective identity also. Evidence is offered for the accommodation of the similarities, and more importantly differences we all experience in our wider relationships. Finally, focus is narrowed to specific issues attached to identifying as Pākehā in Aotearoa.

Underpinning this research are the nine semi-structured interviews which have provided tangible evidence of the complex elements accompanying the decision to self-identify as Pākehā (*Chapter 4*). The very nature of identifying as Pākehā, as illustrated through the interview is not straightforward eliciting responses ranging from abundantly clear, to confusing and to contentious.

The sheer diversity of responses generated an initial observance that, if this level of diversity in defining the term Pākehā is shown by nine people, how much more diversity would be operating throughout the general population. Here we can see how the basic premise of existential philosophy, that is, there is no essential nature to our existence, can be applied to attempting to seek a definition of being Pākehā that encapsulates all of the possible elements. What became abundantly apparent was the heartening feeling of most people striving for a sense of connectedness, on various levels, and a sense of belonging to this country we all call home.

Keywords:

Authenticity; Interviews; Identity; Pākehā; New Zealander; Existentialism

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Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	v
Chapter 1	1
Introduction, aims, questions and methodology	1
1.1 General introduction	1
1.2 Motivation for the research	3
1.3 Overall aim of the research	5
1.4 Research questions	5
1.5 Research methods	5
1.5.1 Autoethnographical methods: It's all about me	6
1.5.2 Semi-structured interview	7
1.6 Ethical considerations	8
1.7 Thesis structure	9
Chapter 2	11
Pākehā history and identity in Aotearoa/ New Zealand	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 What is or who are Pākehā?	12
2.3 A New Zealand settler society legacy	15
2.3.1 Pre-contact roots	15
2.3.2 First Contact	18
2.3.3 Exchanging sea for shore	20
2.4 Post-contact: Pākehā-Māori	21
2.5 Spreading the word	23
2.6 Assisted immigrants	25
2.7 Discussion	28
Chapter 3	30
Identity: A question of choice? A critical review of selected literature on identity formation	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Developing an 'Existential' point of view	30
3.3 Identity and Belonging	41

3.4	Pākehā identity in Aotearoa	48
3.5	Discussion	60
Chapter 4		61
Defining ‘one’s self’: Conversations on identifying as Pākehā		61
4.1	Introduction	61
4.2	Nature of the interviews and ethical protocols	61
4.3	The interviewees	62
4.4	Reporting the interview findings	63
4.5	A final comment	138
Chapter 5		139
Conclusions and recommendations		139
5.1	Introduction	139
5.2	Summary of findings	139
5.3	Limitations of the research	147
5.4	Research contribution	148
5.5	Recommendations for future research	148
References		150
	<i>Appendix 1: Ethics Application</i>	160

List of Tables

<i>Table 4.1: Information about the interviewees</i>	63
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Chapter 1

Introduction, aims, questions and methodology

1.1 General introduction

The task of defining what constitutes a Pākehā identity, in my opinion, is an extremely personal act. From my own experiences and observations, Pākehā are, for the most part, used to acting as a collection of individuals that at times form cohesive groupings when circumstances dictate. These groupings appear to form from a variety of ideological paradigms. A question could be raised here as to whether any form of deep connection exists that binds ‘us’ to each other. A common blood tie (if one exists) would be so far back in Pākehā genealogy that to trace it would be a mission impossible. Pākehā, for me, is as much an ethical choice as it is my genetic heritage.

The most confident statement I claim regarding my genetic heritage is that I am English. But, how is that heritage defined? I emigrated from England along with my parents and one of my brothers in 1958. Currently, when required to state my nationality on official documents, I choose to refer to myself as Pākehā. This has not always been the case. I have, over the years, used British, English, New Zealander, Celtic, Romany and Other to describe my fluctuating sense of identity. The British and English claims are quantified by my British passport. My New Zealander claim can be quantified by my status as Permanent Resident. The use of the term *Other* has mostly been an act of rebellion at not wishing to be pigeonholed into a narrow view of who I am.

I assume a connection to Celtic culture simply because of an understanding that there has been a predominant Celtic presence within Britain for thousands of years. A Romany connection is even more nebulous. It stems from a comment made by my Mother’s sister that she remembered hearing once that we had ‘Gypsy in us’. Flimsy as some of these connections are, they are the genetic filaments with which I construct a sense of who I am.

As a child, I frequently found myself in serious trouble for saying things that my parents and teachers interpreted as being disruptive or disrespectful even though it was not my intention to be so. All I was doing was trying to make sense of the inconsistency and hypocrisy between what we were being told and what I saw happening. A magnetic attraction towards social and cultural groups *other* than my genetic family has run through my life from an early age.

Initially this led me to pursue an alternative rural life. In the late 1970's, as a young solo mother, I was called by an undeniable force to settle with my daughter in an idyllic and idealistic community on the Coromandel Peninsula. It was here that my life, and heart, opened up as we learned to navigate an existence that was directly affected by the natural world. Rosslyn Noonan (1994, p. 57) captures the essence of my feelings in this statement, "I've been shaped by the physical environment in New Zealand... a mixture of gentle and wild... I get the feeling that human beings are just here on the edge." Under the guardianship of Te Moehau, we learnt the ways of living an alternative existence to city life. Building humble residences, growing food, carrying water and living without electricity generated an appreciation of the effort required to sustain life. Our wider community also formed an indomitable force against multi-national mining companies trying to resume mining activities on the Coromandel Peninsula.

Given that I was not physically born in this country, the intrinsic, deeply personal, and spiritual connection I feel to this land seems to be curiously inexplicable. Furthermore, I am alone within my blood family, including my daughter, in manifesting such an emotionally powerful relationship with the land. It is my spring board, my fixed point on the compass and, no matter where I am, I constantly feel the pull to return home. Therefore, I assert another side to my identity, one which encompasses elements of an ideological and spiritual nature.

My relationship with this land has been pivotal in embarking upon an irreversible commitment to understand how Māori life exists and operates in Aotearoa particularly, from their status as tangata whenua. As my awareness grew regarding the effects colonisation had on Māori, I experienced a growing need to align myself in some way with Māori to show my support of their struggle for self-determination.

Choosing to identify as Pākehā, was the first step of a formal political expression around the increasing disenchantment I felt towards mainstream society and the colonialist structures that suppressed the embracing of differing world paradigms. In addition, I experienced an increasing desire to formulate an academic or intellectual purpose around my experiences. Developing personal experiences into an academic arena theory is no mean task. I take heart from these words:

Theoretical moments, however, are also shaped inside your head, through reflection and reflexivity ... it leads you on an intellectual journey. The journey takes you deeper into the ideas and ways of thinking which intrigue you and which lead you into new theoretical spaces (Mead, 1996, p. 18).

This thesis is part of that process and my own voyage.

1.2 Motivation for the research

The primary motivation underpinning this thesis is to establish how the impact of residing in Aotearoa and the subsequent influence of te ao Māori has shaped not only my own identity but also the identity of other residents of British or European descent. In my opinion, there appears to be an underlying prevailing assumption that we (regardless of our genetic or cultural backgrounds) are all the same.

Michael King (1991, p. 7) urged us in *Pakeha: The quest for identity in New Zealand* to examine the “cultural, spiritual, emotional and psychological” baggage carried here by European settlers. Although there has been much historical research of Māori and non-European immigrants in Aotearoa, there has been a paucity of Pākehā researching their own selves since the process of colonisation began. I am most adamant that as Pākehā it is imperative and timely to examine ourselves, and would go even further to assert that having some experience in the Māori world is advantageous to this process.

As I investigated more of King’s writings I became uncomfortable with his assertion that claiming Pākehā identity equated to claiming an indigenous status. King states (2001, p.118),

In saying what I have about Pakeha culture, about the right to be here, to belong and to carry indigenous status, I seek to do two things: one is to reflect and articulate a reality that is evolving but not always acknowledged; the other is to accompany my Pakeha brothers and sisters towards a similar degree of confidence and security in their identification with this land as Maori have. And I seek to do this without guilt and without apology.

This particular view point is not uncommon. Christine Dann (1991, p. 57) professes “I have no other home or nationality. I love this place passionately, and I am prepared and willing to share the power and resources equitably with tangata whenua.”

I am not convinced about the usefulness of these sentiments. King is correct in asserting that we are operating in an evolving reality. I also agree Pākehā can have an intense connection to the land. However I have difficulty in saying that this intensity is the same as Māori. How can we truly claim such an intangible quality? I do not doubt the passion Dann feels for this land. However her willingness to share resources with tangata whenua raises an interesting distinction that I believe to be more accurate. Tangata whenua share the resources with us. The only reason that Pākehā have access to this land’s resources is because they were taken from Māori through colonisation. As Eddie Durie instructs (1994, p. 25), “Immigrant people coming to live in New Zealand ought to be properly acquainted with the historical circumstances of this country... that this country was founded on Maori land and that the indigenous people have very particular and specific rights arising from that.”

Durie’s statement does not imply that Pākehā have no place here. What strikes me as imperative is Pākehā must have a crystal clear understanding of how that place manifested and the resulting impact of how our perception of Pākehā identity has been shaped. As Margaret Mulgan (1994, p. 33) urges,

We’ve got to reconstruct the myths about ourselves. We thought our myths were good for everybody, in the colonial way in which one had myths. We didn’t actually ask our partners if that was how they saw the best way of interpreting what we were doing.

Here lies the true crux of the matter. In order for Aotearoa to move forward Pākehā need to take notice of how Māori view our partnership under our founding document. The reason being is, like it or not we are in this together and, for the long haul. After all, “Pakeha – who, it is clear many Maori believe, are entitled to share in the future of Aotearoa New Zealand. Where would they go? They belong here, as do the indigenous people, the tangata whenua” (Brown, 1994, p. x).

1.3 Overall aim of the research

The overall aim of the research project reported here is to examine the basis of what constitutes Pākehā identity.

1.4 Research questions

Underpinning this research project are three questions that relate to identity motivators, choice and connection:

- 1) What are the motivators for people who choose to identify themselves as Pākehā?
- 2) What underpins the preference for descendants of European settlers claiming an across the board title of New Zealander or Kiwi?
- 3) In which ways do Pākehā/New Zealander/Kiwi endeavour to keep a connection to their traditional homelands and how significant is this to their identity?

1.5 Research methods

Qualitative research methods are used throughout this thesis to interrogate Pākehā identity. In particular, I chose to utilise autoethnographical research methodology and semi-structured interviews to research the lives, experiences, perceptions, emotions and feelings, which are culturally salient to my participants. Although qualitative research is “an amorphous, multi-dimensional field which forbids any easy single definition or set of definitions” (Morrison, 2014, p. 328), it is flexible enough to allow for greater spontaneity and interaction between the researcher and the respondent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013).

1.5.1 Autoethnographical methods: It's all about me

Tongue is most firmly in cheek as I write the above heading. I see no harm in exercising the ability to poke a little humour at my own expense while embarking on academic research that delves into the world of serious thought. My Masters' Thesis is not all about me. However, by placing myself as a central figure, I anticipate that the sense I make from the material I collect, collate and analyse may offer others a means by which to examine their own ideas about how their Pākehā identity has come to be shaped. I have chosen to utilise autoethnographical research methodology as one approach for this thesis.

Autoethnographic research methodology engages personal experiences from both the researcher and the research participant within a theoretical framework (Bochner, 2012; Chang, 2008; Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011; Muncey, 2010). It “seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience . . . [It] challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act” (Ellis et al., 2011). Autoethnographic research methodology combines ethnography, biography and self-analysis. This qualitative research approach (Chang, 2008; Denzin, 2006; Ellis, 2004), utilizes data about self and context to gain an understanding of the connectivity between self and others within the same context (Ngunjiri, Hernandez, & Chang, 2010).

Connecting research to relevant aspects or points of interest within people's lives is a worthy challenge for a researcher to rise too. Personal narratives from both the researcher and research participants provide pathways by which the reader of the completed research findings may travel. Empathetic use of the human element enhances the opportunity for mutual investigation and illumination. Commonalities and differences can be exposed in a safe and respectful manner thereby facilitating a greater understanding of the multiple aspects within any given subject. As “an extension of researchers' lives” it connects “self - personal interest, experience, and familiarity” (Ngunjiri et al., 2010, para. 1).

I would assert that in a sense the reader may also become part of a continuing research story over and above that of the original contributors. Obviously their

participation is posthumous and not recorded in the findings. However, if research is an extension of researchers' lives as suggested by Ngunjiri et al (2010), then I believe this idea can be comfortably extended to include not only the research participants but the reader as well. In this way the life of the original work continues to develop particularly as the reader integrates any ideas from the research into their own life. Using methodologies that have the potential to tug at peoples' heart strings would have a desired outcome of engaging as wide an audience as possible. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (formerly Mead) endorses the practice of employing various approaches in order to capture optimum attention, arguing that, "I write/talk across several themes. I write/talk in different styles. I write/talk for different purposes. I publish in different kinds of books. I attempt to address different audiences. I am my own anthology" (Mead, 1996, p. 15). Declaring oneself as ones' own anthology creates huge scope for integrating personal narrative into academic contexts, thereby setting an empowering precedent to communicate and connect particularly with people whose experiences and realities fall outside mainstream academic practices.

1.5.2 Semi-structured interview

Building on an autoethnographical approach, I employ semi-structured interviews to enable my participants to express their point of view to allow them to discuss their interpretations of their world (Cohen, Manion, Morrison, & Bell, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). As Steinar Kvale (2006, pp. 480-481) notes,

during the past decades, qualitative research interviewing has become a sensitive and powerful method for investigating subjects' private and public lives and has often been regarded as a democratic emancipating form of social research In qualitative interviews, social scientists investigate varieties of human experience. They attempt to understand the world from the subjects' points of view and to unfold the meaning of their lived world. The interviews give voice to common people, allowing them to freely present their life situations in their own words, and open for a close personal interaction between the researchers and their subjects Thus, interviews give voice to the many.

The interview is a flexible tool for data collection as it allows further questioning to explore an issue and provides the researcher with the opportunity to clarify misunderstandings (Newby, 2010). Cohen et al. (2011, p. 414) note that Kvale (1996, p. 30) sets out the following key characteristics of an interview, in which they should:

- engage, understand and interpret the key feature of the lifeworlds of the participants;
- use natural language to gather and understand qualitative knowledge;
- be able to reveal and explore the nuanced descriptions of the lifeworlds of the participants;
- elicit descriptions of specific situations and actions, rather than generalities; adopt a deliberate openness to new data and phenomena, rather than being too pre-structured;
- focus on specific ideas and themes, i.e. have direction, but avoid being too tightly structured;
- accept the ambiguity and contradictions of situations where they occur in participants, if this is a fair reflection of the ambiguous and contradictory situation in which they find themselves;
- accept that the interview may provoke new insights and changes in the participants themselves;
- regard interviews as an interpersonal encounter, with all that this entails;
- be a positive and enriching experience for all participants.

1.6 Ethical considerations

The University of Waikato has a number of committees charged with ensuring that all research involving human subjects is conducted in a way that fully protects the interests of the research subjects. In connection with the research reported on in this thesis, an initial submission was made to Te Kāhui Manutāiko (The Research Ethics Committee) of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) for permission to conduct the interview-based components of the project, careful consideration being given to the need to (a) explain the nature of the research to the potential participants, (b) give them an opportunity to ask any questions they chose about it, (c) protect their rights in relation to anonymity in

reporting and their right to approve (or otherwise) the ways in which their contributions were represented (including withdrawing their permission to have their contributions included in the reporting of the research), (d) assure them that they need not answer any questions they preferred not to, and (e) conduct the research in a way that fully recognized the linguistic and cultural preferences of participants (including providing them with an opportunity to respond in whatever language they chose). The submission to Te Kāhui Manutāiko was approved in March 2013 (See *Appendix 1* for a copy of the *Ethics Approval*).

1.7 Thesis structure

Each of the following chapters of this thesis contributes a specific part of the overall research.

Chapter 2 provides the foundation of the range of aspects that need to be considered when constructing the basis of identifying as Pākehā. It will begin with providing definitions from a range of sources describing some origins and definitions of the term Pākehā. It is followed by an overview of modern human migration which led to the habitation of what is now referred to as the British Isles. An account covering early Aotearoa / New Zealand settler society is also provided. This includes Pākehā-Māori, a group of men who made a deliberate choice to abandon their former lives and live with Māori in their world rather than their European contemporaries, and a small section on Frederick Maning and Mother Suzanne Aubert. It concludes with a section on assisted immigrants.

Chapter 3, the Literature Review, explores the idea of authentic existence, and associated angst, developed through existentialist philosophy. While not strictly a review, it presents a means with which to generate the foundation of discourse pertaining to identity formation. There follows a discussion on identity and belonging and how to accommodate difference as well as similarities. It concludes with an examination of Pākehā identity and brings it into a contemporary context.

Chapter 4 reports on interviews held with selected participants who had varying degrees of work experience and/or involvement with Māori. It begins with an outline of the nature of the interviews and the ethical protocols, followed by some

background information about the interviewees, a report on the findings, and ends with a final comment.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of findings from the interviews, the limitations of the research, research contributions and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Pākehā history and identity in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to offer the foundation of the range of aspects that need to be considered when constructing the basis of identifying as Pākehā. It will begin with providing definitions from a range of sources describing some origins and definitions of the term Pākehā (see 2.2). It will become apparent that there has been much debate around how the term Pākehā developed and how appropriate the usage of this term is. In addition, identifying as Pākehā in our current time-frame implies a commitment to align with Māori as they struggle to maintain their own identity amongst those who assert that we are all New Zealanders and therefore all the same as each other. The greater part of my focus is on those that come under the general description of having a British heritage. Therefore I have investigated and offer, albeit fleeting and condensed, an overview of modern human migration which led to the habitation of what is now referred to as the British Isles. The primary reasoning being to establish that, for some of us at least, there is an incessant pull towards the unknown which may, in part, account for the willingness to leave home and hearth in search of the next adventure (see 2.3). Following this is a brief account of the arrivals of Abel Tasman and James Cook. Tasman is credited with the first European discovery of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. However, he never actually landed. Cook not only landed but also established the first relationships with Māori and effectively laid down the mechanisms for British colonialism to be introduced. Ultimately, his arrival culminated in the exploration and exploitation of a mother lode of natural resources which in turn cemented yet another prospective home for the ever increasing population of a burgeoning Empire.

Naturally enough, the first permanent new residents came from established maritime industries such as sealing and whaling. Voluntarily or otherwise these men of the sea set up living quarters from which to conduct their work and eke an existence in often harsh circumstances. More settlers trickled in, bringing with them

necessary skills required to construct infrastructures which ensured an attractive proposition for the flood of prospective immigrants that were being encouraged to embark on a brave new life. Although initially, new inhabitants were rough, within a relatively short amount of time a broad spectrum of male/female, wealthy/poor, and educated/uneducated people arrived. Pākehā-Māori (see 2.4), refers to a group of men who made a deliberate choice to abandon their former lives and live with a range of Māori in their world rather than their European contemporaries. While a number of women also lived with Māori it was more from change of circumstances than by choice. These women were not referred to as Pākehā-Māori however. Reading of the lives they lived highlights just how adaptable these people were. The importance of the links, for both Māori and Pākehā alike, they provided between two such vastly different worlds cannot be underestimated. In this section I have also included a snap shot of Frederick Maning and Mother Suzanne Aubert (see 2.5). Both of these people illustrate opposite ends of relating to and involvement with Māori. Maning, being inexplicably scathing of his contemporaries, threw in his lot with Māori profiting in both financial and eventually, public status. In contrast Mother Aubert worked tirelessly with Māori, particularly in the areas of healing and education. She, in my opinion, was a shining example of someone who gathered and exchanged knowledge selflessly, wanting only the best for those she worked alongside.

The last group of settlers I chose to investigate, came under the status of assisted immigrants (see 2.6). Initially my interest in this group was because it was under this status that I arrived in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Once I began my research, the extent of how massive the net which was cast to scoop up prospective settlers soon became abundantly apparent. What I offer in this section is by no means a thorough account. It does however build a picture of the scale and diversity of the people that came as well as the extreme efforts on behalf of successive governments over a lengthy time-frame to attract people to this far end of the world.

2.2 What is or who are Pākehā?

Researching a definition of the term Pākehā brings to light a controversial spectrum of explanations. Most explanations are useful as they serve to distinguish between the Indigenous and settler population in a respectful and rational way. The

development of relationships between the Indigenous residents and colonial settlers of Aotearoa culminated in the invention of the terms Māori and Pākehā to differentiate between these two major cultural groupings. Māori was a generic term used to describe the various Indigenous tribes residing in Aotearoa when Europeans first arrived on these shores. Prior to this the term tangata whenua, or people of the land, was a more accurate pan-tribal description. In this context the term Māori is taken to mean usual or normal (Stachurski, 2009). Pākehā was originally used as a generic term to describe the white skinned settler population. Baker (1945) notes that the noun meaning ‘a white man’ was initially applied to a European or American – there were a great number of early whalers and sealers on the Aotearoa /New Zealand coast who were Americans. The term Pākehā was later used to describe a white resident in Aotearoa / New Zealand and by the end of the 19th Century to an Aotearoa / New Zealand-born white.

After consultation with various kaumātua, Michael King (1991, p. 15) suggests “that the word is derived from keha, or flea; from the expression for white clay; from the pakepakeha, the mythological fairy people with pale skins; from the same word meaning outlandish”. Therefore, Pākehā can be viewed as something strange, something outside of normal experience. Imagine what shock waves ran through the first tangata whenua who set eyes upon a ship full of beings with skin so pale as to seem something other than human.

Maria Jellie corroborates King’s suggestion by stating (2001, p. 13) that, “The most accepted explanation today, is that the term Pākehā is derived from the words pākehakeha, patupaiarehe, and pakepakehā, all of which mean imaginary beings resembling men, with fair skins”. However some explanations such as ‘long white pig’ or ‘bugger ya’ are inflammatory and harmful serving only to ignite unhelpful prejudice and racism. Again according to King (1991, p.16), ‘bugger ya’ was a favoured utterance of the sealer/whaler/sailor communities that formed the first contact with the Indigenous population of Aotearoa and was subsequently used by some Māori to describe those new arrivals. King (1991, p.15), also related the opinion of an unnamed National Party backbencher who was convinced that the root meaning of “the word ‘Pakeha’ ... was ‘long white pig’ and that its continued use was an insult to all New Zealanders of European descent”. Jellie (2001, p. 13)

makes an excellent point as a foil against those who view the term Pākehā in pejorative light:

The earliest written recording of the term Pākehā is found in the preamble to the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi as a distinguishing congener of tangata maori : *ki te tangata maori ki te pakeha* ‘The Māori people and the Europeans’ (Orsman, 1997; 567). Considering this, it would be hard to fathom that Hobson who wrote the preamble of the Treaty of Waitangi, and who was fluent in Māori, would use a derogative term to describe his own people in an official treaty.

Indeed, it strikes me to be of more benefit to subscribe to positive definitions. I suspect that those who object to the term Pākehā may do so out of a reluctance to accept the increasing assertion of Māori and their struggle to reclaim and maintain some form of sovereignty within Aotearoa. Subsequently, some descendants of the original settlers view the term Pākehā as an anathema, preferring instead to use the terms New Zealander or Kiwi. According to James Belich (Belich, 2001, p. 543):

In the mid-nineteenth century, Māori applied ‘Pakeha’ to all Europeans, whether living in New Zealand or Vienna. But in common usage it now means New Zealanders of European descent. For some, recent European immigrants are not Pakeha until they have committed themselves to New Zealand. A shrinking, but still substantial, proportion of Pakeha reject the term, preferring ‘New Zealand European’ or simply ‘New Zealander’.

We are able to see how the formation of Māori and Pākehā identities began as a direct consequence of the first interactions with each other. In essence, the two names only have meaning in an oppositional context. These interactions were cemented within the signing of the founding document from which Aotearoa was to be in theory (although it became apparent that in practice the ideals fell somewhat short) jointly governed. Jellie (2001, p.12) further professes, “Therefore it can be stated that neither Māori nor Pākehā can define themselves without in some ways relating to each other.” However it is clear that although the establishment of Māori and Pākehā identities initially developed in relationship to each other, there is ample room for individual self-determination beyond the limitations of an all-

encompassing collective identity. Avril Bell discusses this through her Doctoral thesis (2004b, p. 4):

When I argue that Maori and Pakeha are constituted in relation to each other, I do not mean that this relationality captures all there is to 'know' about the peoples identified by these terms. Maori and Pakeha transcend this relationality in two important ways. Firstly, the identities and cultures of these peoples draw on their pre-contact histories and cultural traditions and on the ongoing transformations of those pre-contact sources during the time of Maori-Pakeha contact. In other words, while the relationship between Maori and Pakeha has been hugely influential in shaping these identities, it is not all that 'makes them up'. Secondly, no identity label 'captures' the totality of an individual or a collectivity. In this way too, Maori and Pakeha, individually and collectively, transcend whatever I or others might say about 'Maori' and 'Pakeha' as signifiers of collective identity.

As Paul Spoonley in *Pākehā Now* states (2007, p. 11):

Firstly, it positions those who use it as being of New Zealand. In other settler societies, there is no equivalent to the word Pākehā, especially not one that derives from the indigenous people but is then adopted by the majority to refer to themselves. Secondly, it can be used to express a relationship towards Māori, especially as a marker for someone who supports biculturalism as a way of moving forward and as need to offer reparations for historical wrongs Thirdly, the label Pākehā is controversial. There is still some, largely an older generation, who object to its use. Some use 'New Zealander' as though this was an ethnic label. Others are happy to use the term Pākehā but do not accept the political (post-colonial) dimensions.

It is my intention to explore more deeply the layers which contribute to a separate Pākehā identity in Chapter Three.

2.3 A New Zealand settler society legacy

2.3.1 Pre-contact roots

At this point, I would like to expand on Bell's reference to pre-Pākehā history and culture therefore, I feel it would be advantageous take a giant step back and examine

an overview of pre-contact, first contact and post-contact Pākehā. We may then gain a sense of how the development of a collective Pākehā identity occurred. Perhaps we can then clarify some individual aspects of this collective identity that we may or may not wish to subscribe to. Given that the majority of the settler population came from Britain, it seems appropriate to skew the microscope in that direction. On the surface it appears that travelling as far as it is possible to travel from ones homeland to the opposite end of the world could be viewed as drastic to say the least. But, is it? Can there be some, albeit sub-conscious, force that drives people to seek solutions or even solace in places hitherto unknown? In terms of the influx of European settlers to Aotearoa, John Andrews asserts (2009, p. 12) “these relatively recent arrivals presuppose other journeys that go back through time to the very origins of humanity.” This brings us to an intriguing point regarding our collective ancestors. All too easily we can neglect to inquire about the possibilities of where our bones originated.

When considering the different peoples that have resided in the British Isles, the Picts, the Scotti, the Iceni, the Irish, the Welsh and the Cornish come to mind. Then there were, the Roman, Viking, Angle, Saxon and Norman invaders. Add to this mix a rich spattering of peoples from all corners of the globe that made their way to Britain’s fair shores, either voluntarily or by default through political marriages, the spoils of war and/or colonisation. A veritable ‘candy store’ of possibilities exist for the collective origins of early British blood and bones. However, these differing peoples and cultures did not just materialise. From where they did originate is a source of much discussion.

The meaning behind Andrews’ (2009) earlier statement refers to evidence collected through the examination of mitochondrial (i.e., female) DNA of which Stephen Oppenheimer (1999, 2007, 2009, 2012) has been a major instigator. Without entering into the realm of discussing the evolution of early hominid life spanning several million years, in simplified form, the hypothesis is that modern humans spring from the Fertile Crescent in Africa. Roughly 80,000 years ago, due to climatic changes which affected natural food sources and possibly in conjunction with an innate curiosity, a glacially slow but steady movement occurred in two directions settling, populating and diversifying along the way. One group moved north then

eastwards through Asia eventually making their way south to the Pacific. Subscribing to this theory can then lead to the conclusion that this Pacific route was the way by which Māori migrated to Aotearoa (Dunn, Greenhill, Levinson, & Gray, 2011; Gray, Drummond, & Greenhill, 2009; Oppenheimer & Richards, 2001). Another group headed northwards then spread to the west colonizing Europe approximately 50,000 years ago finally arriving, for the second time, in the British Isles around 15,000 years ago. Much debate occurs around exactly what contact existed between the Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon (Stone-age man) in the preceding eras. It does seem likely that, no matter how brief, there would have been some close interactions which influenced our early genetics. Obviously, although some people remained in areas where they settled and farmed, there were also those who were compelled to continue moving. Andrews offers his interpretation on these two distinct ancestral branches we may well connect too:

The Palaeolithic people were the indigenous hunter-gatherers who survived in Europe through the ice age, or had emerged from more clement ice age refugia to recolonize Europe. The Neolithic people were farmers who came from the Fertile Crescent ... mtDNA studies have shown that the Neolithic component is a relatively small part of founder mtDNA (Andrews, 2009, p. 36).

