Māori Diaspora:

Being Māori on the Gold Coast

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts in Māori and Indigenous Studies

at

The University of Waikato

by

Ngāwaiata Eve Henderson

Nō Ngāpuhi rātou ko Ngāti Maniapoto, ko Ngāi Tūhoe, ko Ngāti Hāua, ko Ngāti Pākehā

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2021

ARIĀ: ABSTRACT

An estimated one in five Māori now live in Australia with the largest concentration on the Gold Coast. My research gives voice to the lived realities of the Māori diaspora and is informed by my own reflections as a first-generation Australian-born Māori and those of my whānau[1]. Through discussion with whānau who either emigrated over to Australia as adults or were born and raised in Australia because of their parents' emigration, in my thesis I shed light on constructions of identity and notions of belonging for Māori on the Gold Coast living on the traditional land of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.

With an understanding of the entangled complexities on undertaking research on Māori living on the land of another Indigenous Peoples, I utilise both Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research paradigms as the foundation for this thesis. Using pūrākau[2] as method, with a storytelling approach, I had expected to be sitting with my whānau kanohi ki te kanohi[3], sharing food and laughs in the home. However, Covid-19 put a halt to my desired research approach. Despite this hurdle, I was able to collate and combine our shared stories to express what it is to be Māori on the Gold Coast through the utilisation of online spaces. Through my findings, I demonstrate that Māori on the Gold Coast articulate a range of ways to be Māori with diverse and hopeful views for the future. This challenges dominant Māori scholarship which often

[1] *Family.*
[2] *Traditional stories, legends.*
[3] *Face to face.*
NOTE: If any help is required to translate kupu Māori, a great online resource is *Māori Dictionary* at https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

excludes and invisibilizes Māori experiences outside of Aotearoa[4], as if people cease to be Māori once they have left.

This thesis adds to Indigenous diasporic discussions in communicating the fluidity of Māori identity. I argue that Māori have a connection to Aotearoa that is not necessarily tied physically to the whenua, nor bound to preconceptions and measures of history. Understanding our diaspora is essential for considering future implications for Indigenous solidarity, and for cultural growth and retention.

[4] *Aotearoa*- Today, the name Aotearoa is commonly interchangeable with New Zealand although originally only encompassing the North Island (or referencing the long white cloud above). See: Brittney Deguara, "Should New Zealand be officially renamed Aotearoa?" *Stuff,* June 17, 2020, https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/121861371/should-new-zealand-be-officially-renamed-aotearoa. The North Island is also known as Te Ika a Māui; the South Island is Te Waka a Māui or Te Wai Pounamu; and in the 19th Century New Zealand was transliterated as Niu Tīreni, or Nu Tīreni. See: Rāwiri Taonui, "Tapa whenua- naming places: Exploration and naming" *Te Ara- the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* November 24, 2008, https://teara.govt.nz/en/tapa-whenua-naming-places/page-1

HE MIHI: ACKNOWLEDMENTS

Mai i te whaiao ki te ao mārama, tihei mauri ora!

E rere taku mihi ki a Ranginui e tū iho nei, ki a Papatūānuku e takoto ake nei tae atu ki a rāua tamariki nui tonu, e mihi ana. Ki ngā tini mate o te wā, rātou kua whetūrangitia ki te poho o Ranginui, ki te huihuinga o te Kahurangi- moe mai rā, okioki ai. Ki ōku tīpuna, rātou kua parahia te huarahi mā mātou ngā mokopuna kia puāwai, tēnā koutou. Ka hoki āku mihi ki a tātou ngā kanohi ora o rātou mā. E ngā maunga whakahī, e ngā awa whakatere taniwha, mauri ora ki a tātou katoa.

Ko Ngātokimatawhaorua rātou ko Tainui, ko Mataatua ōku waka tīpuna.

Ko Ngāpuhi rātou ko Ngāti Maniapoto, ko Ngāi Tūhoe, ko Ngāti Pākehā ōku iwi.

Ko Te Ahuahu rātou ko Kahuwera, ko Panekire ōku maunga.

Ko Omāpere rātou ko Mōkau, ko Waikaretāheke ngā wai kaukau o ngā mātua tīpuna.

Ko Te Uri Taniwha, ko Ngāti Hineira, ko Ngāti Korohue rātou ko Ngāti Waiora, ko Te Whānau Pani ōku hapū.

Ko Ngāwaiata Henderson tōku ingoa.

Nō reira tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Although the Masters journey is a relatively solitary one, there is no way I would have made it to the end without the help and support of many.

Firstly, to my tīpuna, my ancestors who are forever with me- pai tū pai hinga, kei reira tonu.

I also give thanks to the First Peoples of Australia, to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, and to their elders past, present and emerging. I acknowledge their continual connection to the land of my birth, the land that now nurtures my whānau and whānau whānui

in Australia, Te Whenua Moemoeā. Ki ngā iwi taketake o te ao; to the vast collective of Indigenous Peoples and Cultures across the world, I give thanks to your voices, to your stories, and for keeping the home fires burning. For the smoke that drifts, awakening blood memory and allowing intergenerational healing- tēnā koutou katoa.

To my research whānau, my whānau- to each and every one of you who made time to commit to this kaupapa with so much uncertainty in our lives. Thank you for enriching these pages with your trust, your story, and your truth. Until travel is possible, arohanui.

To Dr Alice Te Punga Somerville- my supervisor, mentor, and guide. Thank you for your unwavering faith in me and my capabilities to see this through. You were the calm in the storm and your insight has been priceless- tēnā rawa atu ki a koe.

To Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao-FMIS, and to the extended academic network of Te Toi o Matariki Māori Graduate Excellence Programme and the University of Waikato- tēnā koutou katoa for your support, the writing retreats, and the laughs. Meeting so many inspirational people has been a highlight of this journey.

I must also give thanks to Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, and Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, for the scholarships awarded to me to undertake this kaupapa, without which, may never have been possible.

To my friends and family- thanks for the laughs, the distractions and the unwavering support and encouragement. I won't list you all; you know who you are.

Ka rere te tai o mihi ki āku kaiako reo, mai i te tīmatatanga o tāku haerenga ki te ako i te reo tae noa ki tēnei wā tonu. Nā koutou te ahi i tahu, i poipoia tōku manawa, kua tau taku tuakiri, taku wairua me taku Māoritanga. Ko tōku reo tōku ohooho, ko tōku reo tōku mārihi maurea.

Nā, ki tōku whānau, āku toka tū moana, mei kore ake ko koutou kore rawa au e tutuki pai ai tēnei tuhinga. Ki āku tamariki, āku kuru pounamu, ko koutou te take, ko koutou ngā rangatira mō āpōpō. E tipu, e rea, e puāwai. E kore e mimiti te aroha.

Nā te rau ringa tēnei tuhinga i oti ai. Ehara tēnei kaupapa mōku ake, mō tōku whānau anake-engari he kaupapa mō te katoa o ngā kākano kua ruiruia mai i Rangiātea ahakoa kei whea tātou noho ai.

Nō reira, mai i taku iti, i taku rahi, tēnei anō e mihi kau atu ki a koutou katoa.

Manawa ora!

HE RĀRANGI KAUPAPA: TABLE OF CONTENTS

TE REO MĀORI GLOSSARY: HE PAPAKUPU

The following is a glossary of te reo Māori words used throughout this thesis in the context that they fit. Each word can have multiple meanings and uses which can be further explored at *Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

Ahakoa he iti, he pounamu- *although small, it is precious*

Ahi kā- *the burning fires of occupation; the home people, those who keep the home fires burning*

Ahi mātao- *the cold, distinguished fire; for those who are disconnected from their home*

Aotearoa- *New Zealand*

Āpōpō- *tomorrow, in future*

Aroha- *love, compassion, empathy*

Atua- *supernatural, elemental being*

Awa- *river*

Haerenga- *journey*

Haka- *a type of dance/ performance often used in times of war, death, or celebration, to show/ invoke strength, power, prestige*

Hāngī- *earth oven; food cooked in the ground with heated stones*

Hapū- *te be pregnant, a subtribe or kinship group*

Harirū- *to shake hands*

He hoa matenga mōku- *my friend/ companion for life through to death*

Hononga ā-tinana- *physical connection*

Hononga ā-wairua- *spiritual connection*

Ingoa- *name*

Iwi- *tribe; overarching kinship group*

Kai- *food, sustenance*

Kāinga- *home*

Kaitiaki- *guardian*

Kanohi ki te kanohi- *face to face*

Kapa- *group*

Karakia- *traditional prayer, to recite chants, invocation*

Karanga- *the formal call of wāhine*

Kaumātua- *elder, grandparent*

Kaupapa- *topic, agenda, initiative*

Kei mua i te aroaro- *in front, in the presence of*

Kete- *a kit/ basket traditionally woven of flax*

Kia hīkoi whakamua tātou- *as we walk forward, progress*

Ko wai koe? *Who are you?*

Kōhanga- *a nest, nursery, bastion*

Kōhanga Reo- *a language learning nest; a te reo Māori early learning centre/ school/ day care*

Kōrero- *to speak, speech*

Kōrero tuku iho- *oral history, traditions*

Kuia- *old woman, nana*

Kura- *school, learning institution*

Kura Kaupapa Māori- *school based on te reo Māori and Māori history and traditions*

Mahi- *work, exercise, practise, activity*

Mamae- *pain, ache, wound, injury*

Mana- *prestige, authority, status, spiritual power*

Mana motuhake- *autonomy, self-determination, self-governance, independence*

Manaakitanga- *hospitality, support; to care for others*

Manene- *a stranger, immigrant, foreigner*

Manuhiri- *a guest, visitor*

Māori- *a collective name for the original people of New Zealand*

Māoritanga- *Māori culture, practices, beliefs; the Māori way of life*

Māra- *garden*

Marae- *a traditional tribal gathering place; the opening in front of the wharenui, or main house, where people gather for formal meeting and discussions. Today, this is often used interchangeably with the wharenui and accompanying spaces/ areas/ rooms/ facilities*

Mataora- *facial tā moko/ tattoo*

Mātāpono- *principle/s*

Mātauranga- *knowledge, wisdom, understanding*

Mātauranga Māori- *Māori knowledge derived from Māori ancestors*

Mau rākau- *Māori weaponry*

Maunga- *mountain*

Mauri- *life essence; the essential quality of a being or entity*

Mere- *a short, flat weapon*

Moana- *ocean, sea*

Moko kauae- *woman's chin tā moko/ tattoo*

Mokomōkai- *a preserved, tattooed head*

Mokopuna- *grandchildren, descendant*

Mokos'- *slang, abbreviated colloquialism for mokopuna*

Motu- *country, land, island*

Ngā mātua tīpuna- *ancestors*

Ngāngara kino- *destructive insect, creepy-crawly*

Ngāti- *prefix for a tribal group; a grouping term*

Ngāti Kangarū- *the kangaroo people*

Nō whea koe? *Where are you from?*

Pākehā- *a New Zealander of European descent; a foreigner*

Papa kāinga- *original home, communal Māori land*

Papa, Papatūānuku- *Earth mother, the earth, from whom Māori and the Māori world originate*

Pātai- *question, to enquire*

Patu- *a club weapon*

Pepeha- *a tribal saying to identify a person's tribal and kinship connections*

Pēpi- *a baby*

Pito- *a section of the umbilical cord traditionally/ customarily buried or hidden in a tribal place of significance*

Poi- *a light ball on a string which is swung to accompany singing; traditionally a tool used to improve wrist strength, movement and dexterity for warriors*

Pōwhiri- *a traditional ritual of encounter, a welcoming ceremony*

Pūkana- *a facial expression with dilated eyes used to incite fear or entice*

Puna- *a pool or spring of water*

Puna reo- *a pool of/ for language; where one can draw from the pool to learn/ gain the language*

Pūrākau- *a traditional story, legend*

Rāwaho- *an outsider, foreigner, not related*

Rangahau- *research*

Rangatiratanga- *self-determination, self-management, right to exercise authority*

Rangi, Ranginui- *Sky father, the sky, the heavens, from whom Māori and the Māori world originate*

Reo rangatira- *te reo Māori, our chiefly language, language of importance*

Rūruhi- *elderly women*

Tā moko- *traditionally form or Māori tattoo*

Taha- *side, part, portion*

Taha Māori- *Māori side*

Taiaha- *a long wooden weapon*

Takahi- *to trample, disregard*

Tamariki- *children*

Tāne- *man, men*

Tāne- *the atua, born from Ranginui & Papatūānuku, who has many names and is attributed to breathing life into the first woman, Hineahuone*

Tangata whenua- *people of the land, another term for Māori and Indigenous Peoples*

Tangihanga, tangi- *rites for the dead; a traditional funeral proceeding*

Taonga- *a treasure, something of value*

Taonga tuku iho- *a gift or treasure from the ancestors*

Tapu- *sacred*

Tauira- *student, pupil*

Tautoko- *to support*

Tāwhiri, Tāwhirimātea- *atua of the winds and attributes*

Te ao hou- *the new world*

Te ao Māori- *the Māori world*

Te ao mārama- *the world of light & life, the physical world*

Te ao tūroa- *the natural world*

Te āpōpō- *the future*

Te ira tangata- *the human element, humans*

Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa- *the Pacific Ocean*

Te reo- *the language*

Te Tai-o-Rehua- *the Tasman Sea*

Te Whenua Moemoeā- *Australia, the land of the dreamtime*

Teina- *younger relative*

Tikanga- *correct procedure, custom, lore, protocol*

Tino rangatiratanga- *self-determination, autonomy*

Tīpuna/ tūpuna- *ancestors*

Te ao wairua- *the spiritual world*

Tū, Tūmatauenga- *atua of war and humans*

Tūāpapa- *foundation*

Tūpāpaku- *dead body, the deceased*

Tūrangawaewae- *a place where a person has the right to stand, to be, derived from whakapapa and kinship ties*

Tūrehu- *fair-skinned 'fairy folk', mythical beings*

Uri- *descendant, offspring*

Urupā- *burial ground*

Wahine- *woman*

Kaupapa Māori- *a Māori approach, using Māori principles*

Waiata- *song, to sing*

Wairua- *spirit, soul; also a feeling or atmosphere*

Wairuatanga- *spirituality*

Waka- *a canoe, traditional seafaring vessel*

Wānanga- *to meet and discuss, to deliberate; a conference; a house of learning*

Whaikōrero- *formal speeches, oration*

Whakaaro- *thought, opinion, understanding*

Whakahīhī- *arrogant, proud, smug*

Whakāiro- *to carve, carving*

Whakamā- *to be ashamed, embarrassed, shy*

Whakamana- *to empower, validate, endorse*

Whakapapa- *genealogy*

Whakapono- *belief*

Whakatupuranga- *generation*

**Whakawhanaungatanga - ** *the process of establishing & building relationships*

Whānau- *family*

Whānau pani- *the bereaved family, relations of the deceased*

Whānau whānui- *extended family*

Whanaunga- *relative*

Whanaungatanga- *relationship, sense of family; friendship or reciprocal relationship*

Whare- *house, building, dwelling*

Whare Wānanga- *a place of higher learning, university*

Wharekura- *secondary school*

Waremate- *house of mourning; sometimes a permanent structure and sometimes erected for a tangi/ tangihanga and then dismantled*

Whāriki- *a mat, ground cover, floor covering*

Whatumanawa- *the seat of emotions, heart*

Whenua- *land*

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE: HE KUPU TAKAMUA: COVID MUSINGS

11/06/2020:

Here I find myself restarting my Masters thesis. A task I had disposed of in the 'too hard' basket. With Aotearoa being in Level 4 lockdown for 4 weeks, and my 4 children being home for 9 weeks I have been torn between being a mother and a student and coming to the realisation that I was being terrible at both. So, I chose to stop focussing on my writing & to be more present with my whānau in the now; in this experience that we may never have again. Time to reflect, time to play and time to grow. Time to stop being guilty for the paragraphs waiting to be written. Time to pause and just be. As a Bansky quote states, "if you get tired, learn to rest, not to quit"(as cited in Wake Up World, 2020).

2020 held so much potential, it has been a year with unprecedented death, anxiety, and unrest. Coming out from Covid-19 lockdowns around the world we saw extreme instances of racism in America with Black people suffering at the hands of White America, at the hands of policemen, those who have taken an oath to 'serve and protect'. Social media has ripped off the band-aid to show the festering underbelly of a nation built with the blood, sweat and tears of Native people, and of African slaves. A nation still reeling from this deeply ingrained, systematic racism. However, unrest is not always a bad thing. It is often only after the greatest turmoil that we see the biggest change, and the time is now. Just like in the separation of Rangi and Papa, where their sons spent countless days and numerous nights debating whether to kill or somehow separate their parents in order to enter into te ao mārama. And then, when Tāne finally succeeded in pushing his parents apart, the myriad of attacks and battles Tāwhiri unleashed on his brothers for their treachery until Tū finally defeated him and Tāwhiri retreated to his father's side. It was from this unrest and bloodshed that we, te ira tangata, came to be.

The Covid-19 lockdown in Aotearoa has shown the strength and ingenuity of Māori and how we can all band together in times of adversity to come out stronger on the other end. Iwi throughout the motu showed their strength and manaakitanga as they created care packages to be distributed to whānau, to ensure nobody was going without the bare necessities. We have stood for Ihumātao, we have stood for Mauna Kea, we have marched for our tamariki and to shout out to the world that Black Lives Matter. We now need to tautoko our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander neighbours who, as the oldest civilisation on the planet, still face so much adversity today under a government that thinks saying 'sorry' is recognising and amending past misdoings. As Māori are well aware, recognising past atrocities is barely scratching the surface of mending intergenerational trauma and building a path forward. As more and more Māori are settling on Australian shores, we need to create meaningful relationships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to stand in solidarity for our tomorrow.

CHAPTER ONE: HE KŌRERO ARATAKI: INTRODUCTION

My kaupapa was an 'idea' that developed into a 'thing' after the birth of our first pēpi on the Gold Coast. It is for our uri that will see why their tīpuna left Aotearoa for Australia- Te Whenua Moemoeā. They will see the challenges their parents faced in re-establishing their pito to the whenua and then they will be able to make informed decisions for their future. This thesis is based on my experience and that of those close to me, which is no longer a rarity as growing numbers of Māori now call Australia home. Most whare have a whānau member or friend who has crossed the ditch, swapping their jandals for thongs. According to an article on *Stuff*, there were more Māori on the Gold Coast than in Hamilton (Heather, 2012) with Queensland (QLD) exceeding the estimated Māori population in 10 of New Zealand's 16 regions (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013, p. 8). In undertaking my rangahau to answer my thesis pātai *What constitutes a Māori identity on the Gold Coast?* And *What does it mean to be 'Māori on the Gold Coast?* I seek to understand:

- the reasons Māori move to the Gold Coast and decide whether or not to stay;
- how Māori see themselves and their construction of a modern Māori identity; how they are "being Māori" outside of Aotearoa;
- the wants and needs of Māori on the Gold Coast regarding their identity, reo, tikanga, and for 'Indigenous' spaces to gather in mourning, in prayer, in learning and in celebration;
- the similarities and differences of Australian-born and New Zealand-born Māori on the Gold Coast.

This research directly addresses both current and future issues for Māori and their countries of residence as the number of Māori moving to Australia, moving back and forth across the Tasman, and being born in Australia is increasing.

I, like many others today, am a product of intergenerational cultural disconnect. My tīpuna moved away from their kāinga, their tūrangawaewae, to pursue opportunities to better provide for their whānau and create legacies for their oncoming whakatupuranga. Internal, urban migration turned into trans-Tasman migration and there are now Māori diasporic communities all around the world with Australia hosting the largest. We are a Peoples who are still reeling from the effects of colonisation with mass migration from our tribal regions; and yet, our tīpuna can't be blamed for doing what they had to at the time and for wanting the best for their whānau. This is why I find it important not to focus on the disparities between Māori in Aotearoa and those on the Gold Coast, not to get stuck on 'disconnections' and 'losses', but to gain and share insight into the lived realities of many Māori in the 21st Century.

'Mozzie', 'Ngāti Kangarū', 'Ngāti Skippy' and 'Plastic' (Haami, 2018, p. 198) are some of the terms thrown around to label Māori living in Australia- all of which assume difference and inauthenticity. Yet if Covid-19 has taught us anything it is that tikanga must be flexible in order to be tika, to safeguard our whakapapa, our future. To continue to romanticise and idealise our tikanga and practices, we run the risk of being stuck there in the past. Our tīpuna were voyagers, travelling vast distances and overcoming many obstacles on their way. They mixed and traded with other cultures, adapting to new technologies and knowledge. We are currently at an intersection where traditional tikanga is crossing with modernity, where ancient knowing is being transmitted through technology. Diasporic communities are a valuable resource and can be useful in development, in business and in promoting culture. We are a testament that not all rāwaho, not all who are ahi mātao, are a lost cause to iwi, for why do we put so much emphasis on keeping the home fires burning, if there is no one to welcome home? In fact, in many ways the diaspora can be hungrier to find a sense of belonging, to reconnect to the whenua o ngā mātua tīpuna; having a longing to understand ancient knowledges and find ways to incorporate

them into our modern lives. Ko te ao hou tēnei; we are all tīpuna in becoming so what is it we are leaving for our āpōpō?

Although I have tried, we can no longer ignore the long-lasting affects that the Covid-19 pandemic is having on the world and of how this affects us as Māori where, in many instances, whānau are separated from each other by Te Tai-o-Rehua, the Tasman Sea. Many events have had to be forgone or pushed back to a later, unknown date. Whānau are not only separated by sea, but also by governments and by the closing of international borders to keep at bay this ngāngara kino that has killed many in its path of destruction. Our world has lost its 'normal'. Our Westernised, globalised, markets have come crashing down bringing world leaders to their knees trying to recoup as many losses as possible. The world is in major damage control mode which has in some ways cleared the path for Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies to come forward. In Aotearoa, the manaakitanga shown by iwi in our lockdown period and beyond by delivering food and care packages has shown the truth strength of Māori communities doing their part for the greater collective. Aroha has been given freely and whānau, hapū and iwi have joined in virtual wānanga to ensure the best outcomes for their people.

We have needed to adapt and, as expressed by Rangi Matamua (Mahi Tahi Media, 2020, 34:05-34:10), "Whakamoe i ētahi tikanga kia ora anō ai ētahi atu tikanga"- to put certain customs and protocols to the side in order to maintain others. This has been implemented with the need to conduct certain tikanga and cultural ceremonies in a virtual environment. Our marae were closed, yet our whānau were still dying. With nowhere to hold tangihanga, online spaces were created for whānau to farewell their loved ones and send them on their final haerenga in the best way we were able to do so. Although not previously unheard of- as the tangihanga of several Māori dignitaries have been streamed online- it had certainly not been common practice

because it raises questions of authenticity and issues involving tapu and wairuatanga (Sciascia, 2016). Due to Covid-19, marae, iwi, kōhanga, and various Māori organisations were streaming live karakia and kōrero sessions to ensure whānau still felt a sense of connectedness and whanaungatanga. It has been a time to reflect on our mātauranga Māori and the teachings of our tīpuna, to turn our attention inwards and focus on whānau, on planting māra, and on our own self-growth. Lockdown forced whānau to become more familiar with technology to stay connected - celebrations, milestones and losses were all shared in an online environment, once again to maintain feelings of connectedness and support. This provides an interesting element in moving forward as online spaces are increasingly being accepted as a means to retain and share tikanga and cultural practices that will also have many implications for whānau affected by physical distance and the ocean divide, a divide which can crossed, even forgotten, over the internet (Lopesi, 2018, p. viii).

In many ways this thesis is, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states, “a celebration of survival” (p. 146). It is a way of asserting our tino rangatiratanga, that yes, we may be Australian-born, we may have found a home away from home on the Gold Coast, we may be rāwaho and have much to learn, but we are still Māori, the living embodiments of our tīpuna, constantly paving the way forward for our whakatupuranga hou, for those yet to come, to follow or learn from our mistakes. In the process of re-learning who I am as Māori it has given me the sustenance to battle these challenges and, in turn, eventually creating a space for our Māoritanga that is now a normality in my children’s whakaaro, a way of being. This is a journey that will never end but is a journey that must be pursued lest the burden be left on coming generations. Through my research, I hope to open a door for diasporic Māori to stand with pride in their identity and how they have shaped themselves to fit in their world, to survive. This is a kaupapa that is much bigger than myself, my whānau and even Māori on the Gold Coast. It can transfer over to other Indigenous and/or diasporas worldwide highlighting how culture and identity are

adaptable, resilient, and not necessarily tied physically to land or bound to the preconceptions and measures of history.

Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous research paradigms are about transforming communities; we can't simply cut and paste what works here and expect it to work in another country. We can't impose our tikanga on the land of a Peoples commonly regarded as the oldest continual culture in the world. Instead, new pathways need to be forged to work harmoniously in Indigenous solidarity. To create new pathways for Māori on the Gold Coast we need to have a grounded understanding of what it means to be Māori on the Gold Coast. It is through listening to the narratives of whānau living on the Gold Coast that this insight can be gained. Conducting research amongst your own whānau, iwi and hapū is another key element of Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous research, where building relationships based on reciprocity is paramount, as is giving back to your community.

Through discussion with whānau, I am looking into constructions of identity and notions of belonging for Māori on the Gold Coast. Different conversations have arisen for different communities on the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast culture and identity is separate to that of larger Australia, although there are particularities that cross and connect across the States and Territories. There are some topics and issues that have been a major focus to some communities, but not to all. My research whānau[5] are connected to myself and each other through me, my tāne and our tamariki, and fall into two loose categories of either emigrating

[5] *Research whānau* is the grouping term, or label, for those who have contributed to my research through the sharing of their stories and experiences. Due to my personal connection to each member, I prefer to use this term over the more commonly used 'research participants'. I must acknowledge my peer and hoa, Petera Hudson, where I first saw the term *research whānau* used in such a context. See Petera Hudson, "Can te ao Māori worldviews exist within a western institute's online teaching and learning environment?'" (Masters thesis, The University of Waikato, University of Waikato Research Commons, 2020), 44, https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13880

over to Australia as adults seeking greater opportunities, or in being born and raised in Australia as a result of their parents' emigration. Participants were guided to share their life story and voice their own experiences through a narrative story-telling approach with which I have also immersed my own voice and narrative throughout to position myself in the research, to highlight the relationships and relationality between myself and my participants, and to give back something to our whānau- to our tamariki, mokopuna.

My formative years were spent grappling with the idea that I was Australian but that half of my whānau happened to be Māori and the other half Pākehā. I was perpetually lost in liminal space, where I was always somewhat accepted and yet always somewhat on the outside. I now choose to foreground my Māori identity as it is something that I have felt missing for so long. This is not done to silence or disregard my Pākehā ancestry, of which I am also proud. Our colonial history is fraught and contentious, yet I will always claim my taha Pākehā when delivering my pepeha and will also state that I am Australian-born. I prefer to place myself rather than have others try to decide it for me, as ultimately these are all important aspects that make me who I am. I choose to position myself as Indigenous to show that Indigenous voice still matters and has value in our 21st Century modern world. I choose to draw on, and to foreground, the growing pool of Indigenous voices in Indigenous Studies- from writers, researchers, and creatives alike- to show that we have not disappeared, and that our ancient epistemologies and mātauranga carry on across the reaches and the depths of our vast oceans.

My usage of the term *Māori* throughout is as an overarching label for those with, and who acknowledge whakapapa Māori. Use of the term in this way can be contentious as it ties back to our colonial history and the acts of naming and claiming, of being subjugated and treated as other; being labelled as 'Māori' as the binary to 'Pākehā' (also a contentious word to many), which I use to distinguish New Zealanders of European heritage. I understand that Māori are

not a homogenous group, and this is in no way used to take away or to water down one's identification to hapū and iwi. It is merely used in this way to simplify my writing. Many Māori in Aotearoa prefer the term *Tangata Whenua*, literally meaning people of the land, which does not lend itself to such a use in the Australian context. Similarly, I wish to acknowledge my use of the term *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI)* as an overarching term for the Indigenous Peoples of what is now Australia. Originally grouped as clans and mobs, 'Aboriginal' is like 'Māori', another label originating from the arrival of the British. I am mindful that there is a robust conversation in Indigenous communities in Australia about their preferences for language to describe themselves. My use of the acronym *ATSI* is in no way intended to diminish the mana or authority of the diversity of these ancient cultures, but for ease of writing and expression.

Contrary to the large population of Māori in Australia, there is limited literature about the Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast or about modern-day Māori and ATSI relationships. In fact, there is little academic historical account on Māori and ATSI connections at all despite recognition of oral histories of Māori and ATSI peoples trading pre-colonisation (Hamer, 2007). Alice Te Punga Somerville (2014) has given voice to the historical footprint and the effects of early Māori contact in Parramatta[6] and similarly, Maarama Kamira (2016) has provided a detailed timeline of the Māori presence in Parramatta from 1793.[7] A considerable amount of research on Māori in Australia has been undertaken by Paul Hamer from 2007 to 2018. Hamer uses historical evidence and statistical data drawn from the National Census of each nation to illuminate the trans-Tasman travel of Māori to Australian shores. Additionally, Tahu Kukutai

[6] Alice Te Punga Somerville, "Living on New Zealand Street: Maori presence in Parramatta", *Ethnohistory, 61*(4), (2014), 655-669, https://doi:10.1215/00141801-2717813

[7] Maarama Kamira, *Māori trade & relations in Parramatta* (City of Parramatta, 2016).

and Shefali Pawar's (2013) study[8] helps to provide a comprehensive demographic and socio-economic profile of Māori in Australia by comparing data from Australia's 2006 Census to the 2011 Australian Census. Many of these findings are used in this thesis as a foundation and to further contextualise the experiences of my research whānau.

Although an abundance of research on Māori identity constructions and measures exist here in Aotearoa[9] with a focus on the effects of urban migration on Māori identity and customs, little shows what it is to be Māori in Australia without noting comparisons and deficits in relation to Māori in Aotearoa. Likewise, scholarship is rare on the many complexities and ramifications of an Indigenous Peoples residing on the land of another.[10] The little scholarship that has been undertaken is not readily available and/or transferred over to Aotearoa signalling that Māori lose their voice as Māori once they leave Aotearoa, nullifying their experiences and the value of their opinions. I have been fortunate to be introduced to Innez Haua, a Māori academic living and raising her family in Sydney, who has conducted research on Māori living in Australia, their attitudes towards ATSI peoples, and their entangled histories in her 2015 Honours dissertation,[11] as well as in her subsequent Masters thesis.[12] In many ways my mahi extends on

---

[8] Tahu Kukutai & Shefali Pawar, *"A socio-demographic profile of Māori living in Australia*", 2013, *NIDEA working papers No.3.* (University of Waikato, National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis), https://hdl.handle.net/10289/7978

[9] An example of this can be seen in: Lara M. Greaves et al., "The multidimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement: Measurement equivalence across diverse Māori groups," *New Zealand Journal of Psychology,* 46(1), 24- 35 (2017).

[10] Emalani Case addresses the multi-layered complexities of being Kanaka Maoli and living and working in Aotearoa. See: Center for Pacific Island Studies, "Emalani Case: Keynote address, 2021 Center for Pacific Islands Studies Student Conference" (2021), YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qKPdkKEBJt8

[11] Innez Haua, "Comrades in common, or clash of cultures? Perception of Māori identity, and solidarity between Māori and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia", 2015, (Unpublished Honours dissertation, Western Sydney University).

[12] Innez Haua, "The little whare in Waterloo: Thinking about Māori in Australia" 2017, (Masters thesis, Macquarie University), http://hdl.handle.net/1959.14/1267886

this work where I look at constructions of Māori identity on the Gold Coast (as opposed to Sydney), and where I am able to include a larger pool of participants with a variety of emigrant and Australian-born Māori experiences. Through Innez's research, I encountered the doctorate of another wahine Māori scholar now situated in Sydney, Roseanna Henare-Solomona,[13] looking at how identity and culture changes when Māori migrate to Australia. Her rangahau is based on a Kaupapa Māori framework detailing many interactions and perspectives from the local ATSI Peoples in her community.

Research on the Māori diaspora and diaspora in general, for communities that have dispersed throughout the Pacific and further afield, has been instrumental in weaving together a solid and growing foundation for Indigenous diasporic discussions;[14] this is a key objective of this kaupapa. It is encouraging to know that although not abundant, there are Māori in Australia, and those who belong/ have belonged to the Māori diaspora, who are analysing and writing about their experiences, realising that it is a must for the future, for Indigenous solidarity between cultures, and for understanding future implications for cultural growth and retention.

Titiro Whakamuri, Kōkiri Whakamua: Historical Context

One must look back to move forward; one must understand history as a framework to build a future. This section contextualises and frames my kaupapa and the current climate of migration,

[13] Roseanna Henare-Solomona, "Whakaaro rua-Two ways of knowing: Understanding how identity and culture changes when Maori migrate across the Tasman to live in Australia" 2012, (Doctoral thesis, University of Western Sydney, Western Sydney University Thesis Collection), http://handle.uws.edu.au:8081/1959.7/520058

[14] Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once were Pacific: Maori connections to Oceania,* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012, https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctttt8gw; Karamea Wright, "A study of iwi communication between Te Tau Ihu iwi and intergenerational diasporic whānau", 2019, (Masters thesis, The University of Waikato, University of Waikato Research Commons), https://hdl.handle.net/10289/12600

constructions of Māori identity, and the historical and complex relationships between Indigenous cultures.

As descendants of Polynesian ancestors who left Hawaiki in search of Aotearoa due to a growing lack of resources and increasing chances of strife, Māori are no strangers to migration (Walker, 2004, p. 24). Our arrival to Aotearoa can be a contentious discussion- some even doubting our seafaring abilities by claiming we drifted here by chance (Taonui, 1994, p. 2). For some, our origins are from great waka that traversed the Pacific, and for others we begin with the land, such as Ngāi Tūhoe - ngā tamariki o te kohu, the children of the mist - who descend from the union of Te Maunga (the mountain Maungapōhatu) and Hinepūkohurangi (the mist maiden). It is told that when the Mataatua waka arrived in Whakatāne, they found three tribes already living there, Ngā Pōtiki, Te Tini o Toi and Te Hapū-oneone, with whom they intermarried, overtime becoming Ngāi Tūhoe (McGarvey, 2017).

Following Dutchman Abel Tasman's brief encounter with Māori[15] in 1642 (Walker, 2004, p. 78), Englishman Captain James Cook arrived in 1769, 1772 and 1776, circumnavigating and mapping both islands (Salmond, 1991, 1997). Cook returned to Britain with the news of an exciting new land and prospective opportunities for the empire, thus enticing more and more tauiwi to our shores for trade and settlement. In an effort to protect Aotearoa from other (non-British) foreign interests, for trading purposes, and to better control the growing lawlessness of British settlers, *He Whakaputanga*- the Declaration of Independence was signed[16] (Walker,

[15] Tasman was greeted by hostile Māori of Te Wai Pounamu; due to hostilities he never set foot on the land of New Zealand. See Ranginui Walker, *Ka whawhai tonu mātou. Struggle without end,* (Penguin Books, 2004), 78.

[16] *He Whakaputunga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni- The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand* was initially signed by 34 rangatira on 28 October 1835. An additional 18 chiefs signed in subsequent years. See Ibid., 88.

2004, p. 88). This asserted that Aotearoa was under the sovereign authority of iwi and hapū, and that non-Māori were unable to make laws. Over time however, the colonists concluded that Māori were too much of a tribal society and could not all come together to govern the country as a whole (Walker, 2004, p. 89). This then led to *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*- The Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed February 6, 1840,[17] barely seven months after the final signature on He Whakaputanga (Mikaere, 2011, p. 129). A source of much contention today, by both Māori and Pākehā, are the significant differences between Te Tiriti, written in te reo Māori, and The Treaty, translated into English, particularly regarding Māori ceding their sovereignty (and therefore their land and resources) to the Crown. Essentially, this document opened Aotearoa's borders to large-scale settlement and colonisation where multiple Acts, policies and legislation were created to claim Aotearoa for the Crown. The combination of the Land Wars, the Musket Wars of the 1820s, and foreign disease, saw the Māori population decline by 40% in 1840, down to approximately 45,000 (Walker, 2004, pp. 80-81). By 1896, our extinction was being confidently predicted by the colonist (Mikaere, 2011, p. 151). Māori were displaced from their lands, forced to abandon their language and spiritual beliefs, had their children removed, and had a much lower life expectancy from disease and unsavoury living conditions (Mikaere, 2011; Brooking, 2018). All of which, we are still overcoming, dismantling, and reclaiming today.

Ka Mate i Kāinga Tahi, Ka Ora i Kāinga Rua: Urban Migration

After the New Zealand Land Wars, two World Wars and growing displacement from tribal lands, many Māori were forced into urban centres to survive. Paringatai (2018, p. 270) found

[17] *Te Tiriti* was initially signed by some 40 rangatira at Waitangi, after which copies were circulated for signing in both te reo and English resulting in 500 more signatories; only 39 of these signed the English version (*The Treaty*). See Ani Mikaere, *Colonising myths-Māori realties. He rukuruku whakaaro,* (Huia Publishers, 2011) 129.

the main driver for Māori leaving their papa kāinga and moving to the city was employment, and by 2006 84.4% of Māori belonged to the urban Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, Official New Zealand Yearbook (1936-2008), as cited in Paringatai, 2018, p. 271). Urbanisation bought many new challenges to Māori as they had to navigate living in a Pākehā dominant society for the first time. Melissa Matutina Williams (2015) details the many challenges faced by Panguru migrants to the city using the whakataukī "Ka mate i kāinga tahi, ka ora i kāinga rua", explaining that "when people languish in their home of birth, they may find new life in a home away from home" (p. 38). She details that although Māori were dispersed through Pākehā neighbourhoods in the 1950s,[18] they would still gather for celebrations, socialising and sports, becoming a pan-tribal community (p. 94).

Bradford Haami (2018) highlights the struggles urban Māori faced in gaining recognition from 'traditional', 'tribal dwelling' Māori to claim an urban identity outside and apart from an individual's direct whakapapa connections. Likewise, he details the many challenges faced in setting up pan-tribal, urban marae to suit the needs of those living in these cities on the land of other hapū, iwi. Resistance came from elders and those still living on their home marae believing that it was a break in tikanga to establish marae on non-tribal whenua whilst "participating in the economy and culture of the Pākehā" (p. 44), that it would diminish the mana of marae. However, the collective needs and desires for city dwellers to have a space to call 'home', to continue cultural practices and tikanga won out in the end with Ranginui Walker (as cited in Haami, 2018) reaching the conclusion "that the close proximity to Pākehā sharpened a minority group's identity", and that "a new-pan-Māori identity was emerging out

[18] This method is now termed a 'pepper-potting policy' and was intentionally used to encourage assimilation into a Pākehā lifestyle and discouraging Māori communities. See Melissa Williams *Panguru and the city: Kāinga tahi, kāinga rua: An urban migration history*, (Bridget Williams Books, 2015) 94.

of the experience of urbanisation, and that Māori . . . . were still very much committed to their Māori identity" (p. 63).

The urban Māori experience draws many parallels to those of diasporic Māori, where authenticity is often seen as lacking, with constant comparisons to traditional ideals. This lateral violence conforms to the colonial thinking that if "we are "only half", or once we become urbanized or non-language speakers…. we no longer exist. We are no longer Native" (Anderson, 2000, p. 6). Many Māori in Australia are either speaking or focused on learning their reo and tikanga (Haami, 2018, p. 199). They are participating in kapa haka (as seen at Te Matatini) and show up in full force to sporting events, music events, Waitangi Day festivals and such, hungry for whakawhanaungatanga and a sense of community, familiarity and belonging, yet they are still often considered as "plastic" or inauthentic Māori. Again, this resonates with Anderson's (2000) argument about how "'tradition' and 'ceremony' can thus be damaging if we use it in a static or fundamentalist way to interrogate how 'Native' we are" (p. 7).

Te Whenua Moemoeā: The Australian Experience

I cannot go on to talk about Māori on the Gold Coast without acknowledging Australia's own Indigenous and colonial history. Again, due to the scope of this thesis I can only provide a brief overview of Australia's rich, diverse, and contentious history and how it has helped shape modern attitudes. One would think that being born and raised on the Gold Coast for twenty-five years I would have a sound understanding of Australian and Indigenous history, however as a child in the QLD education system from the 90s through to the 2000s, much is lacking and is still new knowledge to me today.

The Indigenous Peoples of Australia, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (ATSI), inhabited the continent now known as Australia over an estimated 40,000 – 60,000 years prior to European settlement (Dockery, 2010). They are as diverse as the continent itself with vast differences from coast to coast and all that is in between, and again there are also overarching similarities. The term Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander represents two distinct groups of peoples - the Aboriginal Peoples who inhabited mainland Australia and Tasmania, and the Torres Strait Islander Peoples who are from the islands (approximately 100) between Australia and Papua New Guinea (Dudgeon et al., 2010). These islands were annexed by QLD in 1879, thenceforth politically interlinking and combining the Torres Strait Islands as a part of QLD (Dudgeon et al., 2010).