An inference here is that the hunter-gatherer mentality of forging ahead to discover new landscapes fecund with potentiality contributes to the greater part of our mtDNA. This propensity for pushing geographical boundaries was momentarily (on an evolutionary timescale at least) curbed upon reaching what we now call the British Isles. After traversing the seemingly never-ending continents of Africa and Europe, these intrepid migrators could easily have concluded they had reached the edge of the world. A period of settlement occurred allowing the cementing and development of agricultural practices alongside establishing various tribal boundaries. If indeed some sense of a world beyond the shores of the British Isles existed, it would be quite some time before technology developed sufficiently to facilitate any form of extensive maritime exploration. Eventually, and one could even claim inevitably, technology became manifest to the point where the worlds' great oceans could be navigated. The new frontier was conquered with frighteningly eye-watering speed, compared to the previous land-based migration, leading to the

European ‘discovery’ of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Of course when these first discoverers arrived they found this verdant and abundant land already occupied. And, here the next episode of this ingrained settler legacy begins.

2.3.2 First Contact

Abel Tasman set sail from the Netherlands, a nation well steeped in international seafaring and trading, in the mid-seventeenth century. Although the Netherlands was relatively prosperous due to a republican basis which curbed the whims of the nobility, overall the rest of Europe was looking quite grim (Belich, 2001; King, 2003; Salmond, 1991). While the nobility continued to enjoy lavish lifestyles, much of the general population faced famine alongside an alarming array of contagious diseases borne from crowded and unsanitary city living conditions. As always, they suffered the inevitable collateral damage that occurred from the ruling classes’ battles to maintain and extend geographical boundaries and power balances. In spite of a high infant mortality rate and short adult life expectancy, the general population was massive. “This great conglomeration of people gave impetus to travel, trade, internal as well as external migration, and the growth of industry and capitalist exchange” (Salmond, 1991, p. 48). Establishing colonies in the Americas, India and the East and West Indies was well underway and the Dutch East India Company enjoyed vast trading benefits via these colonies. Sights were set towards to even more distant horizons.

Undertaking such voyages was an extremely harsh endeavour, relying on crews that were rugged, to say the least, and often unwilling participants. Tasman became adept at captaining such crews particularly through previously uncharted waters. So it was that in December 1642 Tasman and his crew along with their companion ship feasted their eyes upon Aotearoa for the first time. In the manner of explorations of this nature this ‘undiscovered’ land was claimed and came to be known as New Zealand. However, attempts at landfall were unsuccessful. As one would expect, reactions from the Indigenous inhabitants were somewhat wary. Tasman and his crew had had much experience of the inhabitants of the various colonies previously established in other parts of the world. For the local inhabitants of Aotearoa, seeing such huge vessels looming out of the sea filled with strange pale creatures must have seemed unworldly. Even the nature of their clothing would

have instigated a certain amount of curiosity. When cannon shot was, perhaps naively, fired during the first attempts at communication the effect on the locals was predictably volatile. From there proceedings further disintegrated as the two cultures' fledgling efforts at initiating some form of understanding towards each other failed. As a result, Tasman upped anchor and made the arduous sail back to the Northern Hemisphere. Although unsuccessful in terms of establishing trade opportunities, what Tasman did achieve was a huge contribution to the already extensive cartographic archive amassed by previous European navigators.

A lull of 125 years preceded the next wave of explorers from the North. Reaping benefits from Tasman's cartography, Captain James Cook made his way from Britain via Tahiti to the land known (in the Northern Hemisphere at least) as New Zealand (Robson, 2004; Salmond, 2003). Compared to Tasman, Cook spent a considerable amount of time charting the coastline with an accuracy that reflected the thoroughness of his approach. Riding close behind in Cook's wake were other eager 'discoverers' from France and Spain. Voyages led by Jean de Surville, Marc Joseph Marion du Fresne, Alessandro Malaspina and others although not uneventful were short-lived.

Predictably, the results of Cook's interactions with Māori comprised of mixed success. Breaching cultural differences amplified by language barriers presented a delicate task. Cook made an effort to smooth the path of his first voyage by including Tupaia, a high-born Tahitian, as part of his crew (Druett, 2011). This strategy was continued by including Hitihiti and Mai on subsequent voyages. However, significant misunderstandings did occur with loss of life on both sides an inevitable consequence. While Cook endeavoured to uphold an atmosphere of respect toward Māori some of his more overzealous crewmembers, albeit unwittingly, jeopardised this position. It served well for Cook that he did not necessarily show bias towards his crew against Māori. "It was typical of Cook that he took the trouble to find out what actually happened and, when he had done so, to act with restraint." (King, 2003, p. 106)

Cynical as it may seem, perhaps part of Cook's motivation was driven by the foresight to understand the opportunity he had to secure such a gem for the ever

expanding British Empire. Close observation revealed an abundance of natural resources in and around Aotearoa. Majestic forests boasted timber fit for ship and other building. The versatile ways Māori utilised (particularly in producing cordage) the extensive supply of fibre extracted from harakeke did not go unnoticed. These land based riches coupled with large stocks of fur rich seals and oil rich whales provided a dizzying potential to supply the voracious naval, industrial and fashion demands of an Empire which was rapidly outstripping resources closer to home. However, no matter what Cook may have or have not been motivated by, it is abundantly clear that his circumnavigation of this land and resulting contact with Indigenous residents heralded the beginning of the process of establishing British Colonialism in Aotearoa.

2.3.3 Exchanging sea for shore

The first trickle of settlers from the Northern Hemisphere arrived under the dubious wing of the sealing industry. A burgeoning seal fur trade, which not only catered to the fashion whims of Europe but also allowed trade with China for tea, provided perfect justification for the establishment of permanent shore-based sealing stations upon the abundant Aotearoa coastline (Belich, 1996, 2001; Byrnes, 2009; King, 2003; Mein Smith, 2012). I assert that the nature of being employed as sealers under this industry had dubious benefits because in many cases these men were literally dumped ashore and left to get on with the job. Often, the promised return of ships to drop off supplies and pick up the bounty these men accumulated never eventuated due to causes such as shipwrecks and changed circumstances or more lucrative plans on behalf of the trading companies. This world was harsh, dangerous and frequently the last place many of them saw. Initially, relationships formed between these men and Māori were tenuous. Fear of being attacked was rife as Māori sought vengeance for the misdeeds perpetrated upon them by previous intruders. However, instances of co-habitation did occur and some sealers became assimilated into local hapū.

As the sealing industry declined, it was superseded by the whaling industry as an insatiable appetite arose for oil to fuel the Empire's Navy as well as the increasing technological demands of the Industrial Revolution. Alongside these marine harvests, timber and harakeke industries also blossomed. When gold was

discovered yet another form of exploitative revenue gathering ensued. These first settlers were hard men. Many were fuelled by alcohol and violence. Many of them were escaping less than favourable personal circumstances and New Zealand was as far away as they could get from their former lives.

Exotic new climes were also a magnet for more erudite and artistic adventurers. Typically, any voyage of discovery included those with a scientific bent set on classifying and recording all manner of new animal and plant species. Proficient artists and writers filled a need to paint enticing visual and verbal pictures with which to stimulate the imaginations of those preferring to simulate adventure from the comfort of home, as well as to persuade those seeking to carve a new life for themselves.

2.4 Post-contact: Pākehā-Māori

Māori were quick to assess the benefits of becoming involved in the machinations of trading and did much to foster confidence between themselves and the new arrivals. Trade and romantic partnerships developed which cemented the beginnings of assimilation and integration between the two cultures. Pākehā-Māori was the name given to those who chose to live outside of the colonial settler community and live instead amongst Māori. These forerunners actively provided a pathway which helped breach differences that occurred between both Māori and Pākehā world views. From this perspective, this mixed collection of convicts, seamen and traders offered a valuable service to those Maori who included them, if only for a brief time, as part of their tribal group. Many Pākehā-Māori ended up being apprehended by the authorities pursuing them or chose to return to their former lives. Bentley (1999, p. 11) informs us that some “seeking isolation and anonymity merged fully with their tribes and have passed unrecorded.” Much debate could be mooted as to whether or not these people were courageous or just desperate. My view is that desperation often initiates courageous acts. Putting aside some of the circumstances why seeking such isolation occurred, it can be stated that cutting yourself off from your own culture is a leap into the unknown and therefore, courageous.

One of the more prominent of these early Pākehā-Māori was Frederick Edward Maning who contributed extensively on literary, intermediary and entrepreneurial fronts (Calder, 2008). Maning identified himself as a Pākehā-Māori particularly in reference to his work *Old New Zealand: A tale of the good old times, together with a history of the war in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke in the year 1845 as told by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe, also Maori traditions. By a Pakeha Maori* (Maning, 1906). From the start it became apparent that Maning (1906, p. 10) was disillusioned with his own, “being as I was in those days, a mere *pakeha* (a character I have since learned to despise).” Although it is not clear why Maning had such vehement feelings towards his fellow Pākehā what becomes apparent is that Maning, given his expertise in trading, accounting and general literacy, was a valuable asset to his chief. Therefore, although Maning despised his Pākehā background, evidence would suggest that he prospered and profited enormously from the life he had rejected when he chose to live with and be useful to Māori.

Some of the opinions offered by Maning went against popular thought, particularly regarding the length of time Māori had resided in Aotearoa (p. 183). For Maning not to subscribe to the Eurocentric view that has biased the recording of the true history of this country shows a rare example of forward thinking. Maning also displayed a sensitivity that conflicted with his entrepreneurial self, thereby revealing an extremely complex character. An aspect that I found particularly fascinating was the split view Maning had of himself. “I get so confused, I feel just as if I were two different persons at the same time. Sometimes I find myself thinking of the Maori side, and then just afterwards wondering if ‘we’ can lick the Maori” (p. 210), and, “I belong to both parties, and I don’t care a straw which wins” (p. 211). This fluctuating sense of identity raises interesting speculation. Is Maning’s seemingly *split* personality an unconscious pre-existing state, a necessary tool for survival in a harsh new world, or an indicator of latent racism so prevalent at that time? Was this chameleon-like ability the element that made Maning so successful and useful to his Māori chief? May it also account for his early rejection of Pākehā and his subsequent return to that world as he became increasingly disenchanted with Māori? Although it is not the purpose of this investigation to answer these ponderings, it is my belief that Maning’s stance was not uncommon as people began

navigating the geographical and sociological contours of this new ground, Aotearoa. Further-more, as this investigation progresses I would hope to find evidence to substantiate the idea that being able to move confidently between Māori and Pākehā society is a defining aspect of claiming a Pākehā identity.

Gradually stable, albeit rough, communities became established providing an ample supply of souls, ripe for redemption, thereby attracting the first wave of early missionaries. Access was also secured for the conversion of Māori to Christianity by these eager and intrepid deliverers of the ‘true faith’. Due to the fact that a large percentage of this first wave of European immigrants were in varying degrees dependant on Māori to sustain their existence, knowledge of Māori language was comparatively widespread compared to our current time-frame. Indeed, missionaries were quick to master the Māori language and publish Māori versions of the Bible and Scriptures (Laughton, 1947).

2.5 Spreading the word

One such person was Mother Suzanne Aubert. Bristling like the proverbial new broom, Mother Aubert swept in on the wake of the first wave of new settlers. This tiny French nun, worked closely with Māori establishing relationships through her missionary work and extensive knowledge of herbal medicine. Amongst all of this work she managed to write a phenomenal amount of private and business correspondence as well as publish an English-Māori Dictionary, a manual of bilingual phrases and an updated Catholic prayer book (Aubert, 1885; Munro, 1992; Munro, 1996). Although she never lived with Māori, Māori that worked with her viewed her “not so much as a mystical healer but as a skilful doctor who used, respected and added to the knowledge of the vegetation they knew” (Munro, 1996, p. 201). Mother Aubert possessed a particularly altruistic attitude. The rongoa that she developed after years of working alongside her Māori contemporaries became so popular that Kempthorne and Prosser in Dunedin began producing them. Suzanne and her missions reaped much needed financial rewards from this partnership. However when Kempthorne and Prosser started changing Aubert’s carefully tested recipes, she discontinued the relationship, as she was not willingly to risk the remedies’ integrity. Aubert had a rewarding and fruitful life among Māori, showing a real understanding of the benefit of a mutual, respectful and

loving way of conducting relationships between the two worlds. Munroe aptly expresses this quality “When Suzanne wrote her book of Maori conversation, she brought together the two ideas of show your love and doing something....They do not imply a top-heavy, one-way condescension, but a dialogue between equals” (Munro, 1996, p. 273).

Bentley (1999) paints a thorough and colourful picture of the men adopting a Pākehā-Māori identity. However, men were not alone in being assimilated into tribal life. Although the term Pākehā-Maori was never used in relation to women, a significant number of European women lived among the tribes as the “voluntary or involuntary wives of Maori men” (1999, p.187). While some male Pākehā-Māori may have been looked at with a pinch of disapproval by the mainstream settler population, women were viewed more harshly; “The notion that white women would chose to live with Maori men and bear their children perplexed and scandalised Victorian visitors and residents” (1999, p.188).

In *Captured by Maori* (Bentley, 2004), we are offered detailed accounts of many women who lived for relatively long periods, compared to their male counterparts, within their respective tribes. Bentley gives a sinister account of how their stories were manipulated to fuel racist tensions in the colonialist worlds,

their graphic language and images invoked both terror and titillation, eliciting the reader’s sympathies for the captives and anger towards indigenous peoples. These accounts were required to convey and perpetuate stereotypes about dark races that reinforced ideologies of white supremacy while justifying the annexation, colonisation and confiscation of their lands.
(2004, p. 19)

Interestingly, some women chose to remain in their new communities. Although tribal life was far from easy, there was a lifting of the restrictive colonial societal and gender roles prevalent at that time. Obviously not all women escaped a violent end to their lives. However, some women who bore themselves well were often elevated to the status of mōkai or pets and “treated with great kindness. They were provided with partners to accommodate their sexual needs, did not perform menial

tasks and shared the same food as the chief and his family. Possession of an exotic curiosity enhanced the mana of a chief” (Bentley, 2004, p. 34).

One can imagine that returning to the constrictions of Pākehā settler society may have been a little unattractive for some women due to the comparative freedom of their *captive* lives. Those that were rescued “were never readily accepted following their rescue and return....they may never have felt themselves completely accepted or fully assimilated into white colonial society” (Bentley, 2004, p. 20). Being back in the collective bosom of their kind only to experience such stigmatisation may well have rendered life disappointing to say the least. It would be fair to say though that even amongst the European settler population stereotypical roles became more relaxed as pioneer women, from necessity, escaped their gender specific roles. Sexual freedom and having access to the best provisions without having to work hard for them would have been an elusive luxury however.

2.6 Assisted immigrants

From early on in the lives of our predecessors, it became apparent that whatever remnants of the social mores from their previous homelands remained were seriously shaken when coming to terms with the realities of pioneer life. Boundaries became fluid as all classes shouldered the enormous task of taming not only the population but also geography of this ‘new’ land. Opportunity abounded for those who dreamed of shattering the shackles of, in particular, British hierarchy (Arnold, 1981; Fairburn, 2013; Sargent, 2001).

As stories filtered back to Britain a predictable stream of people from all sections of society flowed south to pit their skills against a multitude of antipodean challenges. Upwards of 500,000 immigrants arrived from the shores of the United Kingdom between 1800 and 1945 (Phillips & Hearn, 2008, p. 2), hailing from Ireland in the west to the far-flung Shetland Islands in the northeast and all points in between. It was not unusual for groups of people from specific areas, for example miners from Cornwall, to arrive either together or within a short space of time from each other.

Each came with a distinct accent, language and customs. Their habits, beliefs and prejudices were not erased the moment they stepped on board ship. Such people helped

build the Pakeha culture that emerged in New Zealand and came to dominate the Maori culture already established here (Phillips & Hearn, 2008, pp. 2-3).

Reasons for leaving their homelands were as diverse as the people who set their faces towards an uncertain but hopeful future. Whether the motivation for leaving Britain was to seek fortune and adventure or to extricate themselves from less than ideal private circumstances, the realities of the journey were the same for everybody. Crossing such vast seas in cramped unhealthy quarters, risk of fire aboard ship, lack of fresh food and often brackish water as well as inadequate medical treatment if one had the misfortune to fall ill or sustain injury meant that some never reached these shores that had held such promise. Alongside sadness at, most likely, never seeing friends and family again were fears of the unknown. Tales of unruly natives with cannibalistic tendencies wearing little more than grass skirts and natural disasters such as earthquakes would have tempered whatever good spirits still remained after the voyage over. Stoicism and often sheer bloody mindedness prevailed however, and upon arrival these northern pioneers got on with the job at hand. This is not to say that some found their new homeland far too daunting and opted to once again endure the long journey back.

While there were people that had the financial means to fund this new life themselves, there were many who took advantage of the free or cheap passage offered by the New Zealand Company, provincial governments such as the Canterbury and Otago Associations as well as the New Zealand government (Phillips & Hearn, 2008, pp. 23-24). Incentives such as free land and the prospect of finding gold were also offered attracting not only families but single men (which were already here in abundance). This in turn led to a concerted push for single women immigrants to be employed as domestic servants or to provide potential marriage partners to help settle the Empire's new frontier. It seems reasonable to assume that from the perspective of these women life here was far more free than that which they had experienced at 'home'. However in some circumstances the reverse appears to be more correct. Women (even the married ones) had to work extremely hard as they helped break in this new land allowing very little time for leisurely pursuits. In the case of those who found themselves in the midst of the

goldfields they were shamelessly exploited. Often the saving grace for these women was to marry, although in effect they were still helping to line another man's pockets rather than establishing financial security in their own right. Such was the plight of most women in those early years.

Gradually New Zealand became more settled as land was cleared and cultivated, echoing the chain of migration and settlement of those that left the Fertile Crescent in Africa alluded to earlier in this chapter. Assisted immigration was marked by highs and lows alongside periods with an absence of assistance altogether. Phillips and Hearn divided the whole period into six shorter units (2008, p. 27):

1. The years up to 1840;
2. The years of Crown Colony government (1840 to 1852);
3. The years of provincial migration (1853 to 1870);
4. The years of central government assistance (1871 to 1890);
5. The prewar period (1891 to 1915); and
6. The inter-war years (1916 to 1945).

According to this time scale the sharpest peak occurred in the mid 1870's. By that stage, the New Zealand Wars were over, the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed and the gold rush was slowing down. Rural areas in Britain were becoming less viable also. Julius Vogel was colonial treasurer and believed in the need for borrowing off-shore funds to establish infrastructures such as railways and other public works. People who had taken advantage of the newly created government schemes were encouraged to target family, friends and prospective employees to follow in their footsteps thereby providing this fledgling colony with yet another layer of skilled labourers, craftsmen, families and much needed women of marriageable age (2008, pp. 41 - 42). Between 1891 and 1903 assisted immigration ceased as the effects of the Great Depression spread throughout the general economy. Then from 1904, thanks to the development of refrigeration which greatly boosted the meat and dairy industries, it was reinstated ensuring yet another steady flow of assisted immigrants arrived to boost the pool of labourers, agricultural and domestic workers (2008, p. 45).

Although assisted immigration never again reached the dizzying peak of the 1870's, the influx of British migrants meandered along until 1975. Phillips and Hearn's timeframe stopped at 1945. However, the story of assisted immigration from 1947 to 1975 has been covered in detail by Megan Hutching (1999) and R. K. Dean (2010). While Dean's focus is relayed through individual stories, Hutching spreads a wider research net. As one would expect, these voyages were infinitely more comfortable than those of the previous century taking a mere six weeks as opposed to 100 days. Inevitably though there were bathing water restrictions and at times fresh food was limited. Also, a certain amount of snobbishness existed between assisted immigrants and those who travelled under 'tourist' class tickets (Hutching, 1999, pp. 111-112) Among this wave of assisted immigrants were many ex-servicemen and their families, single men required for building, engineering, national development and farming, and, single women required for nursing, factory, domestic and office work (1999, pp. 85 & 96). It would be fair to say the standard of education these assisted immigrants possessed was higher than that of their predecessors. By this stage New Zealand had become well and truly ensconced in the 20th century and the technology of the day. Individual houses were better equipped and had more modern amenities than most British working class homes. As well, Britain was still in the aftermath of rationing so the abundance of meat, dairy products, fresh fruit and vegetables must have seemed luxurious (1999, p. 97). Women were starting to enjoy life as independent beings and not necessarily relying on marriage partnerships for financial security. On the whole life upon arrival, even when presented with the unfamiliar, would have carried an air of relaxed excitement rather than the daunting picture faced by those who had laid the foundations of what on the surface seemed to be a more affluent home away from home.

2.7 Discussion

In this chapter we have explored the evolution of Pākehā identity beginning with some explanations of how the term developed as a direct consequence of making a distinction between the first European explorers and tangata whenua. We also looked at how the term Pākehā has some associated negative connotations, how it became reclaimed (thereby fostering a sense of pride in who we are) and, how it can be used as statement for supporting Māori in their struggle for self-determination.

However, although the term originated in Aotearoa, our physical selves did not. Therefore, a condensed retracing of where our roots began adds an historical perspective. This culminated with the arrival of the first settlers, who often were abandoned in less than favourable circumstances and escalated to a massive, Government led recruitment of assisted immigrants. I believe the majority of assisted immigrants were perceived as an extension of the upper-class/working-class servant system that was needed to support the re-worked society. Although covered with the veneer of possibilities for an exciting new future, the reality was that the hierarchical structure of the new colony was already in place. This is not to say opportunities for advancement were not available, only that the majority of migrants were either indebted to their sponsors or required as part of a general workforce to take care of the more mundane aspects of establishing this land of plenty. It may seem, within the context of our current timeframe that we only belong to this land, in reality we carry within us a much lengthier history. Whether we consciously acknowledge this or not, does not make it any less true.

Chapter 3

Identity: A question of choice? A critical review of selected literature on identity formation

3.1 Introduction

The ways in which identities are formed on both individual and collective levels are manifold. Generations of philosophical and intellectual inquiry, amongst those operating in what we define as the Western world, has evolved over several centuries. The focus of this selected literature review concentrates on developing a connective thread, initially founded in that most angst-ridden individual entreaty “Who am I?”, and culminating in the more encompassing collective question of “Who are we as Pākehā?” Just as human life has whakapapa or lineage, philosophical movements and systems also have an ideological equivalent of a family tree. Contemporary Western philosophy can attribute roots which anchor in the fertile soil of ancient Greek modes of thinking. The resulting fruits/progeny show evidence of a profusion and confusion of options in an attempt to explain human existence. The gamut of philosophical movements and systems that may be utilised to define the formation of one’s identity is expansive and therefore beyond the scope of this critical literature review. Indeed, a lifetime could be dedicated to the pursuit of such a wide ranging enquiry. We begin by focusing on an Existentialist perspective to further develop the thread of enquiry (see 3.1). Section 3.2 develops the existential point of view and 3.3 investigates the relationship between identity and belonging and illustrates how this contributes to establishing dynamic and multilayered elements in the process of identity formation. Section 3.4 elaborates on Pākehā identity in Aotearoa.

3.2 Developing an ‘Existential’ point of view

Restrictions of space inherent in the nature of this thesis, dictate that I am able to cover only a selected and condensed perspective from the full gamut of

existentialist philosophy.¹ I believe, in terms of initial enquiry into the complex and often contradictory ideas these philosophers offered, that there is justification in reviewing some interpretations and critiques of those who have devoted considerable time and effort to thoroughly exploring the bodies of works produced by writers who are recognised as being an integral part of the existentialist movement. In particular, I have relied heavily upon Carter (1985) as my introduction proper to academic critique of those whom he considers to be the major contributors to existential philosophy. Fullbrook and Fullbrook (1998) and Tidd (2004) have provided insight into the works of Simone de Beauvoir.

Rather than confining themselves to purely academic works, a significant number of writers used a wide range of literary styles and genres including novels, plays and poetry to explore key existential themes (Hooke, May / June 2004; Rickman, June/July 2001). For instance, Søren Kierkegaard, who is generally accepted as the ‘father’ of the existentialist movement, frequently wrote under fictional names. An example of this is Johannes de Silentio, ‘author’ of *Fear and Trembling* (Hannay & Marino, 1998). Reasons for using pseudonyms, according to Burnham and Papandreopoulos (2014), could range from, pure literary device, an expression of the particular quirkiness relating to an individual or evidence of the dynamics between philosophical and personal truths. Whatever justification Kierkegaard may have felt was necessary in utilising fictional voices, he certainly stressed “the difference between the anonymously and logically produced truths of the logicians and the personal truths of existing individuals” (Burnham & Papandreopoulos, 2014, para. 17).

Literary works by those such as Fyodor Dostoevsky (Kaufmann, 1957), Henrik Ibsen (Bryan, 1984; Moi, 2008) and Franz Kafka (Gray, 2005), among many others, have been posthumously regarded as exploring existentialist themes (Burnham & Papandreopoulos, 2014). Additionally, existential view-points spilled into more visual manifestations through artists such as Alberto Giacometti and Jackson

¹ As most existentialist authors wrote in their first language, in particular Danish, German, French, Russian and Spanish, it is necessary to rely on translations into English for this reader/writer to be able to understand their points of view.

Pollock as well as filmmakers such as Ingmar Bergman (Crowell, 2010). Therefore, it can be surmised that by expanding the varied avenues in which existential ideas were presented, the dissemination of those ideas reached a much larger audience than if confined to the academic world. Perhaps such extensive dissemination could have trivialised the fundamental importance of these ideas particularly as they became popularised through the publishing and film making industries. Thus, as Crowell (2010, para. 1) states, “By the mid-1970’s the cultural image of existentialism had become a cliché, parodied in countless books [as well as] films by Woody Allen.”

Michael Carter (1985) provided a stepping stone into the world of existentialism and defined the main existentialists as Soren Kierkegaard: *Either/or: A fragment of life* (1944), *Fear and trembling and the sickness unto death* (1974); Friederich Nietzsche: *The will to power* (1968); Martin Buber: *Between man and man* (1947), *I and thou* (1975); Karl Jaspers: *Man in the modern age* (1951), *Philosophy of existence* (1971); Martin Heidegger: *The question of being* (1958), *Existence and being* (1968), *Being and time* (1978); Gabriel Marcel: *The mystery of being* (1950), *Being and having* (1965); Jean-Paul Sartre: *Being and nothingness* (1969), *Existentialism and humanism* (1973) and Albert Camus: *The outsider* (1969), as the major contributors of existentialist thinking.

Carter attributes Heidegger and Sartre as being the key instigators in developing a philosophical system around the concept of existential authenticity. However, Carter by no means shows the extent of writers and thinkers that, whether on the fringes or otherwise, ruminated over and expanded upon ideas first developed by Kierkegaard. It is interesting to note that Carter, in his definition of existential philosophers and writers at no point mentions Simone de Beauvoir. To be fair, the aforementioned publication is solely concerned with the examination of authentic existence in the context of George Orwell’s literary identity rather than an overall enquiry in to the world of existential philosophy. However, he is not alone in the omission of Beauvoir and her work (Fallaise, 1998). In my initial foray into the world of existentialist thinking Beauvoir, if she was mentioned at all, was frequently relegated to that of merely being the romantic partner of Sartre. An

inference here, is that her work was heavily influenced by, and therefore just a reflection of, Sartre's (Bergoffen, 2014).

This group of thinkers were described, initially by Gabriel Marcel in 1943, as having established the philosophical movement known as existentialism (Cooper, 1990; Daigle, 2006). Although in the beginning reluctant to conform to this definition, writers such as Sartre and Beauvoir found it eventually suited them to be described as existentialist.

Kierkegaard, the Danish philosopher, theologian, poet, social critic, and religious author, argued against Hegel's philosophy "which analysed being (or existence) in an abstract and impersonal way. Kierkegaard was concerned with the individuals' subjective experience of what it is to exist as a human being" (Jones, 2008). Upholding ideas based in Plato's work, Hegel developed a system encapsulated in the dialectical movement's process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Hegel's view was that ones' spirit constituted an historical journey, along states of consciousness towards the ultimate goal of reason. The idea that Hegel's abstract rational response to the question of how human beings existed, in Kierkegaard's view, tried to usurp the place of God in favour of 'man' (Tidd, 2004). An inevitable result of this was a confused relationship between faith and reason (Burnham & Papandreopoulos, 2014). In simplified terms, where Hegel maintained human beings contained an inherent essence, Kierkegaard believed the existence of humans preclude any predetermined essence.

Kierkegaard was a religious man having little regard for abstract philosophical systems (King, 2001). However, he qualified his religious leanings by insisting that an individual is able to choose religious faith or pursue a spiritual path through conscious action of religious conviction rather than yielding to the unthinking obedience associated with religious doctrine. Allowing cohesion between his religious and philosophical beliefs fostered a practical approach towards philosophy as being something which was to be lived, highlighting a way of being rather than a mode of knowing (Crowell, 2010).

A paramount consequence which pertains to this avenue of thinking, which Kierkegaard maintained, is the responsibility of the choice that an individual must exercise, in the course of their daily lives, to be that which they truly are. Primarily, Kierkegaard regarded those who followed the accepted way of doing things and conformed to social norms were relieving themselves of the burden of being themselves and therefore developed a complacent attitude. Although this freedom to choose caused much anxiety for the individual, it was only by living in this way that one could lead an authentic life (Crowell, 2010). The resulting anxiety, according to Kierkegaard, was a fundamental and necessary part of being human. In fact, “the more profoundly he is in anxiety, the greater is the man” (Kierkegaard, Hong, & Hong, 2000, p. 153).

While most existential thinkers held a common view around choosing an intentional relationship with daily life, and the associated self-induced anxiety, some differed from Kierkegaard’s solely individual approach. For instance, Heidegger acknowledged that we are aligned with, but not necessarily all of, certain aspects of whatever traditions are prevalent in the environment we are born into. “I cannot make my identity from whole cloth; I will always understand myself in terms of some way existing that has been handed down within my tradition” (Heidegger, 1962, p. 437). Choice, as far as Heidegger is concerned, must carry a political dimension because although we exist as individuals, existence is also reliant on always being-with-others. Heidegger called this state of being thrown-in-the-world ‘*Dasein*’ and was convinced that existing in the present, and whichever decisions we choose to act upon, had deep ties to the past, the present as well as the future (Heidegger, 1962; Large, 2008; Tidd, 2004).

Along with Kierkegaard, Heidegger placed great importance upon the role emotions played in human existence. For most of the Existentialists, “my moods reveal to me fundamental truths of my existence” (Burnham & Papandreopoulos, 2014, para. 32). Sartre had an alternative perspective. Whilst concurring with Kierkegaard and Heidegger and their shared view of the relevance anxiety had in terms of leading an authentic existence, Sartre appears to align with a more rational slant stemming from Descartes and his “I think therefore I am” maxim (Descartes, 2001). Sartre rejected the notion that human beings contained any pre-existing

essence (Sartre, 1973). Firmly rooted in an atheist perspective, Sartre held no regard for reliance upon any outside or divine basis in order to live a moral existence (Sartre, 1969). Human self-consciousness provided an opportunity for each of us to define our own selves.

Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Sartre were in accord with the fundamental premise of existentialism which promoted that endeavouring to free ones-self from an inauthentic existence was an essential part of the human experience. Sartre explored this premise further by suggesting that abdicating the responsibilities, and therefore anxieties, of our choices by falling into the safety net of customs or social expectations was acting in 'bad faith'. Carter (1985, pp. 41-43) interprets and expands on Sartre's 'bad faith' by stating any obligation a person may direct towards God or state is only a pretence, serving to justify a choice made. Additionally, refusing to make a choice, and letting things be as they may, is in itself a choice, albeit of an indifferent and possibly unhelpful nature.

Sartre commented prolifically on the absurdity and fragility which accompanied the responsibility and complexity of living an authentic life through absolute awareness of freedom of choice. Obviously these concepts were illustrated through his writing. However, it could also be said his personal relationship with Simone de Beauvoir illustrated a thought provoking example of how living an authentic life may be interpreted. For instance, Fullbrook and Fullbrook (1998) substantiate the idea, through analysis of Beauvoir's diaries and correspondence between Beauvoir and Sartre that a major reason for the exclusion of Beauvoir from some earlier references and critiques of existential philosophy was due to a complicit agreement between herself and Sartre that he take credit for her ideas.

Although this could seem incongruent as well as inauthentic, given that Beauvoir is heralded as the instigator of feminist thinking (*The second sex*), if analysed from an existential viewpoint, it may hold merit. That is, together Beauvoir and Sartre made a conscious choice to have some of Beauvoir's principle ideas shaped into a philosophical system by Sartre. Beauvoir admitted that philosophy for her was a way of life and she read, taught and wrote extensively about philosophy. However

Beauvoir made a choice when she was younger to not invest her energies into developing a system which encapsulated her philosophical views. She went so far as to say, that “the feminine condition does not dispose one to this kind of obstinacy” (Fullbrook & Fullbrook, 1998, p. 3).

The above statement would appear contradictory to holding a feminist viewpoint. For example, Beauvoir could be interpreted as implying that the feminine mind as being slightly inferior to that of the male. Conversely, she could be alluding to the feminine mind being concerned with other aspects of philosophy which require a different kind of focus. In fact, Beauvoir went on to explore the ethics of existential philosophy as well as developing early feminist theory (Burnham & Papandreopoulos, 2014; Fullbrook & Fullbrook, 1998; Tidd, 2004). Also, contained in the above statement, is a suggestion Beauvoir perceived there to be some fundamental form of female essence which differed from a fundamental form of male essence. Manifestation of these differing essences could therefore be evident in alternative but also complementary viewpoints.

From the perspective of the possibility that women may house a ‘feminine condition’ or essence Beauvoir, in some respects, would be more aligned with Hegel and Kierkegaard than Sartre, who as we saw earlier was vehemently opposed to the idea of human beings having any form of pre-existing essence. The dynamic of opposing viewpoints illustrated here is not uncommon amongst existentialists. For instance, Sartre and Beauvoir did not share all aspects of Hegel or Kierkegaard’s view. They held similar regard for some ideas Heidegger put forward but certainly not all of them. In particular, Heidegger’s theory of ‘thrownness’ (Heidegger, 1962). Heidegger disassociated himself from Sartre’s perspective on existential philosophy (Bilsker, 1992; Fullbrook & Fullbrook, 1998). Rather than view any consequent tensions as being contradictory or divisive, it may be more helpful to focus on the possibilities of accommodating shared points of view connected by a central existential theme. That is, the absolute necessity to strive to be fully cognisant of the choices one makes as an individual. Accepting such diversity amongst the existentialist movement serves to encourage examination of and endeavour to overcome whatever obstacles are bound to arise when confronted with the issue of identity.

As seen through the eyes of Bowers (2007), the prevailing propensity to taking our existence as human beings for granted serves, for those of us who occupy the space which is described most commonly as the Western world, as a convenient deterrent for delving too deeply into our own respective identities both on individual and communal levels. Amongst the exceptions are the philosophers, those creators of ideas expressed in diverse ways, those that pit their minds against established and unchallenged ways of thinking. After a cursory look through angst ridden lens, we have also seen how an existentialist view develops the idea that as individuals we are responsible for the choices we make. Following Kierkegaard's conviction that complacency develops through conforming to social norms and relieves the individual from the burden of being themselves, a view may be cultivated that as human beings we have no fixed nature. Our choices manifest our existence, our identity.

Deviating from a complacent path would appear to encumber the wanderer with seemingly unburdenable burdens. The magnitude of recognising the accompanying responsibilities of choice induces, according to the existential cohort (as we saw most emphatically in Heidegger and Sartre), terror and anxiety in even the most intrepid of internal migrators. An inevitable outcome enables confusion to exercise a vigorous grip upon the reins of a deviator's equilibrium therefore, steering the individual towards the magnetic comfort of the status quo. Robert Solomon expresses this state most saliently,

[Existentialism] is an attitude that recognises the unresolvable confusion of the human world, yet resists the all-to-human temptation to resolve the confusion by grasping toward whatever appears or can be made to appear firm or familiar – reason, God, nation, authority, history, work, tradition, or the 'other-wordly,' whether of Plato, Christianity, or utopian fantasy. The existential attitude begins with a disoriented individual facing a confused world that she cannot accept. (Solomon, 1974, p. ix)

Nowhere is this image of disoriented individuality more painfully apparent than in late adolescence where jagged juxtapositions of choice reach saturation levels and the risk of being submerged by anxiety can seem dangerously close. Hormonal

mood-swings collide with a hastening necessity to choose that which shapes the continued evolution of a life. A reasonably safe assumption is that this particular developmental being/identity time-frame is crucial to establishing criteria concerning our specific choices be they healthy or otherwise.

Dan Bilsker (1992) applies existential concepts to establishing an identity through his critique of James Marcia's (1966, 1980) model of late adolescent identity formation. Derived from Erik Erikson's (1968) theory of ego-identity development, Marcia defined four specific phases in the process of identity formation. Marcia categorised these identity statuses as such,

Identity Achievement is the most developmentally advanced status. The individual has gone through a period of exploration of alternatives and has made well-defined commitments. *Moratorium* is the predecessor to Identity Achievement. Here, the person is in the exploration period with commitments only vaguely formed. *Foreclosure* refers to the individual who has undergone no, or very little, exploration and remains firmly committed to childhood-based values. Finally, *Identity Diffusion*, the least developmentally advanced of the statuses, is comprised of persons who, whether they have explored alternatives or not, are uncommitted to any definite directions in their lives. (Marcia, 1987, p. 163)

Subsequently, Marcia's *Identity Status Interview* has provided an empirical measure which has been extensively used in psychological arenas.

As Bilsker (1992) explains, Erikson (1982, p. 73) and Marcia (1989, July) made reference to, if only fleetingly, an existential connection in terms of identity formation. Bilsker elaborates on this, putting forward three major advantages in applying existential theory upon an individual's identity formation. The first of these advantages establishes a platform that supports a philosophical mechanism with which to illuminate problems around ego-identity theory. From this evolves the second advantage of recommending particular research avenues in an otherwise difficult to traverse area. Therefore, an enhanced understanding for clinical investigators specialising in the consequences of disrupted identity formation processes, is the third advantage.

Here lies the crux of Bilsker's observations. It is this interrupted development of an individual's identity that correlates to the significance of viewing this most paramount of processes through an existential lens. Production of the accompanying anxieties, as described by existential philosophy, would be at its zenith. Provided we are in agreement that a fundamental premise of an existentialist perspective is one of individual responsibility regarding our own choices, we can then appreciate the impact associated anxieties may have on ego-identity in general. Both the existential philosophical system and ego-identity theory, as defined by Erikson and Marcia, stress the importance of meaning and intention when establishing an individual's identity. Seemingly, as Bilsker suggests, this contradicts a Freudian viewpoint which advocates that ego identity formation occurs as a result of instinctual impulse rather than deliberate intention.

For the next stage in his argument substantiating the application of existential criteria in identity formation, Bilsker takes each of Marcia's four identity statuses and explains them in existentialist terms. Earlier, in Part One of this chapter, we became aware that existentialism encompassed many differing, and often opposing, philosophical points of view. Carter (1985), posited the opinion that Heidegger and Sartre were the pivotal developers of an existential philosophical system. Bilsker is aligned with Carter in this respect. Even though Heidegger and Sartre were not in agreement on many issues, the uniting factor for them was their mutual concern in relation to the nature of being in the world. Despite their disagreements, Bilsker felt that there was merit in discussing Heidegger and Sartre's common ground when applying existential concepts to Marcia's identity status groupings.

Daigle (2006, pp. 7-8), in the introduction for *Existential Thinkers and Ethics*, presents four main recurrent themes in existentialist writings as proposed by Alasdair MacIntyre: 1) intentionality; 2) being and absurdity; 3) freedom of choice; and 4) *Angst* and death:

The first theme - phenomenological concept – reveals a fundamental difference between knowledge of self and knowledge of the Other. The Other is not seen as he or she

really is but as the intended object of my perceptions, my beliefs, and my emotions. The same can be said about the perception that the Other has of me. There is a radical “unifiability” of individuals. The concept of intentionality also points to introspection as the key to self-knowledge and knowledge of the human. I appear as I really am only to myself.

The second theme – being and absurdity – reveals a radical difference between being-for-itself and being-in-itself. Being for-itself has a consciousness and is free. This is the human. Being-in-itself is being that corresponds exactly to itself, that is, things in the world. There is a clash between these two kinds of being. “Absurdity” refers to many things, including the presence of that different being that is the human in a world of things, the indifference of the world to the presence of human beings, the contingency of the world, and its lack of meaning.

The third theme – freedom and choice – is probably the most important one for existentialists. They all consider that individuals are radically free and that they have to make conscious authentic choices. The value of choice in making our lives is tremendous. Their investigations focus primarily on this theme. We are free and must choose because there are no objective values; instead of accepting the nihilism that may ensue, most existentialists think that the individual must be responsible and undertake it as a task to create values. This is not only the theme of this book but also, as we will see, the fundamental preoccupation of existentialist thinkers.

Finally, the fourth theme – *Angst* and death – is of interest to existentialists to various degrees, as they consider that the individual facing extreme, unusual experiences or situations reveals the true and fundamental nature of the human. Anxiety, or *Angst*, as well as the encounter with death or the possibility of our own death, can thus serve ethical purposes.

These existentialist themes jolt ones thinking about what we take for granted (our existence), and of Sartre’s proposition that existence precedes essence. In this section, we have formulated an existential perspective of how identity is formed within the individual through each individual’s power of choice over their lives. However, this is not such a clear cut situation as an existential viewpoint may indicate. It can be asserted that it is imperative we aspire to reach the level of authenticity in our daily choices that Sartre and his cohorts recommend. By accepting that the practical task of doing so causes anxiety to manifest from our internal selves, we must also consider the likely-hood that we experience anxiety

as a result of our interactions with other people. As individuals, we inhabit a world full of other individuals who exercise their own choices also.

Identities are not neutral. Behind the quest for identity are different and often conflicting values. By saying who we are, we are also striving to express what we are, what we believe and what we desire. The problem is that these beliefs, needs and desires are often patently in conflict, not only between different communities but within individuals themselves. (Weeks, 1990, p. 89)

Therefore the potential for problematic interactions amongst all of these individuals is infinite if there is no consideration of the possibility that the choices an individual makes for themselves may have dire implications for some-one else. How much are we able to freely choose and how much we tailor our choices for the sake of a more communal harmony?

3.3 Identity and Belonging

Heidegger acknowledged the fact that he must understand himself in relation to the associated historical dimensions of existence. He distinguished this *Schicksal* or 'fate' as holding a form of authority for himself rather than having his choices dictated by his historic heritage (Heidegger, 1962). In doing so, Heidegger allows for the existential necessity of authenticity in living daily life. He also provides space for consequent discussion regarding exactly which historical, and therefore social, elements an individual must consider before exercising their privilege of choice. Obviously these elements differ depending on where an individual physically dwells and therefore may be tailored to accommodate a world full to the brim of cultural diversity. As Hall professes (1990, p. 222), "We all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always 'in context' *positioned*". Even though our cultural identities have an historical continuum, Hall stresses the inevitable and ongoing transformations that shape how an individual may identify themselves.

Identities are shaped by our experiences regardless of whether those experiences were chosen or adopted by default or through de facto circumstances. Hall offers us two major positions from which to define cultural identity. In the first instance, Hall states that inside any cultural grouping an individual may share not only

common ancestral links, but also collective historical experiences. This assumes the notion of a collective ‘one true self’ in which fixed frames of reference and meaning provide a sense of stability and ‘oneness’. Contained within this position is the suggestion that sharing a collective ‘one true self’ provides a basis for assuming that, in spite of the anomalies within a shared history, our similarities are the elements that bind us together as ‘one people’ (Hall, 1990). The implication here is that individual identity choice acquiesces to the collective will or good. Weeks (1990, p. 92) validates this position, but he also alerts us to consider that “all-embracing humanism does not tell us how to deal with difference/we need to learn to live with difference”. This would apply to not only differences between cultural groupings, but also between individuals within each cultural grouping. Here is where Hall’s second position from which to define identity has important implications:

[It] recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather – since history has intervened – ‘what we have become’. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about ‘one experience, one identity’, without acknowledging its other side – the ruptures and discontinuities ... Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well of ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. (1990, p. 225)

Hall and Weeks encourage a view of identity which develops from an ongoing awareness of similarities and differences as well as being influenced by known events of past and present together with the unknown or future. However, this perspective is not without its own set of difficulties which, Hall (1990, p. 222) asserts, “problematizes the very authority and authenticity to which the term ‘cultural identity’ lays claim.” This brings us to a pertinent question posed by Grimson (2010, p. 61) who asks, “Are all cultural differences nothing more than the illusory effects of constructed identities?” Here we are being asked to consider an anthropological approach to identity which has developed through extensive study on ethnicity, its borders and inter-relationships. According to Grimson there is a need to distinguish the differing roles ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ play in analysis of social processes. A predominant concern is how these two terms are often used

with a regrettable lack of discrimination. To be clear, Grimson (2010, p. 63) believes, “that while culture alludes to our routine of strongly sedimented practises, beliefs and meanings; identity refers to our feeling of belonging to a collective.” It is easy to see, from this perspective, how an individual may identify as belonging to a specific culture without necessarily participating in activities which are popular markers of that culture.

The converse can also be true. World over, people engage in cultural activities the origins of which are grounded in other cultures. This does not automatically imply that those people then become part of the culture in which those activities originated. Grimson uses an interesting example of dancing the tango to illustrate this point. Although the tango is synonymous with Buenos Aires, it is learned and danced in numerous parts of the world. Of course, his example may be universally extended to innumerable instances pertaining to other borrowed or adopted cultural practices. Just how Grimson’s distinction between identity and culture pervades the consciousness of most individuals, leaves room for much conjecture. What becomes apparent though, are the infinite ways individual identity may be shaped by an overlapping of both communal identity and cultural influences.

While understanding the distinction Grimson is at pains to make, it may be beneficial to remember the osmotic relationship between culture and identity and how the two, although separate, work in conjunction with and define each other. This makes his reference to the tango all the more interesting. In the 1890’s, tango grew from a fusion of Cuban and Spanish dance styles influenced by African rhythms. To begin with it was a dance associated with the lower classes but soon filtered through to the social elite of Buenos Aires and then expanded into Europe. Even though the tango is a relatively new development in Argentinian culture, or to be more specific those from Buenos Aires, it has become a definitive marker of that culture. By using the tango as a metaphor Grimson, serves to highlight just how problematic and illusory his strict definitions around identity and culture may become. Thus, he explores here the ways in which cultural practices are no longer restricted by geographical boundaries, either through other cultures participating in different cultural activities and practices, or through immigrants practising their traditions in new geographical homes. Grimson (2010, p. 63) acknowledges there

is a “possibility to learn another culture and make it our own”, while admitting there are difficulties in rejection of one’s own culture. It would seem then, that these conflicting situations would increase the blurring of any distinct boundaries between identity and culture.

It may be useful at this point to reflect and see how Heidegger’s concepts of *dasein* and *Schicksal* could infuse into the preceding ideas. Both Hall and Weeks echo and build upon Heidegger’s existential view point. Simultaneously, they accommodate the importance collective historical experiences have a on an individual’s sense of identity, while acknowledging individual difference within the collective identity. As we saw in Part 1 of this Chapter, existentialism has some very fluid and reciprocal boundaries. We saw how contrary elements of existentialist philosophy became amalgamated through a basic agreement stressing the desirability of individual authenticity. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that although as individuals we may be informed, in varying degrees, by our ancestry and historical/social experiences, we also have the opportunity (and indeed the obligation) to be deliberate in our perceptions of how we choose to view and conduct ourselves within our particular cultural groupings. In this way we not only instigate choices in the present, but also the future which, upon reflection, can be constructed as our past or history.

From the perspectives investigated so far, it becomes increasingly apparent that identity definition is never a static or isolated occurrence. We begin to see how multidimensional and fluid the elements contributing to individual identity formation are. Particularly, in light of the global accessibility our contemporary world now enjoys. Sayers (1999, p. 157) further explores the connection between identity formation and community stating that, “the self is a social product; the ideals of identity and community are historical creations. But that does not mean that they are illusory.” Based on his analysis of a group of philosophers often referred to as ‘communitarians’, he focuses upon the writings of MacIntyre MacIntyre (1981), Taylor (1985, 1989, 1991, 1994) and Walzer (1989; 1990).²

² Much like the early existentialists, the communitarians refrain from identifying themselves as such ‘communitarians’ and, neither do they form a united school of thinking.

Sayers identifies one of the common threads of communitarian philosophy, namely that humans are, fundamentally, social beings. While this is not an uncommon point of view, a communitarian approach suggests the necessity of suitable frameworks for establishing an acceptable and successful development of individual identity.

As we saw with existentialist philosophy, there seems to be ample accommodation for conflicting viewpoints. Amongst these philosophers we see similar accommodation particularly in relation to the role social frameworks hold in contemporary society. For example, MacIntyre (1981) argues that in traditional societies, the individual self acquires meaning through social means. He maintains a position which believes that deviating from traditional frameworks has contributed to the breakdown of modern society. Sayers (1996, p. 148) relates MacIntyre's description of modern society as having "dissolved into a mass of separate individuals each pursuing their own arbitrary and subjective ends." MacIntyre appears uncomfortable with the isolation of the self inherent in existential authenticity and attributes this kind of individual approach as steering the fragmentation of traditional frameworks. Nonetheless, MacIntyre does concede that given an opportunity to step back into living within traditional community frameworks, most people would decline. Returning to a life inhibited by the restrictions once prevalent in the context of traditional frameworks would impede the growth of the expectation we now have for self-determination. Sayers, however, provides an alternative viewpoint, to that of MacIntyre, on the fragmentation of modern society through the voices of Taylor (1989) and Walzer (1990). While agreeing with MacIntyre's assertion that the natural order of things, together with accompanying hierarchical structures, is mostly lost, they see the anomalies of MacIntyre's stance. A question is posed that if on the one hand humans desire a sense of community, then why would they on the other hand, willingly destroy traditional frameworks entirely? A more palatable view would suggest that in actuality we redefine shared moral frameworks.

So, we need moral frameworks to stabilise ourselves, but frameworks, just like identities, are in a steady state of adaptation. Rather than traditional frameworks being fragmented completely, Taylor borrows Heidegger's phrase 'covered over' to illustrate how our sense of shared traditional values, understandings and

commitments has been undermined and disturbed. From Taylor's perspective, this is due to the individual autonomy so favoured by liberal ideology. Walzer (1990), elaborates on this point. He notes that we are all bound together by the fact that we are human beings. The separation that occurs through liberal ideology does not take our connectedness away from us. What it does however, is detract from the *sense* of connectedness we have. To redress this, Taylor maintains we need to retrieve and re-establish our shared frameworks by identifying our lost frameworks. Sayers questions this. While he agrees that Taylor and Walzer are correct in their understanding that modern society does not suffer from absolute fragmentation, he suggests that our common frameworks only provide a general sense of community. A consequence of this is that the issue of fundamental differences and conflicts which exist within a general sense of community are not addressed, which, brings us right back to Hall and Weeks' reference to accommodating differences.

Let us examine further the problem of difference and conflicts. Grimson (2010) claimed that everyone feels a sense of connection to community whether it be from geographical, generational, gender, class, political, cultural or any other form of grouping. Taylor (1989) emphasises the impossibility of escaping or denying frameworks. He tracks a natural progression of having, at first, no control over what circumstances we are born into, then we gradually learn, through our respective cultural frameworks, to negotiate our world. As we develop an understanding of our particular world, we begin to exercise more individual choice within the context of our own communities. For the individual to take the extreme step of rejecting all frameworks would be "in effect denying [the individuals] own identity and turning [themselves] against [themselves]" (Taylor, 1989, p. 4). Obviously, there are instances where this does indeed happen.

Needless to say, it would be remiss to not acknowledge these instances as they are pertinent illustrations of what can occur when individuals are ill-equipped to deal with isolation and anxieties associated with self-exile. Sayers suggests the roles of conflict and discord are integral elements in directing the self to investigate new forms of identity. Citing the scenario Gosse (1949) presents of a son turning from the traditional frameworks adhered to by his father, family and community, Sayers makes the point that any resulting autonomy is relative rather than being a complete

fragmentation. A type of divided identity between an individual's inner sense of self and detached public persona may be necessary for a time but eventually becomes more integrated.

Bilsker's (1992) existentialist critique of Marcia's (1987) four stages of identity formation portrayed an ideal progression of this development in young adults. However, Laing (1965) draws our attention towards the consequences of what happens when this process becomes interrupted, regardless of the particular point in the development of an individual identity this may occur. The temporary division becomes a permanent detachment resulting in, at best an identity crisis, at worst, fully blown psychosis. This frightening and isolating result of extreme identity fragmentation is not one that would appear to be worth consciously striving to attain. There are those, such as Deleuze and Guattari (1977) who elevate psychosis as a desired result of an authentic liberty from all notions of a 'true' self. This most radical end of the identity formation spectrum is as Laing describes, in Sayers (1996, p. 17), as "far from being a liberated state, the dissolution of selfhood characteristic of psychosis is deadeningly disempowering and frantically terrifying ... That way nothing lies".

While not denying a degree of fragmentation and separation from traditional frameworks is necessary, in establishing a satisfactory identity, Sayers suggests that we develop an ironic self. He advocates that by maintaining a sense of playful detachment, we are then able to avoid the pitfalls of identity crises and psychoses. In this way Sayers reconstructs the different communitarian philosophical views asserted by MacIntyre from that of Taylor and Walzer as a crucial idealistic means for conducting successful future relationships between individual and community identity. Sayers places substantial emphasis on "...the need for new forms of common life which recognise the relatively autonomous self as a reality of the modern world and which seeks to construct a community in which it can develop and be realised" (1996, p. 17).

Nowhere is this assertion of balancing the frameworks around individuality, community and the modern world, more intensely illustrated than in the inevitable migration of people from one cultural background to new geographic locations.

3.4 Pākehā identity in Aotearoa

Chapter 2 of this thesis looked at some definitions of the term Pākehā and how the term Pākehā has been applied to encompass, in particular, migrators to Aotearoa from the British Isles. Alongside this, a condensed historical account of some of those early migrators was offered. It is timely now to examine more closely the development of Pākehā identity from its inception and bring it into a contemporary context.

During the 1970's and 80's a movement began from some Pākehā writers and academics to investigate and speak out against colonialist ways of thinking and operating within Aotearoa, thereby encouraging other Pākehā to undertake some serious re-evaluation and re-definition of what it meant to be Pākehā. Significant contributions to this information base have been made in the ensuing decades by people such as James Ritchie (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1978; Ritchie, 1971, 1992), Paul Spoonley, Cluny MacPherson and David Pearson (Spoonley, 1993, 2009; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012; Spoonley, Macpherson, Pearson, & Sedgwick, 1984; Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 1991, 1996, 2004; Spoonley, Pearson, & Shirley, 1990), Claudia Bell (1996; 2002), Ingrid Huygens (2009, 2011), Maria Jellie (2001), Avril Bell (1996; 2004a, 2004b), Bob Consedine and Joanna Consedine (2005), among others.

Spearheading this movement was Michael King (1992, 1999, 2001, 2003). In *Tread softly: For you tread on my life* (2001), there was some enlightening writing pertaining to the sensitivity required on the part of historians, biographers, and researchers when seeking the truths in any given inquiry. Although much of what King wrote regarding definition of an indigenous Pākehā view point was pertinent, there appeared to be unresolved issues. He seems to be too vehement in his desire to state his case “about the right to be here, to belong and to carry indigenous status” (2001, p. 118). In *Hidden Places* (1992, p. 11), he says, “The fact that one group has been here longer than the others does not make its members more New Zealander than later arrivals, nor give them the right to exclude others from full participation in the national life.” An interesting question here is whether he refers more to Māori excluding Pākehā or Pākehā excluding later arrivals.