Captain Cook claimed the East Coast of Australia's New South Wales (NSW) in 1770. When British settlers colonised Australia in 1788, there was a population of over 750,000 Indigenous Peoples with an estimated 500 clan groups and 250 different Indigenous languages spoken, each with their own unique beliefs and cultures (Hinton, 2020). Although Cook documented sightings and exchanges with ATSI peoples, the continent was claimed by the principle of *terra nullius*[19]. The settlers' European gaze could not recognise the Indigenous systems of class, agriculture, or housing, thus discrediting them as inferior and insignificant and this has had ramifications to this day. Australia's Indigenous Peoples were therefore effectively left out of the 1901 Constitution, taking away their rights to vote, to co-create legislation or to be counted in population counting (Williams, 2014, The Constitution). ATSI Peoples only gained full and equal voting rights in 1965 (Korff, 2020) and it was not until the ground-breaking *Mabo* case of 1992 that Australia was recognised as not being *terra nullius* and that "British claims to

[19] Land belonging to no one.

possession of Australia were justified on a wrongful legal presumption that Indigenous peoples had no settled law governing occupation and use of lands" (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, n.d.).

Typical of the expansion of the British Empire, Australia's Indigenous communities were decimated. They were cut off from their land, killed off by foreign diseases, suffered brutal massacres, and poisoning (Elder, 2003). Colin Tatz (2011) argues that Australia's colonisation was in fact a form of genocide, not so much in method but rather in the "central and compelling intent of 'erasing the Aboriginal presence'" (p. 18). This was carried out through intentional killing of ATSI peoples, through the removal of ATSI children by force "with the intention of 'transforming' them into members of another group" (p. 16), and that their forced relocation, isolation, and segregation contributed to conditions that caused mental and physical harm, assisting in their physical destruction[20] (p. 16).

This is but a mere summary of events that have shaped the Australian nation, highlighting the dark, racist undertones of her foundation. Just as Māori lives are shaped by the last 200 years of our colonisation, so too are those of the ATSI peoples. With more Indigenous scholarship in existence today, a more balanced version of history, events and knowledge is being shared with the world. This 'new' knowledge is often heavily contested, rebutted and even refused. One key example is the case of Bruce Pascoe's award-winning[21] *Dark Emu* (2014), which has also

[20] These specifically link to Articles II and III of the 1948 Genocide Convention. See Colin Tatz, *"Genocide in Australia: By accident or design?"*, (Presented at the Indigenous Human Rights and History, Monash University, 2011), 15.

[21] Indigenous Writer's Prize and the Book of the Year in the 2016 NSW Premier's Literary Awards. See Lorena Allam (2019. para. 24) "Dark Emu's infinite potential: 'Our kids have grown up in a fog about the history of the land," *The Guardian,* May 23, 2019, para 24, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/may/24/dark-emus-infinite-potential-our-kids-have-grown-up-in-a-fog-about-the-history-of-the-land

been reshaped into a text for younger readers[22] and to create a resource for high school geography.[23] Pascoe's work challenges readers to rethink their preconceived ideas of ATSI Peoples pre-colonisation and the 'myth' of the nomadic hunter gatherer which has been widely accepted as an excuse for colonisation. He asks his readers to consider how a Peoples with no knowledge of agriculture, farming, or housing (as purported by British settlers) were able to sustain themselves and thrive for the tens of thousands of years prior to colonisation? Through analysis of settler journals, Pascoe (2014) notes that it is clear "that few were here to marvel at a new civilisation; they were here to replace it" (p. 13), thus overlooking any forms of Aboriginal "industry and ingenuity applied to food production" (p. 12). It is clear that presenting 'new' history can be extremely contentious, but it is also important to question the history that has been fed to us and why, particularly opening up dialogue in our youth to critically analyse different viewpoints and come to their own conclusions.

Being away from Australia for ten years, I feel that I have missed many steps forward in the acknowledgement and recognition of ATSI cultures in Australia. I can recall being at university in Brisbane, 2008, when then-prime minister Kevin Rudd issued an apology to ATSI peoples on behalf of the government, acknowledging and saying 'sorry' for the mistreatment of ATSI Peoples by successive parliaments and "especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country, that have caused profound grief, suffering and loss by the Stolen generations and their families" (National Museum Australia, n.d.-b). Since the apology, it seems the ATSI Peoples now

[22] *Young Dark Emu* Ibid., para. 25.

[23] *Dark Emu in the Classroom*. See Simone Barlow & Ashlee Horyniak, *Dark Emu in the classroom: Teacher resources for high school geography,* (Magabala Books, 2019).

receive greater public acknowledgement in Australia. There are now dedicated 'Indigenous' broadcasting stations and it is not uncommon to see an 'Acknowledgement of Country[24], or a 'Welcome to Country[25]' used to open certain events; businesses and organisations have also adopted these acknowledgments for various publications, websites, and materials. This recognition is admittedly a step forward from the denial of past generations, but it must be done with sincerity and action to avoid being tokenism. Lynette Russell (2018) reflected that "with a decade of hindsight, the national apology can be seen to stand as a momentous, but ultimately futile, gesture". This is based on the continued over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system, the higher mortality, lower life expectancy and alarming suicide rates. Additionally, Australia's Indigenous people are still underrepresented in academia, government, the health sector and more (Russell, 2018).

In many aspects, ATSI Peoples share a common history with other Indigenous Peoples. A stark difference, however, is that Australia is the only Commonwealth nation that has never had a treaty with its Indigenous Peoples (Williams, 2014, p. 3); that, unlike Australia, the other countries have recognised "that true reconciliation requires a treaty" (p. 5). Williams (2014) explains that there has been a lot of recent movement by the states and territories of Australia towards creating treaties with the traditional clans of the area, a move that has been deferred and avoided since settlement despite various attempts to do so. He notes that positive change depends upon the ATSI Peoples being having more control over their lives and not having the government make laws for them rather than with them (pp. 4-5). On October 17, 2019, QLD had its first of twenty-six state-wide treaty consultation sessions with the ATSI community in

[24] Where traditional owners are recognised.

[25] Which can only be done by a traditional owner of that area.

Cairns, following on from similar plans in South Australia, the Northern Territory and Victoria (Korff, 2019). As the last Indigenous Peoples to negotiate a treaty/ treaties, the ATSI Peoples have the promising opportunity to learn from other Indigenous nations and build a best fit for their own needs on the path of reconciliation, but they must be front and centre for all matters.

Māori Diaspora

Diasporic journeys are essentially about settling down, about putting roots elsewhere (Brah, 1996, p.179). Initially, 'diaspora' was a term reserved to describe the dispersion of Jewish people from Babylon but now extends to "include all forms of migration and dispersion of a people, even where no migration is involved" (Bruneau, 2010, p.35). Māori diasporic communities are situated worldwide, with the largest concentration in Australia, but there are also those in North America including Hawai'i, the United Kingdom, Ireland, parts of Asia and the Middle East (Kukutai, 2012, p. 1).

William Safran (1991) devised a general framework to determine diasporic communities by those groups who share several of the following characteristics, many of which are evident in my research whānau and are elaborated on in *Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion*:

1) They, or their ancestors, are dispersed from an original centre to at least two peripheral places
2) Maintain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland
3) Believe they are not fully accepted by their host country
4) See the ancestral home as their 'true', 'ideal' home and as a place of eventual return
5) Are committed to the maintenance and restoration of their homeland; its safety and prosperity; and

6) Continue to relate to their homeland, and that their consciousness and solidarity are defined by this relationship (p. 83-84).

As Indigenous Peoples have such an intimate and spiritual connection to land and place it can be a difficult concept for those who will not, or who never have left their tūrangawaewae to grasp the experiences of those that do leave. This is a cause of contention and divide between many Māori which is even evident in my discussions with people about my research. For some they see it as timely and highly relevant, and for others they ask why? They don't see the relationship nor the significance of difference between Māori in Aotearoa and 'other' Māori elsewhere. To some, once Māori leave Aotearoa they are on their own, reducing their claim to 'Māori' membership. They are, sometimes unknowingly, re-colonising and marginalising their own people "threatening Indigenous peoples very existence as Indigenous peoples" (Simpson, 2017, p. 177). So strong is this constant need to prove mana whenua, to retain the rights to our tribal land, that we forget that to ao Māori is not confined to Aotearoa, that our identity is not bound within her borders and that our ancestors were constantly travelling Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, making and retaining relationships with our Polynesian whanaunga. Those of our neighbouring islands are much more open and clear in their expression of this greater Pacific nation, also known as the Moana or Oceania (Lopesi, 2018, p. ix), where our "sea of islands"[26] is located, further conceptualising and addressing issues of diasporic movement. They often communicate how there are times to bind together as Peoples of Oceania, and there are times to retreat within, to seek the counsel of our direct ancestors- to the whenua and country. This relates to the ebb and flow of our great Pacific Ocean that is in a constant flux, reaching

[26] Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our sea of islands", *The Contemporary Pacific, 6*(1), 148- 161 (1994), 153-157.

outwards and pulling inwards (Lorre-Johnston, 2018, p. 77); creating space to reimagine and remember that our islands are not divided by the invisible lines charted onto maps (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 153).

In *Once Were Pacific* (2012) Alice Te Punga Somerville asks, "How can we imagine a form of Indigenous diaspora that neither limits the claims Māori can make about connection to specific place nor limits the capacity of Māori to be understood as mobile?" (p. 85). She continues to describe the complexities of Māori diasporas through the metaphor of a manu aute soaring in the sky. This kite made of the aute plant which arrived in Aotearoa through the voyages of our Polynesian ancestors, is a metaphor for strength, resilience and adaptation to new circumstances whilst retaining the essential essence of home. The string of the kite is also a metaphor for this connection to 'home', "a string that works best when it is taut" (pp. 85-86). Diasporic Māori are significant in number and cannot be ignored. With the likelihood that one fifth of Māori now live in Australia (Hamer, 2008, 2012, 2017; Kukutai & Pawar, 2013; Ravulo, 2015), we must consider future implications and the importance of building and maintaining reciprocal relationships between Māori in Aotearoa and those of the diaspora. Tā Mason Durie (2011) noted that the diaspora can increase the capacity to contribute to Indigenous resilience with an increase in new skills, networks, and vision and that many tribes in Aotearoa "have remained resilient not in spite of the diaspora but because of the diaspora" (p. 40). Paul Hamer (2007, p.168) shares this sentiment, concluding that the trans-Tasman flow of people, money, ideas, and language means that Māori development should no longer be seen simply in terms of Aotearoa and that Māori success in Australia can motivate Māori development in Aotearoa just as Māori cultural revival in Aotearoa can offer sustenance to Māori in Australia. This can be seen with the likes of Australian-born Jeremy MacLeod, who returned to Aotearoa at 17 and has since become a stalwart for te reo Māori, particularly in his iwi of Ngāti Kahungungu (Yates, 2020). Similarly, Australian-born Stan Walker who shot to

fame in 2009 after winning 'Australian Idol'[27], who has since returned to Aotearoa, promoting both Māori and Indigenous struggles.[28] It is hard not to notice the vast number of Māori and Pasifika sportspeople finding success in Australia, and the growing amount of Māori businesses promoting their goods from Australia, contributing to this trans-Tasman, and international, flow of people and resources. It is important that we not only celebrate the success and achievements, however valid, of Māori in Australia, but that we are also more accepting of those who are trying to do the best for themselves, their whānau, tamariki and mokopuna. As my research findings will show, Māori on the Gold Coast retain a connection to Aotearoa that needs to be fostered for enduring relationships to flourish; that the kite must not be let go of lest it can never be retrieved.

The Gold Coast- A Slice of Paradise

The Australian Census (2016) recorded a total of 142,107 Māori in Australia. QLD is now the state with the highest Māori population, where 37% of Māori in Australia are situated. The Gold Coast is a metropolitan region of QLD that extends from the border of NSW up to Brisbane, QLD's capital city, on Australia's east coast. The Gold Coast is host to the largest concentration of Māori in Australia,[29] where 21% of QLD's Māori population reside. **See Table 1.**

[27] Australian Idol is televised singing competition where contestants are competing to win by a process of elimination. They are challenged each week to sing in various styles where their position in the competition relies on the votes of the Australian public.

[28] Since returning to Aotearoa, Walker has released an autobiography which details his life and struggles with identity as growing up Māori and living in both Australia and Aotearoa. See: Stan Walker, *Impossible: My story,* (HarperCollins Publishers, 2020).

[29] The Gold Coast Māori (ancestry) population grew by a staggering 86% from 2001 to 2006. See Paul Hamer, "One in six? The rapid growth of the Māori population in Australia", *New Zealand Population Review, 33*(34), 153-176 (2008), 167.

Table 1: Māori population in Australia, Queensland and the Gold Coast in 2016 (adapted from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2016 Census of Population and Housing, as cited in .ID-the population experts, n.d.).

AUSTRALIA		QUEENSLAND		GOLD COAST	
Māori population	as a % of Australia	Māori population	as a % of Australia	Māori population	as a % of QLD
142,107	0.6	53,651	37	11,737	21

My research is concentrated in a tiny corner of south-east Queensland which borders on Tweed Heads, NSW- this is where my family has called home for some thirty-eight years and where I was born, this is "my" Gold Coast which, in my (recent) understanding, is situated on the country of the Yugambeh and the Bundjalung language Peoples. The Gold Coast is home to world famous beaches and surf breaks, rainforests, theme parks, fancy cuisine and five-star resorts; from the forest to the sea it boasts bustling tourism, luxury real estate and prime entertainment. With British settlement, many ATSI Peoples were displaced from their traditional country in what is now known as the Gold Coast and the current population make up is a diverse mix of those who are descended from traditional ATSI people of the region, and others who have relocated from other regions (Aird, n.d.).

Settler Colonialism in the Land of Milk & Honey

Genocide, colonisation, segregation, assimilation. These are all terms we are familiar with when looking into Indigenous history. Last year, I was introduced to settler colonialism where I was shown that "in order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 6). At the time it took little effort to digest that concept. I saw how Australia and New Zealand were colonial outposts of the British Empire and how Pākehā and White Australians with their colonial ideals desecrated Indigenous peoples, knowledges, languages, and lands. It is understanding Wolfe

(2006) when he explains that "settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event" (p. 388), and that settler colonial societies are built on structures that continue the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples to land, resources and self- determination with "persistent, institutionalized policies of elimination" (Fujikane, 2008, p. 10). I saw settler colonialism as a part of our history, as something the "white man" HAD done to us. What I didn't see then, and what I am understanding now, is the realisation that settler colonialism is still very much a 'thing' and that we, as Māori in Australia, are complicit in the continued subjugation and colonisation of ATSI Peoples: that we can be Indigenous people, in fact any other grouping of people, and still "experience being settlers and/or enact colonialism" (Te Punga Somerville, 2020, p. 2). It is not so much who we are, but who we are not, and through living and participating in mainstream Australian society we are benefitting in many ways that ATSI people are not, thus maintaining the colonial structures in place. It is of little comfort in knowing that I am not alone in my ignorance which is further explored in *Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion.*

Growing up on the Gold Coast and particularly in being educated through the state system, you are very unaware of your complicity in the colonisation of ATSI peoples; unaware of the settler state and the role you are unconsciously playing as a settler on Indigenous land. As explained by Native Hawaiian Haunani-Kay Trask (2008), "Only Hawaiians are Native to Hawai'i. Everyone else is a settler" (p. 50). Likewise, we could say, only ATSI people are Native to Australia – everyone else is a settler. Living in Australia, you are very much fed the belief that Australia is a multi-cultural society full of equal opportunity and that those who seek to succeed through hard work and diligence will succeed and, therefore, that those who do not succeed are at fault for their circumstances, such as the hegemonic assumption that ATSI Peoples are to blame for their own shortcomings in health, education, mortality, and imprisonment (Stannard, 2008, p. 167). The 'we are one' belief is very much the overarching utopian cry reinforced in

the Australian National Anthem[30] with a recent change to the line "for we are **young and free**" to "**one and free**", in an effort to "recognize the country's Indigenous history and communities" (Yeung, 2021). Again, in Australia's unofficial anthem,[31] the lyrics "We are one, but we are many", and "I am, you are, we are Australian" conveniently erase the violence of colonisation providing a clean slate for all who arrive at her shores. These settler erasures are an integral factor of colonial life thus denying settler wrongdoings and allowing settlers to imagine spaces as 'uninhabited' (Kosasa, 2008, pp. 196-197), as terra nullius.

Hamer (2007, pp.11-12) details Māori early contact with Australia through trade, whaling, sealing and the Victorian goldrush. He states that Māori in Australia have a long history of being privileged, albeit by being seen as 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwis', as subjects of the colony and not as Natives. Tellingly, Samuel Marsden is remembered for bringing Christianity to the North in Aotearoa yet is recalled as 'the flogging parson' to ATSI Peoples (Tobin, as cited in Te Punga Somerville, 2014, p. 661). There are even instances of special provisions in certain pieces of founding legislation[32] stating: "No aboriginal native of Australia Asia Africa or the Islands of the Pacific except New Zealand …" could be enrolled to vote. Hamer (2018, p. 43) however, highlights that in other legislation Māori were excluded in the same manner as other

[30] To see the amended version in its entirety, see: https://www.pmc.gov.au/government/australian-national-anthem

[31] The song "I am Australian". For more information and full lyrics see blog post by Mate, "I am Australiana (We are Australian) song lyrics", January 26, 2017, https://www.australian-native.com.au/blogs/our-aussie-blog/i-am-australian-we-are-australian-song-lyrics

[32] The Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902, section 4. As cited in Paul Hamer "From federation to the "501s": Māori inclusion and exclusion in Australia since 1901," (Doctoral thesis, Monash University, Monash University Research Portal, 2018), 22, https://doi.org/10.26180/5c8ef89e7a263

non-whites. Today, one could argue that any actual privilege has been long gone yet its consequences remain.

Hamer's recent study (2018, p. 89) shows that although New Zealanders can still travel, live, and work in Australia without a visa, they are now, since 2001, unable to access most social benefits and student loans. It has only come into place from 2015 that New Zealanders who arrive to Australia as dependent minors AND have lived in Australia for ten years can be eligible for student loans (p. 104). Hamer also details how 2014 saw the introduction of the *Migration Amendment (Character and General Visa Cancellation) Bill* where non-citizens can have their visa revoked for convictions carrying a prison sentence of one year or more, for being a member or having an association with a group or person involved in criminal conduct, and by being deemed a significant risk to the wider community (p. 195). He highlights the vulnerability of Māori as – largely for the reasons mentioned above - they gain Australian citizenship at a much lower rate than any other migrant group and therefore, feature heavily as deportees, now commonly known as the *501's,*[33] regardless of how long they have lived in Australia or what whānau and support networks they have in either country (p. 208). Despite the criticism of many New Zealand politicians to change these key policies, it has been to no avail. It is of little surprise then that return migrants from Australia to New Zealand have increased from 2013 (p. 214). Nor is it surprising that gaining Australian citizenship is now at the forefront of the minds of the Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast as supported by my findings in *Chapter Four*.

[33] PhD student Sam Iti Prendergast is currently conducting research into this area through New York University, investigating settler colonialism and Indigenous sovereignty. Sam, of Ngāti Maniapoto, spent her childhood living in Australia, has lived and studied in America, and has now relocated to Aotearoa where she is currently learning te reo Māori through Waikato University's *Te Tohu Paetahi* programme.

I grew up as an Aussie. I knew I was Māori but like many of my research whānau, I had a limited understanding of what 'being Māori' meant. It was all very superficial, and life was great, life 'was a beach' where "our very privileges blinded us from recognising the lethal nature of Western culture" (Kosasa, 2008, p. 195) and in seeing that we benefit from the dispossession of the ATSI Peoples. Our connection to our 'homeland', Aotearoa - whether physical, spiritual, or romantic- makes it difficult to see ourselves as 'settlers'. This is an issue that Emalani Case (2021) also unpacks, where she refers to the unique position Indigenous Peoples are in when on the land of another, stating that we are situated in a triangle of Indigenous, settlers and arrivals. Positioning Māori in Australia as 'arrivals', as those who have moved "without the intent to displace the original Indigenous Peoples and who also suffer certain oppressions under the settler colonial government" (1:07:13- 1:10:55). For my whānau who were raised in Aotearoa, they are all too familiar with the weight of settler society, colonisation, and its impact on Indigenous ways of being. Māori have a long history of resistance to colonisation in Aotearoa and can be powerful supporters and important allies for ATSI Peoples in their quest for self-determination. A common thread throughout *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday life in Hawai'i* (Fujikane & Okamura, 2008) is this emphasis on allies **supporting** the Indigenous Peoples of the land in gaining self-determination and not imposing solutions, however benevolent, on them. This is expressed by Kanaka Maoli poet 'Īmaikalani Kalāhele in his poem *Huli* (as cited in Fujikane, 2008, p. 30):

If to help us is your wish then stand behind us.
Not to the side
And not in front

It seems everyone is aware of the struggles of the ATSI Peoples, but no one is sure what to do…and so they wait.