While it is understandable that some Pākehā feel that the length of their residency constitutes being able to claim tangata whenua status and in *Being Pakeha* (King, 1985, p. 13) states “...there are many Pakeha whose values and lifestyle bear little relation to the Western stereotype”. Pākehā need to exercise caution in asserting tangata whenua status as a right. As King asserts (1985, p. 192), “In a society that professes to be bicultural, members of each culture ought to be fluent in the other’s language ... well intentioned Pakeha should master correct pronunciation of Maori words and names.” Until Pākehā are more proactive in this very least of considerations, then much more discussion on this issue is required. Otherwise, “There is a fear that the cultural imperialism of the past will be replaced by a new kind that subverts Maori institutions from within. Well-meaning Pakeha might inadvertently reshape concepts of relevance” (King, 1992, p. 94). Although King assures us he is “sensitive to this fear”, he still takes liberties with Māori language by anglicising certain words in *Being Pakeha now: Reflections and recollections of a white native*, his 1999 reworking of *Being Pakeha*. Someone of King’s calibre could find other ways to use karanga, poroporoaki and tangi other than karanga’d, poroporoaki’d and tangi-ing (King, 1999, p. 88).

Also in *Being Pakeha now* he includes a photo of himself and his colleagues in a cemetery eating and drinking on the grave stones. I do not know what aspect of Pākehā culture this embraces, but I do know this image would show a lack of respect towards Māori who have strict protocols regarding correct practices within burial places. King would have known this and I am intrigued to know why he chose to include this photo. Earlier, he wrote, “I find I am Pakeha, I am a New Zealander, I am Irish, I am Scottish I am European, and I am, in parts of my spirit, Maori, I am all these things simultaneously” (King, 1985, p. 186). One wonders which part of his Māori spirit (if a non-Māori can be in possession of such a thing) allowed him to sanction the use of that photo.

Development of Pākehā identity is not a straight forward process by any stretch of the imagination. As Johnson states,

Citizens of this country have always grappled with complex issues associated with identity. In common with many other

Oceanic societies, we are a nation built on a combined indigenous and colonial past, with generations of citizens identifying, in complex ways, with issues associated with cultural heritage while at the same time feeling the need to forge some kind of cohesive national identity. (Johnson, 2008, p. 69)

While Johnson's writing in this case was concerned with the how the development of a global hybrid identity impacted on Māori students, her statement can aptly be transposed onto the examination of Pākehā identity. In Johnson's opinion, not only do Māori and Pākehā need to come to terms with developing a bicultural identity, they must also take into account the effects of globalisation in the development of a more multi-cultural identity. Because of the immediacy and shrinking of the world due to the rapidity of technological advancement, we have access to any amount of other cultural influences which can contribute to identity confusion for individuals and societies. From this then, it is not unreasonable to assume there is great importance in understanding where individual and community identities are rooted.

Over time it is obvious, and also necessary, that identity and associated traditions undergo transformations as exposure to different cultural influences are experienced albeit through voluntary or involuntary means. However, it is important that the course of these changes are accurately mapped. In the context of Afro-Caribbean identity, Hall (1990) stressed the importance of a re-telling of history that reflected the experiences of those who suffered under the oppression of colonisation. Turner (2011) addresses the issue of re-viewing a national collective history within the context of Aotearoa by examining the concept of settler dreaming. He suggests that the first European migrants may have dreamed for a better life in this new land but in reality, it was the act of claiming this country as their own which provided the basic structure for developing a settler consciousness. Turner states this led to a form of collective remembering which was fostered by "an industry of historians, or memory machinery, [which] is needed to support settler place-making, working to shape and contain memory, and to secure it against real knowledge of the making over of a place" (Turner, 2011, p. 116). In doing this, the settler dream then becomes an attractive lure for further settlement thus enforcing the idea of New Zealand (rather than Aotearoa) as the new homeland for future migrators. Claudia Bell (1996, p. 12) corroborates this, where she alludes to,

The favoured ideological myth was that of egalitarianism. We understood that this was an inherent part of our culture Over many generations this popular myth effectively hid inequities. An illusion of equity, and on official belief systems that supported it (democracy), persuaded the population that there was one common goal: support for one's nation.

What is created out of this is a form of short history which overrides the much longer history of Māori, the previous settlers of Aotearoa. Rather than being obliterated (as the original inhabitants of the Caribbean were for instance), Māori were by default co-opted into this settler dream, due to the sheer numbers of second settlers, which made us all New Zealanders and presented an impression that we all shared a common origin. In Turner's opinion, the idea that Aotearoa / New Zealand is a post-settler and post-colonial society is a misconception as, no definitive date can be applied which shows the cessation of the process of colonisation. This is due, to a large extent, because the collective settler memory must continually be reinforced to maintain the status quo of the dominant culture.

Turner (2011, pp. 121-122) offers a three part definition of the structure required to maintain the settler memory machine,

1. *Re-enactment* – which perpetuates a memory of (after the initial act of stepping ashore) us already being here.
2. *Remediation* – which describes the ways technologies, such as historical film footage, and infrastructures such as universities, historians and museums, are used to disseminate re-enactment.
3. *Cultural plagiarism* – which acknowledges the way aspects of Māori culture are used to differentiate New Zealand from other Anglicised settler societies thereby, giving a uniqueness to the general identity of New Zealanders.

When settler memory is challenged, whether by Māori (whose experience has been for the most part traumatically different) or by new migrants from cultures other than the dominant settler culture, the settler dream begins to unravel. The collective settler memory which, had successfully albeit fleetingly, managed to ignore the price Māori paid for the new settler dream, is now required to reluctantly reassess

that which has posed as *our* history and, by association, *our* identity. One consequence, as Turner points out, that has arisen latterly is a backlash against Māori flourishing on their own terms. As Māori engage in the process of reclaiming their rightful history in this land, it illuminates the fact that settler success has been utterly dependant on the dispossession of Māori from their land, language and culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; Walker, 2004; Wheen & Hayward, 2013).

For those Pākehā who choose to delve into the un-settling world of accepting the effects of their collective settlement upon Māori, an upheaval in their perception of who they are is a logical result. What can often emerge from this alternative perspective is a sense of anger and betrayal at having been misled through mainstream educational avenues which reinforce the settler dreaming concept. An eloquent and often emotive illustration of re-discovery and re-telling of a particular instance in the history of Aotearoa was presented in an exhibition entitled *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* where inspirational creative works from Māori, Pākehā and other non-Māori were curated. The exhibition brought, to the general population, a heightened awareness of the wrongs committed towards the people of Parihaka, a bastion of passive resistance against the onslaught of British troops during the late 1800's. Simultaneously, a finely crafted collection of traditional waiata, essays, personal narratives, reviews, poetry, songs, plays, photographs, paintings, sculptures and mixed media works was published (Hohaia, O'Brien, & Strongman, 2001) as the exhibition catalogue. However, this publication stands as an example of creative work in its own right. As we saw in Section 3.2 one of the attractive aspects of the existential philosophical movement was the dissemination of existential themes through avenues other than purely academic writing contexts. Doing so, allowed greater accessibility of those ideas to a much wider audience. Exposure to this magnification of the intimate ways in which a considerable number of artists both Māori and non-Māori responded to the events at Parihaka is, at times, overwhelming. Mahara Okeroa endorses this meshing of perspectives, "It is significant that the artistic response to Parihaka is both Māori and non-Māori" (Hohaia et al., 2001, p. 67), as the story of Parihaka belongs to both sides.

The Parihaka exhibition and publication provided a perfect illustration of how, over one hundred years later, the real story of what happened starts to emerge. Pieces of

a puzzle are brought together and secrets are uncovered within a safe arena. It is imperative to not underestimate the level of trust shown by descendants of the families that were most harmed by the events at Parihaka as they revealed documentations which had been previously held in the protection of their respective whanau. What is created through the avenue of this exhibition provides a compelling case for the importance of personal and collective narratives in the recording of *history* to be expressed in a form other than the written word. We are challenged to comprehend an alternative understanding regarding a definition of *our* past. Māori have an insightful way of viewing the past, seeing it as something that appears before a person. Because the past has already happened it gives the viewer the advantage of hindsight and the ability to make choices that affect the future which is unseen and therefore behind the viewer. This view is a refreshing and sharp contrast to a view employed by a Western Imperialist paradigm in which the past is better left behind. Much more convenient, as Turner (2011) corroborates, to keep it nicely tucked away and never have to look at the devastating effect our colonising nature has had on unsuspecting recipients.

Deidre Brown (Hohaia et al., 2001, p. 174) cites Darcy Nichols to emphasise the advantages of employing an elastic definition of time

These works by Māori artists should not be interpreted as 'history paintings' in the Western sense of the term, as they call on connections which have more to do with 'heritage' than 'history'. Nichols perhaps best explains the connections between the works and Parihaka when he says of his own painting; 'the āhua or the genesis for my art work is whakapapa. Our relationship to the land, the sea, and the stars ... In my art I endeavour to capture that timeless element that embraces yesterday, today, and tomorrow'.

Drawing attention to a distinction between heritage and history allows for the development of spiritual and/or ideological kinships within the sentiments expressed by, in particular, Pākehā contributors. As the Treaty of Waitangi was made between Māori and Pākehā, it is imperative that in the wider context of Aotearoa some Pākehā were expressing, in a visual and visceral way, ideas and beliefs that challenged the recording of our collective history to which we had previously been exposed. Herein, lies an opportunity where according to James K

Baxter (Hohaia et al., 2001, p. 191), “the dispossessed pakehas to whom the pakeha Establishment has little or nothing to offer are free to give support”. Although Baxter’s words are in the context of Pākehā supporting Ngā Tama Toa and their struggle to address disputes arising from the Land Wars of the late 19th century, they are comfortably relocated to the context of the Parihaka exhibition. Not only do they extend the support of Pākehā towards Māori but they also encourage Pākehā to support each other in challenging their own Establishment.

Following this point of view we can see how influential and interwoven the thoughts, feelings and concepts of likeminded artists and craftspeople (no matter which medium is used to express them) are on each other. Brown acknowledges the writings of Dick Scott (1954, 1975) as having a significant influence on some of the participating artists. In particular her interview with Barry Brickell, primarily a ceramic sculptor, revealed how he was affected by Scott’s writing,

Brickell’s statement goes on to convey his sense of regret that, despite being born ‘under the shadow of Mt. Taranaki’, he was never educated about the history of Parihaka. His comments are interesting since there is anger in his words, in particular a sense that generations of Pākehā had their historical connections to Parihaka suppressed by the state. In this light, Scott’s book can be seen as not just an explanation of Pākehā betraying Māori, but also Pākehā betrayal of Pākehā. (p. 174)

Acknowledging betrayal perpetrated by one’s own people (whether it be from personal experience or from accepting others’ experiences) is never a comfortable position. In terms of identifying as Pākehā, we must address this form of betrayal. Not only is it relevant to the history of Aotearoa, it has also been a common occurrence throughout our pre-Pākehā history, the effects of which have lurked deeply within our collective Pākehā bones, for many hundreds if not thousands of years. A disempowering consequence of this is voiced through Laura Marsh who experienced “disappointment at the cultural naivety of most of ‘my people’ and the lack of things to be proud of as a descendant of a ‘people’ who subscribed to the colonial vision” (2010, p. 49). Marsh’s voice reaches us through her Masters’ thesis exhibition and accompanying exegesis entitled ‘*The Trouble with Being a Proud Pākehā.*’ (2010). The possibilities of expression that were shown to us through the

collective voice of the Parihaka exhibition receive a single handed application from Marsh's perspective on Pākehā identity displayed in an array of visual mediums as well as innovative penned forms.

Marsh uses imagery of Pākehā icons connected to the South Island, where she grew up, to illustrate her belief that “Pākehā culture is essentially invisible to most New Zealanders – and I want to make a connection to it for them” (p. 23). A deceptively comforting juxtaposition between materials and message is utilised, effectively, to trick the viewer into a quasi-secure space in which to be exposed to and challenged by ideas which go against the grain of the status quo. Wood and wool play a major part in Marsh's work and reference two of the key trades that Pākehā established in Aotearoa. Regarding the motifs utilised within her work, Marsh substitutes what she has described as the usual “kiwi-bullshit-ana” (p. 49) with images such as lupin and macrocarpa trees. An interesting choice, given the rampant nature of, in particular, the lupin. Photographs of her installations reveal the homely comforts of blankets and stitch work to express Marsh's distress when,

researching areas of history which I [felt] I should have been taught through my schooling, but wasn't I have been ripped off by my own people....I need to deeply understand the cultural and social context of what I am looking at in order to process my environment (p. 19)

In the first pages of her writing, Marsh shows the strength of her attachment to the South Island, as she mourns the necessary separation while coming to terms with working and living in Auckland, by writing letters to the South Island in the same manner one would if writing to a person. By using this unusual device she shows awareness of regarding the land as a living being which acknowledges the way in which Māori view Aotearoa as Papatūānuku. Also, the remembering of a time when, those of us from the Northern Hemisphere, were living in a state of harmony with Mother Nature is implied. Marsh explains what cements her to the South Island, “I've realised that it's the deep knowing of place and the respect for the connections between people and place that create a sense of belonging for me.” (p. 16). From this sense of place, Marsh explains the concept of humanist geography by citing Briney (2010), who says that it “is a branch of geography that studies how

humans interact with space and their physical and social environments.” Marsh brings home the responsibility demanded by way of these connections when she states,

the weight of the history of the world weighs heavily on the shoulders of Pākehā who truly understand their ‘place’ in Aotearoa New Zealand (and the colonised world) – which is probably why most don’t bother to.” This makes it all the more important for those who have had their eyes opened to find ways to convey their understandings to those who have not yet made the connection. (2010, p. 49)

In addressing the issue of cultural sensitivity and the dangers of cultural plagiarism, (which Turner (2011) also directed our attention too in the third part of his framework describing the settler dreaming model), Marsh displays sensitivity. Reflecting on her education regarding te ao Māori, she makes pertinent comment on her reluctance to connect to the land she loved so much in the same way as Māori. That is, locating herself through the triangulation of mountain, water and waka which are integral elements of pepeha. A conscious decision was made to avoid using that which she had no authority to employ.

As a provocative reminder of how in order to define ourselves as being unique (by means of cultural appropriation) in the way that Turner suggests, the accompanying publication of an exhibition entitled *Pākehā Now!* (Catchpole, White, Skinner, & Spoonley, 2007) provides ample perspectives of an emerging Pākehā identity. Far from presenting a cosy, fluffy picture of who we are as Pākehā, the reverse is true. We are confronted by some perplexing and openly confrontational images which more than hint at a less than attractive view of ourselves. For example, Peter Robinson’s ‘*Pakeha Have Rights Too! (1997)*’ (Catchpole et al., 2007, p. 26), shows a white swastika against a black background and refers to the bitterness some Pākehā felt at the financial compensation they were expected to extend towards Māori for the injustices caused through land confiscation. This imagery not only upset Pākehā but Māori and the Jewish community as well. Heather Straka contributed ‘*Jesus in Furs (2005)*’ (Catchpole et al., 2007, p. 30), an apt illustration of the type of cultural appropriation Turner alluded to. In this work she has taken a well-known image of King Tāwhiao and transposed the religious icons of a halo

and a barbed flaming heart upon this image. Although making comment on the irreverent attitude Pākehā have towards things that minorities hold sacred, one wonders under what authority Straka operates to allow herself permission to use the image of Tāwhio in this manner. Jason Hall's '*What are ya? (2007)*' (Catchpole et al., 2007, p. 24), shows a young man dressed in a white hoodie with the word PAKEHA emblazoned in black across the chest. The reference here is to the Pākehā underclass and their attraction to a sub-culture with roots stemming from the Black American culture. These three examples highlight the difficulty we have as Pākehā to identify who we are in terms of our own uniqueness as opposed to borrowing (whether it be in opposition too or in allegiance with) aspects from other cultures to define who we are. This can be even more difficult define for those Pākehā who have become disillusioned with our own messy heritage.

Commentary on the diverse media and works of selected Pākehā artists as well as historical context is provided in the catalogue through a foreword by Suter Gallery director Julie Catchpole and essays from curator Anna-Marie White and contributing Pākehā academics Paul Spoonley and Damian Skinner. As Catchpole explains, White conceived the original concept for this exhibition after identifying that Pākehā had never been the subject of their own exhibition. This is not to say that they have been excluded from cultural exhibitions. Quite the contrary in fact. As the dominant culture, Pākehā culture is generally viewed as the culture of New Zealand (Catchpole et al., 2007).

In a reversal of roles White, who is of Ngāti Awa descent, curates the exhibition from her perspective of being Māori in a dominant Pākehā society. She uses methods of western ethnography to magnify aspects of Pākehā culture, some of which are expressed through borrowing symbols from the Māori world. While White opened herself to much criticism as a reaction to, what on the surface appears to be an unsympathetic view of Pākehā culture, Catchpole interprets her approach as,

[revealing] the inherent faults in our history of understanding cultures and questions our persistence in using this method. *Pākehā Now!* Is the first time that it has been used to describe us by another and while we may not like what it yields, the experience creates a platform for

further discussion and refined methods. And as Anna points out, irreverence is an overwhelming characteristic of Pākehā culture, as is the ability to laugh at ourselves. (Catchpole et al., 2007, p. 7)

Although the intention behind White's words is more a warning against than an endorsement of this propensity for irreverence, keeping a sense of humour while viewing the images in the catalogue, is wise instruction. As well as making the sting of her commentary more palatable, it also helps us to recognise an underlying tongue in cheek element within the commentary without undermining the import of her observations. Undoubtedly some images are challenging and explode the popular, if somewhat superficial and saccharine, myth that Pākehā culture goes no deeper than the iconic symbols of "jandals, pavalovas and buzzy bees" (Catchpole et al., 2007, p. 13). When scrutinised in the method White utilises, the underlying depths of much Pākehā culture are disturbing. To be analysed and categorised in such a way must surely engender some amount of awareness towards the enormity of what has been occurring in the lives of every indigenous culture that had been previously 'discovered' and displayed by our collective forebears. If not, then we are most sadly encumbered by our own self-deception.

The point which is at the crux of White's approach to this exhibition is expanded on by Skinner (Catchpole et al., 2007, pp. 46-53). He states that Pākehā carry an inherent sense of privilege, namely Whiteness, which needs to be redressed. Embedded within this sense of privilege are the hooked barbs of guilt, acknowledged or otherwise, relating to the fact that Pākehā have prospered through the colonial process. Skinner warns of the dangers of Pākehā tracing or claiming indigenous or ethnic origins sourced from the new land we now occupy which then allow us to forget our colonial history. He makes frequent references to Mikaere (2004) in his commentary which corroborates a view that repressing our history and underlying guilt does not make us indigenous nor does it produce the necessary elements for expressing a more truthful identity through our works of art.

Ani Mikaere (2011) receives due acknowledgement for influencing the thinking supporting White and Skinner's position, as well as manifesting within Hall's work. She professes that by disassociating from our colonial past, Pākehā can shed the burden of guilt which accompanies our settler identities.

To forget history is to allow myths to spring up in its place, myths that serve to ease the conscience of those upon whom history does not reflect well. For Māori to collude in the forgetting of history requires us to remain silent so that the business of Pākehā myth-making can proceed unhindered. (p. 105).

Mikaere could be misconstrued as harsh for using her voice in such unbuffered, albeit necessary, tone. However, there is a distinction between tracing Pākehā origins with full awareness of injustices perpetrated through our colonial past, as opposed to having a skewed view of history by neglecting to acknowledge the very real and traumatic effect our settling still has upon those whom were already here. Mikaere is correct in her appraisal of Pākehā questing to establish identity. Although operating from a sense of guilt is not ideal as a long term mechanism for addressing concerns raised by Mikaere, it can be the initial motivation for beginning to accept responsibility for the actions of our forebears. Care needs to be taken to ensure that we do not remain in that state as it serves no beneficial long term purpose. While it may be true to assert that a Pākehā identity developed in relation to European settlement of Aotearoa, it is no less true that we carried multi-generational influences within us upon our arrival. Whether or not we choose to forget or remember those influences must no longer undermine the reality of the resultant consequences for both Māori and Pākehā.

Effectively, we come full circle to Hall's (1990) entreaty to re-member and re-write history giving full recognition to all sides of the story. Therefore the importance of exhibitions such as *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*, *The Problem With Being a Proud Pākehā*, and *Pākehā Now!* cannot be underestimated. Any opportunity to be exposed to the unpalatable aspects of our settlement here must be viewed as an avenue to explore and express our responses. We may be surprised at how extensive the sense of dissatisfaction that is felt, by those of us who discover we have been duped by our own recorders of history, actually is. Our collective task is to continue explorative dialogue and undertake the responsibility to develop a more realistic view of who we are.

3.5 Discussion

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, a gamut of philosophical movements and systems may be utilised to define the formation of one's identity. We began by focusing on an Existentialist perspective to develop a thread of enquiry. Within this thread it became apparent that there was much room for both compatible and contrary points of view which are held together around a pivotal concept of authenticity. What is established here indicates the potential to work within the often fractious spaces created by differing viewpoints. This thread provided a useful mechanism for investigating the relationship between identity and belonging, illustrating how this contributes to establishing dynamic and multilayered elements in the process of identity formation. Working in conjunction with ideas developed through aspects of communitarian concepts, we can see the possibilities for how traditional frameworks may be reconstructed to allow for similarity and difference. In the final part of the chapter we applied these concepts to the construction of Pākehā identity in Aotearoa.

Chapter 4

Defining ‘one’s self’: Conversations on identifying as Pākehā

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I report on interviews held with 9 selected participants who had varying degrees of work experience and/or involvement with Māori. Some of these participants were known to me via personal and professional relationships and some were known to me through various public arenas. I had previous knowledge that some of the interviewees identified as Pākehā and was interested to discover whether the remainder of the participants shared a similar view.

Originally, my intention had been to interview a second cohort of participants who had contributed to the book *Pākehā: the quest for identity in New Zealand*, edited by the late Michael King in 1991, and review their responses to the questions King posed. However due to constraints of timing, locating and health issues of those contributors, only one person was able to be involved as a participant. Rather than placing their contribution as a stand-alone section, it became apparent that responses were more appropriately placed within the context of the larger cohort therefore making a total of nine interviewees.

The chapter begins with an outline of the nature of the interviews and the ethical protocols (4.2). This is followed by some background information about the interviewees (4.3), a report of the findings (4.4) and ends with a final comment (4.5).

4.2 Nature of the interviews and ethical protocols

A total of nine interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview format. The primary aim of the semi-structured interviews was to provide a selected sample of people who work with Māori with an opportunity to discuss the three primary questions of this research:

- 1) What are the motivators for people who choose to identify themselves as Pākehā?

- 2) What underpins the preference for descendants of European settlers claiming an across the board title of New Zealander or Kiwi?
- 3) In which ways do Pākehā/New Zealander/Kiwi endeavour to keep a connection to their traditional homelands and how significant is this to their identity?

These three semi-structured interview question prompts were drafted and, together with the procedures to be followed, submitted for ethical approval to the Te Kāhui Manutāiko Committee for approval. Once approval was granted, contact was made with the prospective participants by phone or by email. The interviews took place at a date and time and in a location that was nominated by the participants. The recorded interviews were then transcribed.

Due to the process of the semi-structured interviews, the interviewer/interviewee relationship was of a reciprocal nature. At times the interviewees required input from myself to engender an environment of trust, to provide clarity regarding the nature of my questions and to establish a fluid dialogue between us. This ensured a more interactive experience and often resulted in ideas and comments which enhanced my initial questions and provided much depth to the interviews. Where I feel it most necessary, I have included sections of dialogue which illustrate the reciprocity of the interviewer/interviewee dynamic and contributes a contextual reference for many of the responses.

4.3 The interviewees

Some information about each of the nine interviewees is provided in *Table 4.1* below. Although most participants were amenable to being identifiable some were not. Therefore, all participants' names have been changed to help preserve anonymity for those that requested that right. However, I acknowledge that due to the descriptions given regarding the nature of some participants' work it is possible to ascertain their identity. I have made every effort to ensure that those who requested anonymity have not been compromised by this information.

Table 4.1: Information about the interviewees

Assumed name, m/f	Age	Employment	Other details
Graham/male	58	Manages his own landscape business and participates in a popular television production	Prior to his involvement with television Graham had very little interaction with Māori outside of his school environment which veered towards the negative. His experience through television greatly increased his awareness of how Māori manage their world alongside mainstream Aotearoa / New Zealand. This has significant impact on how he views not only Māori but also himself as Pākehā.
Susan/female	60	Has worked for over thirty years at TVNZ and made a conscious choice to work in Māori broadcasting rather than mainstream broadcasting.	Through her professional life has worked very closely with Māori and is a reasonably fluent speaker of te reo Māori. Much thought has been directed to identifying as Pākehā. Although her Mother was born in New Zealand, Susan was born in England then her family settled in New Zealand. Susan returned to England in 1997 and spent the early part of her career overseas.
Penny/female	Unknown	Has a distinguished career as a librarian	Immigrated.
Lloyd/male	Unknown	Has recently submitted his PhD at and is actively involved with a programme facilitating and supporting the use of te reo Māori within the home.	Grew up in a rural North Island town and did have contact with Māori through his early adult and student life. He is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, is married and his children are of Pākehā and Māori descent.
Sally/female	Unknown	Works within the tertiary education industry.	Immigrated.
Brenda/female	Unknown	Librarian at tertiary institution.	Is looking forward to going to England next year and visiting her Grandmother's home town as well as ancient sites and old buildings.
Harry/male	Unknown	Distinguished career within the tertiary education industry.	Immigrated.
Fran/female	Early 50's	Works within the tertiary education industry as a technician.	Fourth / fifth generation New Zealander.
Sam/male	Unknown	Works within the tertiary sector.	Has published and co-edited numerous books and articles on identity within Aotearoa.

4.4 Reporting the interview findings

Each of the three questions have been approached in the same manner. In the first instance I have identified major themes then allocated groupings of subsidiary themes under the primary headings. The interviewees were not constrained with

their responses which resulted, at times, with non-linear trains of thought. In order to provide fluidity to my reporting I have positioned responses to where they made the most sense to me. Where participants reiterated certain responses I have grouped them together as a means of illustrating the importance and significance of those responses to the interviewee. Where the initials **LG** are used, denotes interviewer dialogue. While I have linked the participants' responses together in the reporting of the interviews, I have refrained from making much comment as I will approach this in a general way in *Chapter 5*.

Question 1: What are the motivators for people who choose to identify themselves as Pākehā?

Responses to this question revealed much diversity amongst the interviewees. The first theme is centred around discussion regarding the meaning of the term Pākehā, to whom it was appropriate to apply the definitions as well as who applied them and, relevant contextual frameworks. Some participants possessed significant clarity in their understanding of the issues while others, after musing through various scenarios, presented some thought provoking ideas.

Theme A: Meaning/definition of the term Pākehā

Drawing on knowledge gained through his extensive research expertise and publishing career **SAM**, defines what the term Pākehā represents in both personal and communal contexts.

Well I use it in two different senses, which probably has changed a little bit. One is as a generic marker or cultural identifier of people who've been brought up here and who are of European ancestry. So there's a mix of values and practices that people who are brought up in this country as a member of the majority group express or identify. The next is to take it to rather a different level and to say, Pākehā claiming or self-identification is a political act. And that's in relationship to Māori as tangata whenua and a recognition to a colonial past and of a need to discuss that past. And I think the two meanings sometimes overlap, but very often do not and I think there's a common sense usage or a common place usage and a more politicised one.

LG: *So would it be fair to say the more common sense usage of it indicates that to some extent, people don't actually think about it too much?*

SAM: *I still believe in Michael Banton's approach which is to say, majority cultures are almost by definition unmarked, so that it's a minus one definition and other people have ethnicity but a majority group does not. Because there's an overlap with what the state operates and how national identity is identified. So is it a self-conscious usage? I think it varies enormously, and in some cases it is quite deliberately in a self-conscious way to say I'm culturally different, but for many people I suspect it's a convenient word to describe somebody who is not Māori and not a member of an ethnic minority group.*

I think they [Pākehā] have developed a set of values and practices which are particular to this place and which are a sum of the parts and so some of those parts, language, sport, food, beliefs about key events in life, family relationships and all those become identifiers of being Pākehā in this country. And, I don't think those things are shared by Australians, I don't think those are shared by European immigrants and I think they are very much a function of being a member of a majority group in this place with the relationships that mark this place.

European descent implies, well firstly New Zealander is a national identity label and European descent indicates where you've come from, not what you are.

LG: *And within that label of European descent, to me, there's something that's distinguishable between people who are in the old school definition of Europe, that is France, Germany, the [rest of the] Continent and then Britain. More specifically, Pākehā is angled*

towards [those] of British descent rather than those [from] Continental Europe.

SAM: *It is. As Jamie Belich said, 98 per cent of the people who came in the early colonial period came from Britain and Ireland. In fact, he's wrong, nearly all of them came from England and only very small groups came from Scotland, practically none from Wales and some from Ireland, so it's even narrower than just simply being British. I think the difference really was that pre-1900 they were from the southeast of England and after 1900 they were from the northwest, from Manchester and Leeds and Liverpool.*

HARRY'S field of linguistics provides a background for an historical definition and usage of the term Pākehā. In addition he makes comment on some of the misconceptions around the meaning of Pākehā.

It's a term in Māori which means someone other than Māori. What it may have meant in the 19th century would mean a certain amount of work, but I would suspect in the 19th century it was already used in this way.

What it meant in, in fact I know it was because there are word lists in early work where it clearly used in that way. What it meant before there were Pākehā in New Zealand, in other words, in the language before Pākehā were here, what it meant then, I don't know. And, I don't even know how one would go about tracing that because I'm not aware that it has cognates in other Polynesian languages. Mind you I haven't looked that up.

...there are many people of course who are Pākehā who won't assent to that. For some reason they don't like the term. There's a lot of rubbish talked about the term as I'm sure you're aware.

LG: *Do you have some insight or opinions about that?*

HARRY: *No, I haven't. You hear fanciful etimologies like it's for bugger you or something like that, or it means a white flea or something. These are all nonsense.*

Okay, so obviously I can talk about why I identify as Pākehā. Why other people do, well I can only guess about that. But I imagine, often it's the same and that is simply that I am a Pākehā, there's no other way around it.

My understanding of the term in both Māori and in New Zealand English describes me. I'm a New Zealander, although, I have to say I wasn't born here. I don't believe that one has to be born in New Zealand to be a New Zealander. I am a New Zealander, I have lived here for a long time.

I'm obviously of European extraction so I'm not part of say, a Chinese group or Indian or whatever. And those are Pākehā and that's me. So that would be the motivation here. I'm not making a political statement by doing that and it's just really asserting or recognizing the fact that in the terms of New Zealand, New Zealand English and Māori in relationship to the multi-ethnicity of New Zealand then, that's the one that I'm a member of. That's that.

After much deliberation over who could appropriately be described as Pākehā, **SUSAN** offered some thought provoking scenarios for consideration.

I don't really know what Pākehā means but I do know there wasn't a word for us when we came. They didn't have a word for non-Māori. Yes it means New Zealander of British descent then doesn't it? So that's what Pākehā is then, a New Zealander of British descent. So not a white New Zealander but a New Zealander of British descent. Yep. That would make sense.

So what about a Canadian or American? I mean they're Pākehās too aren't they really. So that's what I mean about the whole white thing really. Or an Australian. You wouldn't call yourself an Australian New Zealander would you? Like [name removed], is certainly a Pākehā although she has got the British ancestry as well. But she's also got the Australian before that. So maybe we can still say Americans and Canadians are still Pākehās I guess. (SUSAN)

In addition, **SUSAN** raised a pertinent concern over future usage of Pākehā as a term to describe New Zealanders of British descent.

I'm worried about the word Pākehā, whether it will continue being used as a word, whether we need another word for non-Māori.

And we could be called non-Māori and I think nowadays we might have to start referring to ourselves as non-Māori because there's so many other non-Māori in this country now.

Now that we're multi-cultural and not bi-cultural non-Māori might be a better way to describe us than Pākehā.

...and let's um, face it. In another 20 or 30 years there might not be many white New Zealanders left. I mean [name removed] certainly, when he has children they're going to be Māori New Zealanders, Māori Pākehā. So it's getting browner and browner so it could be dying out that word Pākehā.

Whilst in agreement with **SAM** and **SUSAN** that Pākehā describes someone of British descent, **LLOYD** adds the term European to the mix. He also highlights the dimension of validating the Māori language.

I can't talk about other people, so just for me, what was a motivator for me. First, the obvious answer to the question is that it's an obvious term cos that's the Māori term for white New Zealanders.

So when I say Pākehā, irrespective of what happened there [Britain], they were a white European person who came over and settled in New Zealand, some went to Australia first and then came to New Zealand, however they ended up here.

Well Pākehā has a different dimension which is quite scary for people because if you say well, I'm a Pākehā, you are already, just by saying a Māori word, you're already saying, well the Māori language has validity for me to use it as a self-identifying term. And, that's a huge step already cos the significance of that, the implications of that are enormous even though it's only one word, it's oh, okay, can we use Māori as a national identifying term? Yes. Which is one of the reasons.

He acknowledged the difference in thinking between himself and some of the people around him.

...discovered that some of the [Māori] guys around me didn't think the same way I did, which was news to me. I'm different you know. I thought they were different but I was the one different so I discovered what being a Pākehā was at that stage.

Also, I discovered that the ways that I did stuff and thought should happen, weren't always appreciated. They were the 'Pākehā' ways. I hadn't come across that, so it was a big learning phase, who I was because I could actually see I was different and normally I, when I grew up you didn't get to see this, and, most Pākehā don't very often.

Also, he described himself as a full blooded Pākehā.

Actually, I've sometimes stood up myself and introduced myself as, cos my wife she's from Ngāti Raukawa, Maniapoto, Waikato and my kids are Māori and my wife she gives her whakapapa and she's West

Indian and Welsh and Scottish, and so they're all of that. And I say well, I'm just Pākehā. Cos she's half Māori and half this and half that and I'm just 100% pure Pākehā, you know, full blooded Pākehā.

BRENDA contributed her understanding as,

It just means you are not Māori. That is a Māori word for being a white person or just not Māori. You are not a Māori. That's how that goes.

Distinguishing between Pākehā and Tauīwi

SUSAN placed heavy emphasis on her preference for using Pākehā as opposed to Tauīwi.

I've said to everyone stop calling us tauīwi.

I hate being called tauīwi because to me that means stranger and I don't feel like I'm a stranger in my own land. Tauīwi, a lot of Māori are now calling us tauīwi and we are not foreigners and we're not strangers so we need a word and to me the best word is Pākehā.

It's a great word to describe us, I don't want to be called European. Like I said before I don't want to be called Tauīwi and I don't want to be called European.

And I wish Māori would think of a new word to say for tauīwi, I really do. It's a word that means non-Māori and encompasses all of us that are non-Māori but it's such a terrible definition of it. Foreigner or stranger and we have to come up with another word like that. They needed a word like that when we first arrived. They came up with the word Pākehā because we were all Pākehā but now that we're not all Pākehā...

The producer of [name removed] had this discussion with me the other day about it cos I said please don't call me Tauwiwi, please don't call us Tauwiwi. She said what do you want us to call you? And I said Pākehā. And she said are you happy for us to call you Pākehā? And I said yes definitely.

Her sentiments received substantial support from **SAM** who provided succinct comment on his view of using the term Tauwiwi.

Tauwiwi for me, I think there are two descriptions, tangata tiriti and tauwiwi. Tauwiwi obviously means other people in a literal translation and I think is too crude and I think it can be used conveniently at times to indicate people other than Māori, but in a sense it denies majority membership. And so it lumps a lot of different cultural groups together including majority and minority ethnic groups. So I think it's very crude. For me the more important label is tangata tiriti to indicate that there is an obligation under a treaty partnership to discuss a relationship with Māori and I don't think Tauwiwi does that.

Pākehā referring to a governing body

LLOYD drew attention to the issue of Pākehā being used to refer to the Government.

Although, it's also used I think, in a generic way to refer to the Government or a particular way of thinking. I think learning Māori and being close to Māori you think well, that's who I am.

Because, I think it's to me a sort of gateway to belonging to New Zealand in a way that people only accept the term New Zealander or Kiwi can't do. Because they belong in New Zealand, but there's a whole half of New Zealand or a big portion of New Zealand that, if you're not comfortable with the term Pākehā you still feel uncomfortable in Māori circles and te Ao Māori.

Whereas, I'm Pākehā and that helps me along in terms of the Treaty, which is a document that I really believe in and have done a lot of stuff in terms of a sense of social justice. So I also believe that my right to belong here comes through the Treaty. And so, accepting myself as a Pākehā also therefore, means accepting Māori's right to be indigenous people of New Zealand, and also all the promises in the treaty that relate to them as well. I guess that's part of it

LG: *You mentioned before that term Pākehā referring to Government as a body. Is that because of the direct relationship that was established within the Treaty?*

LLOYD: *Partly. And partly because for so many years, you know a hundred and thirty something years now, practically every person within the Government or in a governing sense whether local government or central Government has been Pākehā.*

And there has been a concerted, organized, a lot of activity from Government that has been aimed at denigrating or denying Māori certain rights that they should have had. Taking away Māori lands with the Māori Land Court, taking away the language with the Māori Language Acts, all those sort of things.

So, when I say that it's a certain mindset, cos it's been different people at different times, but, the feelings and the attitudes and the outworking of those attitudes has been the same irrespective of the people. So I guess it's been a legacy of colonial thought that is still around with us.

LG: *And the systems that have developed around those thoughts?*

LLOYD: *Yep. And sometimes not to be deliberately anti-Māori, but to be pro, what I call Pākehā, but I could use another term for it, pro-*

Pākehā. But I think it has meant pushing the minorities to the side, to the extremities...

Census/official documents

Four participants commented on the relevance of self-identifying as Pākehā in an official context. **SAM** gave an insight to the process of attempting to have Pākehā as an option on Census forms.

I was very disappointed that Brian Pink, who was our Statistician General, whatever it is called, he was an Australian and he did several things. One is he decided to, I don't know if you're aware but in the '86 census I was part of an advisory group and we suggested the option of ethnic identity, so it was a self-claimed ethnic identity, to which ethnic group do you belong? And one of the options was New Zealand European/Pākehā, well he dropped the word Pākehā, and he did something else, which was to introduce New Zealander into the response categories which has completely confused the ethnic identity question. Because, it puts a national identity in there. Now, it was a sop to the people that you're talking about and I think was a very unfortunate development.

I'm not sure whether you're aware but the census allows you to multiple self-identify, so our statistics all ways add up to more than 100%.

LG: *And that's becoming more and more necessary isn't it?*

SAM: *Yes, of course. And that's unusual internationally. It shows a much more relaxed attitude.*

LG: *So when you come to have to self-identity, how do you self-identify?*

SAM: *As Pākehā. And so if it's New Zealand European, I cross out New Zealand European and put Pākehā. And if you look at the census, the last two censuses, a lot of people have done that.*

Whilst **BRENDA** and **PENNY** were keen to be given the choice to self-identify as Pākehā in an official context, **FRAN** was adamant that she wanted to be known as a New Zealander only.

If I was filling out a form and I was given the option of putting New Zealander, I am quite happy to tick the Pākehā. But, if that option isn't there I would tick New Zealander. (BRENDA)

Yes, yes. You can choose to do the other. I'm afraid I probably did just do New Zealand European. But it always does just make me think. Well am I? But because both feeling relatively new, isn't that funny at aged 53? But I do feel closer to Pākehā than a New Zealander. And I can't, I'm finding it hard thinking what categories would help me explain that. (PENNY)

It's probably when I started filling in census forms that I just wanted to be called a New Zealander...

Because I didn't want to be separated, I thought we should all be one country. (FRAN)

The relevance of using Pākehā in an international context

HARRY, **SUSAN** and **PENNY** all mentioned that the term Pākehā only held relevance within the context of New Zealand.

But there will be other contexts where being a Pākehā is not relevant at all, because that's just not the structure. As I say, when I'm travelling Europe, I'm a New Zealander. If I say to them I'm a Pākehā, they go what. For one thing, they won't know what it means. And for another, it's actually not relevant any way. Because, it's my

being from here, not my being a Pākehā from here which is the relationship. (HARRY)

I would only use the word Pākehā in New Zealand though. When you go overseas you're just a Kiwi or New Zealander. You are only Pākehā in New Zealand really aren't you? So I wouldn't use it overseas.

...whereas all my Māori friends when they go overseas they would call themselves a Māori New Zealander, or Fijian New Zealander or Chinese New Zealander or you know a New Zealander of Chinese descent, whereas we don't do that we just call ourselves New Zealanders don't we? So we wouldn't really associate ourselves with Pākehā when we're overseas. (SUSAN)

And of course overseas the term Pākehā was just not relevant either. So you would just say that I'm from New Zealand. (PENNY)

Theme B: Environment and accompanying attitudes

The next major theme relates to the ideas participants were exposed too either in their formative years or when they immigrated to New Zealand. **GRAEME, BRENDA, SUSAN** and **HARRY** spoke of, initially, not questioning to any great extent the environment they grew up in.

Because we don't choose how we're born in terms of what happens, I mean by nature I was born a Pākehā. My history before me I had no say in. I am what I am, that's it, end of story. How much I choose to identify with whether it be my mother's side or my father's side or whatever, that is determined a lot by circumstance of who I spend most of my time with. (GRAEME)

When I was a young person growing up I was just a New Zealander, you know, just like everybody else, and not even aware of being Pākehā or Māori or anything else. (BRENDA)

I think that New Zealanders who have grown up in New Zealand with European parents our parents didn't really identify themselves as New Zealanders, They seemed to want to be British or colonials. We grew up thinking that Britain was the Homeland. (SUSAN)

When I grew up, you could live your life without it being an issue. I was aware of the term Pākehā and that there were Māori in New Zealand somewhere and I wasn't one of them so therefore, I was a Pākehā.

It's not to say that there isn't a Māori presence because once I started to get involved it was quite clear to me that there was quite a lot of strong Māori life down there. Quite a complex one actually, in some ways. But you could spend your entire life in Dunedin and not really come into contact with that much. That of course has changed as the whole country has changed as has the visibility of Māori culture and identity. (HARRY)

PENNY, who immigrated to New Zealand, experienced tailoring aspects of her identity to fit her environment and provides the following illustration of this.

I've got peer pressure in my head in terms of, maybe not an easy road but certainly when you're a younger person you're maybe using your friends or your family as who you identify [with]. I think, perhaps, depending on your personality, you are, in terms of belonging, or wanting to fit in. You don't want to be outside the mould. I can relate to it easier when I was younger.

I was just thinking when we first came to New Zealand, apparently, because my parents had quite strong accents, with coming from the north of England, I could turn and talk to my mother with a north of England accent and then in the next sentence turn and talk to a friend from school with a Kiwi accent. And apparently that was quite a good party piece for a while. I can't do it any longer, at least I don't think

I do it. I think accent does get bestowed on or you acquire it don't you? As a result of your belonging, your environment. It was funny that and I would have been, presumably, identifying that I needed to use it with the friend and not with my Mother or Father. (PENNY)

An alternative view point is held by **FRAN**.

Okay, myself I don't identify as Pākehā, I identify as a New Zealander, and I'm not sure if some people deliberately identify as Pākehā or whether that's just what they've [been] told who they are. There's either Māori culture or people or Pākehā, anyone that's not or unless they belong to a cultural group like Indians or something or some other country group. So they just go into that group without thinking about it... whereas if they were called New Zealander they would probably take that as well without seeing a difference.

LG: *So you see that for your own point of view that you don't identify as Pākehā, you identify as New Zealander but you think sometimes people just fall into that category?*

FRAN: *Yep, yep.*

The idea of simply falling into identifying as Pākehā is expanded upon by **SALLY**

Looking at it in a very negative way, I would almost say that some people don't choose that. They accept it almost by default and in some cases it's because it seems alright, it seems an acceptable way of identifying themselves in relation to Māori.

And for other people it's because they haven't bothered to look at it and I think that's pretty widespread.

But, I do think for some people it's I don't know who I am, I'm not Māori so, okay I'm Pākehā.

However, **SALLY** was very clear regarding her own use of Pākehā to describe herself and the implications of its relationship with the Māori world.

I think there are some people who see it as an honest and authentic position in relation to being with Māori. Because, it separates us out from the tangata whenua and so we're not claiming their space, we're saying this is a different space which you acknowledge has a place.

Initially I did think I was coming to be a New Zealander...I came to Christchurch... but it was only coming up here [Hamilton] that I really became a Pākehā and chose it and understood a bit more about Māori

For me personally part of it is the indigenous people have given me the privilege and therefore I'm comfortable to accept that they define the terms of how I am in their land, their space. So that's a very deliberate thing in my mind and I have never seen it as a derogatory thing but I think that to me it is important to affirm it positively as a gift, as a taonga from the people of the land. And I have to be respectful and honour their indigenous character and their true first place in their land. So being a Pākehā I accept that as my place, their gift to me which I want to honour.

Pride

Finally the concept of pride was raised. **SUSAN** reiterated the pride she felt in claiming a Pākehā identity.

I love being called a Pākehā and I just call myself Ngāti Pākehā all the time and I'm proud. He Pākehā ahau and I tell people all the time he Pākehā ahau. I won't say things like my heart is Māori or anything like that.

I'm proud to be a New Zealander, I'm proud to be a Kiwi and I'm proud to be a Pākehā New Zealander. But I'm very proud to be Pākehā, I'm very proud to be Pākehā and I'll tell everybody straight away.

Illustration of another view was given by **SALLY**

So I am happy to accept Pākehā as my naming. On the other hand... there's so many things about Pākehā New Zealand that I hate. So when we go back to that original question, I have a problem sometimes when I think, is that what Māori think of me? Because I'm not proud of a lot of that.

There is so much about Pākehā culture that I don't like... Jim Consedine said in his book "if we don't stand proud in our identity, we cannot fully acknowledge the other identity" and I've always held on to that.

Theme C: Influence/involvement with Te Ao Māori

Having experience of working with Māori in differing degrees was prevalent amongst all participants. However, the extent of involvement was not necessarily indicated via the amount of dialogue offered. Nonetheless, it was of significant influence upon the decision to identify as Pākehā, except for one participant who identifies as a New Zealander only.

SAM provided an overview of the influence of Te Ao Māori on a national level.

Two things really. One is the political assertiveness of Māori, so the renaissance of the 1960's made culture a political act and made asserting Māori culture something that challenged, publically, other cultures. And so I think Māori politics encouraged Pākehā to explore their own politics.

The second is, as the Māori and Pākehā had more interaction from the late 60's again, it became apparent the way in which Pākehā went about their business was quite different to that of Māori. So there's a sense of cultural difference beginning to emerge simply by being put in those situations of contact, and that contact has encouraged a sense of difference. And, there were those books produced in the 1970's called understanding Pākehā by the Vocational Training Council and that was very interesting. And they not only named Pākehā, but it also began to say that they have a different culture, and it was that that I think was largely promoted by interaction with Māori and with a Māori reluctance to hide/accept their invisibility I think. If they were assertive about their identity and what that meant, then Pākehā had to think well, what is my identity? What does that mean?

Giving a more personal view, **LLOYD** shares an experience which generated his admiration towards a more grass roots interaction.

LG: *So is using that term Pākehā synonymous with having an empathy of affinity with te ao Māori?*

LLOYD: *For me yes. But it has other terms. For me to use it for myself, means accepting te ao Māori. I remember one guy, cos I lived in Taumaraunui for a little while and there's a marae close called Kaitupeka, which is in Taringamotu Valley and I went to this nehua for this lady who I'd stayed with. And, this old Pākehā farmer rocks up, just him, late one day and he rocks up and he goes, oh you Māoris you guys are clever buggers, you have two languages. I'm just a dumb Pākehā I only got one.*

He obviously had known them for years and years and years and I was thinking that ability to be able to understand himself in terms of Māoris perspective of him showed quite a lot of class. And New

Zealand is like that and I think it's pretty cool. So I've got no problems with that term for myself.

He was clear that his experience of Te Ao Māori is a departure from the norm.

...you get a lot of New Zealanders that haven't really ever had to engage with Māori in the way that I have. Your view of New Zealander and New Zealand, it can be pretty narrow and you may only see Māori through the view of the camera from the news. And, that's a pretty biased perspective as well. You never have to really engage with Māori in a way that I have had too. When I went to Taumaranui nearly all my friends were Māori. Not all but just about all. And they had a range of views, from people who could speak Māori and were on maraes all the time, to people who didn't even pronounce Taumaranui correctly.

LG: *So in order to be with Māori and have some understanding of what their world was like, you have to make a concerted effort to put yourself in positions where you can have that contact because ordinarily it may not happen?*

LLOYD: *Yeah, for a lot of people that's true. I wouldn't say I made a concerted effort...when we went to Taumaranui, it just so happened that the whare karakia we went to was mostly full of Māoris. So that was how I got involved there.*

In terms of their involvement with Māori through their work, **PENNY, BRENDA** and **SUSAN** all agreed that it added breadth to the view they had of themselves. **PENNY** was particularly committed to encouraging people to learn about Te Ao Māori.

LG: *So then, would it be fair to say that your choosing to identify as Pākehā, yes there was some peer pressure but the other side to that*

was through your work, wanting to show some regard to tangata whenua?

PENNY: *Yeah regard is a jolly good word. And it is, cos I recognise that I can't possibly be in the other person's shoes. But I can hopefully either show respect, or understanding and learn as a result. I think it's because for me, I've really felt the warmth and the humility of the Māori culture and what it has to offer. I've gained a lot and I've learnt a lot and you learn all the time that you can't possibly know it all as well. But I think for me it's been a wonderful part, when I think of all the people I have met, the understanding that is constantly growing, as I say it never stops. It is thinking what a great place to be to have an understanding of Māori culture and what it adds to all of us.*

LG: *So part of our job is to infuse that enthusiasm to other people and to stop feeling unsure or afraid?*

PENNY: *Yes, you do have to realise that the gains outweigh the discomfort or the worry that you might not do the right thing...privilege is better than gains.*

Until I was involved in working in the Māori world, the word Pākehā would not have meant very much to me at all. It's been an awareness since working in the Māori world.

I'm not aware of any connection to Māori apart from later working with Māori. (BRENDA)

SUSAN'S extensive history in broadcasting led her to an intensive involvement with her Māori colleagues. Spending time on marae and attending meetings across the whole of New Zealand, provided much incentive for learning te reo Māori.

LG: *But you choose to identify as that [Pākehā] because [you] say your siblings...*

SUSAN: *Oh rather than being a New Zealander?*

LG: *Your siblings, they have the same genetic thing inside them but don't make that choice to ...*

SUSAN: *That's because I've lived amongst Māori for the last 20 years. I'm pretty sure that's why I do that. I wouldn't say well I'm a non-Māori New Zealander. If I was introducing myself to people I would probably just call myself a New Zealander though.*

I wouldn't call myself a Pākehā New Zealander though, only if I got up and spoke Māori would I do that...when you get up and speak Māori you've got to say something. You can't get up and say He European ahau. So when you learn to speak Māori you do have to learn to say that. That could be another reason why I identify, because of the language.

For **FRAN**, the experiences she encountered clarified her desire to not separate Pākehā and Māori in terms of an overall identity as New Zealanders.

LG: *In your earlier working life you said you worked quite closely with Māori. So has that influenced you in any way in how you identify yourself?*

FRAN: *More so that I realised that they identified themselves as Māori rather than as New Zealanders. We didn't separate them but they liked to separate themselves as the Māori girls. So that made you think well they think that New Zealanders and, well they use the terms Pākehā and Māori to separate people.*

LG: *So then, the term Pākehā was applied to people who were different from themselves being Māori?*

FRAN: *Yep. But the house that I grew up in it was Pākehā and Māori. The terms were used, you were either Pākehā or Māori. I think being called New Zealander is more recent... seventies, in the seventies. But that was the only term that I knew of to not be called a New Zealander it was just a Pākehā, as a kid.*

Yeah and the Māoris that I worked with in the weekends... they were sort of separate in their group a little bit. But we all got on. If there was a need to be they would call themselves Māori girls not New Zealanders. And probably back then I was still a Pākehā.

LG: *When you said before that the people you were working with, the Māori girls separated themselves, you feel that came from their side but not from your side. You didn't see yourself as separate from them or did you?*

FRAN: *No...you belonged, if you were Māori, more with them but they were accepting of the group but they would separate themselves. Not that we had any arguments or anything like that. [There was] a gravitation to the same group.*

LG: *From your side did you feel the same?*

FRAN: *Probably amongst some of the older people but amongst us, cos we were teenagers we all just mixed. I didn't want a separation.*

Both **HARRY** and **LLOYD** shared an extensive involvement with Māori through their interest and commitment to learning te reo Māori. **HARRY** makes some thought provoking observances around different issues he encountered over a substantial length of time.

So my involvement with Māori is as an academic. But it's always involvement with the Māori as the Māori community to the extent that I've been involved with the language. And it has been through the commission. My son went to kōhanga and we helped with the founding of the kōhanga over here. When he was old enough we founded the school as well, all that sort of thing. All of that kind of stuff I've done over the years has always been done with the view to maintain Māori as the language for the Māori community.

Polls suggest that many Māori, the majority in fact are actually open about this, are happy for Pākehā to learn Māori. But, some Māori are not, I know that some Māori are not, but many Māori are. I think underlying this will always be the notion that it's our language, and if you learn it we will be very accepting of that and that's a good thing but it doesn't become yours. So that's why I got involved in Māori, it was not to, if you like, to capture it for me but because I find the whole Māori community, history, traditions, culture infinitely fascinating and enriching.

But, I'm a Pākehā it's not mine. I'm there under sufferance. But I think education in New Zealand should have as a goal that people are tolerant and respectful and not scared. This is another thing about bloody Anglo/Saxons, as soon as somebody speaks another language, they think they're being talked about. Why should other people talk about them? But that's the thing, it's back to this fear of the unknown, not simply oh that's something that I don't know anything about, that's fine.

And if you're worried that they're talking about you, this again a sign of your own insecurity about yourself.

I will say, and you can quote me on this if you like, that being involved in this way [provided] a much richer view of what it is to be a New Zealander. Now I say that deliberately, New Zealander, as a citizen of this country than I would otherwise have. And, I suspect [for] many Pākehā, a far richer idea than any of them have. (HARRY)

Theme D: Immigration

A surprising discovery was that four of the participants had immigrated to New Zealand. Three came as children within their family unit and one came as an adult. For **HARRY'S** family there were no problems encountered around identifying as Pākehā.

LG: *So, within your family, is that a general identity that other members of your family would take or are you alone in that?*

HARRY: *Mum and Dad would have said, if confronted with the question, they would have assented to being Pākehā. When we moved out here, we moved to Dunedin. If you know Dunedin at all, you'll know that there's nothing like the obvious Māori presence that there is at this end of the country. My parents would have been a bit like that too.*

My sister married a chap from Northland so her children are Māori. One of mine is, so my parents wound up with four out of six grandchildren who were Māori which they probably wouldn't have anticipated when we first arrived. Not from any negative attitude, but simply because in Dunedin at that time, this is the 50's and 60's it just simply wouldn't occur to you that it would come about. So my sister, she's pretty clear that she's a Pākehā... (HARRY)

PENNY'S parents made efforts to not hanker after their previous life in the UK while still maintain wider family relationships.

My parents were quite good I feel when we came here. They weren't people who said, oh, at home, as in the UK cos I know that they did have friends who came here, or people who came on the same ship and things like that they kept in touch with for a little while, who did say that. I think they felt home was where we are and by that it meant virtually most of, or all of their relatives are still there and many are still alive.

They wanted to make sure, I think, establish new lives and there may have been some strengths in the UK, but here in New Zealand we were having opportunities we couldn't possibly get in the UK. And that is something I've always been very grateful to them for... in terms of the term settling, they gave us I think the reassurance that this was where they wanted to be. We had connections in England but here was a new network which I thought was very good. (PENNY)

For **SALLY** there were additional elements of growing up in South Africa before coming to New Zealand and being Jewish. This led to much anxiety, searching for where she fitted in.