Thesis Organisation

- ***Chapter One- He Kōrero Tātaki: Introduction.*** This chapter has introduced the kaupapa of my rangahau to the reader, explained certain choices regarding my kaupapa and provided background information and context for subsequent chapters.
- ***Chapter Two- Ko Taku Haerenga: Positioning*** is all about placing myself and my lived experience into my thesis. Within the framework of Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous research, this is an accepted tool in identifying the relationship of the researcher to the research.
- ***Chapter Three- Methods & Methodology*** serves to illuminate the methodological framework that will be guiding my kaupapa and the many tools that I have chosen to use or refuse to conduct my research and analysis. It details the processes, the motivations, chosen methodologies, and how the data was analysed to create this thesis. This is achieved through the foundation of Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research paradigms, where I have blended the methods of whakapapa, pūrākau and storytelling, autoethnography and quantitative data.
- ***Chapter Four- Findings & Discussion*** is divided into two sections with a *Part A: Identities, Belonging & Connection*, and *Part B: Current Practices & Futures*, with each contributing to the other. Within these two sub-sections my research whānau's narratives have been further divided into sub-themes. Shared kōrero is then analysed with reference to my own experience and relevant research.
- ***Chapter Five- He Kōrero Whakakapi: Conclusion*** is my final chapter and is a summation of my processes and findings, such as: how Māori on the Gold Coast identify as Māori and through what means, issues of citizenship and the concept of 'home', impacts of Covid-19, and the future desires of whānau on the Gold Coast. Here, I also identify the topics and questions requiring further investigation that have emerged

from this study in relation to Māori diaspora, diasporic communities in general, and Indigenous futures

CHAPTER TWO: KO TAKU HAERENGA: POSITIONING

Ko Te Kore- The void of unlimited potential

Everything follows the same process, the journey from Te Kore, ki Te Pō, ki te Ao Mārama- from the void of unlimited potential, to the long night, to the world of life and light. This is exemplified through our beginnings with Ranginui and Papatūānaku emerging from Te Kore and there, their many children resided in Te Pō. In the tightness of their parents' embrace, it was here that the children held wānanga and devised their plan to separate their parents. It was Tāne's ingenuity and desire for space and the unknown from seeing a flicker of light that inspired him to lay on his back with his feet pushing into his father's chest. As Rangi and Papa were torn apart they were thrust into Te Ao Mārama and, after some time, humankind came into being. From a Māori worldview, we are all seeds sown from Rangiātea, from our spiritual homelands of Hawaiki; Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pāmamao. Hawaiki is our beginning and also our ending, therefore we are all on a never-ending journey, a cycle of limitless potential.

I am of Ngāpuhi, Tūhoe, Maniapoto, and Ngāti Hāua whakapapa, also entangled with British, Irish and Scottish heritage. My koroua was born in Kerikeri, Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands), a descendant of Ngāpuhi chiefs who had first contact with the British and many a meeting with the likes of Samuel Marsden, some even spending time with the missionary in his Parramatta homestead. It was these tīpuna who met to sign *He Whakaputanga* and *Te Tiriti* for what they considered the betterment of their peoples at that time. I see my life-journey as cyclical in nature, as an intertwined, interweaving work where every experience, event, or lesson bleeds into the next to shape who I am today. I am a product of my tīpuna and their choices and as I forge my path forward in te ao mārama, I continue to stand firm in the never-ending knowledge

of who I am as a Māori woman with my own mana, tikanga, and mātauranga. This, however, has not always been my understanding and worldview.

I am the daughter of a Māori father and a Pākehā mother; both the colonised and the coloniser, where half of my family is 'white', and the other half is 'brown'. My grandparents were a part of urban migration, moving towns for employment and greater opportunity. Therefore, Dad and his siblings grew up away from their marae and such customs, tikanga and reo. My parents grew up in Tokoroa (Waikato, Aotearoa) where my brother was also born. In the 1970s, during a time of great political protest and advancement of Māori concerns in Aotearoa, my parents were living and working in the United Kingdom. In the 1980s, during the development and growth of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Wānanga, my parents were raising us on the Gold Coast. And today (since 2011), my tāne and I are living in Aotearoa, raising our four tamariki who attend both kōhanga and kura. How we are all but products of time and place. My journey in reconnecting to my Māoritanga is somewhat unique, but in many other ways it is very similar to every other person who is on the path to strengthening their cultural identity. I felt a hunger for more, a need to be more authentically, more organically 'Māori'. My tāne heard the call, like many others, to return 'home', however in my case I had never lived at this 'home' in Aotearoa and this was something I long pondered. How can 'home' feel so unknown?

I am a first-generation Australian-born Māori, born in Tweed Heads which is just on the other side of the QLD state border in NSW. I was raised on the golden shores of the sunny Gold Coast where most of our care was undertaken by Mum due to the nature of Dad's work on a Fly In Fly Out basis. We were fortunate to visit our whānau in Aotearoa every second year or so, and likewise they would come to stay with us. Throughout all of this time up to my teenage years, I never heard any conversations in te reo and never went to a marae- let alone one of my

marae. In fact, we never even went to these regions or knew anything about our whakapapa, pūrākau or any of our tīpuna outside of 'us'. So strong were the effects of colonisation that we didn't even know what we were missing. We were the cuzzies from Aussie, the ones with the funny accent who wore thongs on our feet. However, despite all of this, I absolutely loved my upbringing and will be forever grateful for the decisions made by my parents in wanting to provide greater opportunities for us kids. I mean, it's pretty hard to be sad in the 'sunshine state' where everyday life revolves around the beach. I feel like we could swim before we could read. For us, the beach was our playground and also our church. A place for socialising, fitness, and finding peace and solitude. Endless days were spent by the sea where bright mornings stretched into lazy sunsets. We really were living a beach life, a part of a beach culture, with our identity based on our surroundings before anything else.

Despite our easy assimilation into this 'cruisy' culture, I still noted points of difference between myself, friends, and peers that I was not always comfortable with growing up on the Gold Coast. I mean not many people, particularly kids and teenagers, want to feel or stand out as 'other'. But there I was with my broad nose, my brown eyes, olive skin tone and dark hair that would never go a shade lighter despite my hours spent in the sun, ocean, and chlorine. I remember being one of the only Māori whānau on the Gold Coast in my younger years with people often mistaking me as Aboriginal which I would vehemently deny in embarrassment, yet another sign of my assimilation into dominant culture. But in general, we blended in well; we did surf lifesaving, swimming, dancing and footy. We were no different to anyone else. I would even say that I was Australian. I would say my dad was Māori, Mum was a 'Kiwi', and I was an Aussie- because that is where I was born and all I really knew. My Australian passport helped to confirm these dynamics, as seeing it on paper makes it official! As a teenager, at a time where Māori whānau were arriving to Australian shore in waves, I began to be more aware of the difference in cultures.

The tide began to change with the passing of my koro (nō Ngāpuhi) when I was twelve, and then my kuia (nō Maniapoto/Tūhoe) when I was fifteen. We made it back to Aotearoa after Koro's tangihanga due to school holidays, organising flights and such, but we were there for Nan's. She didn't want to lie at a marae so my aunty had a tent, a wharemate, erected at the side of their house. This was the first time I had ever seen and touched a tūpāpaku let alone slept beside one. It was such a surreal experience and I kept expecting her to sit up and growl at us all for moping about. This was also my first experience of the tangihanga process with pōwhiri, karanga, whāikōrero, waiata, harirū and of course, the kai. I had no idea what anyone was saying, or who everyone was, but I remember feeling kind of special as whānau pani with groups of people coming to farewell my kui and showering us with love and warmth. My kuia was cremated (not your typical tikanga Māori), and she now rests with Koro in the Tokoroa cemetery. Neither of them spoke of their marae to us, and neither of them returned to their marae or urupā on passing. They decided to stay in Tokoroa, the community where they had lived for a large portion of their adult lives and raised their children; their 'home', going against more traditional tikanga Māori and instead finding a sense of place, of belonging to land through physical familiarity and memory.

This small but rich taste of Māori culture sparked a flame, a curiosity inside of me to know more about my identity, my history and to find that sense of belonging, of community and whanaungatanga. At sixteen, I received my first tā moko designed by my cousin; it represents my whānau. I had to beg and plead and reason with my parents to get it. I was at a time of my life where I wanted something representative of my identity, something tangible- because just saying I was 'Māori' wasn't enough. I actually spent a large period of my later teenage years in a dark space, with a heaviness upon me. This cannot be solely attributed to my lack of identity and sense of belonging, but it definitely played a part. Eventually, I wore my parents down and was allowed to wear this taonga. Although I was virtually unaware of the deeper

meaning and mātauranga of wearing tā moko, I knew that it was more than just having an image etched into my skin. I loved it, for me it was a visible confirmation of my identity. It filled me with pride. I saw it as a representation, a manifestation of the aroha and connectedness of whānau, something that I have never been good at communicating but always knew was around me.

My circle of Māori friends grew in my last years of high school as more and more Māori arrived at the southern end of the Gold Coast. I was drawn in by their loud laughs, relaxed attitudes, and their capacity to share and give; that sense of whanaungatanga. I began to feel more comfortable in my skin and in voicing that I was Māori (or at least half-Māori!) In my early twenties, I remember being on a teaching placement at a Gold Coast high school with a large number of Māori and Pasifika students. At this time, I also had a larger, visible tā moko on my leg. On lunch duty one day a group of Māori girls asked me if I was Māori. I said, "yes", and then they proceeded to ask where I was from. Feeling a bit confused as to where this was going, I replied with "Ahhh, what do you mean? From here?" *"You know- your iwi and hapū and stuff",* they said. I started to feel the anxiety seeping in, stumbling on my words as I drifted into uncomfortable waters. "Ahh, I'm from Ngāpuhi and Tainui…I think…I'm not too sure though because I was born here". *"Oh",* they said. I quickly moved along, walking away all flustered and replaying the conversation in my head, feeling very much 'less than'; embarrassed that I had no connection or understanding of the words that were coming out of my mouth. These same conversations came up frequently. Working in hospitality I would often get asked: *"Where are you from?"* "Here", I would say. *"No, but where are you <u>really</u> from? You know?"* "Oh, I'm Māori". *"Wow you don't look Māori. I would say you were* [insert any of the following] *Brazilian/ Spanish/ Greek/ Italian/ Lebanese".*

Although to a much lesser degree today, I still don't always like going into my whakapapa as I haven't yet been to all of my marae, maunga and awa. I am still to meet many of my extended whanaunga, to walk on the whenua and to understand all of its intricacies and attributes. These are the effects of colonialism that so many of us battle with every day; gently balancing our desires with our reality but always moving forward.

Ko te Pō- Form; the long night, the vast darkness

Things changed after the birth of my first child to my tāne, who is also Māori and grew up on the Gold Coast for most of his life. Our mātaamua was born in the same hospital as me, in Tweed Heads. We had just saved up and taken a mortgage out on our first whare when we came to think more deeply about the life we wanted for our girl and for those to come. We both agreed that we wanted our tamariki to have a grounding, a strong foundation and understanding of their cultural identity so that they would always know who they are, where they come from, and how they fit in this world. There were no distinctly Māori environments on the Coast at that time, leading my tāne to come up with the idea to relocate to Aotearoa. And so, we decided to take the risk- to cross the ditch and lay this tūāpapa for our tamariki; a chance for them to gain what we couldn't give by grounding them in the histories and mātauranga of their tīpuna so they will then be able to move forward with confidence. Kei taku tua, kei taku aro- in order to know where one is going one must first know where they have been.

And so now, a decade later, we are still here in Aotearoa and my oh my what a rollercoaster journey we have been on! I went straight into relief teaching in various schools in the Waikato for a couple of months until I landed a full-time contract for two years in Kirikiriroa, Hamilton. I thoroughly enjoyed teaching, but there were a number of times where I was out of my comfort zone here in Aotearoa, especially when queried about my 'Māori-ness' and whakapapa. When relieving in a predominately Māori school, in a predominately Māori township, I experienced

the most discomfort. The students could hear my Aussie twang and sense my insecurities. I had no knowledge of te reo, tikanga, history or whakapapa and I just didn't cut it. I didn't matter what my intentions were, they didn't know me, nor did they trust me. I was an 'outsider' and easily dismissed.

I remember another experience in teaching where we had a Professional Development session to devise strategies to raise Māori student engagement and achievement. An elderly (Pākehā) math teacher was totally mystified as to why Māori students should be receiving such 'special' attention as she saw all of her students as equal when they walked through the door. She went on to explain how annoying it was for her to constantly supply workbooks, pens, and pencils to her Māori students who she would then not see for days on end, and how disappointing it was as they were all 'intelligent' and 'capable', but they just didn't care about their education; that they were wasting time and resources. I said nothing at that time as I wasn't in the space to do so. I knew it wasn't right, but I had no idea how to properly vocalise my thoughts. So, she went unchecked. I have often thought back to this and wondered how different it may look if I were in that same position today. Would I speak out to one of my peers in the workplace? Would I have the support of others? Am I better equipped to communicate her many inaccuracies and misinformed judgments in a calm manner? I like to think so.

On our arrival to Aotearoa my tāne went straight into study, in mainstream primary education at the University of Waikato. This was his first year of study and our daughter was attending kōhanga reo. University opened him to the possibilities and options for Māori in Aotearoa and he quickly saw the benefits of being able to speak te reo Māori, thus causing him to make the switch to Waikato University's *Te Tohu Paetahi (TTP)* total immersion language programme. He dived straight into the deep end with no life jacket on. *TTP* is renowned as a 'fast-track' to learning te reo, going from beginners level to advanced in one year. Although efficient, it is an

intense and somewhat traumatising experience, especially for those who have not been raised in te ao Māori. Due to the swift pace and the vast amount of new knowledge to be learnt without a Māori speaking support network outside of the class, he was unable to complete the final advanced papers at that time. This, however, only enforced the need to keep going, to keep growing and persevere with his reo and encouraging me to do the same.

After the birth of our second child, and with the prompting of my tāne, I stopped teaching and enrolled into Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's (TWoA) beginners rūmaki reo course, *Te Pūtaketanga*. This came with many hurdles for me. I feared going into a total immersion course with absolutely no prior knowledge of te reo, even though I knew I was a dedicated student, I felt horribly insecure. Teaming this with post-natal hormones I was a hot mess. It all came to a head in my interview for admission into the programme where I broke down into a sobbing heap as I wasn't able to say my whakapapa or answer any of the pātai in te reo. My inadequacies, lack of sleep and cultural insecurity all exploded in that interview room. Poor whaea couldn't wait to be rid of me, and I was quickly coerced into their bi-lingual *Te Ara Reo* programme instead, which I agreed felt more fitting for someone like me with no knowledge of te reo, or te ao Māori in general.

Once I had settled down, and gone through most of the tissues, I was happy to get out of that room and into the car. My tāne took one look at me with my red, puffy eyes and asked what had happened. All my tears and insecurities came spewing back up. But he wouldn't have it. He understood the importance of being in total immersion, pushing through our comfort zones and letting go of ego. He had seen the connection of language to identity and knew that this is what our growing whānau needed, what we had left Australia to find. He also believed that I was more than able and that with his experience and knowledge coupled with our babies going

to kōhanga reo, that moving forward as a whānau was the only option. And so, in he marched and got me back into that rūmaki class.

I made him come with me to the first few classes as moral support, I was terrified of having another meltdown and embarrassed to bump into whaea again. But being in a class full of second language learners, at all different stages of learning and speaking te reo, my confidence soon grew. It is such a humbling experience to be in a room full of adult, second language learners and supporting each other to grasp something we were ashamed not to know. I was the youngest in this class and just seeing and feeling the raw emotion of adults struggling to retrain the tongue and the mind, the barriers people put in place and then the 'ahaa' moments when hurdles have been overcome is such a surreal life experience. Māori and Pākehā alike were giving it their damned best to grasp our 'new' reo. This marked the beginning of my haerenga in re-connecting to my Māori identity through te reo.

A year on and hapū with baby number three, we moved to Ōtaki[34] to continue our journey of strengthening our reo at Te Wānanga o Raukawa (TWoR). We enrolled in a three-year, full-time, rūmaki-based tohu where you attend class for four days of the week from 9 - 3pm, immersed in te reo me ōna tikanga. It was here that I really saw the power and beauty in knowing and understanding who you are, and in mana reo, mana motuhake. TWoR was the first Māori tertiary institution developed in 1981 to address the dire loss of te reo and tikanga Māori in their hapū, marae and in the community in general. TWoR was born from the combined iwi of Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira (ART), who established the wānanga without government assistance, asserting their mana Māori motuhake

[34] Ōtaki is a small town on the Kāpiti Coast with a high percentage of Māori.

and tino rangatiratanga. The institution, in its very essence, is Kaupapa Māori based in that it is by Māori, for Māori and has a particular focus on raising the reo and mātauranga within the foundational iwi of the ART confederation and members, branching out to te ao whānui. Every student, no matter their subject, must also study te reo Māori and undertake studies on their own iwi and hapū. The staff at TWoR are wholeheartedly committed to the kaupapa and stand firm in the belief that 'a living language is a spoken language'. They fostered a love and respect for te ao Māori and did so much more than teach a language. Our new pēpi was also welcomed into the classroom, much to the joy of the kuia and office staff.

Our eldest began schooling at the Kura Kaupapa Māori in Ōtaki, under the guiding principles of *Te Aho Matua*.[35] There, the English language isn't taught until secondary level which caused me, with my dominant discourse whakaaro, to have some reservations with questions running through my mind like: *"Am I stifling my children's growth and development to operate in society?", "Will this limit their employment opportunities?", "Will they be able to communicate with the rest of our whānau?"* However, these concerns quickly dissolved, and I am now in the position where I am hesitant to put my children into the mainstream education system to fall down the cracks and labelled as 'difficult' or 'troublesome'. *Te Aho Matua* is a holistic education model where children are taonga and the whānau, along with the kura, are responsible for the growth and development of the child. Such a sense of pride in self, pride in identity is instilled into tamariki, along with values of manaakitanga, te aroha o tētahi ki tētahi and kaitiakitanga; it was so different from our version of schooling.

[35] See: https://seonline.tki.org.nz/content/download/749/3894/file/Supplement_TeAho32Feb08.pdf

I was first introduced to the health and well-being models of both Mason Durie's *Te Whare Tapawhā* and Rose Pere's *Te Wheke*[36] during my time at TWoR which have helped me to understand the holistic nature of our well-being and the interconnectedness of all of our environments and senses. Here, I first saw Kaupapa Māori Theory in action, put into practice at kōhanga, kura and at tertiary levels, and most importantly, in the community where Māori were encouraged to use their unique Indigenous worldview to critique and rewrite mainstream ideals every day. This is what I want my children to understand and incorporate into their lives to thrive. Our lived experienced in Ōtaki enforced the beauty of te ao Māori and showed us the many possibilities of success in living as a Māori whānau in these modern times. It was there that, with the support of amazing kaiako, my hoa, and other like-minded people that my mauri Māori was awoken; where I saw the connections of my whakapapa- of my tīpuna to the whenua, through to me and my tamariki. It was there where I saw the importance and significance of learning our reo and having it as the dominant language within our whare, our whānau. It was there that I saw the true strength in knowing and standing firm in your identity.

From Ōtaki, we returned to the Waikato, to the whenua of my tāne and our children where they attend kura and kōhanga, learning their iwi and hapū specific kōrero and being surrounded by whanaunga. These experiences are priceless, and they are being enriched with knowledge that we couldn't to pass onto them from our life experiences of growing up on the Gold Coast. Yes, we miss the warmth and the beautiful Gold Coast beaches. Yes, we miss our immediate whānau, childhood friends, familiar places and faces. But it all somehow pales in comparison to hear our tamariki speaking in te reo, speaking of their tribal histories and knowing their

[36] Both Mason Durie's *Te whare tapawhā* (1985) and Rangimārie Rose Pere's *Te wheke* (1991) are Māori models of health. Now widely implemented in Aotearoa in the health, education, and social services arenas.

connections to place and people. After the birth of pēpi number four, I returned to the University of Waikato where I completed the final papers of *TTP*, starting me on my post-graduate journey. I also went full circle and completed *Te Pīnakitanga* at TWoA, their final rūmaki reo paper.

Although immensely rewarding and satisfying, this has not been an easy journey. It has been testing on multiple levels- personally, spiritually, emotionally, and physically. As a youth I had told myself that I never wanted to go to university, but after teaching and my journey into motherhood I returned to study, committing five years to learning my reo rangatira. Throughout my studies and various interactions here in Aotearoa, I began to see how Māori could be quite dismissive of those with different life experiences and engagement with te ao Māori, particularly towards those in Australia. In fact, this very thesis has culminated from these reflections and analysis of such experiences and perceptions as a way for me to form solutions for tomorrow.

Ko te Ao Mārama- Emergence: the world of light and reality

I am the mother of four tamariki Māori with te reo Māori as their first language. They dream in te reo Māori and talk in their sleep in te reo Māori which warms my very being. However, I am not ignorant to the challenges that are to come. The mataamua is now ten and is in her third year of learning English, she has taken to it like a duck to water. Her articulation is a bit off as the English alphabet makes different sounds to te reo Māori that her tongue is still unfamiliar with, but she enjoys reading books, text messages over my shoulder and signage in English and of course, having conversations in English. She has a limitless pool of English-speakers to interact with and enjoys this engagement. More and more English words and sentences are coming past my ears these days from my eldest right down to my youngest and it is getting so much more difficult to maintain a reo Māori only whare. In a world so heavily saturated in the

English language, and with children's natural inclinations towards popular culture, I am preparing myself for the day where my beautiful tamariki Māori may decide to switch to the settler tongue. That they may sail away and get lost in the waves of mainstream, and I must await their return.

I now see the struggle that my reo teachers always spoke about happening right in front of me. I can clearly see the importance of drowning your world with your reo and tikanga while you can have some control of those things. I want to see more spaces for Māori to be Māori. To be visible as Māori, to be heard as Māori. Speaking te reo Māori should not have to stop at the end of the kura gates, at the waharoa of the marae. Our reo Māori should naturally flow onto our streets, into our businesses and on our airwaves, and it should traverse oceans. When other ethnic groups migrate to Aotearoa and other countries, it is not uncommon for them to retain their languages and customs and I don't see why it should be any different for our reo and tikanga. Wherever there are Māori people, our reo should be heard; our reo is a taonga tuku iho and part of our unique cultural identity and for me, has helped to solidify my confidence in belonging in te ao Māori.

Here, I now stand as a proud Māori woman in Aotearoa. My face recently adorned with my moko kauae (2019), a cultural statement, an assertion of my mana wahine, my mana motuhake, and my Māori identity of which I am no longer afraid to claim, no longer paralysed by the colonial gaze and judgement over Indigenous bodies. I didn't choose to wear this because I feel I have reached some acceptable level of 'Māori achievement', although I don't think I would have taken it without going on this haerenga in learning te reo, particularly from my time in Ōtaki at *TWoR* where taking mataora was seen as a normal part of Māori life and something for us all to consider. I wear it to honour my tīpuna, those before me who were unable to claim what was so rightfully theirs. I chose to take it at this time because I am at a part of my journey

where I am comfortable in my skin and with my identity. I want my tamariki to see me with my moko- to see me laugh, cry, and grow old with these lines etched onto my face as an extension of my being. I want them to be able to touch it, to feel its mauri and understand that it is still a part of our living culture. Not something to put pushed to the side and suppressed, seen only in books or in museums, or only on the face of our rūruhi. She will stay with me for the rest of my journey, a constant reminder of the struggles we have overcome and those kei mua i te aroaro. A reminder to honour my reo Māori, my whakapapa and to stay true to my whakapono and rangatiratanga. Just like the children of Rangi and Papa when they emerged into the world of light, they still had many challenges and obstacles to overcome; they still had much growth and learning in front of them. I am the first in many generations to reclaim this taonga in our whānau, and with four tamariki I am hopefully not the last.

...

My moko kauae is for my kuia, my tīpuna that couldn't
My moko kauae is for my tamariki, my mokopuna who may
My moko kauae is for me, for all who came before and all of those yet to come
It is re-establishing this taonga tuku iho into our bloodlines, re-affirming our identity and standing proud
It is so my children don't need to pine through the pages of Lindauer or Goldie to ground themselves but can see, touch, and feel the mauri of our tīpuna through me and my moko kauae, he hoa matenga mōku.

...

2020 has also seen me reclaim and whakamana my Māori name. I was born Eve Ngāwaiata, named after both of my grandmothers. I love both of my names and what they stand for but, up until now, I was content to stay with Eve. Even when learning te reo and being given the opportunity to use my Māori name, I declined. Even when I took my moko kauae, a visual manifestation of my whakapapa, I hesitated. And it was only recently, when my son and I sat at my grandparents' graves and I showed him how I was named after my nan, that I committed.

My Nan was born Ngāwaiata Ani and her tombstone reads Ruth Ani Ngāwaiata, Ruth was given to her as it was the name that was given to her mum at school. I am the third generation to carry this name and am privileged to be able to use it as it was intended generations ago, no longer pushed to the side. I consider myself lucky that my parents thought to gift me this name, and I am so glad that my son, in his eight-year-old innocence, couldn't fathom why I would ever not use it!

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS & METHODOLOGY

> Ko mātou ngā kaihautū o ō mātou ake waka, mā mātou anō ā mātou haerenga e whakatere.
> *We are the steerers of our own waka, we will navigate our own journeys.*

I have been raised in a predominantly Western world and education system with only the last eight years being aware of, and conscious in developing my knowledge in Indigenous and Māori epistemologies and ways of being. This is the fine line I walk every day, navigating situations as an Australian-born Māori/ Pākehā wahine. I have made the conscious decision to locate this research in the fields of Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research paradigms to further enhance my understanding, and to reclaim, recentre and promote Indigenous ways of doing 'research'. These will be the tūāpapa, the whāriki and foundation of my research.

In stating that I am adopting a Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research approach to undertake this kaupapa is in itself contradictory as 'research', as we know it, is commonly the work of outsiders looking in. According to Linda Smith (2012, p. 1), 'research' is one of the dirtiest words in Indigenous Peoples vocabulary. Where much of the scholarship on Indigenous Peoples and communities was undertaken by white, colonial ethnographers and anthropologists who often came, observed, and then left- distributing their observations and analysis to the world to be adopted as truths (pp. 8-9). This is how the 'other' has come to be exoticised, romanticised, demonised and denigrated. Their works have for so long been digested as realities that Indigenous Peoples all over the world are still trying to disprove stigmatisations that have been bred into us. That is why I have felt compelled to build my research from these approaches in order to whakamana the ways of our tīpuna and to add to the ever-growing, ever developing kete of Indigenous scholarship.

I find it important to locate my research in the *Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies (FMIS)*, and under the frameworks of Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research methodologies as a

form of resistance to the dominance of Western systems in the academy. Whole universities and institutions are built on Western ideals of knowledge and education with one department for the sole interest of Māori and Indigenous studies. To this very day *FMIS* is still fighting to maintain its autonomy within the wider university with the higher powers wanting to shrink the faculty to come under the larger umbrella of another by cutting staffing- essentially placing more pressure on academics as they are forced to wear multiple hats and undertake greater workloads. Māori academics are still fighting to be recognised as an important part of the university, constantly questioning how the mana of Te Tiriti is being upheld within this colonial system of education. In fact, 2020 has seen six University of Waikato academic staff submit a letter to the Ministry of Education addressing structural and casual racism within the institution. A worldwide furore ensued where an open letter was signed by some 6,500 people, mainly from the academic sector, in support of the staff and their claims (Hope, 2020). The spotlight was also shone on other universities in Aotearoa with academic staff, including some of the most senior academics, calling for a national review into racism in universities (Gabel, 2020). These events further enforce the importance of contributing to the existing scholarship produced from Indigenous faculties, with research that is first and foremost for Indigenous Peoples.

I am not making these decisions to disregard my Western upbringing, for today one cannot be without the other; we are saturated in Western culture. Graham Smith (1993, as cited in Mahuika, 2015) explains that "Kaupapa Māori is not a rejection of Pākehā knowledge and or culture… Kaupapa Māori advocates excellence with Māori culture as well as Pākehā culture" (p. 37). As an Indigenous researcher however, I find it paramount to foreground my indigeneity in this instance, tapping into our ancient epistemologies and mātauranga kia hīkoi whakamua tātou; valuing, reclaiming, and prioritising our reo, tikanga, pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho. Not only decolonising…but re-indigenising as we go. Indigenous-based methodologies challenge

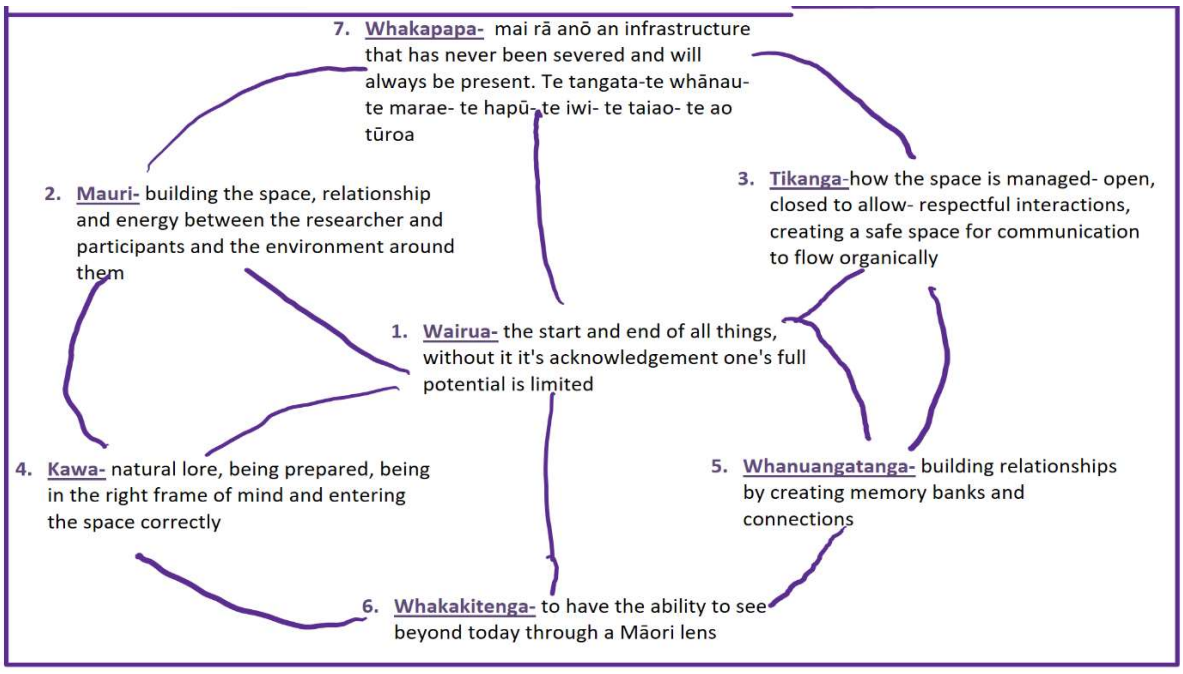
the hegemony of Western research purely in existing (Smith, 2012; Pihama, Tiakiwai, & Southey, 2015; Bishop, 1998). In choosing to work within a Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research framework, I am given a sense of autonomy for my choice of research methods and decision making as a wahine Māori for my kaupapa. I have such a rich whakapapa of ideas to build on as the road has been so well paved by Māori and Indigenous Peoples and academics before me that I don't have to confine my research and analysis to the many Western definitions of what makes 'good' research. Although I have a sense of autonomy, or rangatiratanga, and freedom, the greatest weight that comes from undertaking a Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research framework is the weight on me to do right by my whānau, whānau whānui, hapū, iwi and of course my tīpuna, those who have come before and who will come after. For me, this far outweighs the regulations of 'doing good research' in a Western academic context.

I have made the decision to write in both te reo Māori and English throughout this thesis as this is my 'normal' today as a second language reo learner and advocate for our reo rangatira. Being able to use my Indigenous language in academic writing brings me such a sense of pride, joy, and privilege. It grounds me in my being, in my identity and further connects me to my tīpuna and their epistemologies. This may seem jarring to some as it may disrupt the flow of words on the page, but certain words and emotions cannot be fully expressed in English; the English language cannot effectively communicate the mauri, the essence of certain words and their connection to te ao Māori. He wairua tō te reo. I am very aware that writing my kaupapa solely in te reo would mean that much of my intended audience would be left in the dark as to what is being written, so English is prominent throughout. As a Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous researcher it is important to recognise and understand the full effects of colonialism on our people and the various ways this can present itself, one of the most obvious being loss of language which a cause of great mamae and embarrassment to many. I need to consider my audience and for whom this text is written; whānau need to stop being punished for things they

had no influence over in their upbringing. Although not entirely written in te reo, the use of te reo Māori is embedded throughout as a natural extension of my voice and mātauranga Māori, te reo Māori cannot be separated from kaupapa Māori. It is important to normalise the use of our reo Māori in any way possible to ensure our own words are not foreign to our mouths and ears; ahakoa he iti, he pounamu.

As a tool to keep myself, my research, and participants' ethically safe I have constructed my own guiding principles- *Ngā Mātāpono e Whitu*- derived from a whakapapa of ideas from several other Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research paradigms (Anderson, 2000; Bishop, 1998; Durie, 1994; Jackson, 2013; Pere, 1991; Smith, G.H., 2003; Smith, L.T., 2012; & Wilson, 2008). As demonstrated in the diagram below, each mātāpono is situated in a circle. A circle means that not one mātāpono stands alone but they are all connected to ensure safe, ethical research, with a focus on building reciprocal relationships to get the best responses from participants. Although numbered in order, this is not necessarily relevant as they are all relational and occur at the same time:

Figure 1: Ngā Mātāpono e Whitu: Seven Guiding Principles



Kaupapa Māori itself is not new, our tīpuna lived naturally in a world where everything was intrinsically so without a term needed for their reality. A world based on mana, balance, and reciprocity; simultaneously connected to the land and to the atua. According to Leonie Pihama (2010, pp. 11-12), the term 'Kaupapa Māori' itself, was born during the times coined as the Māori Renaissance; from the struggles and resistance of Māori in the 1970s-1980s to regain fundamental Indigenous rights. From these struggles, Te Kōhanga Reo (1982), Kura Kaupapa Māori (1985), Wharekura (1993) and Whare Wānanga (1981) have grown as a means to revive, maintain and develop our reo and tikanga, to normalise Māori ways of being, thinking and knowing for our tamariki, mokopuna; for the betterment of te ao Māori in general. Kaupapa Māori theory was built on the foundational work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Graham Hingagaroa Smith in response to these developing kaupapa (Pihama, 2001, p. 39).

Most Kaupapa Māori research projects are undertaken in Aotearoa where Māori are tangata whenua, naturally lending such kaupapa to be analysed through a Māori lens and, as Hayley Cavino (2017) explains, posing "important questions about who is 'Māori' and what constitutes 'a Māori way'"(p. 36). Māori, as an Indigenous group, are accountable to and exist in relation to the ATSI community on the Gold Coast. I knew that I couldn't write about Māori experience on the Gold Coast whilst ignoring ATSI existence. Initially, I wanted to include a group of ATSI people in my research whānau to give voice to their experience and views on the Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast. I was then prompted by my supervisor to think about the ethics of doing Kaupapa Māori research outside of Aotearoa and on the land of another Indigenous Peoples which through my naivety and/or ignorance, was something I had never considered. I had only seen my research through my eyes and thus my Māori worldview (as by Māori, for Māori, about Māori), and hadn't thought of the implications and impositions this could have on another culture. Realising my thesis wouldn't allow the breadth to dive into such discourses

in an effective and culturally safe manner, and with the advent of Covid-19, I had to rethink the best way to do so.

There is no homogenous Indigenous identity; there are many similarities but we each have our own autonomy, our own stories, customs, and beliefs. A Kaupapa Māori approach can be ethically used in Australia by taking from the core qualities of Kaupapa Māori research,[37] however, to only use a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm in another Indigenous context can do the opposite, further silencing and overriding ATSI experience. Thus, I found it more appropriate and culturally safe to combine Kaupapa Māori with an Indigenous research paradigm to frame this kaupapa, ensuring the maintenance of relational accountability to both cultures (Wilson, 2008, p. 71). This is where the relationship with the person, the topic or the kaupapa is more important than the 'thing' itself leading to my decision to rely on pre-existing scholarship to outline the ATSI experience in relation to Māori on the Gold Coast.

The concept of whānau is a key element of Kaupapa Māori, the "intersection where research meets Māori, or Māori meets research on equalizing terms" (Bishop; Irwin as cited in Smith, 2012, p. 187). As much as I would have loved to include more of my direct whānau who are now living in Australia, who have had children in Australia and some of whom have Australian partners, due to their dispersal in various areas other than the Gold Coast I decided not to include them. I would not be able to give a fair and in-depth analysis on each of their unique experiences in each of their different localities. Therefore, I decided to focus my research on the Gold Coast and reached out to whānau situated there. This includes my parents and older brother, and also my tāne's immediate and extended whānau who are connected through

[37] See "Rangahau: Principles of kaupapa Māori," n.d., http://www.rangahau.co.nz/rangahau/27/

whakapapa to our children. In total, my research whānau consists of eighteen people aged nineteen and over, both emigrants to Australia and those that are Australian-born, with various lengths of living on the Gold Coast- from nineteen to thirty-eight years. Once beginning the interview process my whakaaro extended to include whānau who, like myself, have relocated to Aotearoa for various reasons. Thus, thirteen of my research whānau are residing on the Gold Coast, and five are currently located in Aotearoa – this grouping includes one of my dearest friends who I have grown up with from the age of eight and who I consider to be whānau.

Whakapapa is central to a Māori research methodology (Graham, 2005), and the overarching mātāpono of my *Mātāpono e Whitu* (Figure 1, p. 53). Whakapapa is the essence, the very core of what it means to be Māori; we are all interconnected to place and space, through time. In employing whakapapa, I am able to cross generations, reporting on intergenerational similarities and differences. This is key in researching diasporas as diasporic communities are intergenerational; this is one of the defining markers for diaspora in relation to transnationalism and migration (Bruneau, 2010, p. 47). Whakapapa feeds into whanaungatanga which is closely aligned with Shawn Wilson's (2008) emphasis on relationality and its importance in Indigenous Research. Wilson highlights '3 R's' of Indigenous research and learning- Respect, Reciprocity, Responsibility- three pillars that are formed in relationship building. It is the understanding that relationality is built upon interconnections and interrelationships that are more than human relationships (p. 80). By placing myself in the research and by having participants (my research whānau) who share whakapapa or a 'whānau-like' connection, relational accountability is ever-present. As I am working with people that are a large part of my life, rapport and trust have already been established and we are more able to organically work together as co-creators of knowledge. One drawback for being so intimately linked with my research whānau is that I need to be aware of separating my personal experiences from others, that although we are connected through whakapapa and place, we may all have very

different experiences and thoughts on being Māori on the Gold Coast. I must always be aware of my own preconceptions, bias and beliefs so as not to cut short the narrative of others (Kanuha, 2000, pp. 442-443).

Indigenous storytelling is nothing new - oral histories have been passed down for generations connecting people to the land, the animals, and the cosmos across Indigenous cultures. Indigenous histories are also imbedded in our arts and textiles; in painting, carving, weaving and through the marking of our skin. As with pūrākau, 'yarning' is an ATSI term for storytelling, and as Terszack (2008) describes, "is a process of making meaning, communicating and passing on history and knowledge ... a special way of relating and connecting with the Nyoongah (Aboriginal) culture" (as cited in Drahm-Butler, 2015, p. 28). Throughout this thesis, I engage with pūrākau as method[38] in multiple ways. I interweave traditional pūrakau and whakataukī in my writing to elicit deeper thinking and understanding of our connections to our past and how they manifest in the present. Through discussions with my research whānau the method relates to storytelling, where participants are encouraged to share their own personal story of being Māori on the Gold Coast as no one is better suited to talk of their experiences and hopes for the future than them. Although I had a pre-prepared page of questions as prompts, they were only to be used to get dialogue flowing if necessary, but in no way to be used as a strict, closed interview tool. The most important thing was to capture each participants' lived experience as they chose to voice it, working together to co-create knowldge and understanding.

[38] See Jenny Lee, "Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method," *MAI Review, 2*(Article 3), 2012, 12, for more information on this method.