I suppose for me too, there's a different layer, and you probably have this, by not being born in this country. So I come to this country from South Africa but my ancestors are from Eastern Europe. I don't have any British. So, I've grown up in places where there's been a bit of, Natal had the British over layers as well. Intellectually, it's a history and world that I know as well through my studies and the environment that I lived in but I'm not even a tiny percent British. I have no whakapapa in that direction.

LG: *But you have experience of living under the British colonial system?*

SALLY: *Yes I have. I know that system in and out. When I was a kid our books still had Jill and John of London, so that was the mental frame, but I know deeply it's not really my identity.*

So immigrating here, growing up in apartheid South Africa, I don't. Not knowing how to find a place for myself because I rejected that society. In a way, and I know this sounds weird, but in a way coming over here I really needed, and I came in 1998 pre social change in South Africa, I really needed to redefine myself. So I think that in that sense, it's been more deliberate and more conscious [while] for some people it's... oh yeah being here, I'm a Pākehā. It's something where I've had to think, yeah I need to settle in this place, I need to find where I sit.

LG: *So was it easier for you to define that here than it was in South Africa?*

SALLY: *Well I think at that particular time I couldn't, I didn't feel comfortable as a white South African... coming here I supported the All Blacks cos they were anti-apartheid and I'm allowed to watch again.*

In a way I had to find a new way of being. Not to say I've left my African heritage behind, more that there has been a lot of thinking about identity that came with it. And, I have another kind of layer in all this, and I guess a lot of Pākehā are like this, they come from all over the place, mixed layers.

Coming into a place where whakapapa is so important and honouring that, makes you revisit who you are and your own inheritance

Because of where I grew up and my background, I have always felt on the margins and I think that sometimes that's a privilege, a good

place. I have also had a lot of pain in my life because of that. It gives me a different way of being. (SALLY)

She also touched on the emotional hardship of the reality of leaving family behind.

But Mum and Dad, my parents, my childhood, you leave all those things behind.

Dad got really ill and died three years after I got here, so I didn't get to say goodbye, terribly difficult. (SALLY)

Question 2: What underpins the preference for descendants of European settlers claiming an across the board title of New Zealander or Kiwi?

The ideas and opinions that were generated through this question were extremely wide ranging. Although not necessarily fitting succinctly into the question, they serve to highlight themes that contribute to an overall picture of the difficulties in trying to presenting a one-size-fits-all approach to how we view ourselves both individually and nationally.

Theme A: Interchanging the three terms Pākehā, New Zealander and Kiwi

Most of the participants were comfortable with the interchangeable use of these three terms. Though there were some exceptions.

LLOYD raised a pertinent point around the increasing number of ethnicities that are able to claim a New Zealand identity.

LLOYD: So I would call myself a New Zealander. I'm happy with that term, I'm happy with Kiwi, I'm happy with Pākehā.

So, when you're talking about claiming the title New Zealander, it's because there's no choice. It's just like, well, that's who we are, what else would we be, we're Kiwi. And, also our national discourse is so strong, and it comes across in the media, and the newspapers, TV all the time, social media, reinforced in the schools, sport has a lot to do with that you know, the sporting psyche. Like in the Olympics, so who

do you represent? Oh, New Zealand, we're New Zealanders, it's our flag, it's us. So, that's not even a question for, you know when you say preference...

LG: *As opposed to Pākehā.*

LLOYD: *As opposed to Pākehā. Yeah, so to start with that, a lot of New Zealand wouldn't even know that it's a preference, that wouldn't even be a question cos there's no rival. For me, I would be a Pākehā New Zealander, a Pākehā Kiwi and, some comments you made before about how many different ethnicities and races there are in New Zealand, well they can also be Kiwis but then some of them may not choose to identify as New Zealander but they can live in New Zealand.*

Yeah, well New Zealander encompasses a whole lot of different nationalities, and in the last 20 years that group of nationalities has increased. So much so that it would include people that are from China and... do they look like a New Zealander is a good question to ask because well, they don't look how we used to think New Zealanders were.

There's some big differences between those terms. All three are in my view acceptable, and I'm very comfortable in using them as a self-identity label for a person who was born in New Zealand. (LLOYD)

GRAEME: *New Zealander, and I still identify myself as a Kiwi because I see that as being, that's who I am, I'm a New Zealander... so I really feel then that if we want to change our society, we've got to start thinking of ourselves not as Pākehā and not [of] Māori but we've got to start thinking of ourselves as New Zealanders and Kiwis.*

Earlier **SUSAN** stated that she would only describe herself as a Pākehā New Zealander in the context of speaking Māori. Although this may be seen as

inconsistent, it may be more indicative of how unconsciously interchangeable these terms are and, how it may result in a kind of contextual confusion.

LG: *So those three terms Pākehā, New Zealander and Kiwi, you would use freely to describe yourself?*

SUSAN: *Yes definitely, yes absolutely. I am a Pākehā New Zealander.*

To be a Pākehā New Zealander of Scottish and English and Irish descent, that's it really. That's how I can describe myself.

I mean in a way you're talking to the converted talking to me. In a way you need to be talking to my sisters and asking them why don't you identify yourselves as Pākehā? What is it, what is your problem with that word? Do you have a problem with that word? It's quite a good word. To me, it really just means European. But European is not a good way to do it because Europeans are people from Europe.

(SUSAN)

Regarding the use of Kiwi as a self-identifying term, **FRAN**, **BRENDA** and **SALLY** ranged from being comfortably casual about it to being mystified as to its relevance.

LG: *Do you identify as Kiwi?*

FRAN: *Yes, That's just a slang word for New Zealander. When you're travelling overseas, you say you're a Kiwi and that's just another word for New Zealander.*

BRENDA: *I wouldn't refer to myself as Kiwi, maybe conversationally, but I just prefer to think that I am a New Zealander. But I have no problem, when I'm with the people I know who are Māori, I am quite happy when they freely use the word Pākehā and*

I don't take offence at it at all, and I just have no problem with being called Pākehā at all.

SALLY: *When you say I'm a Kiwi what does that mean? That to me just doesn't mean anything. I can sort of understand that you might want to locate your identity in a physical place. That is my place, my space. To be a Kiwi? Am I a kiwi bird? Am I a kiwi fruit? Am I, you know, it doesn't mean much at all.*

If you say to someone, tell me five things associated with being a Kiwi of any background, what are they?

But maybe for some people it's also the common thing is the physical space, the place, so when you say I'm a New Zealander, you're saying I'm from that place, that place is important to me. And I can see that to some degree, but I think it's still, it doesn't do some other things, but it's a better motivation for doing it.

I'm fascinated by identity...in my work I see people grappling in a different level as becoming academics and teachers. There are huge amounts of issues with identity again. Because with every space you move into, you have to re-understand yourself in relation to that role, that vocation, that space and that can be very difficult... very confronting at times. (SALLY)

For **SALLY** there was the added insight of her experience growing up in the racist regime in South Africa which raised the following issue.

If you say I'm a New Zealander, for some people that might be in some ways claiming sameness in order to disguise your desire to keep your sense of superiority. (SALLY)

The other person who made reference to this particular aspect of claiming a generic New Zealand identity was **SAM**. He made comment on some very public figures and his view of their position.

I think we are all New Zealanders. This is the Muldoon line but what he meant was that being a New Zealander was there was no room for ethnic identity. I do a lot of work with the Jewish community. I think it is fundamentally wrong for people to say they should only be New Zealanders and not Jewish.

And so there is a sub-national identity which can and should operate. Not everybody, but those people who have a cultural identity, then that operates at the level of community, it operates at the level of daily life, it's part of how we were brought up, it's part of how we see ourselves and it's about how we socialise others, particularly children, into our culture. So that's something that carries on.

Now whether you want to hyphenate it and make it a New Zealander-Jewish identity or a New Zealand-Māori identity or a New Zealand-Pākehā identity is fine. But what I think is at fault here is the idea that there is an overlapping of being New Zealander and being Pākehā. And I think that's what Muldoon meant. He's saying, I'm Pākehā, how I do things is how all New Zealanders should be doing things, and I think that is fundamentally flawed but I also think it's offensive. So it's the denial of minority ethnicities, and that might be Māori, it might be majority ethnicity in the case of Pākehā, and I think you see that quite often in conservative politicians.

Brash would be another one in which they, I was going to say deliberately, I'm not sure it is deliberate. They are sliding their own identity into what they see as a common identity being New Zealander and assuming that society should operate that way. What I think they're saying, even they might not see it themselves or say it themselves is that they're making a claim that Pākehā identity should

be the only identity. And so for them I think, New Zealander equals being Pākehā.

I think that Brash was out of time and place. And if you think back to the 1980's and Jim Bolger, Jim had no problem with using the word Pākehā and no problem with exploring national identity in new and interesting ways. He didn't adhere to a Brash or a Muldoon position, and I don't think John Key does.

So even on the conservative of the political spectrum, I think you've got people who are quite relaxed about what it means to be a New Zealander and what it means to be Pākehā. And so Jim Bolger, I think, when it came to interactions with Māori had a very interesting approach and a very sympathetic approach. Also when it came time to reflect on his identity, he used the word Pākehā.

John Key, I'm not aware that he uses the word Pākehā, but his whole thing about the flag, and let's explore a new flag, and that's an identity who says who we are, and I don't know if you read his comments yesterday, but he's made some very interesting comments. And so, I think he's played into this space of being clear that being New Zealander is not the same as Pākehā.

I tend to take a line which says that people should self-identify. So if people self-identify as a New Zealander it would be inconsistent with me to say well you can't do that. I think it's wrong. I think it's wrong on a whole series of levels. But I would challenge them, but I wouldn't be aggressive about it. I think it's something people do need to self-identify. (SAM)

Theme B: Adversity /ambivalence to using the term pākehā

The implications raised by SALLY and SAM regarding using the term New Zealander as a means of stating that we are all the same as the majority culture is explored more in Theme B. SAM continues giving his appraisal of this issue.

So in a sense, I think the exploration of what it means to be a majority group member and then the self-claiming of a label Pākehā, so it wasn't something that Māori used about Pākehā, it was Pākehā using it about themselves. [19]85 is about the right time, you know those early 80's were the time when that group of self-conscious but also, well, proud? I'm not sure what the word is, people, Anne Salmond, Michael Keith and of course Michael King, were beginning to use it more generally, so that became an exploration of it.

LG: *Maybe not so much proud, but an unashamed use...*

SAM: *Yeah, yeah, yeah that's a good way to put it. And so it came as a surprise to, particularly older, New Zealand Pākehā and I think there was a strong reaction. And it wasn't helped by the fact that there were sort of urban myths about what Pākehā meant so it was quite easy to say, well that's a label I don't want. Because firstly, it's a Māori word and secondly, it means something offensive. And it never has. It can be used offensively but it routinely isn't.*

LG: *Which is interesting because when we, the collective we, first arrived, the two terms Māori and Pākehā were born along with each other. And in those days, it seems to me, there was much more interaction between Māori and Pākehā in that a lot more Pākehā would have spoken Māori than as today for instance.*

SAM: *Yes, my grandfather came as a forester in 1912 and he learnt Māori. So I think that's probably true but I think by the time colonisation was under way in the late 1800's, there's a period right the way through until the arrival of Māori in the urban areas when they were quite separate.*

LG: *Because originally, when we first came, we were quite dependant on Māori to exist.*

SAM: *Yes, we were very dependant.*

HARRY adopts diplomatic approach in his understanding of why people hold an adversarial attitude to being called Pākehā.

Well as I said, it's this attitude that, which used to be quite common I think, and probably is in a lot of parts of the world still, where if you are in a particular nation state then you should all be the same. The French are particularly bad at this, but Anglo-Saxons are as well. I think that's what underpins it.

But anyway, I know there are people who don't like the term [Pākehā] and they would be people who would I think tend to, tend not to like the idea of ethnic identities at all. They would be inclined to say we're New Zealanders, I'm a New Zealander, you should all be like me. Which I think is a very negative, impoverished view of life, and so on. So that's about all I can say really. (HARRY)

While **BRENDA** is very comfortable self-identifying with Pākehā her peer group are more ambivalent.

They've been okay with it. They don't, well the odd one might get a bit, well obstinate, a little bit reactionary to it and not want to be identified as Pākehā. But I would tend to explain to them what that actually means.

I don't think they would to refer to themselves as being Pākehā, but in most cases they would say that they are New Zealanders.

Well, they would have not grown up experiencing much of the Māori culture, so they would generally refer to themselves as being a New Zealander or as being a New Zealand European or just Kiwi.

People that I know probably would not identify themselves as Pākehā. They would say that they are New Zealanders. I think the term Pākehā seems to me to be used or an awareness of, only if people are aware of the Māori world.

LG: *If you take that New Zealanders are made up of people that have many different cultural backgrounds, would they make a distinction for their own selves about what kind of New Zealander they were?*

BRENDA: *Well most of the people that I know are just like me. You know, I don't know too many other cultures. So if they had to make that distinction they'd probably say they were New Zealand European because that's just how it was way back. You filled out a form and you were a New Zealand European, that's what you ticked. That was the option. So I don't think they would say that they were white or anything like that. (BRENDA)*

Racism

The underlying inference infused in continuing to maintain a majority culture stance is, at its most extreme, racist. The insidious subtleties that occur over a wide spectrum of racist thinking are confronted head on by **GRAEME**.

And I suppose the other thing, the other side of my world was that I had a rural tie in with my uncles who were farming. Māori came up in conversation as farm workers which was very much the case, the shearers, whatever. So I grew up hearing the term hori...that was how people referred to Māori in those days, horis the horis down the road. I was not subjected to overt racism, so I can honestly say that I didn't have parents who said bloody Māori's down the road or bloody horis, whatever, I had none of that in my life that I can remember.

LG: *But saying that, there was that subversive thing like you said, everybody referred to.*

GRAEME: *It was a common to hear Māori talked about as hori.*

LG: *But [that was] never identified that as being racist?*

GRAEME: *No, but I think the underlying thing that I've come to pull apart as I've got older is I've realised that there was a racism thread running through, there was a superiority thread running through the European communities where they saw Māoris as second-class citizens.*

I didn't have racist parents, I didn't have racist families, so my understanding of it is a snapshot of New Zealand, suburban New Zealand, at that time.

The more I've worked with Māori, the more I have realised what my place is, the more I've had to question my own, my own subconscious thoughts that I've had. And I'm very embarrassed about them. Very embarrassed. And I've realised that I, because you can't control your thoughts. You can deny you have a thought but you can't pretend it doesn't exist.

So when you see a group of old Māori women sitting down with no teeth, having a glass of wine out of a beautiful wine glass and a thought comes into your head that they should be drinking beer out of a beer glass. And you think shit, where did that come from? And you realise that's years and years of subtle prejudice, you never saw when you grew up seeing Māori women in that role.

We're very quick to judge people in our culture by what we see in terms of the facade and how they present themselves. Now I've been in the kitchen in gumboots, washing dishes at 11 o'clock at night beside a High Court judge, also in gumboots, and that's what it is. Right? But in our culture, looks, impression is very important. You

know, and so therefore you think, okay, kinda backup the bus a little bit. Where does that leave you you know in terms of your thought? And I've realised then that I have all of these subconscious issues that I've had to deal with. The thought comes into your mind, shit I don't like that thought, I really don't like thinking like that and it's taken me a long time to deal with it, to challenge it and to discard it, if that makes sense.

...little things, like, when we're travelling together, you walk into a cafe with a group of your Māori colleagues and in some cases, they'll always look to me first before they serve the others. Right? When we rock up to an accommodation, I rock up no problem, but then four carloads of Māoris rock up and oooo what's going on here? All of those things, little subtle things, you know.

SUSAN shared **GRAEME'S** forthrightness regarding racism.

I think a lot of New Zealanders have trouble identifying themselves as Pākehā and I think that's a racist thing and they're not comfortable in their own skin and it's their problem really.

I think they're scared. They don't mean to be racist, they just don't want to think of us being Māori/Pākehā. They want to think of us all as being one people and that's the crux of it all really.

There is so much racism in this country really against Māori getting everything. I mean you can't believe that someone might come up with a Pākehā Party can you? You know when there's something like seven or eight Pākehā parties that we've got you know and we've got one Māori Party.

My son's feeling is that we're all together in this and he thinks I'm really racist when it comes to other cultures. And I am a bit racist when it comes to other cultures being here because Auckland is very

full of other cultures and other minorities now, and it's getting quite hard for us to buy a house and travel on the roads because there's so many people here and I do get quite racist about it and [name removed] isn't like that at all cos he's grown up so multi-cultural.

(SUSAN)

Even more self-revealing were these two comments from **GRAEME** and **SUSAN**

...and, and the other thing was that the racism, I suppose was the fright you always get when you meet competent Māori people, people who are very skilled. I thought only us whiteys could do that. (GRAEME)

...so it was quite hard for me when I came back from overseas and started working in TVNZ and started working in Māori TV and started seeing my Māori friends as not being like that. It was still quite hard for me sometimes to think oh these people are actually more intelligent than I am. I did find that quite hard and that's that instilled racism is in us. (SUSAN)

Another aspect of racism discussed by **SUSAN** was that of an inverse attitude.

But on the other hand my friend [name removed] the other day had something on Facebook. She said a journalist from one of the mainstream programmes had given a Māori taonga to a hip hop artist and she was complaining that why should a Pākehā journalist give the Māori taonga to this overseas person. And I thought oh for goodness sake get a life [name removed]. That's racism on the other scale really. I think that's just taking things too far.

Unfortunately this woman called it a tiki and it wasn't a tiki it was a manaia so she should have got it right and secondly I don't think she had the pronunciation right. And then [name removed] who is another friend she wrote back on the same Facebook thing and she said there's nothing wrong with that journalist giving a taonga to an overseas

person. It means that she's proud to be a New Zealander. And she used the word New Zealander, [name removed] did, and she's half, if you can say half half and she wouldn't associate herself just as Māori.

(SUSAN)

HARRY briefly touched on this particular aspect also.

*Either I'm very thick skinned and can't tell, or I haven't really encountered that. I remember one of my other colleagues and the department was quite small and one of my colleagues was a Pākehā, who had a lot of trouble. And when I asked somebody once, why is X having all this trouble and I don't? And they said, well, it's because you're dark. I was then, I had black hair and I always tan up relatively well. And indeed at the end of one course, a couple of girls came up to me and said we've been trying to work it out, are you a Pākehā or a Māori? So I said oh I'm a Pākehā. **(HARRY)***

Colonisation

Several participants discussed the role of colonisation in relation to the problem of racism.

Our culture was totally based on Victorian ideal and colonialism as I saw it.

The degree of carnage that happened ensuing from that is...if you look at any conflicting situation in the world, it is as a result of colonialism, colonization. It doesn't matter if it's Angola, you name it, it's never worked because you've always got that underlying thread running through the culture. So, Māori, yes, they might have let you land here, but, ultimately it was going to happen anyway. Ultimately. I'm too much of a fatalist to see it otherwise.

I mean if, colonialism is more about feeding the, finding wealth, for the rich families to go away and make their fortune in the colonies by

rape and pillage. That was the first thing. It was then seen as a way of, um, doing that. Everything about it was then sustaining that wealth. So we send prisoners over there as a labour force to generate money for me to send back home to support the lifestyle I wanna support. End of story. (GRAEME)

I'm not ashamed of what we did as colonials, it happened around the whole world. White people over the whole world think that they're inferior to brown people (superior). I don't know where that comes from really and how they can possibly be that arrogant but I'm pretty sure it's all down to being educated. I think that more Pākehā New Zealanders are educated and therefore they have the flasher jobs and therefore they have more money, and you've got the brown people down there still doing the menial jobs and not rising up in society. I'm hoping that with the Treaty settlements that it will change, but I'm a little bit scared that it's going to just make too many rich Māori and poor Māori. (SUSAN)

I have a Jewish background and I guess quite a lot of my history growing up was analogous to the way a lot of Māori grew up in New Zealand felt in that the dominant mode was the English, Christian... mainstream, and I was well colonised by that and it got to a point where it was just buried and I didn't even acknowledge it to people. So being with Māori and working alongside [them], that connection has helped me reclaim also where I come from. I realised how my mind was totally colonised as well. (SALLY)

You can apologise. Like Australia has apologised but it hasn't made any [difference] because they still live in the effects of all the injustice. If justice was to be done, there would have to be some reversal of things or changing of certain things. And that's the real barrier. People can say it's really bad what we did, but move on. (LLOYD)

LG: *But what does that mean?*

LLOYD: *In Australia...Rudd was crying but what has changed?
Nothing.*

*Perhaps by calling themselves Pākehā, people realise that it just goes
another step beyond acknowledging what happened to the Māoris way
back then. It brings it into the present day, and a present day identity
and it has present day implications as well. I don't know.*

Generational viewpoints

FRAN touched on the number of generations in her family that have in New Zealand. She decided in her teenage years that she was not happy with separate definitions for all of us who live in New Zealand her comments are consistent with this. As she is of fifth and fourth generation descent, this appears to be a contributing element of her choice.

*Because we were born in New Zealand and I've got no strong links
to where my ancestors come from. All my links are to New Zealand,
I've been overseas I want to come back here. I do things for the
country, for New Zealand, it's my home. I see New Zealanders as
any one that lives here or tries to do good for the country. So, any
one that was born here is a New Zealander.*

LG: *So how would you go further to identify what New Zealander
meant in terms of people having other historical cultural
backgrounds or does it not matter to you?*

FRAN: *If you mean like if someone calls themselves a New Zealand
Samoan or something like that if they were born here?*

LG: *Or, of Chinese descent or Indian descent or Yugoslav descent
or Māori descent or Pākehā descent do you see the need to expand
on that title?*

FRAN: *No we should all be New Zealanders and if you want to say I've got Samoan descent that's fine but you're a New Zealander.*

(FRAN)

Both **SAM** and **SUSAN** made observations on this also. It is interesting to remember that **SAM** is first generation New Zealander. **SUSAN**, although born in England, has a fifth and sixth generation Mother.

LG: *...then there are ones who will refuse to use that term Pākehā because it's associated with Māori and they say, no we are nothing to do with any of that, we are New Zealanders and we are all the same.*

SAM: *I think that's a generational difference, I think it tends to be older New Zealanders who say that.*

...if you think of earlier generations then Māori Pākehā didn't have a lot of contact because Māori were still very much in traditional rohe and were not part of the urban environment. Well that changes after [19]45 and particularly in the 1960's and 70's. So I think it was a cultural change point led by a particular generation and previous generations were offended by that. My Dad is a migrant from Liverpool and he would never have used the word Pākehā about himself. He was very comfortable in this place but hadn't made that additional step.

SUSAN: *But my Mum's generation wouldn't say that [they were Pākehā] and probably my sisters wouldn't say that either. They would probably just say no we are a Kiwi. But I think it is really good for us to have an identity and we're part of this country and part of the history of this country and you know, my great grandfather's blood is buried as well.*

Then our generation started to think, I grew up in Upper Hutt and we didn't have many Māori around us at all. We were all just mainly lumped in together and didn't really use the word Pākehā. Well no, we're Kiwis. I'm fifth generation, sixth generation Kiwi so although my Dad's a Londoner, Mum's a fifth/sixth generation Kiwi.

That we're not one people and they don't, people are starting to realise all that now but I don't think people realised it because my Mum and Dad talked to me openly about the fact that you didn't call yourself Māori or Pākehā in those days. You were just, no one identified as anything special being Māori or being Pākehā. They were adamant that Māori never called themselves Māori back in those days. I think that when they were around them they didn't but maybe back at home they did.

So [named removed] as well, my son, grew up in West Auckland and he was surrounded by brown people. He was one of two or three Pākehā in his class. The rest were all Māori or Islanders. Having grown up in Avondale he probably doesn't think of himself as Pākehā or non-Māori or anything. I think his generation are more into we are New Zealanders because his girlfriend is half Māori and half European, his other girlfriend was half Pākehā half Niuean, his friends are all half Tongan and half Samoan, or half Māori and half Pākehā, or half Chinese and half Indian. So you know our future in this country is gonna be quite different.

But for my generation we really only had, we could distinguish ourselves really couldn't we? We were Māori, we were Pākehā, we were Chinese, we were Indian. Although Māori when I was growing up I don't think they really identified themselves as much as being Māori as they do now, but I shouldn't say that cos I don't know, I didn't grow up in Māori society.

LG: *So for [named removed] and his generation, you feel that the term New Zealander is encompassing enough?*

SUSAN: *Yes, I think it probably is. It is with his generation in West Auckland anyway because it's such a multicultural thing you see. And that's why I'm a bit worried about the word Pākehā, whether it will always be used when you speak Māori but whether it's going to continue to be used. (SUSAN)*

The Other, difference and distinctiveness

HARRY and **SALLY** delved more deeply into the insecurities which generate a fearful approach to difference.

HARRY: *What underpins it also is ignorance of the 'other'. Fear therefore of the unknown in the 'other'. A narrow mindedness, an inability to see that difference can often be extremely enriching, so, I think it's stuff like that.*

Sameness is what a lot of people feel comfortable with and anything that's different evokes fearful reactions. Based on insecurity about themselves. The other is seen somehow as a reproach, a threat to their own view of themselves and security and so on.

LG: *So it comes to maybe understanding that many people have a very fixed view of their identity and it's the same always and never changes?*

HARRY: *Well I wouldn't want to say that. About their own identity, no. It's about what they expect of everybody else. I mean that I have a very fixed idea that I'm a Pākehā, and that's it. Born in the UK, obviously of European extraction... and to that extent it is fixed. Nothing is going to change that about me. So the other issue though is more my attitude to the environment and to other people, which I try to make as open as I possibly can.*

Of [all] the things about diversity in a society the main things should be tolerance and respect. But, not everybody trying to be all things to all people.

SALLY: *You hear this all the time. Often, I think it's a way of minimising difference, or distinctiveness I should say, minimising distinctiveness in order to protect one's own. So, if you say we're all the same actually [you mean] we're all like me. There is a level where that's true, we all come from this place.*

We don't acknowledge uniqueness, especially here in New Zealand where the Pākehā cultures are dominant, whatever they called, English, white. That's the dominant culture, we are all saying, in brackets, we are this kind of New Zealander. To not respect 'other' is to keep your superiority. I think that's what it's about.

To me, it is also bland. Blandness is where the whole issue lies. The blandness is what we don't explore, we don't question, we don't investigate. And this Kiwi/New Zealander, is the bland, nothing term. And in that way you actually cut out the distinctiveness of the other. I think, hold on to your own blandness. It's the unquestioned things of the world. To not say you're Pākehā is to say, there are no Māori New Zealanders.

An additional international context was explored by **SALLY** which reflected some negative consequences of a homogenous approach in how define our identity/s.

There was this idea of the American melting pot. Everybody said there are no Italian/Americans, there are no Jewish/Americans, there are no Irish/Americans, there are only Americans. And that's a disaster. The actual richness of America comes from the melding of those different identities and the interplay of those identities, not from the blotting them out. As soon as we blot out then we lose. One of the

things that has always fired me up around culture and identity is the belief that we are enriched by each other. But, if we negate distinctiveness, we're not, we can't be. So that capacity for all of us to grow is diminished.

LG: *So there are the similarities of being human that hold us together, but what we need to learn to do is to hold together with our differences?*

SALLY: *Absolutely. By interaction with people from a different culture, we are pushed to new ways of thinking and being and so are they. And that's where the huge possibilities lie. As soon as we say no we are all just the same, and that's not to disavow our common humanity, but I think that it's important, other and honouring same, our humanity.*

Another facet to this issue of distinctiveness is that **SALLY** raised is the temptation to succumb to a different culture to one's own.

SALLY: *The thing is that, and I can see how attractive this is, if you don't have your sense of who you are, and you're in an environment, like in a New Zealand environment where the Māori identity is so rich, it is easy to be swallowed up in that. Well, for me it was very attractive, I could happily be in that world. Because it would provide me with a way of being, well defined rituals of behaviour, sense of connection, even though I don't have a whakapapa, I could easily live that life because it is so well formulated.*

LG: *It's like the antithesis of the individual thing where the western philosophy has come to, and we've lost our communal roots...*

SALLY: *Yes, and it's very compelling. I think that you can do that and I think it's legitimate to do that if it's your choice, but I also think you've got to be clear about why you're doing it. And also, who you*

bring in to that space, because I'm not born in this country, I'm not of the land.

Theme C: Multi-faceted identities

The more participants considered Question 2, the more complexities arose. It is worthwhile including some of these comments to illustrate the diversity of choices people can be faced with alongside external influences.

Dual/ citizenship and multiple identity factors

HARRY, PENNY and SALLY spoke about dual citizenship.

HARRY: *Ha ha, here we go. I was born in the UK, I'm a British citizen as you are. I'm also a New Zealand citizen which is a very handy thing to be because having had one of my passports stolen when I was in Spain once, I now take care to carry both with me.*

He also raised the point that we don't only need to consider our genetic/ethnic identity but also aspects incorporated within the activities we become associated with.

LG: *What I'm hearing, is that you've separated your me from your identity. Can you explain that a bit more?*

HARRY: *Um, there's a kind of truism that part of who you view yourself is to do with how you contrast with or associate with others and there are all sorts of ways you can do that. Now within the New Zealand ethnic context, I'm a Pākehā not a Māori, not Chinese. When I'm within a church context I'm an Anglican and not a Presbyterian. When I'm in Europe, although it's my heritage, I'm a New Zealander not a German.*

So things like nationality and a sense of citizenship is also one of these aspects, so I don't think the assignment of myself to Pākehā ethnicity is a once and for all and all inclusive encompassing identity. It's

relevant, in New Zealand in terms of relationships, including my own with te ao Māori particularly.

LG: *So, there's like a very fluid contextual aspect to any-ones identity?*

HARRY: *Oh I believe so and I think it's the case, psychologists will tell you the same. The way we identify ourselves depends on the context we're in, doesn't it?*

LG: *Would you then say that there was anything that was completely fixed? Anything at all that you would just think, this never changes no matter what?*

HARRY: *I want to say yes, my view of myself I suppose. What I like, and how I like to try and behave to people, how I treat people. My tastes in music and so on, my beliefs, these remain constant. But the aspects only become relevant at different points.*

So again let's steer things away again from being Pākehā. If I'm talking away to someone and they ask where I'm from, I'm a New Zealander. If on the other hand it's a Sunday and I go to church, and they say oohh where are you from, I will say I'm from such and such a church in New Zealand. From St. Peter's Cathedral Church in Hamilton, New Zealand. And I'm an Anglican... So all these things remain, if you like, constant about me. But which one is relevant at any given moment, which one would come to the forefront and therefore make the contrast or the relationship the context I'm in and the people I'm with will vary.

PENNY: *But it [becoming a New Zealand citizen] was something I did decide, I think by then I would already have been married. So married to a New Zealander...in terms of our children, they were clearly both born here, New Zealand citizens, no problem. But I did*

decide to do that when I was quite old. You know we'd come into New Zealand when it wasn't necessary to apply. You make the decision and of course with many immigration things nowadays it's quite a different environment than to coming in in the 1960's.

The experience of being born and living in South Africa burdened **SALLY** with a stigma she found extremely difficult to reconcile in terms of her identity.

SALLY: *I went and got a New Zealand passport as soon as I could, partly because I was ashamed of a South African passport. There's a whole other layer when you come from apartheid South Africa, dirty tainted. So not only did I not want to look back, because I'd left my parents behind and my family, but I also wanted to throw off the taint. Seriously, it was disgusting to have that taint so I was grabbing this new identity with the hope... I had a different perception of New Zealand as well. I was totally like, this was such an egalitarian space as well. I just grabbed it and said throw away that stuff because I really couldn't live there anymore.*

Bi-cultural/multi-cultural identities

SUSAN referred to the bi-cultural and multi-cultural influences which contribute to a general New Zealand identity and presents yet more difficulties in defining Pākehā.

SUSAN: *They say that if we can live and be bi-cultural then we can move to being multi-cultural. And we never really got there with being bi-cultural did we?*

I think Māori that claim both identities are more comfortable in their skin and not all of them do that actually. Most of them just say they're Māori, and of course they're not, everybody's got some other blood in their whakapapa these days and it's mostly going to be Pākehā whakapapa so they should acknowledge that really. Some of the younger ones do. I love it when they wear kilts and things like that.

Some of the young Māori speaking ones will wear a kilt cos they recognise their Scottish ancestry.

...but the thing is, so many non-Māori New Zealanders are not Pākehā because they're Chinese or Japanese or Italian. You know they're not just white New Zealanders anymore.

LG: *That's right. Pākehā will give a distinct grouping to the New Zealander that comes afterwards rather than the non-Māori where it includes everybody that's not Māori but it doesn't give any distinction.*

SUSAN: *Yes. We have to start using that word Pākehā more don't we really?*

LG: *And as you mentioned before, people might say they're Chinese or New Zealanders of Chinese descent. It's still acknowledging your actual heritage, your genetic heritage.*

SUSAN: *And I think normally they would say the Chinese thing first. If you look at those programmes this is what they do. In a way you need to ask a Chinese person do they consider themselves as a New Zealander or do they consider themselves Chinese or a Chinese New Zealander. I think most of them would say we are a Chinese New Zealander.*

You can't call a Chinese a white New Zealander, you can't call a Chinese New Zealander a Pākehā or an Indian New Zealander a Pākehā.

Did they, when they [Māori] came across Chinese people, did they call them Pākehās as well?

LG: *I don't think so.*

SUSAN: *Because that was the other culture that was here way back then wasn't it? ... But you know Pākehā is a word that, we just need to describe ourselves as something. It's a word to describe ourselves really. It's just a white New Zealander really isn't it?*

She also stressed the need for Pākehā to make more effort to know the Māori world and how it could be facilitated.

Two worlds

SUSAN: *Pākehā don't know how to walk in a Māori world. I'm very comfortable walking in a Māori world and I'll be the only Pākehā there on a lot of occasions.*

To me it's like obvious, that we should all walk in two worlds, to me it's just common sense and seems obvious but I don't know why, and it saddens me, why it's not obvious to most Kiwis.

I do wish that Māori would be a bit more inclusive and let them in a bit more. When I go to Pasifika at Western Springs I see the Pacific Islands cultures welcoming other cultures to their villages.

Further support of this view came from **GRAEME**.

GRAEME: *We therefore have to start embracing aspects of both cultures. Like the Māori when they are born, if they are to survive they have to walk in two worlds. They have to walk in the Pākehā world and walk in the Māori world. Europeans, if you want to survive, you have to learn to walk in both worlds as well.*

Indigeneity

The subject of claiming an indigenous status was given two different approaches by **LLOYD** and **BRENDA**.

LLOYD: *Maybe one of the questions you want to ask is if I see myself as indigenous? Do I see myself as a native person? When I think about it, I'd love to be called an indigenous person, you know a native New Zealander.*

I wouldn't ever do it if I believed there was a chance of undermining the special relationship that Māori have with New Zealand. And when some of the issues of the Treaty are dealt with in an adequate way, maybe that will turn around. I remember Māori guys saying there are tangata whenua and tangata tiriti. And I can live with tangata tiriti as a way of belonging to New Zealand, yeah. I belong to New Zealand. These terms change over time and are filled up with different content by different people... I mean, people don't want to identify with the term Pākehā if there's going to be some angst against it. It's like putting your head above the parapet and getting it shot off.

While **LLOYD** related this issue to himself, **BRENDA** shared her thoughts in the context of how her husband self-identified.

LG: *So they don't distinguish any other cultural backgrounds within that term New Zealander?*

BRENDA: *No. The people that I know, their original descent would be British. Whereas [named removed], who is my husband, is Trinidadian... he just says he's from the Caribbean. But his background is French, Spanish, with a bit of British but mainly French. From the Channel Islands, I think, is where the original family is from. So if people ever ask him where he is from he only has to say a couple of sentences, because he is quite Anglicized in his accent now, but they can always pick it and they always ask him where are you from and he always says I'm a New Zealander. And they said yes but where are you from? And he says I'm from the Caribbean.*

LG: *But saying that, he's from the Caribbean but has a European heritage.*

BRENDA: *Oh yeah he's from Trinidad, he's Trinidadian... but that doesn't go back all that far, it probably only goes back to his grandparents who would have come to Trinidad from Channel Islands. It's quite a youngish country like New Zealand [and] multicultural, it's a very multicultural society.*

Theme D: Michael King

It is appropriate to note that four participants referred to the influence Michael King had in Pākehā defining their identity.

SAM: *I think, Michael King's book in [19]85 was really the first book to assert Pākehā identity. Pākehā is used quite a bit prior to that and it's often used by Māori and sometimes by Pākehā themselves. But Michael King's book begins to institutionalise it or popularise it in a different way, because it was an interesting book and a book that was sympathetically written and produced a new understanding of what the word meant. And that's the change over point so he's a part of a baby boomer generation that were more relaxed around cultural identity and had much more contact because*

LG: *So do you then go further to say you're a New Zealander of Scottish descent, Irish descent or anything like that?*

SAM: *No.*

LG: *Why is that?*

SAM: *I come from those places, but I'm not of them now. I think people who do that, if you read Michael King's book, the interesting tension there is that he identifies with the Scots and Irish, but he's English. He's primarily English. And so that seems to me a choice*

which he can make, but it's also a choice which seems somewhat artificial, to say you're culturally of that place when you're not and am I descended from, have I mentioned the fact that my father was from Liverpool?

LG: *Yes.*

SAM: *The previous generation was English, I'm not. And so in some instances I would say something about that, but in terms of an ethnic identity, I'm not English, I'm not a Liverpoolian, I'm not. So I wouldn't claim that. I'm Pākehā.*

LG: *I, at this stage, still say I am of British descent, under the acknowledgement that what does that term British mean? Because, it can encompass a whole lot of different things.*

SAM: *I think because as we said before, the exploration of what it means to be British, and particularly what it means to be English, is in a fraught state at the moment and there's some very interesting literature about that in the UK. Steve Fenton has written about it... so it's a very interesting development.*

PENNY: *...what did Michael King say? Did he give any clues? Laughter.*

LG: *Since you brought him up, I found him quite confusing.*

PENNY: *Right, I wondered.*

LG: *Yeah. In fact it was him who spurred me on to do [this research]. Some of the things that he was saying, I quite disagreed with.*

PENNY: *Oh good.*

LG: *His initial task of starting the process of Pākehā questioning who they are, yes, I agreed with absolutely. To go on and make statements about being tangata whenua and those things, I have doubts about that. But this is the reason for doing this research, to clarify that for my own self as well.*

LLOYD: *And I think it probably wasn't until Michael King who actually said, well, I'm actually a Pākehā that I actually started to think a little bit more about Pākehā and at that stage, I became even more comfortable with using the term for myself.*

SUSAN: *But Michael King was a big instigator or all that for us. And when Michael King bought that book out being a Pākehā, I was really proud that he did that.*

Question 3: *In which ways do Pākehā/New Zealander/Kiwi endeavour to keep a connection to their traditional homelands and how significant is this to their identity?*

Theme A: Retracing whakapapa and maintaining family connections

Question Three generated a great deal of discussion. An overwhelming amount of it centred around returning to familial home ground to re-connect with people and places. This was true for both participants who had immigrated to New Zealand in their generation and those whose families had been here for many generations.

SUSAN: *I lived in the UK for 12 years. I met my husband there and my son was born there. I never went to Ireland and I only went to Scotland once and that was to see some friends that worked on the oil rigs. I didn't go to research my whakapapa, it didn't even cross my mind to do that.*

This time last year, when I was in Scotland and Ireland to research my Scottish side and my Irish side, I took photos of where my great grandparents had been born, especially in Edinburgh and County

Cork. I can't seem to get anyone else in my family that are interested in it but maybe it'll come later.

I think whakapapa is quite important and I didn't used to think that. Even though I said our parents used to think of themselves as British, I think in a way they also didn't. They also wanted to be New Zealanders as well I think. But along comes this generation, my generation who learned that there is such a thing as whakapapa/genealogy and I think it's a world-wide thing that we're more interested in our genealogy now. I hope that Pākehā New Zealanders can start to be more comfortable in their identity and I'm sure that a lot of them will want to keep on researching their history and where they come from and everything cos it's fascinating.

And I did get interested in it long before everyone else did, but I think now there's a lot more people getting interested in it now because we've got the internet and we can find these things out much quicker. So I think we'll probably find a lot more New Zealanders going back and researching their whakapapa and going back to Scotland and Ireland.

I've got more Scottish ancestry than anything else and I do love going to Scotland. I've been to Scotland a few times and I remember my Aunty said that she went with her brother, they're in their eighties now, but they went to Scotland and they drove over the border and they stopped at the border and they opened up the boot and they got out a bottle of whisky and they had a drink of whiskey cos they're like we're in Scotland.

So it's important to us and we need to remember that we mustn't feel, you know I'm a little bit envious of Māori having a tūrangawaewae I have to say. You know if someone says "where are you from?" and I've got to get up and give my pepeha it's quite hard for me. Because, I was born in London because Mum went over there after the war and

met Dad so the river Thames ... is one of my rivers. If I'm talking about my mountain I'll talk about Taranaki... because that's where Mum's from and we went back there every holiday back to Taranaki. I'm very close to Upper Hutt because I grew up in Upper Hutt so often I'll say that that river is my river.

We have to in a way think where we were brought up. I say e noho ana au ki Tāmaki Makaurau i naianei. But I haven't got any ties back to Upper Hutt really any more. I haven't got any relations there. I love to go back there and I love to go to the river because I spent so much time in the river and the bush that was around the river ... But it is very special for me when I go back to Upper Hutt but it would be nice to have somewhere to go back to, you know to have a tūrangawaewae to go back to. So I'm quite jealous of that and I think that's probably what made me want to go back to Ireland and Scotland.

LG: *So when you were in both of those places, what did you feel?*

SUSAN: *I also went to the Eastend of London. My Dad is from the Eastend of London and I was born in the Eastend of London and when I went back there I took photos. The Eastend has changed completely and I went with Dad's first cousin ... and it's a wonderful feeling to go back there. But it's a long way.*

I felt at home the minute I got off the tube in London. I hopped off the tube from Heathrow in 1975 and felt at home. I loved it... and whether that was because of all that history I have there because let's be honest, we haven't been in this country very long...1870 my family came so it's not very long really. I felt quite at home back there definitely. I think if I had Italian or German or something I'd feel the same. But the whole European thing is tricky because we have often Scottish, English and Irish, it's not just one thing to go back to is it? There are three things to go back to. Yeah so it's important, it's important to have your own identity.

PENNY: *A little bit like I said before in answer to my parents saying here is home. I know where I was born and I've got cousins that I have much laughter with on Skype and things like that. But it is more a keeping in touch and enjoying their company [while] realising that this is where I belong. So the connection is to the people. I think it would be silly to say I want my ashes to go back there.*

We stayed with my cousin who... lived not far away from where my father grew up and her brother has done a lot of genealogy so, not being lazy or anything, but [named removed] has already done it. So we did do visits to where our Great grandparents came from and see where their houses were and those sorts of things. It's a wonderful thing being able to do that, so we've done that kind of thing ...

As **PENNY** had been born in England there were particularly special moments of re-connecting with the life she had led before coming to New Zealand.

PENNY: *When I was 22 I went and stayed, my father's mother, my grandmother was still alive, with her. What was really funny was she's well known for making some biscuits, particular gingerbread biscuits, and I was able to say to her, even though I had not had those biscuits for fifteen years, I was able to say to her I've had these biscuits before. So my memory for food! The other weird thing was she still lived in the same farmhouse and I could know where all the things were. I knew I could go upstairs and know where the toilet would be. I turned seven the day after we arrived in New Zealand so I still had an associational memory of food and their house. And the same twenty miles away in my other Grandmother's house. So I had home memories. But beyond that, it's not sentimental. She died a long time ago but we can go past the house and think ooo that was where she lived, my parent's first house.*

In 1994, my sister and I [went back] with my elder daughter. She was only one and she got spoiled altogether cos my cousins and Grandmother were still alive and they made such a fuss of her.

Then 2005, the University has this articulation agreement or something with the University of York, so I was able to visit for two weeks the Special Collections Librarian at the University of York. I took with me my daughters...and they were able to visit places that were special to me.

And then in 2010 I went there with my sister and we walked Hadrian's Wall...that was special. On that Hadrian's Wall walk through Carlisle towards the end of it, and Carlisle has the Border's Regiment Museum as part of the castles gardens, and here we were all hot and dusty on a British summers day and we knew what time the museum closed. We'd done our walk for the day, we moseyed on in as fast as we could to get to this museum thinking oh we wonder what's there about our grandfather cos we had our cousin who had done the walk as well.

And they must have wondered who we were, these two New Zealanders who, but they were so good and so helpful but it turned out he wasn't injured and he didn't die so there wasn't much on him. That's what they said "look the good news is we have got a record of him but we haven't got a lot and you wouldn't be here without him anyway." I still remember them saying "oh look send us the photos you've got of him in his uniform because we'd like to add him to our data base." So it was special because I wanted to do it for our father who was interested in finding out more. We got him a history of the regiment. So we were doing the investigating the, you know, where have we come from, who are we descended from ... it was rewarding to do that and to discover.

Another important factor for **PENNY** was how connecting with other people from her home district which sparked discoveries about her Mother's life.

PENNY: *If someone introduces themselves and I discover they were born not faraway then I won't hesitate and say oh I was actually born close to where you come from. My mother did it the other day when we were at the Tamahere Market and this person was handing out flyers. She clearly had a north of England accent and my mother said "where are you from?" and it turned out she was from Preston. My mother had done some training when she was only sixteen and her first job in Preston and I didn't know this. It was so good to discover this... it started us off on a great old investigating... So it is an interest in knowing that, it's a connection that is there because you want to keep it alive.*

Coincidentally, **PENNY** and **BRENDA** both had family stemming from the same area. **BRENDA** shared a common desire with **LLOYD** to trace where their respective families had come from. Their families have been in New Zealand for more than two generations.

BRENDA: *I think [of] Britain being my family's homeland, my Grandmother's from Yorkshire, no sorry Lancashire... her family is from Preston. So since I was young I've wanted to go back to the UK but we never got there, so I'm hoping next year will be my big OE and go over and have a holiday and see a lot of ruins. I have a strong wish to go and explore Britain, Scotland, Ireland, you know, the whole country. I'm very interested in the history and cathedrals and churches and all the old sites, exploring as far as I can go back really. So personally I feel quite strongly to having an identity with Britain. I think my sister does as well mainly because of our grandparents. But then we're the older generation. I don't know how much young people feel about that when they are quite, now, removed from that side of things.*

LG: *Are there any particular parts of Britain that really draw you or any particular thing that really draws you?*

BRENDA: *Not so much place, but the kinds of things I'd like to see, the really ancient stuff. I do want to really go and visit Lancashire, you know, Preston. My sons been to Clitheroe, he got my Grandmother's birth certificate from the church or where it is you get it from over there. So I've got copies of her birth certificate. I'd love to walk the Hadrian's Wall, but you need time for that. But really, just visiting all the ancient stuff, all the old places. Canterbury Cathedral and, the places that other people recommend to me.*

LLOYD: *All my feelings of belonging or memories, associations are to New Zealand and I think I realise New Zealand and Britain are quite different culturally. But I'd love to go to Britain... and what I would want to do is to go back and see the history because, you know, you're so aware of that, the history.*

My brother, he went over and he went to Wales and he went to Abergevenny where our first Lewis ancestor left to see where this is where we come from originally. And I'd love to do that because it's sort of like yeah that's where I come from but, firstly I come from New Zealand. But you realise that that's part of my life as well. I'd love to do that and see some of those things.

LG: *So is that, do you think, a part of this great OE experience that is quite common?*

LLOYD: *Yeah, he did that on his OE, I think it's part of it, as much as it's let's go out and see the world. It's like Europe is a really cool place of the world to see. It has a lot of history so it has a lot of interest for people. Some people have economic goals, they want to get a flash as job and get paid heaps, and some of my brother's mates got that. They were all accountants or whatever and got jobs and were paid twice as much as they would have been here. My brother didn't do that but he met his wife so he was happy. But just that one thing, he*

took time out, he went to Wales, he went to the town where our great great, whatever he is, grandfather lived and left.

Although **FRAN** had no really strong compulsion to reconnect with family ties back in Britain, she had spent some time living in England.

LG: *So you feel no pull at all to anything in the British Isles?*

FRAN: *Other than to see, maybe, where long ago ancestors came [from], but we've been here since the 1830's, 1840's down in Canterbury, the [named removed] side. And one great grandmother was from England direct and one was straight from Ireland and another one was two generations back from Scotland... I think that I don't have a tie because I don't have close relationships with family. Even growing up there were no closeness with grandparents, relatives so there's not a family tie.*

LG: *Have you travelled?*

FRAN: *Yep. England, Australia.*

LG: *So what was it like in England when you went there? How did you see yourself in that context?*

FRAN: *Other than being a white New Zealander I didn't, I could mix in with the crowd, I didn't stand apart from the crowd.*

LG: *And the people that you met, were there any differences? Not in looks but ideas...*

FRAN: *Behaviour and that, yeah. When I was in England, I got through being in England by thinking at least I don't have to live like this forever, I can go home.*

LG: *Live like what?*

FRAN: *Very closed minded, dirty fast living, and when you're in London there's nowhere to go on your own to get away from everyone... I had to go to Wimbledon Common just to find a space on my own... there was always people around no matter what the time. There was just too many people to get a quiet moment.*

LG: *Do you think then that that says quite a lot about our general psyche of New Zealander... that sense of space?*

FRAN: *The relationship to our environment? Yeah, you can get it when you go out to Scotland and that, you can get big places. In other places you could go out into the country biking but you didn't feel safe... no one knows you or where you should be. Anyone could take you and no one would know... whereas in Aussie I didn't feel too bad being on my own... less people.*

LG: *Did you come across other New Zealanders in your travels?*

FRAN: *Yeah. They all seemed to go to one area, Shepherds Bush. But Australians and Kiwis all mixed and you were all called Australasians. You always went to New Zealand House to get supplies and things. I tried not to do that, I tried to mix with the English. Not New Zealanders cos you want to see how the English really live.*

LG: *When you talked earlier about your earlier working life and that the Māori people in your working group naturally gravitated towards each other because they shared a common history. Do you think that was the sense that you had when you met other New Zealanders overseas?*

FRAN: *Yeah, you knew what to talk about, what was appropriate and what wasn't...the same jokes. You could go and play New Zealand*

music and everyone knew the songs, you could go and see New Zealand bands and it's just full of Kiwis and Aussies. It's been home for whatever time it is.

LG: *And you felt that sense of connectedness by doing the things you would have done in New Zealand?*

FRAN: *Yeah.*

Theme B: Public holidays and recreational activities, celebrations, familial and national

In New Zealand, we have traditions around Christmas and Easter. We may not celebrate them quite in the same way as in the Northern Hemisphere because they occur at different times of the year. **BRENDA** voiced some strong opinions about these two celebrations.

BRENDA: *Well the thing that we're forever printing out Christmas cards that have got snow on them and all that kind of stuff on them. I just don't think that related to us any more at all. It would be very nice to go and experience an English Christmas.*

My sister, for instance, gets quite up in arms with this thing where we have all these Christmas cards that have snow, I mean we had nothing else in the 1950's and 60's. It was all snow and snow men and Christmas trees covered in snow. So we are finally seeing some beach scenes and different things in some of our Christmas cards but you still get the traditional ones. So she has quite strong feelings about that. I prefer not to [have] the snow and the ice thing. For my side of things, I prefer the religious side of things. So a lot off me is going to be quite intrigued with how I feel when I go over to the UK.

LG: *So when you go it will be over a winter?*

BRENDA: *No, it'll be, I'm picking about September next year, roughly. At the end of the summer when all the crowds have gone and the kids have gone back to school. I'd love to be there but unless you pick to be there at Christmas time and it would be a bit hard to be there at Christmas time.*

My youngest son's partner, she's of Indian descent, but she's from the UK, and she's very strong to her country, naturally, and she just says I'm going to love England when I get there. Because, there's nothing like an English Christmas with the snow and everything. That it's completely different from here. You totally celebrate Christmas. It's not a long holiday time, you just have the two weeks off and then later on during the year when it's summer that's when you have your long summer holiday. So she struggles with the fact that we have the summer Christmas and then we have our summer holiday because the two are quite separate over there.

Easter I think is more a religious celebration for all Christian families, no matter where you are and I think that's quite strong, just for its religious content.

St Patrick's Day connects both **FRAN** and **SUSAN** to their Irish roots.

FRAN: *When you say traditional homelands, to me New Zealand is my traditional homeland. But I can trace ancestors to England, Scotland and Ireland. It's only on St Patrick's Day that I'm Irish. Having the last name that I have, [named removed], you can see that it comes from Ireland, but, some people say to me you're an Irish girl then and I go no, I'm a New Zealander.*

LG: *Of Irish descent though?*

FRAN: *No, that doesn't matter to me. I've got English and Scottish blood too, but my name doesn't carry that, it's just a name.*

SUSAN: *You know, I feel quite Irish, when it's St Patrick's Day, I wear green. But my Irish ancestry is my great grandfather, his name was, [named removed], so it's not close. It's not like it's my Dad or anything, it's my Great Grandfather, but I wear green on St Patrick's Day.*

LLOYD raised our celebration of Guy Fawkes and suggested an alternative occurrence which has more relevance to New Zealand. He also had an additional twist to his view of Christmas.

LLOYD: *When you're a kid, you don't question it. We're just letting off double happys all of the time. You know Guy Fawkes, well we heard the story, but as I got older, it's not even relevant. Probably half of New Zealand would want to do the same as Guy Fawkes. We go to Parihaka, which is at the same time and there's been a little bit of a movement to say to the Government, forget Guy Fawkes and let's celebrate Parihaka, the day when the Government went and killed all those people. To celebrate the peace because Whiti and Tohu, they were years ahead of their time. You know Gandhi he's celebrated worldwide and he was influenced by Whiti and Tohu. It's much more deserving of New Zealand celebration than Guy Fawkes.*

Christmas is different because I've got Christian belief. Most of the country is probably the same, it's a day to get with your family and things like that. But I understand that it is a symbolic day, it's not the actual day that he would have been born. On a different note, the commercialism and capitalist... well that puts a lot of people off...it's no longer a Christian festival at all, or even remembering something significant in history, it's just another excuse to sell stuff. And that's quite sad for New Zealand cos obviously that's not how it seemed to be when I was a kid.

LG: *And Easter has taken on the same kind of thing too?*

LLOYD: *Yes, and there's business owners that say why can't we open? Beside the fact that they would have to have people that actually work and the people that own it aren't going to want to work.*

GRAEME was adamant that the importance of public holidays has been undermined by commercial activity. He touched on other celebrations also.

GRAEME: *I struggle to find them [traditions] because I think we're very quick, under the guise of commercialism whatever it is to get rid of them.*

But if you take it in a wider sense, we had, for example, public holidays. Public holidays were set aside for certain purposes. And, there were certain rules around public holidays that forced you to stop. And that's nothing open for a start. Now why can't we have it, days in our life when nothing's open? Why do we have to feel a need to have 24 hour shopping? Because that then takes away the significance of having a pause. Because I saw all of those things as pausing, stopping, reflecting, time for the family, nothing else mattered.

And things like, I suppose 24 hour trading, seven day a week trading. I mean when we grew up as kids, Sundays everything was shut. We had the Victorian adage of generally Sunday lunch after church and all of those things. We no longer as a society every Sunday go to church, there's no longer, which was all the things, we no longer have Sunday lunch, we no longer go and visit the brothers or the siblings on a Sunday afternoon or your grandfather or whatever.

Everything's open 24/7, you've got easy access to everything, um, we, the family unit is totally disintegrated, we lose a sense of place and home, there's nothing we can have. It's kind of like bit by bit we've thrown all of those things away.

So, weddings were frowned upon, school balls weren't there, all of those traditions were thrown out. So we never had them. So if you look now, there's a huge resurgence back into school balls.

There's a huge resurgence back into weddings. All of those things are coming back in.

...if you take the isolated family values, the value of having a birthday, the time you put into having birthday, that's important. That's a milestone, they're important. Anniversaries, anything you can do to celebrate the good, not so much the bad, are important things. So I don't know what traditions we've actually held on to of our original [ones].

Recreational pursuits

Both **BRENDA** and **HARRY** shared a deep connection through music. Whereas **LLOYD**, revealed that rugby bought out his Welsh roots.