The diversity of a pūrākau approach also allows me to employ a largely autoethnographic style throughout as my life experience is shared and analysed – first in a standalone chapter, and then along with the stories of my participants in the chapters to follow. Kovach (2009, p. 33) clarifies that autoethnography is a method formed in ethnographical research, bringing together the study of self (auto) in relation to culture (ethnography). I am deliberately positioning myself in the research to highlight connections and disconnections of my experience to others where "self-reflection moves beyond field notes to having a more integral positioning with the research process and the construction of knowledge itself" (p. 33). Bishop (2005) explains that, "To invoke distance in a Māori project would be to deny that it is a Māori project. It would have different goals, not Māori goals*"* (p. 119). I am not offering my own experience as an archetypal 'Māori on the GC', in fact I feel somewhat vulnerable in sharing so much of myself, however it is a means to enhance relationships with my whānau and also with readers of this thesis. Through self-reflection I am able to use my own life experiences, my own biases and preconceptions in order crtically analyse and construct meaning with my research.

Kanohi ki te kanohi was my preferred method to gather data for this research. For many months I saw having face to face discussions as the only way I would be able to grasp and describe the essence, the mauri of what my participants were sharing with me in a truly honourable way. I was so hung up on this idea of physically being on the Gold Coast, of being in whānau homes or other comfortable places to share our narratives that I was willing to put my whole study on hold to wait for this 'ideal' time. But of course, nobody has a definitive answer as to when that 'ideal' time will be and I finally came to the conclusion that it would be silly of me to ignore our current state, our realities in these unprecedented times and the multitude of ways that we have had to be flexible, to bend or change our tikanga to ensure the wellbeing of our people. In adapting my research whānau to include others who had relocated to Aotearoa, I was able to experience some kanohi ki te kanohi discussions which I found much more enjoyable and

personable. Food and drink were shared, the atmosphere was more informal and these kōrero generally went for longer.

At no other time has the great dividing Tai-o-Rehua been so prominent in keeping whānau movement restricted and contained. Covid-19 has forced us all to become more internet savvy, to allow video calling, streaming, social media, and the likes to transport us into the homes of our loved ones overseas. As frustrating as it can be at times, this, in many ways has become our new normal. Our new way of connecting to each other and maintaining relationships; to share moments of celebration, joy, and sadness. Today, this is our reality, and in using the internet and video conferencing correctly, characteristics of kanohi ki te kanohi discussions can still be adhered to, albeit online. I now realise how important it is to include all of these experiences in this research as it has many implications on what it means to be a part of the Māori diaspora today, particularly with limited travel options.

I video called my research whānau on the Gold Coast using either *Skype*, *Zoom* or *Facebook Messenger*- whichever they found easier. At the same time as we were having our kōrero I either recorded the discussion for later transcription or I had an online transcribing application, *Otter.ai,*[39] running at the same time. I used the *Otter.ai* service to transcribe the kōrero initially, and I then had to go back through each transcription and fix any errors in transcription. Each participant was sent their transcript and could make any edits or additions to their kōrero. From there I was able to recognise familiar threads in the kōrero which I then cut and paste into a Word table which I ordered youngest to oldest with colour coded whānau groupings. Again, this helped to clarify certain trends. At that point, I had a hui with my supervisor where we

[39] See: https://otter.ai/

looked at these trends and grouped them to fit into the overarching themes that make up *Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion.* On completion of the chapter, I then copied each participant's quotes used in context into their own document which was again sent out to them to read, evaluate, and make any necessary changes. This ensured that I was working in a respectful and ethical manner with relational accountability and whanaungatanga.

Veering away from the predominantly qualitative nature of research in Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Research paradigms, I find it important to include statistical data to further contextualise the kaupapa. Using quantitative data, such as statistics, gives a broader overview of the situation of Māori in Australia and Māori on the Gold Coast. It shows the bigger picture so to speak which is then zoomed right in by using a intimate group of interview participants to share their life experience and tell their own narrative. Much of the existing scholarship on diaspora use empirical data collection as a method as it can include a large number of participants. However, using statistical data as a stand-alone method is very limiting as respondents must carefully choose their answers to fit as a tick in a box, with ambiguous questions and little option for elaboration. Additionally, Indigenous affiliations are not always visible in the census ethnicity/race categories of other countries and this impacts on the reliability of the data. I believe that utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods together shows a clearer, more in-depth picture of what it is to be Māori on the Gold Coast than by only adhering to one method or the other, ensuring research participants are able to have a voice and share their stories, which are then blended with statistical data to further contextualise their responses.

Making boxes
Ticking boxes
shrinking ourselves to fit into boxes
The body is sore
Mauri bruised

He tohu…
time to break free

Due to the fluidity of Māori and Indigenous identities, it is important for our research methods to also reflect these qualities to further support and not marginalise our people. Despite studies in the past, my research is not seeking to measure and judge peoples 'Māoriness' but to demonstrate how Māori are 'being Māori' outside of Aotearoa. Kaupapa Māori is fluid and evolving, it is shaped by the needs of communities. As communities continue to grow and change, so do their specific needs (Pihama, 2001). This thesis offers transformational potential as it challenges ideals, representations, dominant discourses, and constructions of Māori identity for Māori outside of Aotearoa. As Cavino (2017) states, "A Kaupapa Māori research process should be able to remain flexible - it should struggle against any obligation to be monolithic" (p. 43). Kaupapa Māori research is an expression of our tino rangatiratanga and it is time for Māori diasporas to be heard and validated.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

PART A: Identities, Belonging & Connection

A variety of terms are thrown around to label Māori living in Australia.[40] They are automatically described as 'other' with such labels often inferring that they are 'less than', implying cultural inauthenticity. So, what does it mean to be Māori on the Gold Coast? How does one live as a Māori in another country, on the land of other Indigenous Peoples? This chapter has been divided into two sections based on overarching themes identified from my whānau kōrero to help to understand these pātai. *Part A: Belonging & Connection* looks at the Australian and Gold Coast identity and investigates notions of belonging, giving an insight into the complexities of Māori diasporic communities and their relationship to place, to land and to people.

Australia and Gold Coast Māori Identity

Māori are recorded as journeying to Australia since 1793 (Kamira, 2016), some even settling with Aboriginal communities along the coastal regions of NSW (Fred & Clark, 2014, p. 112). At one point, prior to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) and Australia's federation (1901), New Zealand was seen as an extension of NSW as all British subjects were under the care of the one Governor (Mein Smith, 2012, para. 4-7). The Second Great Migration for Māori, as stated by Haami (2018, p. 19), began from the 1950s after WWII where urban migration was less of a trickle and more of a tsunami. Haami situates migration to Australia under this same umbrella however I believe there are some significant differences in being under the governance of

[40] Terms such as "Mozzie", "Ngāti Kangaroo", "Ngāti Skippy" and "plastic" are noted as being used for Māori in Australia, see: Bradford Haami, *Urban Māori: The second great migration,* (Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust by Oratia Books, 2018), 198.

another country and not being tangata whenua in that country. Diasporic whānau are often considered 'out of sight, out of mind', and are further excluded from the discussions and considerations of Māori in Aotearoa. Another key defining factor is that Māori must navigate living in Australia in relation to ATSI people and the wider Australian society, where they no longer have a role in the Māori-Pākehā binary or in relation to Te Tiriti - thus simultaneously gaining freedoms and losing rights. Accordingly, loss of rights leave a number of Māori in a precarious situation in Australia.

Being Māori on the GC

Through my kōrero with my research whānau it has become clear that there is a variation in how each person sees themselves as being Māori on the Gold Coast and a lot of this has to do with: a) where the person was born; and b) where the person has spent most of their formative years. There is a clear distinction between those who were born in, or largely raised, on the Gold Coast and those who emigrated later in life. Māori children who are either born or raised on the Gold Coast are automatically a part of the fabric of the Gold Coast and the unique culture that that entails. Te Uira (23) sees the Gold Coast culture as being *"chill and lax"*, where everything is centered around the beach, *"Me and all my mates work or study and then go out and go on trips"*. Everyone is either working or in study and their spare time is taken up socializing with friends, family, and fitness. The consistent fine weather lends itself to an active, outdoors lifestyle, as communicated by Nathan (38):

> *Gold Coast culture is very laid back, it's a beachy, surfy city. It's pretty warm here pretty much all year round so you live in board shorts and a T-shirt or singlet with thongs, or jandals as you call them, and that's what you wear like pretty much all year round... The Gold Coast is basically as*

close as you can get to paradise except there's too many tourists and it's getting a bit busy.

All of the research whānau express how the beach is such a large part of their lives and subsequently their lifestyles with most activities centering around the beach and coastal areas.

My research whānau are largely only familiar with the term 'Mozzie' to describe Māori Australians, with the younger generation not understanding the connotations of the use of prefixes such as 'Ngāti' in front of a word as a tribal grouping tool as in 'Ngāti Skippy.' "Mozzie" is used widely from whānau in Aotearoa, to people in Australia and even by Māori in Australia themselves. Most of the research whānau agree that the term is used in a light-hearted manner and offence is rarely taken, *"I get called that quite often; it is what it is. And there's truth behind it too so I'm not insulted by it"* (Terri, 35). Āwhina (19) commented that she, as an Australian-born Māori isn't overly bothered with such a label being attributed to her, but *"can see how it could be very offensive for someone who has grown up in New Zealand".* George (63), who sits in a kaumātua role within the Gold Coast community and through Māori Rugby League, explains such terms as lazy terminology, as slang and that: *"If I see it, and I hear it, I will correct them".* The older generation, all of whom were raised in Aotearoa, very rarely hear such terms and are content in their construction of identity through knowing their connection to marae, hapū, iwi and whenua in Aotearoa.

Jackie (53) communicates her awareness of *"a definite separate Māori identity on the Gold Coast. The awareness of being Māori in Aussie is very noticeable. We are a separate identity and have our own struggles as Māori on the Gold Coast".* Even so, this difference isn't considered an issue to Stan (37) who instead sees it as a natural and acceptable occurrence in diasporic communities:

> *I don't think Māori in New Zealand and Māori in Australia necessarily have to be the same. If there is a point of difference, then kei te pai, I'd probably put that to Ngāpuhi and Waikato, they've all got their ways of doing stuff and we are just kind of evolving into that next phase where we're going to have, I believe we're going to have an entrenched Māori community in Australia. I think that's the next evolution. We're in the phase now of doing our reo and rebuilding who we as Māori in Aotearoa, but that's not going to stop Māori being Māori in all the other countries. So, if that's the way forward, then you're going to have those adaptations of Māori in different countries, with those countries influencing their makeup, but still, at its core, being Māori.*

All of my research whānau who went through the Australian school system from 1989-2018 have identified that they were the only Māori in the class and often in their school (apart from other whānau), particularly in their primary years noticing greater diversity in high school years to today. Most of this group, who have spent the majority if not all of their lives on the Gold Coast, see themselves as Māori at the core but also as Australian. They know they are Māori but see themselves in everyday life *"just like everyone else…Aussie"* (Te Uira, 23). Because of this, most of their peers, close friends, and now partners are White Australian, and they don't socialize with many other Māori outside of their whānau or in sporting groups.

Everyone spoke of being comfortable at school and finding friends with ease, the only real area of discomfort was with those who have Māori names which were frequently mispronounced. Āwhina (19) hated growing up on the Gold Coast with her name, especially in primary school:

> *My whole entire school life my name was an absolute joke! I used to absolutely hate it. I remember crying to mum about it because everyone would say it wrong. But with maturity I got over it and now it can be a great topic of conversation.*

Hinerei (19) also often wished for an easier name as a child but now as an adult recognizes *"the importance of being able to say my name properly and educating others to say it properly too".* Te Uira (23) gets called 'T' by everyone and has done from high school on to the point where it is normalized and totally acceptable to him. He only ever hears Te Uira from family, *"My girlfriend tries to say it but…it's kind of normal now to be 'T'. In primary school it was 'Tilda'".* Those that have grown up on the Gold Coast speak of *"just wanting to fit in"* (Moana, 24) during their time at school. They express coming more into their own and being comfortable in their identity and their difference from others as they matured and developed into adults, no longer so dependant so the validation of their peer groups and the larger collective Gold Coast identity: *"Leaving school and maturing and becoming more self-confident and sure, that's when I really learnt to appreciate my culture a lot more*" (Moana, 24).

Like most parents, a lot of time and consideration is taken in the naming of children with most being gifted a Māori name, either as a first or middle name. Names are generally from whakapapa and kept in the whānau, as George (63) explains, *"It's our culture and without your culture, without names pertaining to your culture, what are we?"* In Kylee's (35) family they all have Māori middle names that are also whānau names, *"So my kids do too. They have Pākehā first names though. I never considered them having Māori first names, I think that was an unconscious decision".* Missy (48) speaks of when Hinerei was born on the Gold Coast not long after they moved over and that they found it important to give her a Māori name, *"We*

became quite patriotic I guess, coming over to Australia, and wanted her to have a Māori name. I think for us to give her that identity here, with her name being Māori was pretty important".

Another key attribute of the unique Australian and Gold Coast culture that is intrinsically woven into the fabric of being Māori on the Gold Coast is an awareness of, and an adaptation to, the Australian sense of humour; to the 'true blue' Aussie way which is very tongue in cheek and borderline racist. At times, these lines are blurred or very much crossed, and this is something Māori learn to become very adept in navigating. It is not uncommon for many Australians, particularly those from the country, to be outright racist and overt with their perceptions of ATSI Peoples, but this is not the general attitude towards Māori. Moana (24) was recently left shocked at the ignorance of another when she stated she was going out for dinner. They responded, *"Oh, are you gonna get some hāngī?",* something that she would never hear from, nor say to, another Māori. Nathan (38) explains how nicknames and cheeky comments are *"typical of Aussie banter. Aussies can be real smartarses and you've got to learn to cop that as a way of them trying to be friendly".* Missy (48) also remembers being aware of navigating the Australian sense of humour in deciding on what they would name their son. They wanted to call their son 'Ānaru' but decided against it after already experiencing the constant mispronunciation of their daughter 'Hinerei's' name and that, *"the association with kangaroo over here was something I had to think about. His whole life would have been defending his name".* He was instead named Jack, after his father.

If not already familiar with Aussie humour, it can be a source of contention. Stan (37) points out how he has observed with his whānau and other Māori coming over, that they initially struggle to understand the Aussie humour and can get offended and aggressive in these situations: *"it would take them maybe two or three years to kind of get used to that Australian*

humour and how they interact. There would always be conflict and unease, they would throw out some strong words". This was evident with George (63) when he moved over with his children in 2006. He communicates how he found it difficult adapting to the Australian way of life, the slang, and the *"cheekiness of the Australian people and trying to fit in and make it work for me and my children. They would be total smartarses and I just wanted to bop them".* He goes on to explain that things got better with time and age, *"... I've got a lot of friends here now, it's more 'take it easy' time now".* Stan (37) remarked how his friends always knew their boundaries and how far they could go with joking and banter, but strangers would get called out on it if they went too far.

Indigenous Relations

Sisters, Rheagan (21) and Hinerei (19), were schooled in the Tweed, on the cusp of the border at the Northern end of NSW, where they recall being the only Māori at school but having many ATSI friends and teachers. They grew up close with their Indigenous community noting: *"The people from this area are the Minjungbal people and they live in the Bundjalung nation. Their sacred mountain would be Wollumbin which is Mount Warning"* (Hinerei, 19). They would go to their friends' family gatherings and feel comfortable, *"It would remind me of our way of life"* (Rheagan, 21), with a focus on family and connectedness. Because of their location and relationships with the local ATSI Peoples they have a much greater awareness of the history and certain cultural practices of ATSI. This is the same with Shaun (37) and mum Jackie (53), who also live in the Tweed and have known many of the local ATSI families for a long time. Shaun's partner, and mother to four of their children, is ATSI of the Bundjalung and Jagera Peoples. Fortunately, her family have retained much of their languages, traditions, and genealogical histories, now being shared with the younger generation: *"The kids' uncle plays*

didgeridoo, paints and does corroborree. He knows the traditions of the men's and women's business and different ceremonies and passes on things to the kids" (Shaun, 37).

Research whānau in the Tweed are more aware of significant ATSI landmarks, events and initiatives, attending not only NAIDOC week events but also marches, corroboree and community events. Missy (48) is a member of an Aboriginal owned and run gym and has become close to the family spending time *"going to their urupā and being on their Indigenous-owned land".* When Norm (58) and Rona (55) first moved over to Australia to Maclean (NSW) for Norm's league they became close with an Aboriginal friend, Nudie, and her whānau and community, *"who have become lifetime friends"* (Norm, 58). So close, that when Rona had a death in her family and they had to return to Aotearoa for the tangi, they left their three children with Nudie and her family as they couldn't afford to all go. Their daughter Terri (32) reflects on this time as *"one of her fondest memories"*. Nudie and her family were still very much connected to the land and their old ways. Nudie and Norm had many philosophical conversations where she taught him a lot about Aboriginal culture and the Dreamtime in which he finds it, *"quite similar to our culture really, quite spiritual".* Jackie (53) has four ATSI/Māori mokopuna and has been around ATSI people since moving to Australia but doesn't claim to know too much about their culture:

> *They have a distinctive identity of their own and then there are similarities as well. I feel that I need to be a lot more closely involved to speak about this. But like I said, they're familiar with culture and that's what we share in common, is that we both come from cultural backgrounds.*

Location, therefore, plays a big part in the relationship with and the understanding of ATSI Peoples. Research whānau who are located in the Tweed, NSW, have a greater depth of

knowledge and connection to the local ATSI community whereas those who live only thirty-minutes north of them have far less awareness, highlighting the diversity of Māori and ATSI relationships in relation to place. Te Uira (23) has noticed a difference in the amount of ATSI people in the Tweed/Southern Gold Coast and those in the more central and Northern areas, *"since we moved up the Gold Coast, I haven't seen any",* and Nathan (38) was only ever aware of ATSI people when playing league or in the tourism sector. This is supported by data from the 2016 census by the Australian Bureau of Statistics showing that there were more Māori (11,737) living on the Gold Coast than ATSI (9,288) residents. **See Table 2.**

Table 2: Population of Māori and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders on the Gold Coast in 2016 (adapted from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2016 Census of Population and Housing, as cited in .ID-the population experts, n.d.).

2016 POPULATION OF THE GOLD COAST		
Total population	ATSI population	Māori population
555,721	9,288	11,737

My parents, Carl (65) and Sue (64), remarked how my Nana had her concerns about how Dad would be treated in Australia in knowing the general attitudes of Australians as racist, particularly towards the Indigenous Peoples in Australia. However, research shows that many Australians see Māori as 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwis'; generally viewed as friendly, hard-working, family orientated people (Hamer, 2007). Perhaps this favourable outlook on Māori can be traced back to the 19th Century and first encounters between colonial British settlers and Māori in Australia where it was common for nineteenth-century colonial writers to compare the Australian Aboriginal people with Māori, almost always in a negative light (Fred & Clark, 2014, pp. 114-115). This notion has evidently remained with settler colonial Australia. Dad, therefore, never had a problem and was happily accepted into Australian society. So much so that my parents would be very surprised at some of the harsh comments and perceptions that they would hear from some of their Australian friends from the country: *"These were our good*

friends, really nice people but very racist in their views on Aboriginals. We thought that was terrible!" Kylee (35) also noticed the difference in perception of Aboriginals to Māori stating that:

> *Being Māori is very much glamourised in many ways on the Gold Coast. In general, Aboriginals were spoken about in a derogatory way, but everyone loved the All Blacks and the haka and a lot of the girls were interested in the Māori boys.*

Despite many growing up with ATSI friends at school, there was always an awareness of the general, negative perception of Australia's Indigenous peoples in society: *"the way that they're talked about and described in their histories is very much in a putting down way"* (Kylee, 35). Although Norm (58) has always had positive interactions and relationships with ATSI Peoples he is aware that there can be some tension between the cultures at times and thinks that perhaps Māori are seen as a bit overbearing, *"There's an underlying 'something', whether we come across as too much, too macho or what".* Stan (37) grew up seeing Aboriginal people in a more negative light. Although one of his best friends is ATSI, a lot of his memories are of getting into fights with them:

> *Growing up and going to parties when we were young, they were always there in packs and it was like they were there looking for a fight, to beat up someone, with no great purpose other than to get in a fight.*

In moving back to Aotearoa and learning about the effects of colonisation, colonialism, and the ongoing, intergenerational trauma felt by Indigenous Peoples he can now understand these situations from a different perspective and can see where that mamae and anger comes from. However, at that time he saw them very much in the same way as mainstream society. Similarly

for Kylee (35), who, like myself, didn't like being mistaken as an Aboriginal on the Gold Coast due to, *"the whole label thing where one label is better than the other".* She also now feels a lot more connected to the plight of ATSI and Indigenous Peoples in general since moving back to Aotearoa and acknowledges that in her youth it *"wouldn't have even been a concept".* Terri (33) is surprised at how much she doesn't know about ATSI peoples after spending her whole life in Australia, *"you would think that Australia would educate people living here about its first peoples, but it's something you really have to go and search for; it's not readily accessible or well-known".*

Despite a difference in interactions and understanding of ATSI Peoples and their histories, each person spoke how they would like to see a lot more ATSI visibility in the local community, with far greater acknowledgement and recognition. My research whānau are aware of the more tourism-based initiatives where they have dancers and performers, but a lot is missed by the general population. All participants are aware of NAIDOC week. NAIDOC- *National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee*- has origins tracing back to the 1920's with the emergence of Aboriginal groups seeking to "increase awareness in the wider community of the status and treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). Missy (48) speaks of her disappointment every year in that:

> *It's not promoted. I've worked at a place for like five years and every year when NAIDOC was on I would talk about it and these people had never heard of it before! And they'd lived in Australia their whole life. They didn't know what NAIDOC week was about, it was unbelievable. It's not promoted and unless you are in the know with the Indigenous families around here, you could just go the whole week and not even see anything.*

As a national response, things have apparently improved over recent years with Indigenous television stations and radio stations getting airtime and with more ATSI television presenters, hosts, artists, musicians, sportspeople, and the like being more visible. My parents have noticed the relatively new custom of 'Welcome to Country' that is said before a number of events now acknowledging the traditional people of the land and whose land they are on more specifically. However, they all see that there is still a long way to go for the general population to have a well-rounded understanding.