BRENDA: *I love Celtic music. So does [named removed] actually. I love Celtic music and Scottish music and the traditional instruments that they use in Scotland. I just love the real haunting melodies that you can get out of that kind of music. It's a really strong feeling in me and I'd love to go to Ireland and Scotland and hear more of it and see it played. We went and saw Riverdance when it came out because apparently it was going to be the last tour. And they had those Scottish, Celtic instruments you know, the bagpipes that you play. They're just so strong, they stir the feeling. So hopefully that opportunity to mix with the locals will arise.*

LG: *So you mentioned just before about this generational pang to go back there. I guess what I would like to ask you is, in your children have you noticed, do they carry any of that? When you say that the Celtic music really stirs you, do you see that happening with the next generation?*

BRENDA: *Yeah both of my sons have been over to England and they've travelled and they've been round Europe as well. So, I think they like that kind of music, they like the later groups, the English groups of the Eighties which is pretty much their growing up time. So they've been to a few of those concerts over in the UK, you know like U2 and all those people from that time. Yeah, I think they have a good appreciation of Celtic music and other music from earlier times. Jean Michele Jarre, but we all like that... Moody Blues, from those times... a lot of what they like is what we like...my boys have travelled, it's time for Mum and Dad to go.*

HARRY: *I love music, I am involved in music all European music, particularly. Within European music it tends to be the Germans and Italians which have really made the biggest contribution. There are British composers and there are French composers and Russian composers which you can't ignore at all.*

LG: *So even if you are physically not in Europe, you can maintain [that connection] by listening to the music to the words...that connection, that string to your identity no matter where you are?*

HARRY: *Oh yeah. So those sorts of connections back in to Europe are really important for me. They're important for me as by identity, to the extent that they're not foreign to me. They are part of my heritage.*

LLOYD: *I'll support Wales in rugby and like a lot of people, Kiwis, have got Welsh rugby jerseys and little flags, those sort of thing. And while some of them are first or second generation Kiwis, some are like me and go way back. Yeah, we've got a connection there, so we'll support that. Just because you're a Pākehā, it doesn't mean you can't have that sort of connection back to Europe.*

Ideological/intellectual ties and traditions

The significance of conceptual elements to our identity are discussed by **HARRY** and **SALLY**.

HARRY: *But I'm also a royalist. Yes, I'm a monarchist. I'm a bit of a sucker like that. This is one of the things I appreciate about Māori culture in action is the traditionalness of it. And I would be one who would say culture is flexible and rightly so. Culture is made as you go along, nonetheless there's a strong sense of continuity within Māori culture as of course you are absolutely aware. And that's one of the things I value about my contact with it. I'm also a Christian, I'm a high churchman. So lots of things play a role there. Of tradition, of particularly Western Christianity, the continuity of the way things are done in my church from centuries and centuries ago.*

LG: *Do you mean a traditional hierarchy sort of thing?*

HARRY: *Yes. These are quite important for me. I have no doubt I could do without them if I had to but I don't want to have to do without them. A connection with England, oddly enough, not so much Britain as with the Continent. And that's because when I was a student I did my graduate study not in England as many people used to, but on the Continent, in Switzerland. So I developed contacts and local knowledge there which I've never managed to re-acquire with England. Having said that though, I've always enjoyed being in England and can remember things that I became familiar with before I left. Revisiting them. I have cousins in England. I like to travel to both, to Europe, that's my favourite travel goal, shared equally between England on the one hand and the Continent on the other...it's pretty evenly spread. That's important to me because of the art, those places, as my heritage. In a way in which Māori regard New Zealand as their heritage, where they're from.*

LG: *So why Switzerland, what was the pull there?*

HARRY: *My academic career has been a bit strange really to find myself where I am now. When I went to high school I was, as we were in those days,*

I was told, you boy will do Latin and French. I did. Not only did I do them, I found I naturally had a flair for them and thoroughly enjoyed them. So that when I went to university I did nothing but languages and the languages I did were primarily Latin and Greek, but also some German and a bit of Russian too. As well as the French. So I graduated at Otago in Greek, MA, and I was looking for somewhere further to study.

LG: *So there was no actual pull to Switzerland itself, it could have been anywhere?*

HARRY: *Yes. It could have been France, it could have been Germany.*

LG: *The reason why I ask is because sometimes people have quite distinct pulls to other areas, maybe to somewhere other than where they were born. So that interests me from the point of view it is a bone deep hankering from some sort of.*

HARRY: *Oh, okay, no, but going to Switzerland did generate that for me. The language, apart from English, that I'm happiest speaking in is actually German through having lived there. Which means, that whenever I can get to travel to Germany or Austria or Switzerland, I am linguistically more at home there than I would be France or Spain. Although I can get by in both those places. Those are the places where I feel linguistically on top of any sort of encounter that I might make. But that's after the event, that one. Didn't exist before but has been generated.*

LG: *That you were conscious of.*

HARRY: *That I was conscious of, I will concede that. So, all of these things are important.*

SALLY: *This connection to where you've come from and looking back, I think initially, I didn't look back at all, it was deliberate. I didn't go back for twelve years to visit. I couldn't, I wasn't able to for all sorts of reasons.*

Actually, post-election... I had this, why am I in New Zealand? That was huge. I want to be there, these are the things we've dreamed about all our life and I want to be there.

But going back and having that extended period was so healing and I know that I feel much better in me. Some of my angst has settled.

Being from a Jewish background we have, on one level, an incredibly powerful identity and a collective consciousness. But so often because of the nature of our history, we've had to move place, physical place so you take with you values, ideas, rituals, connections, ways of relating to people. But we've been so separated from place, often.

LG: *So, although we physically may separate ourselves from all that, there is all this stuff that we do carry with us and that's what I'm asking from Pākehā. What are those things with us?*

SALLY: *I think as Pākehā, one of the things is our hybridness really, and how to maximise that. And what has happened with the mix of that hybridness which comes into this place, this space. What can we build on? Because, I think there is a strength in acknowledging your hybridness, then reforming.*

Challenging status quo/disintegration

Further elaboration on the consequences of challenging traditions is provided **GRAEME**.

GRAEME: *We bit by bit have shunned all of the tradition, all of the if you like, the social format that we used to have that was important in our society and that's been disintegrated.*

Now all of those things can seem stupid, but they were, if you like, boundaries within the society that kept things together. There was a lot of hypocrisy a lot of rubbish that goes with it right? So in our Pākehā world, all of that combined with the disintegration of the

family unit and the splintering of families has meant that we are very fragmented as a people. That's how I see it.

You see we grew up, I grew up in a part of, it was in the seventies, sixties and seventies you see, when all of the traditions we had in our society were being thrown out. The hippie age if you like.

Because we were fighting everything, we were fighting everything, we were fighting long hair, girls were fighting to be able to wear jeans, you were fighting to, we didn't even have mixed flats in those days. You were boarding. Then it started getting into flatting at university times then mixed flats.

All of those very staid Victorian values were being challenged and discarded, challenged and discarded. Along with that also came the feminist movement which was that. Then came the Māori movement with the challenging of that, with the hīkoi from North Cape down, Bastion Point, all of those things. And so that was a progression of those.

Where we're really at now is probably to look at it and think, well, out of those original traditions we had as Pākehā, what are worth hanging on to and how do we keep them?

LG: *And, what do you see we've replaced it with, if anything, more stuff?*

GRAEME: *I don't think we've actually replaced it with anything. I think for all of our so [called] changes, society hasn't improved, it hasn't become less violent, it hasn't become more caring, hasn't become a better place to live. And I know that you have the whole issue of unreporting and everything in the early days and I, yeah, I'm not naïve, but, I mean we're not a safe place to live. We have you know murders. So really, in amongst all of that, we've basically devalued ourselves as*

people. So, we don't hold and cherish on to life to the degree that we should do. We're happy to discard it.

Establishing a new phase of identity

PENNY touched on reaching the point of defining a new phase of identity for herself and her family. SALLY was most clear that we were in a position of huge responsibility on a community level.

LG: *So those things are more like embellishments to your identity rather than the core way that you see yourself, and the core way you see yourself is as Pākehā of British descent.*

PENNY: *Yes, yes.*

LG: *So you're in that state of now establishing a new phase of identity for yourself, which then your children and then whatever comes after that is a new phase?*

PENNY: *Yes, yes, it is and your questions have made me think and it's really good and it will be great to talk to our daughters to, I mean they know about it, but they haven't as yet wanted to do a lot of investigating. You know [named removed]'s history is interesting cos he's fourth generation New Zealander and his brother has gone back and investigated when did the [named removed]'s come to New Zealand and that sort of thing. I really need to do the combination of those.*

SALLY: *It changes a lot and I think I wish I was like Māori and had my river and my mountain... but in another way having to move and change it's made me have to think about my identity properly, [though] never resolving it.*

But what is our responsibility as well? For me as a Pākehā, what is my responsibility to the people of this land, to the land itself? And also, to new people coming in, where do I sit in this? I think we as Pākehā don't

think about this enough. What are not only my rights, everyone always thinks rights, but what is my responsibility. Because, I've come into this space, I've rampaged it actually.

Historically, all of us have ancestors who have played a role in taking away the land and minimising the people of the land. It worries me deeply that we are continuing and making it worse. There are some things we are doing, like the Tribunal. We need help to understand how to take that responsibility.

How do we actually create a situation where collectively Pākehā redefine themselves, how does that work? Because, lots of people can see that... lots of people with the goodwill. How do you make that a reality?

LG: *I suppose the first thing is to be clear and define who we are otherwise it seems like a huge nebulous thing that we then ask of ourselves as individuals. And I think that maybe that whole individuality thing is part of the problem because we cease to have that...*

SALLY: *Common connectedness. And we've got a huge role in relation to new people coming in. I have in some instances seen remarkable change in thinking and a lot of that has been with the person's readiness, my role is to sit and scaffold that and wait for that. And to just prompt and allow. It's always a battle and sometimes I lose the battle, but I think anything that involves a radical departure from a way of being and a way of thinking...*

Authenticity and understanding identity takes a lifetime. I ran away from identity for so long. Everybody has a longing to make sense, to make connection.

4.5 A final comment

The scope of diversity revealed through the participants' responses are a pertinent illustration of the external influences which shape the formation of a Pākehā identity. We can establish, even from such a small selection of people, that it is no simple matter to formulate a singular framework to define what constitutes the formation of a Pākehā identity. Rather than being something fixed and finite, Pākehā identity fluctuates and accommodates many factors. Therefore, even if one subscribes to the fundamental premise of existential philosophy regarding our responsibility for choosing an authentic existence, it is not possible to do this in isolation with no regard for those whom we live amongst. What becomes apparent I believe, is, that a combination of elements from the existential movement along with elements from a communitarian point of view provide a more accurate explanation of how people self-define as Pākehā. In the next, and final, chapter, I will discuss some of the themes introduced here in greater depth and will illustrate connections to both existential and communitarian philosophy.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

At the core of this thesis is the desire to understand why people identify as Pākehā not only a personal level, but in a wider context also. I hold a belief that having made a decision to identify as Pākehā required some responsibility on my part to establish a basis from which I could rightfully claim that connection. An integral part of this was taking up the challenge that Michael King lay down regarding our individual and collective baggage. This chapter provides, in the context of a consideration of issues relating to critical awareness and, in particular, the research questions with which the research programme began, an overview of the main findings (5.2) and an indication of the perceived limitations of the research (5.3) and the nature of its contribution (5.4) and it ends with some recommendations for future research (5.5).

5.2 Summary of findings

In *Chapter 2*, I began with providing definitions from a range of sources describing some origins and definitions of the term Pākehā, discussion around the appropriateness of the term and how it can be used in our current timeframe to show empathy with Māori and their struggle for self-determination. A brief overview of human migration to the British Isles then the resulting migration to Aotearoa provides historical context to our pre-Pākehā heritage. Following this is a snapshot of some of our earliest Pākehā settlers which leads into the extent our governing bodies enlisted assisted immigrants to populate and provide infrastructure for this new colony of the British Empire.

Chapter 3 delves into the angst-ridden territory of authentic existence championed through the existential philosophical movement. Tempered with a more compassionate approach from communitarian philosophy we are provided with a means to explore the many layers that build not only individual identity, but a collective identity also. Evidence is offered for the accommodation of the similarities, and more importantly differences we all experience in our wider

relationships. Finally, focus is narrowed to specific issues attached to identifying as Pākehā in Aotearoa.

Underpinning this research are the nine semi-structured interviews which have provided tangible evidence of the complex elements accompanying the decision to self-identify as Pākehā. The very nature of identifying as Pākehā, as illustrated through the interviews in *Chapter 4*, elicited responses ranging from abundantly clear, to confusing and to contentious. There were instances where I had great empathy with the views of some participants, and at times did not. Thus care needed to be taken in maintaining a balanced approach to my reporting of responses and how I placed some responses in relation to others.

The sheer diversity of responses generated an initial observance that, if this level of diversity in defining the term Pākehā is shown by nine people, how much more diversity would be operating throughout the general population. Here we can see how the basic premise of existential philosophy, that is, there is no essential nature to our existence, can be applied to attempting to seek a definition of being Pākehā that encapsulates all of the possible elements. However, what was abundantly apparent was the heartening feeling of most people striving for a sense of connectedness, on various levels, and a sense of belonging to this country we all call home.

Question 1. *What are the motivators for people who choose to identify themselves as Pākehā?*

In Theme A, **SAM** and **HARRY** gave an academic slant to their definition of the term Pākehā. **SAM** made particular mention relating to the cultural aspects of being Pākehā that are not applied to people of Australian and European descent and also, how to interpret the term European as where we have come from rather than what we are. Additionally, he gave specific time periods of immigration from specific parts of, in particular, England.

HARRY, SUSAN, LLOYD and **BRENDA** all saw Pākehā developing as a direct relationship with Māori. **LLOYD** said that he was 100% Pākehā which raises an interesting point. What does that mean when in actuality, even if Pākehā is distilled

into someone of British or European descent, there are still a number of national and regional cultural factors not shared by all? **SUSAN** raises even more elements when she asks if Canadians and Americans can claim to be Pākehā. After all many share the same British origins. She also wondered whether we were outgrowing the term Pākehā as we became more multi-cultural. **SUSAN** was also in agreement with **SAM** regarding the use of tauiwi to describe us as being, negative.

Using Pākehā in relation to the governing body and in an official capacity through census forms and other documents was raised by **LLOYD, BRENDA** and **PENNY**. It is here that we see that **FRAN** made the decision to refer to herself as New Zealander rather than Pākehā. In this more public context, the point was raised by **HARRY, SUSAN** and **PENNY** that using the term Pākehā only had relevance within New Zealand. Internationally, most people would not understand the term Pākehā and in that instance New Zealander would be the preferred term.

GRAEME, in Theme B, commented on the fact that he had no choice as to where he was born. Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* and *Schicksal* or fate immediately came to mind. **BRENDA, SUSAN** and **HARRY** felt the same initially. However, **GRAEME** and **PENNY** noted the conscious act of choosing to identify in certain ways over rode the circumstances one was born into.

FRAN and **SALLY** questioned whether in fact people, in general, identified as Pākehā by default or without too much conscious thought. Where **FRAN** chose to reject identifying as Pākehā, **SALLY** embraced this identity particularly as a mechanism for being supportive of Māori.

The element of pride was introduced by both **SUSAN** and **SALLY**. While **SUSAN** was overtly proud, **SALLY** experienced conflict within herself as she considered the opinions Māori had towards Pākehā in general, due to the effects of colonisation. So, the inherent angst around choosing an authentic existence that the existentialists championed is becoming increasingly apparent within the context of self-identifying as Pākehā. Particularly when awareness of the issues which concern tangata whenua is heightened.

This brings us to Theme C. All participants were influenced in varying degrees by their involvement with Māori. For all but **FRAN**, their interactions culminated in a positive choice to identify as Pākehā. The general consensus was, their view and understanding of themselves had been expanded and their lives were much enriched by their experiences. What comes to mind is, that although existentialist philosophy supports individual choice, we have evidence that points to those choices being influenced by external elements. What the participants are revealing, in my opinion, illustrate the points that, Hall (1980) and Weeks (1980) made regarding living with difference, and Sayers (1996) highlighted through his analysis of communitarianism.

Although **FRAN** was careful to stipulate that nothing particularly negative had occurred during her interactions with Māori, there appeared to be an underlying unstated influence in her decision to identify under the more broad title of New Zealander. My initial feeling was that I was being given insight into Bilsker (1992) and his existentialist critique of Marcia's (1996, 1980) research into the four stages of identity formation.

We come now to Theme D, the last theme in Question 1. It is interesting to note that what I initially thought of as coincidences were, in fact, more akin to inevitabilities. Four of my participants immigrated to New Zealand from, in the case of **HARRY**, **PENNY** and **SUSAN**, England and in **SALLY**'s case, South Africa. Why I say this is inevitable is in part related to **SAM**'s comments on immigration made in Question 1, Theme A where he states that after 1900, most British immigrants were from the north of England specifically Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool. His statement echoes the immigration research of those such as Hutchings (1999), Phillips and Hearn (2008).

As I began to analyse the interviews, I saw that in the context of the participants this was indeed true, even with people who had been born here but whose parents had immigrated. **PENNY** was born in Preston, near Manchester in the county of Lancashire, as was **BRENDA**'s mother. My father was born in Tyldesley, which is also near Manchester. **SAM**'s father came from Liverpool which historically also comes under the county of Lancaster although is referred to more commonly now

as Merseyside. So even out of this small sample of our population, evidence of the closeness of these connections becomes apparent.

SALLY's experienced growing up in South Africa and decided to immigrate to New Zealand as an adult. The accompanying angst and disassociation from that which were her traditional frameworks is a reminder of the difficulties that Sayers (1996) explored through the communitarians (MacIntyre, Taylor and Walzer). The consequent fragmentation from rejection of the old, combined with the act of relocation, provided a chance for **SALLY** reconnect and subsequently reconstruct her frameworks and view of herself.

Question 2. *What underpins the preference for descendants of European settlers claiming an across the board title of New Zealander or Kiwi?*

With the exception of **FRAN**, the participants readily described themselves as Pākehā. In Theme A we see that **LLOYD** and **GRAEME** were comfortable interchanging the terms Pākehā, New Zealander and Kiwi, although **GRAEME** felt that we may need to stop using the term Pākehā. **SUSAN** added that she would more likely to describe herself as Pākehā New Zealander in the context of speaking Māori. While **FRAN** and **BRENDA** were happy to use Kiwi to identify themselves, **SALLY** was fervently opposed to the term.

SALLY also raised the issue that using the general term New Zealander, was indicative of an underlying sense of superiority held by those in majority cultures. This point of view was corroborated by **SAM** who gave a lengthy illustration of how it comes into play with those in positions of power. Again, the complexities and extremities of the layers inherent in defining identity become even more apparent.

The adversity and/or ambivalence of using the term Pākehā continued to be discussed more fully through Theme B by **SALLY**, **SAM** and **HARRY**, further illustrating the need in some to hide in a sense of sameness. **BRENDA** explains that her experience of the people she knew was that their lack of interaction with Māori contributed to reluctance in using the term Pākehā. However, **GRAEME** and

SUSAN took a far less gentle view, naming the desire for sameness as racism. While this represents an extreme stance, it is qualified by their disclosure of instances in their own thinking which they have had to confront.

Such honest self-revelations serve two purposes. In the first instance, they bring sharp awareness to the myth that our generation, in particular, grew up in a non-racist environment. In addition we start to perceive a sense of how differing levels of racism pervade our unconscious thoughts. Secondly, such revelations can act as a call to be courageous and begin the process of examining what similar thoughts and reactions we harbour within our own minds. Engaging in precisely what King (1991) urged us to do regarding the inherent baggage we carry.

Rather than fall into the trap of self-loathing or similar unhelpful states of mind, it is helpful to remember that we most often fall into these unconscious ways of thinking as a product of colonisation and the settler dreaming myth as described by Turner (2011). **SALLY** and **LLOYD** stressed the importance of acknowledging the injustices of colonisation. Conscious self-identification as Pākehā states a willingness to be part of working towards the re-telling of our history in Aotearoa, heeding the recommendations that Hall (1990) proffered.

Weeks (1990) corroborates with Hall (1990) regarding constructing identity awareness based on the ability to not only accommodate similarities, but more importantly, differences. We saw evidence of such accommodation in Chapter 3 via the literature review around existential and communitarian philosophical movements. **HARRY** and **SALLY** raised the specific issue of fear and ignorance when regarding something 'other' to oneself. In particular, **SALLY** commented on the blandness she associated with the notion that we are all the same, and how true interaction with other cultures fosters growth and enrichment of our lives.

Another element which is highlighted in Theme B is that of generational influences in our perception of who we are. These influences also echo the sentiments of Turner (2011) and his concept of re-enactment. **FRAN** states her ancestral links are to New Zealand due to being fifth and fourth generation New Zealander. In general, this view is not shared by the rest of the participant whose length of residency

ranges from six generations to arriving here in their lifetime. However **SAM** and **SUSAN** believed that compared to their parents' generation our generation was the first to start questioning our identifying as something different to our parents and previous generations.

SUSAN went further to say that she had observed her son and his generation as not being so concerned with identifying specifically as Pākehā due to more integrated cultural relationships. This is not to say they are homogenised, more that they are secure in multiple cultural aspects to their identities which are acknowledged, respected and called upon when needed. Building identity around such permeable boundaries shows once again how stepping outside of fixed frameworks and reconstructing frameworks more fitting with our current environment accommodate the similarities and differences we all share.

GRAEME was in agreement with **SUSAN** regarding the necessity for Pākehā to make more effort to familiarise themselves with the Māori world. While Māori have had no choice to accommodate the Pākehā world in order to survive, the reverse is not true. There is the danger here of falling into the trap of cultural plagiarism which Marsh (2010), Skinner (Catchpole et al., 2007), Turner (2011) and White (Catchpole et al., 2007) suggest we do in order to claim some form of special nature about ourselves as Pākehā. This aside, there is much appreciation to be fostered from non-exploitative inquiry into te ao Māori. A willingness to abandon pre-conceived ideas and seek ways to listen and learn from a world view that is indigenous to this land can only add to understanding the view we have of ourselves and the part we have played in the combined history of Aotearoa.

It was not surprising that some participants, mentioned the influence Michael King had enabling Pākehā to speak out and claim this as being who they were as opposed to a general New Zealand identity. **SAM** commented on anomalies in King's pull to identify as Scot's and Irish rather than English as being artificial. So although we may have originated in those places, that is not who we are now. The element of choosing our connections, as Consedine and Consedine (2005) suggest, makes manifest that intrinsic connections exist within us all. Although this line of thinking creates tension within existential philosophy, it does support the human need to

belong which is an underlying component of much of the dialogue from the interviews.

Question 3. *In which ways do Pākehā/New Zealander/Kiwi endeavour to keep a connection to their traditional homelands and how significant is this to their identity?*

The pull to retrace family to places of origin had motivated travelling to Britain, and in **SALLY**'s case South Africa. **LLOYD** and **BRENDA** had not yet returned but were looking forward to being able too. It is almost considered a rite of passage that many New Zealander's do their big OE. Reconnecting with relatives is part of that process. For **PENNY** in particular, it gave her a chance to see the homes of her family that she remembered as a small child. Also it increased the awareness she and **SUSAN** had of their respective parents' lives. Returning to South Africa, presented an opportunity for **SALLY** to lay some ghosts to rest. The general consensus was that it was important to maintain an understanding of familial connectedness.

FRAN had travelled around England and although it was not her primary motivation she did enjoy seeing places her family had come from. It was interesting to note that she was most comfortable when she was able to fit in and not stand out as being different from anyone else. Also by spending time with other New Zealanders, she retained a sense of connectedness and familiarity through sharing similar reference points in humour and music. This caused me to ponder upon Bilsker (1992) and his work around Marcia's (1987) four stages of identity formation, thereby generating a different understanding of **FRAN**'s decision to identify as New Zealander rather than Pākehā. Rather than being a sign of ingrained thinking, her stance may have developed through some external circumstance which led her to seek a form of anonymity and safety amongst the crowd.

Initially I had anticipated that Theme B would have presented more evidence around communal celebration of national holidays. However only **BRENDA**, **FRAN**, **SUSAN** and **LLOYD** touched on this. What was interesting was **GRAEME** and his belief that commercial activity had diminished our observances

of such occasions. Bucking the status quo by the ‘hippie’ era had launched us into an abandonment of most things our parents held dear. While this may be true in some sectors of the general community, I am not sure it was as widespread as **GRAEME** experienced. This is not to say that ripples did not reverberate through the country. Certainly, we were made to reassess many established practices. Beginning to identify in a positive way as Pākehā was part of this process. As **SALLY** and **HARRY** illustrated maintaining particular ideological and intellectual ties and traditions were of similar importance to genealogical ones.

Strictly adhering to a narrow set of unquestioned parameters does not allow us to accommodate the similarities and differences in our rapidly expanding world. The combination of retaining and dismantling varying elements of our collective traditional frameworks that we are experiencing in Aotearoa, is a living example of the relevance of much of the material referred to in Chapter Three. We can take relevant aspects of identity formation philosophy and theories, couple them with the pioneering spirit shown by our collective forebears and utilise them to establish a new phase of identity. One that does not exploit, but instead, cultivates our best qualities in order for the whole of our society to thrive.

So, the question ‘*Is claiming a Pākehā identity based on ethnic heritage or ethical choice?*’ is aptly reiterated in these words from **SALLY**, “Authenticity and understanding identity takes a lifetime. I ran away from identity for so long. Everybody has a longing to make sense, to make connections.”

5.3 Limitations of the research

The specific limitations of this research project of which I am currently aware include timing restraints and limitations of the thesis proper. Initially, my intention was to have two groups of interviewees. The first group had contributed to *Pākehā, the quest for identity in New Zealand* (King, 1991). I was interested in presenting the same questions King asked in order to ascertain if their responses had altered over the ensuing years. However, a variety of factors placed limitations on who was available to be interviewed. Consequently, I only managed to find one person who was able to fit in to the timeframe I was working under. My focus was then directed towards people who all had varying degrees of involvement with Māori through

their work environment. Due to this being a Masters' Thesis there were the inherent restraints of not only timeframe but word count also. Coupled with my decision to conduct semi-structured interviews, the scope of my information gathering and reporting was comparatively smaller than if I had utilised a more structured approach or conducted a survey. In order to do justice to the contributions made by the participants, I felt it necessary to concentrate on representing more accurately the scope of the themes they presented rather than attempting to increase the number of participants.

5.4 Research contribution

I believe that there are a number of areas in which this research makes a contribution to existing knowledge and understanding. Allowing the voices of the participants to be a major part of my research provided an opportunity to reveal the scope and depth of elements attached to self-identifying as Pākehā, albeit from a small sample of our population. Tangible evidence in the dialogue relating to many aspects pertaining to existential and communitarian thinking offers a forum for meaningful and authentic discussion in an everyday context. In addition, the concept of learning to live with both similarities and differences is recognised as a means of ensuring a more equitable way of being. By introducing evidence of how people can be motivated towards self-analysis through visual portrayals of our inner life, provides yet another effective mechanism for discussion. The result of which is a piece of research which does not shy away from examining areas of our collective selves that at times cause angst and distress. Identity is not confined to a cosy view of that which we only wish to see. The importance of this must not be underestimated if we are to engage in the re-telling of our history as Pākehā in Aotearoa. A history which more accurately reflects the experience of the impact and implications our arrival and continued occupation has had and still has on Māori with whom we signed a binding agreement. I believe I have accomplished some small contribution to the challenge of examining the collective 'baggage' we all carry.

5.5 Recommendations for future research

This research project has focused on using elements of existential thinking as a mechanism for exploring Pākehā identity. However, the surface of what is essentially a life-time project has only been scratched. Tempering what could be

seen as the austerity of that line of thinking with the most human of needs to belong, sets a foundation for further exploration. Widening the lens would capture a much larger base from which to gather even more insight into why and how people identify as Pākehā. I anticipate this would allow an avenue to discuss further questions raised from this thesis. One question that has stood out, for this researcher, is how a wider sense of community in urban and rural environments is established and maintained. Analysis of the similarities and differences in these environments may well shed useful insight into how we make our authentic choices as individuals whilst maintaining the necessity to live with each other.

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Appendix 1: Ethics Application