Yorta Yorta Goomaroi elder Winsome Ruth Matthews (as cited in Henare-Solomona, 2012) is quoted in the dissertation *Whakaaro Rua- two ways of knowing*:

> *You Maori have a lot to offer us. You are always at the front breaking down the walls of oppression for all indigenous nations. But remember, like we need you, Maori need us too because we know that culturally you have protocols that require us, to be a part of that visitor/host relationship. Here I am, a representative of my people. I am a reminder of our past and my ancestors. I also represent our today. But most importantly, I represent our tomorrow, your children and mine.* (p. 152)

Here, Winsome speaks of relationality and reciprocity and the very important cultural significance of Māori being on ATSI land as manuhiri or manene, where it is "never possible for manuhiri or manene to take upon themselves the status of tangata whenua" (Mikaere, 2011, p. 77). My research whānau believe that Māori are supportive of ATSI people in general and see them as allies, *"and likewise the other way around"* (Terri, 33), and that all Indigenous Peoples can relate to certain aspects of each other's culture and the effects of colonisation with a *"mutual empathy"* (Nathan, 38). But of course, empathy can only go so far:

> *I feel for them because they've been raped of their land, they've been raped of their waterways, they've been raped of their culture and heritage. And I think it's hard, but we can't do much. We're Indigenous just like them but from another country. We can't poke our nose into their business as much as we'd like to. They are people but unto themselves.* (George, 63)

There are multiple layers to the construction of Māori identity for the diasporic community on the Gold Coast. It is evident that a Gold Coast Māori identity is not separate from the Gold Coast beach culture and lifestyle, and also in relationship with ATSI Peoples and the wider Australian public. One cannot stand alone without any influence from the other. Those that have grown up on the Gold Coast and have gone through the education system there, are very much ingrained into mainstream society and have had to navigate their cultural differences in practical ways to be comfortable around their peers. In adjusting to Australians' racist humour in order to better fit in and be less confrontational, Māori often brush of harmful comments and internalise such situations, although this may not become apparent until they are on the outside looking in. Those who have emigrated as adults, to provide greater opportunities for their tamariki, have had to compromise and adapt to their new lifestyle. Through my conversations with whānau it is apparent that understanding, and having experienced oppression and assimilation through colonisation, doesn't automatically transfer over with them to the Gold Coast. They recognise similar ideals shared with ATSI Peoples around whānau and spirituality, yet do not recognise themselves as contributing to ongoing settler-colonialism. This is seen as an issue for 'Australia' and can be seen to contribute to a difference in ideals between Māori in, and outside of Aotearoa, a departure from the fight for Indigenous rights. Perhaps Māori who leave Aotearoa are tired from constant protest? Perhaps they are too blinded by the opportunities and freedoms outside of their land? Perhaps they don't want to be deemed disruptive and 'othered' by dominant society? It seems that they have a shared empathy for

ATSI Peoples and are ready to stand and support them in their endeavours as they present, although at this time they are largely unaware of their movements.

Ko wai koe? Nō whea koe?: Questions of Belonging

E hoki ki ō maunga, kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea[41]. As a generalisation, the concept of 'belonging' is at the core of Indigenous cultures around the world. Where intimate connections to the land, to waterways, to people, places, and both the natural and spiritual worlds is normalised. For some, however, these innate 'knowings' have been suppressed or forgotten, ancient bonds broken by colonialism. Diasporic communities are essentially those, who for one reason or another, have made a home away from home. Some may leave to forget, for some the land of their ancestors is never absent from them, and others are waiting to be called. Many Māori on the Gold Coast retain strong ties to Aotearoa and, being in such close proximity to their homeland, they are able to visit frequently and keep those connections alive. This feeling of connection, of course, varies from person to person and can be affected by many causes including trauma, place of birth, where a person was raised, familiarity with place and spiritual bonds.

Whakapapa & Whānau

Whakapapa, from a Māori worldview places us, humanity, as the teina of creation; we are the youngest beings belonging to te ao tūroa, the natural world. All of my research whānau have an awareness of their whakapapa and how that contributes to their common group identity as 'Māori'. However, due to limitations in the understanding of, and familiarity with using te

[41] A whakataukī/ colloquial saying which translates to: *Return to your mountains to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea*; meaning to return home to be restored/refreshed/renewed. Highlights the importance of returning to the land.

reo, not everyone voiced this connection as 'whakapapa' specifically, but it was described in ways that can be to be inferred to mean the same thing. For instance, Nathan (38) expresses it as, "*…all those people that come before me. All the people I have never met".* Hinerei (19) explains 'being Māori' as *"a connection to culture, tracing that back to the creator and seeing the big picture",* and Moana (24) sees it as being connected to family and *"understanding the culture more, and the spiritual side. Knowing that the land is sacred and that our ancestors are watching over us".* Most of my research whānau found it difficult to communicate what it was that made them 'Māori', but they felt that it was something that was intrinsically a part of them: *"I feel it, I love my culture. Even though I've been away 32 years"* (Rona, 55). They find it important to identify as Māori and are very proud of their Māori identity, believing that being Māori is *"in the heart of a person"* (Rona, 55). Jackie (53) supports this notion stating how, *"Māori is not only who I have been bought from, from my parents, but also who we are just as a person, within ourselves spiritually".*

Kylee (35) describes her sense of 'belonging' as Māori as being contextual and situational which was also supported by other members of the research whānau. In Australia she felt very 'Māori', as they: *"... were largely a group of brown, Māori kids who could be perceived by Aussies as a bit rugged always running around in a group with no shoes on",* whereas when in Aotearoa she would often feel more like an Aussie, stating: *"I would feel like the most Pākehā person there because I'm the white girl from the Gold Coast who doesn't know anything and doesn't know what anyone is saying".* Such insights highlight how a diasporic sense of belonging is always in flux and can be confusing and challenging at times for those who feel they aren't 'authentic', and don't 'fit' in either setting. It is very much dependent on place, knowledge, and relationships. Today, Kylee (35) lives in Aotearoa and finds herself needing to *"explain her whole story"* when someone asks her where she is from because she still doesn't have a straight answer:

> *As much as my whānau are from Raglan, like if you have to say where I want to be buried it would be in the Wairarapa though because I feel more of a connection to that land because of my grandparents and our family homestead. You know, so then I also feel like I'm way more from down there.*

She also went on to detail how she feels conflicted today when people remark *"Oh, so really you're Australian!"* and that it really accentuates *"my own insecurities around 'feeling Māori'"*. This is similar to my own insecurities when on the Gold Coast and being asked *nō whea koe?* I was always triggered and felt 'less than' in those moments because I didn't have the knowledge to answer in a way that felt 'right'.

Much of the research whānau touched on the importance of whānau membership and of belonging to a community made up of whānau, extended whānau and friends. They comment how it is always easy to be social on the Gold Coast and have big beach barbeques sharing in food, laughter, and sports: *"It was good for my kids to grow up around their cousins and whānau, and that we all did a lot together"* (Missy, 48). Rheagan (23), Missy's daughter, supports this by saying how a part of her belonging as Māori is her connections to whānau and extended family. She remembers being surprised when her school friends had very small, specific family relations whereas she would say: *"I have thousands of cousins, I can't even name them all!"*

As expressed, belonging as Māori goes beyond your immediate whānau membership and extends out to whānau whānui, distant relations and friends of friends. Whānau and whanaungatanga are about building and retaining connections. Research whānau communicate that this would be achieved by travelling back to Aotearoa as often as possible, visiting for

tangi, weddings, birthdays, and other significant events. They all noted how coming over to Aotearoa was never like a 'traditional' holiday where you would stay in a relaxing hotel and go sightseeing, rather it involved travelling from whare to whare visiting close and distant relations and doing whatever the whānau was doing at that time.

> *Going back to New Zealand was never just a holiday, we never did 'touristy' things; it was always time for whānau. Even to this day, there is so much of New Zealand I've never seen. I've hardly done any travelling or touristy things because it was always like, you stay with whānau. I didn't even know there were hotels or motels in Hamilton.* (Kylee, 35)

Although not a holiday in the traditional sense, for Stan (37), doing typical family activities- like going to the pools, the beach, having barbeques and being around all of the cousins and whānau- it was enough. *"That was our kind of signal, our validation in our mind that yep, we're Māori".* That was all they really needed to have that sense of belonging to community, to culture, as Māori. He can't recall ever going to a marae, affirming that whakapapa and familial connections are one of the main pou of Māori identity construction. Where trips back to Aotearoa are more about strengthening whānau connections than sightseeing, and in spending time with whānau whānui, diasporic Māori are able to see the differences in culture and family dynamics to those on the Gold Coast. They experience whanaungatanga and manaakitanga in building bonds that will be maintained for generations to come.

Connections

Whakapapa Māori guarantees you a space in belonging as 'Māori'. This is however felt at varying degrees for diasporic Māori on the Gold Coast as many of the younger generation know their whakapapa but have not grown up or lived in Aotearoa. They have not grown up with

their tīpuna, nor on their marae or traditional lands to feel connected in these ways. Conversations about whakapapa are not only important to confirm who someone is but are also important in confirming who someone is not. Interestingly, many of my research whānau use the word 'kiwi' interchangeably with 'Māori' as a grouping term, a term often frowned upon by Māori in Aotearoa as it erases tangata whenua status and places everybody as 'New Zealanders'. Most of the research whānau in my generation are somewhat aware of their iwi and hapū affiliations but are unsure as to how this relates to them specifically, and to their everyday lives on the Gold Coast. This is evident when my brother Nathan (38) comments:

> *I don't even know where they are. I don't know how that works, the whole dynamic of it. I've only been told my iwi- Ngāpuhi, Tūhoe and Maniapoto- and then I think, "Okay, what do you do there? Do you choose one? How do you do it?" I got no idea.*

This is a common reaction between my research whānau, particularly with the younger generation who have spent most of the lives on the Gold Coast. Although most of them are aware of their ancestral connections to Aotearoa, many stated that they have no real connection to their marae, hapū and iwi and are not aware of the significance of such memberships in their modern, Gold Coast existence, *"it just wasn't relevant in our day-to-day lives"* (Stan, 37). Shaun (37) expands on this whakaaro of irrelevance, attributing it to distance and being caught in the moment with work and family life:

> *I know my hapū and where our marae is… but we're here you know and so the majority of the time I can't say I've kept connected. I know about it and I know what I should be doing but I have done nothing about it.*

This feeling of needing, of wanting to do more to connect with her marae, hapū and iwi is also expressed by Terri (31), *"I suppose I don't really feel connected much at all when it comes to that. It's something I have to dive a bit more into".* Stan (37) reflects on this situation stating that he believes there is less of a focus on tribal affiliations for Māori in Australia as they are grouped together, as they are connected more so in just being Māori on the Gold Coast, as 'other':

> *So, I think the one thing you are over there [Australia] is you're Māori. You look at Māori and you go yep, we're Māori, we're all the same… I think the iwi and the hapū and stuff, from what I saw, because you're in a different country you don't really have to go too deep in the tribal stuff and you can be more generic and 'we are Māori'. The iwi and hapū stuff, I think, is a little bit later for a personal journey.*

On the contrary, Āwhina (19) is content in her position of non-connection to her iwi, hapū and marae at this time with the knowledge that she has whānau networks around her who she can call on as needed:

> *I don't keep connected with it at all honestly. Just because of my upbringing and that this is basically my home. I always know that it's there and I can always go back to it, and I can always learn it and everything like that. But I don't go out of my way to keep connected with it…. I know that I have family members that can do that and that I can always go to them and talk to them about it.*

This is also something that George (63) speaks of in regard to his children and mokopuna, where he holds that knowledge for them: *"I have most of the information and they don't have to go look. So, anything pertaining to tikanga or anything like that, that's where I'll step in".*

Those who grew up in Aotearoa remain connected to their marae, hapū and iwi largely through whānau who are still living there. Rona (55), who lived on the Gold Coast for thirty-two years explained, *"The only time I really connected myself was if I was coming back here for a reason, for like tangi, or a holiday and all that. It was always through whānau".* They are hesitant to involve themselves with tribal affairs unless absolutely necessary or if called on by other whānau, instead trusting that decisions will be made for the greater good of the collective. This shows a deeper understanding of the mana afforded to those who are ahi kā, acknowledging that it is important for those people living at home to make decisions for home. A reality is, that diasporic whānau and marae have no real relationship with each other outside of significant events such as tangihanga or whānau reunions. Although some of my research whānau are connected to their marae Facebook page, very rarely is information shared that relates to those outside of the region. Despite the conclusion of Keegan and Sciascia (2018) that "kanohi ki te kanohi is irreplaceable and social networking sites cannot facilitate connections that ahi kā requires or to the extent that some people seek" (p. 367), it is evident that improvement is needed in this area to better reach and cater to the 20% of Māori outside of Aotearoa. Karamea Wright's (2019) research outcomes show that diasporic Māori would like more meaningful connections with iwi. Suggestions such as having a delegated liaison to keep whānau updated, and through the livestreaming of various hui and wānanga were put forward as ways to build whanaungatanga and form a sound cultural understanding of Māori identity (pp. 96-97).

All of my research whānau expressed how thankful they are for modern technology today, especially in these uncertain times with Covid-19. Technology- with the internet, Facebook,

and video calling- has been the main method for Māori on the Gold Coast to remain connected to their whānau and friends in Aotearoa. Travel restrictions have highlighted to whānau the real 'distance' of the Tasman and the implications of living overseas and not being able to visit loved ones. Jackie (53) has missed a number of significant whānau events due to Covid-19: *"It's been hard because I like to get back there whenever I can, to go visit whānau and friends. And it's usually really easy to get back and forth too".* She, like many others, has been heavily reliant on the internet but acknowledges that it is nowhere near the same. Similarly, Missy (48) has been unable to come over to Aotearoa to visit whānau, her eldest daughter and mokopuna, which she usually does *"around three to four times a year".* My whānau also found the travel restrictions hard with the distance from whānau, from me and my tamariki- their only mokopuna, nieces and nephew, and also that they were unable to come over in September to celebrate the 93rd birthday of my Nana (mum's mum). She is our last living grandparent, so it is understandably a very significant occasion, one which we celebrated through phone calls. The Covid-19 pandemic has made some underlying issues bubble to the surface for diasporic communities on the Gold Coast. It has really made them consider where they are living and how vulnerable they can be there:

> *I always felt quite safe and comfortable being here cos it's just a short flight back, but it's all different now. It's really shown how, in times like these, it's quite important to be close to where you want to be.* (Sue, 64)

Tūrangawaewae

The concept of 'home' and of belonging to place was difficult for my research whānau to put simply. They all found 'pull' factors both in Aotearoa and on the Gold Coast. Hinerei (19), was born and raised on the Gold Coast and sees home in relation to people and family, highlighting the connection to place with lived memory, *"I think it's people. And your home is your, like*

habitat. And I feel most comfortable here. This is kind of all we've ever known, so it would be a big shift to consider something else as 'home'". This is further expanded by her elder sister Rheagan (21):

> *It's where you feel comfortable, I think. Growing up here, living here our whole lives, having friends; like our physical home. But we'll always have that connection to New Zealand. We'll always have family living in New Zealand and our ancestors forever rest there.*

Those who had emigrated to the Gold Coast as adults had a much stronger association with Aotearoa and in communicating Aotearoa as 'home'. Both of my parents, who have lived on the Gold Coast for some 38 years, still see Aotearoa as 'home' and that, *"I always have done, even though we have lived here all this time. I suppose the formative years growing up creates that real bond"* (Sue, 64). This is the same sentiment shared with the younger generation and particularly those who were born on the Gold Coast, that their 'home' and sense of belonging is the Gold Coast- the land where they have spent most of their formative years and have formed most of the memories, friendships, and connections to place. Āwhina (19) expressed this in saying:

> *At the moment my home is Australia… I was born here. I grew up here my whole life and this is all I basically know. I know we go over there all the time and I know that's always going to be my home as well...but it's not like here where I know everything and everybody and everything is familiar. I always know that that's where my parents grew up and the other families. And it's the same thing, if you were to ask my parents that same question they would say, New Zealand. Even though they've lived here for*

years, they grew up there and so that's the same thing. If I were to ever move there, and live there, I would still say that Australia would be my home. You know?

This is a notion still felt by myself and my tāne Stan (37). Although we have lived in Aotearoa for ten years now, we still see the Gold Coast as home whilst simultaneously seeing Aotearoa as home also.

Home is definitely here [Aotearoa] as well. I can call this home now. But if I were to talk about all the memories, well that's the Gold Coast. That's kind of the mauri or the energy that's created the person that I am today... a big chunk of it. The whenua hasn't really done a whole lot yet because we're just starting, we're just growing. (Stan, 37)

Interestingly, Kylee (35) has quite a different experience. After being born in Aotearoa, she spent her formative years on the Gold Coast and has now been living in Aotearoa since 2014. Kylee feels 'home' in Aotearoa and has no desire to return to the Gold Coast despite being of the thought when she was younger that Australia was the place to be to *"make money, be successful"*, and that Aotearoa was a bit of a dead-end where, *"you get stuck in a rut where nothing changes and no one grows"*. She then describes feeling a shift after having her three children on the Gold Coast and only wanting to be home in Aotearoa:

I don't feel at home in Australia anymore, even though the majority of my life was over there. I miss my family that's there, but I don't even miss anything about the Gold Coast anymore. That fast paced, busy, kind of fake world that's there, it just doesn't even interest me anymore. I've got no desire to be a part of it.

Kylee acknowledges her connection to the land; a deeper sense of belonging that she does not feel on the Gold Coast, nor where she now lives in Cambridge, but feels it in both Raglan[42] and in Te Wairarapa, the whenua of her tūpuna:

> *When I go to Raglan, I feel a connection, I feel a liveliness coming from the maunga. And when I'm in the Wairarapa I feel something different. And the Gold Coast just feels flat to me it doesn't… it doesn't feel like it has that type of energy.*

Although raised on the Gold Coast, Kylee can recall many whānau occasions spent at their homesteads in both Whāingaroa and Te Wairarapa. She has made memories at these places of significance with her whānau whānui and has been to tangi where her whānau have been buried in their whānau urupā in Te Wairarapa. She mentions feeling a closer connection and familiarity to Te Wairarapa and also having land shares there. This demonstrates how the connection to land with a connection to physical, lived memory, correlates to a deeper sense of belonging to place, further blurring the concepts of home and tūrangawaewae.

As I have previously stated, and has been echoed by my research whānau, connection to Aotearoa is a hononga ā-wairua, a spiritual connection, or as Norm (58) communicated, *"my cultural home",* whereas the Gold Coast is a hononga ā-tinana or a physical connection, *"where my family calls home"* (Norm, 58). This is the same whakaaro expressed by Hinerei (19), *"I was born here so this is like… my physical connection is here but then my spiritual connection is New Zealand".* Māori of the diaspora are very aware of the distinction between the two, between the land of our tīpuna and where they now rest, and to our whenua tupu or the land

[42] Raglan is Whāingaroa.

that we have grown up on, have become accustomed to, and have planted the seed for future generations. Naturally, place of birth often makes this connection much stronger. For the older generation who emigrated over with their young families, some of which are now starting their own families, they find themselves somewhat torn between the two. Missy (48), after initially not wanting to move over to Australia, is content to call Australia home for now and has not yet felt the pull to return to Aotearoa:

> *I don't have that yearn or pull to come back. Not yet anyway. And I think it's probably because most of my kids are here. It would be a different story if they slowly move back to New Zealand and of course, I guess it would be easy to go back that way.*

Similarly, Rona (55), who was also resistant to make the move over to Australia initially states that, *"Home* [Aotearoa] *is always gonna be home, I love it, even though I did make Australia my home and is home for my children".*

Jenny Lee-Morgan (personal communication, September 3, 2020) described how the 'puna' in tī-'puna' is of the same puna as that for moko-'puna'; they are of the same source where mokopuna have not long left and tīpuna are closer to returning, coming full circle. This bond creates a very special connection and relationship because of it. Traditionally, as in today, tīpuna generally play a special role in the nurturing of their mokopuna. Jackie (53), still sees Aotearoa as home where she would love to return to live, but knows that she won't be leaving her moko in Australia:

> *I want to come home...my heart is not here. But right now, at this moment the most important thing is the development of my son and my mokos who*

are here. And I'm here with them, to help them. But my heart is at home. I've always been wanting to be at home.

George (63), is in a similar position and will always see Aotearoa as home as:

That is where I was born, raised and where all of my tūpuna are from, and buried. Yeah, I see myself moving back, going home. It's not Australia. If and when I get the pull and the call to go home, then I'll go home. But the GC is home to my children here, and my mokos.

This highlights the strength of connection as whānau and the importance grandparents feel in being there for, not only their children, but their mokopuna. They want to offer a sense of security and understanding, to be a bridge to te ao Māori and share as much as they can of their culture.

Moving 'home' to Aotearoa can also be a complicated decision for most of my research whānau, often torn between what they know, what they want, and where there is a need. As we have seen, many feel some sort of connection to Aotearoa as 'home', although the scale of the depth of this connection varies. Most of the adult (ages 30+) participants have either made the move 'home' to Aotearoa, or it is a whakaaro that often arises. A driving factor both to leave the Gold Coast and to stay is around starting a family and having children. This is a pivotal time where whānau are making decisions to stay on the path as forged by their parents for a new beginning and endless opportunities on the Gold Coast, or to move to Aotearoa to connect to their 'roots' and instil cultural knowledge into their children, something that they felt unattainable on the Gold Coast.

Terri (31), who was born and raised on the Gold Coast, has recently begun grappling with such thoughts. Although she feels that home for the moment is the Gold Coast, she has found herself talking about the idea of moving to Aotearoa: *"I think we would, I just don't think the time's now… but there is a pull that I'm starting to feel when it comes to that".* Kylee (35) made the move after 27 years in Australia, mainly on the Gold Coast. She felt the pull when she began to notice:

> *… a gap in myself in not knowing things Māori and not being connected myself- I wanted something different for my children. So that had a lot to do with why we decided to move home because I wanted different for them.*

Likewise, my tāne and I moved with our children's futures in mind. Here, Stan (37) explains in more detail:

> *I guess the catalyst for coming home was before my eldest was born and engaging in thinking about what things I wanted to pass on to my children as a father, what are the core values and all of those things. And one thing I definitely wanted for my children was to allow them to understand who they are and where they are from. Just from my up bringing and knowing that I was Māori, and being proud of that, but not having the knowledge and tools to teach those to my children. And there wasn't enough on at the GC at that time, there were kapa haka groups, but I saw that at that time as more of a passtime, a hobby, like sport, and I knew that wouldn't have been enough. I knew we had to go home to our roots.*

Whilst some have felt compelled to move to Aotearoa after the birth of their children, others are content to stay and must consider other factors such as family and their partner. As much

as Shaun (37), who has four children with his ATSI partner, would love to move to Aotearoa he realises the effect that that could have on his young family:

> *I'd love to but it's just, I think my situation is a bit different because my kids have got their other half here too. I would love to, but I don't know how the other half would take it. This is where my kids are so this is where my home is now for my kids. My kids are happy here too.*

Other Factors

The weather, the Gold Coast lifestyle, and the many opportunities available on the Gold Coast are other contributing factors that keep people from leaving. As my brother Nathan (38), who has represented New Zealand and won medals in the 2006 World Surf Lifesaving Championships, explains:

> *I've only ever lived here but every time I go to New Zealand it just feels like home. It feels like that's where I should be, it feels natural…but I've become really used to the great weather on the Gold Coast… I've been there one winter, not even a month, but the weather was terrible. The whole time it rained, and it was freezing cold, and I don't know if I could handle that.*

My mum, Sue (64), explains how it is a frequent discussion between her and Dad, particularly with myself and their mokopuna, and my mum's mum and most of their siblings still living in Aotearoa:

> *We consider moving back on and off. There's a part of us that would really like to go back, but there is the practical side of things which is it's*

probably better to stay in Australia. With Dad's health issues and medical stuff, we probably have better access to health care here.

Jack (50) also mentions having a lot of uncertainty around whether or not they would stay on the Gold Coast or move back to Aotearoa:

It was always a big debate within our family, with me and my wife, because we didn't want to buy a house in Australia. We didn't want to commit to a mortgage because we only had a five-to-ten-year plan initially.

His time on the Gold Coast was used to establish a performance kapa haka group where he became a well-known figure in the Gold Coast Māori community. He would get asked to officiate tangihanga and he also went on to start up a successful tā moko/tattoo studio, *Native One* on Kirra Beach. He was preparing to branch out with another shop, becoming very much accustomed to the Gold Coast way of life, when it was all suddenly cut short, and he was deported back to Aotearoa as a '501' in 2016. The decision was therefore taken out of his hands, and he is now back in the land of his tīpuna in Waikato. Fortunately for Jack, he has fond memories of his upbringing in Aotearoa and still has many friends and family relationships for support here. After spending some time trying to appeal his deportation, he is now content to be back 'home' where he says: *"I have picked up where a lot of things left off when I moved to Australia, what with the Te Kohuiarau and Sovereign movements"*- also returning to te reo, tā moko and whakairo.

Due to the Gold Coast lifestyle, his children being settled in their schooling and having strong connections to friends and family on the Gold Coast, the whānau made the decision to remain on the Coast and not disrupt and uproot from all they know. There was also uncertainty in the permanence of Jack's deportation, and they long held on to hope that he would be allowed to

return to his family and business on the Gold Coast. This has not yet eventuated and has caused great stress and disruption to the whole family. The kaupapa of deportation and its effects is far too intricate and sensitive to go into greater detail for this thesis so I will leave it now where it is. Without his deportation Jack would have remained, quite happily, on the Gold Coast.

Most of the younger research whānau are content in staying on the Gold Coast with no real intention to move over to Aotearoa without an exceptionally motivating factor such as: *"A really good job"* (Moana, 23). This is a notion supported by Nathan (38), *"If I got a really good job or if I met someone, and she lived there...those are the probably the only two reasons I would move over. Otherwise yeah, I'm here".* Again, highlighting the strong bonds of familiarity, comfort, and connection to place. Terri (32) and Rheagan (21) were the only two in my research whānau without tamariki of their own, who stated that they can see themselves moving to Aotearoa at some point. Terri (32) described how she was *"beginning to feel a pull"* to return to Aotearoa, and *"definitely wanting to know more about my culture",* and Rheagan (21) would: *"Love to go back and study. And learn te reo and just more about our culture because I find it hard to do that over here, there's not much, there's not many resources in the way of institutional learning".* For research whānau who have not yet had tamariki and are still quite young the idea of moving to Aotearoa is not something that crosses the mind: *"At this moment in time, I like where I live, and I like what I'm doing and everything like that and I don't want to go over there and change that at this moment in time. Maybe one day"* (Āwhina, 19). Te Uira (23) states that he is content with his life on the Gold Coast for now and is unsure if he will ever move to Aotearoa, *"... maybe when I'm older and have kids?"*

It becomes clear that the concept of belonging, much like identity, is complex and multi-layered for Māori of the diaspora. They are often torn between the physical and the spiritual. Although they are all aware of their whakapapa and connections to Aotearoa, there is generally a clear

distinction in whakaaro from those who grew up in Aotearoa and those who grew up on the Gold Coast. There was no common grouping of thought here; some of the youngest saw it in their future whereas others couldn't even imagine it, and some like the idea of it but not the reality. There are those that have land to return to, but most do not. Some left for their children whereas for others that is their reason to stay. It is clear that most people have the strongest bond to the land in which they have spent their formative years, that their feelings of belonging are sub-consciously stored in relation to place, people and memories thereof. Both identity, and feelings of belonging and connection, are intimately entwined with whānau and the wider whānau unit in both countries. With current travel restrictions, whānau are thankful for modern tools, such as the internet, to keep familial and marae connections alive. They do, however, want to engage with more, and in more meaningful ways, also recognising that nothing can beat physically being on the whenua and kanohi-ki-kanohi engagement. It seems that unlike Kylee's, and mine and my tane`s, experience of finding it necessary to connect as Māori by leaving the Gold Coast, many feel such a connection and familiarity on the Gold Coast that they are more than content to stay and that the Gold Coast has indeed become a 'home'.

PART B: Current Practices & Futures

Part B: Current Practices & Futures continues to build on from the findings and discussion of *Part A: Identities, Belonging & Connection.* Here, the cultural markers or practices that whānau on the Gold Coast identify with are discussed as well as focussing on te āpōpō- looking at the future wants and needs of whānau Māori living on the Gold Coast.

Ngā Tohu: Cultural Markers & Practices

It has already been expressed that one of the most certain and undeniable markers of Māori identity is whakapapa. It is one's ancestry and heritage tracing back to creation. We have also seen how life for diasporic Māori and those on the Gold Coast does not follow the same structures as Māori in Aotearoa where it is not pertinent to be able to recite your whakapapa to others; it is not expected of you in Gold Coast society, nor is it a common occurrence. Therefore, diasporic communities rely on various other means to confirm their cultural identity in other lands which is evident through such vessels as te reo, kapa haka and tā moko.

Te Reo Māori

As previously expressed, te reo Māori has been the strongest and most effective means for my tāne, myself and our whānau to reconnect to our taha Māori. As cliché as it sounds, learning and speaking te reo Māori has opened the window to our souls, to connect through our pito, to our whatumanawa and the seat of our emotions. Learning our native language has allowed us to connect to our blood memory, our tīpuna, in a natural and authentic way. Learning te reo was the beginning of it all for us and it has led into knowing and connecting more to our whakapapa; both of which are journeys without end. Stan (37) attributes his beginning of learning te reo to understanding who we are as Māori. He remembers:

> *One of the teachers was speaking about our spiritual architecture and how Māori see things, and growing up as Mormon I saw a lot of similarities between our spiritual foundation to the religious foundation. Again, back then I didn't know much about Māori historically. I didn't know anything, I thought Māori lived under trees, had a low IQ, and didn't really know a lot. You know, all of that colonised thinking. And then I realised that we*

> *knew everything, that we were walking encyclopaedias connected to ourselves, nature and te ao wairua ...and that opened me up big time. So, all of these attributes within myself, it was actually spiritual things that I was carrying whakapapa wise.*

Here, he communicates how te reo was our key to opening doors into to ao Māori, which then gave us the keys to open others. However, we do realise that this is not the case, nor is it plausible for everyone. Much was sacrificed, delayed, and pushed to the side in order to dive into our reo rangatira me ona tikanga.

My pāpā (65) has only recently begun his te reo Māori learning journey, something that he really committed to in 2020 after retiring from the workforce. Thus far, learning has all been online. He has previously completed the *Poupou Huia Te Reo Level 4 and 5* certificate courses through Te Wānanga o Raukawa (TWOR) and is now studying with *Piki Te Hauora*. TWoR's *Poupou Huia Te Reo* programmes both run for twenty weeks and are delivered entirely over the internet with staff allocated to tauira to guide them through the lessons and how to utilise the written and recorded resources. Although an Aotearoa-based institution, these particular courses have been made fees free by TWoR for all New Zealand citizens, meaning they are accessible at no cost for anyone with a New Zealand birth certificate or a New Zealand passport. Not all institutions will allow this, demonstrating how TWoR are frontrunners in this aspect- in sharing, promoting, and teaching our reo with all of Aotearoa's citizens, regardless of where they may be situated, cementing their dedication to the normalisation, the reclamation and the revitilisation of our reo.

Classes with *Piki te Hauora* were intended to be conducted in face-to-face learning with weekly classes in Nerang, Gold Coast, but due to Covid-19 restrictions they had to restructure and

move to an online platform meaning that it is now Australia-wide. Online learning comes with its own challenges, particularly for the less technologically savvy and older generations, but Dad adapted well and enjoys the weekly challenges and the fresh outlooks of his classmates. This is a paid course through private providers where content is emailed to participants and then delivered and discussed in weekly Zoom hui. Dad has noted how the numbers start high in the classes but soon drop. His most recent class started with approximately forty participants but fell to a consistent eighteen to twenty. This significant drop is attributed to the *"huge personal and family commitment that is required to going into the learning environment"* (Carl, 65) and the fact that people still have work, study, and family commitments outside of their language learning. Dad also speaks of the difficulty in learning te reo, on the emotional toll and the many inward battles faced:

> *There is so much emotion involved. It's a private journey that needs to be shared. There are many frustrations with things that you are unable to comprehend or explain. All these emotions are inside of you. My journey to date has been a mixture of enlightenment, with the awesome sound of my language and a humbling dose of fear, the fear of not knowing, of not been able grasp the new/old concepts of learning again. 'Am I ever going to get this?' is a constant in my learning.*

Like many second language learners of te reo today, particularly those in the older generation, te reo Māori was never privileged in their everyday lives. Most of my research whānau have grown up hearing te reo Māori in various ways but it has never been taught, passed down or seen as something with much 'worth' to their modern lives and succeeding in today's society. Dad can recall having *"this denial of my culture through stages in my adult life"* and embarrassment in not being able to speak his reo as the mataamua of his whānau:

> *I can always remember the lack of knowledge, of customs and protocol, especially at my own parents' tangi. I keenly felt my lack of leadership with my role as the eldest in the family and any type of family gatherings where Māori was spoken. This embarrassment is still with me to this day.*

With Dad seeing the growth of my whānau in learning and immersing ourselves in te reo me ona tikanga, he now sees the connection between te reo Māori and a confident Māori identity and admits that his previous *"assumption was wrong and that te reo has a place in the world. I now strongly support my reo"*. He attributes his learning of te reo to being *"a lot more comfortable with my identity and what I want to achieve"*. He speaks of being proud of where his mokopuna are at present and that they were another of his driving factors in learning te reo and wanting to communicate with them in their first language, *"I cannot think of a better environment and culture to bring one's family up, surrounded by the community and family that shares its identity"*.

Norm (58) and Rona (55), my in-laws, spent some thirty years on the Gold Coast raising their six children. They have only recently (2018) moved back over to Aotearoa to focus on learning their reo and reconnecting to our cultural practices. After spending so much time on the Gold Coast, Rona (55) was never interested in returning to Aotearoa: *"The only reason I came back was because I said to my son, "I'm only coming back if you put me in a te reo class". And now I'm having trouble go back to Australia!"*. Norm acknowledges the many struggles and hurdles he has faced in reclaiming te reo at this stage of his life, after being so distant from it for so long. Initially, he thought it would be easy: *"I thought to myself, you'll be right, but it was just the opposite. But you know, it's alright. It's a lifetime thing"*. Rona (55) is also aware that they very much on a journey in reclaiming their reo:

> *I'm slowly getting there. I'm just working at my own pace. I've done two years of it so far, so I know a little bit more than when I started. It's just been a high ever since I've moved to New Zealand and I can't say anything bad about my reo journey. It's just that it's going to take me time to get there but I'm gonna get there!*

Despite the many challenges faced in reclaiming our native language it becomes clear that my research whānau who have committed to this path are doing it for so much more than adding another language to their vernacular and that there is a very direct link between te reo me ona tikanga and our cultural identity. As Norm (58) reflects:

> *Well, it's our culture. You know if it wasn't our culture, well then, we wouldn't persist. But because it's our culture and the reo is, it's that. The word, the word is it. You have to understand the word to understand the world.*

Norm clearly aligns himself with the sentiment that 'te reo is the door to the Māori world'.

Jack (50), despite his many kete of knowledge in Māori fighting arts, tā moko, whakāiro and kapa haka, admits to having a limited grasp of te reo, a gap that was highlighted at his Nan's tangi in 1991 when not one of his siblings knew what was being said. He arrived in Australia in 2001 with his many skills and knowledge of te ao Māori from being under the tutelage of Pita Sharples and later Hōhepa Delamare (Pāpa Joe) in *Te Whare Aitu* with mau rākau, or Māori weaponry, and was quickly absorbed into the Māori community on the Gold Coast. Jack tirelessly promoted te ao Māori on the Gold Coast and shared his knowledge with others. Although he was aware of his limitations in certain areas, particularly with te reo, he continued to promote te reo me ona tikanga as much as he was able:

> *... compared to New Zealand and learning te reo I would be at a basic level, but going to Australia with that basic level, oh you're a kaumātua! And yes, I did play on that a bit. It wasn't being whakahīhī, but about wearing the hat, inspiring our people. For me it was about having the taonga present amongst the community. So, seeing the need, and then providing the service to fulfil that need.*

He would be called to officiate at many tangihanga and would use his knowledge of te reo, karakia, waiata and tikanga to carry the process through. Jack describes how Māori wanted to connect with their reo and culture on the Gold Coast and that they worked with a kaumātua from Ngāpuhi who was fluent in te reo to begin a puna reo with language learning classes for various levels:

> *It's not hard to gather the different taonga that you needed to instil in the people and the main one was te reo- kapa haka, tikanga, tangihanga, and our people stepped up to the mark. A lot of kaumātua came into their prime, they'd talk about how whakamā they were, about how they grew up not knowing, but then seeing there was a need they gained confidence and then gave back to the community.*

George (63) emigrated to the Gold Coast with his young children in 2006 with a solid grounding in te reo Māori me ona tikanga. His children went to kōhanga reo and his teenage son went to wharekura before leaving Aotearoa to *"get out of a comfort zone"* and for a *"different environment and opportunities for his children"*. He felt that his children were *"going back too deep in tikanga to move forward jointly in this world"* and is content with his decision today and proud of the progress his children have made on the Gold Coast. He reflects:

"they are a brighter people. They're more radiant. They're happy and they understand where they are and where they've come". George retains his reo in being a kaumātua for Queensland Māori Rugby League on the Gold Coast and through officiating at tangihanga when called upon. He believes*, "once you've got it, you got it. It's not so much the language, but it's the tikanga behind the language".* Although he himself is deeply immersed in te ao Māori he is not overly concerned that his children are not as he has the information to pass on to them when they are ready:

> *If they want to find their Māori roots, or they want to learn their Māori heritage and language, I tell them, "You do it when you're ready. You go search for it when you're ready". But the bright side of this is, I have most of the information…*

For other whānau such as Jackie (53) and Shaun (37), who have lived on the Gold Coast for some twenty-four years, they are well aware of their gaps in knowledge and understanding of te reo Māori and how their current lifestyle further contributes to their situation. They are so busy with their working lives and family commitments to currently find the time to focus on te reo. Shaun has ATSI/ Māori children and expresses how thankful he is for his mum (Jackie) in sharing whatever she can of te reo me ona tikanga to his tamariki, *"We go over colours and numbers, the eldest is beginning to learn a basic pepeha, we're starting a foundation, a little bit each day"* (Jackie, 53). Once again, this highlights the understanding of the role that our Indigenous languages take in forming Indigenous identity.

For many of my research whānau, learning te reo Māori is not currently a priority. Those with children, such as Shaun (37), are more aware of the importance of language and identity, and this has also been noted by others- Te-Uira (23), Nathan (38) and Moana (24) - who each made

references to finding more relevance in learning to reo when they had children of their own. Moana (24) mentions how she has recently thought about learning te reo to speak with her nephew and nieces (my tamariki) for whom it's their first language, *"If I didn't have such a strong connection with the kids, I probably wouldn't feel a massive need to go back to my culture".* Both Rheagan (21) and Hinerei (19) spoke of hoping to learn te reo at some point with Rheagan specifically wanting to do so in Aotearoa, to be *"fully immersed in the language and the culture and on the land".* My brother, Nathan (38) has many reservations in learning te reo Māori whilst living on the Gold Coast. Although our dad has been dedicating his retirement to learning te reo and Nathan can see the many positives for Dad, he still considers it as more as a hobby and not a reality of their everyday lives on the Gold Coast,

> *I just think living over here is not conducive to retaining it. I think it's something you got to be surrounded by all the time, and over here with the people I'm around, I'd never be able to talk to anyone! Even a lot of the Māori here don't speak it.*

Kylee (35), who moved back to Aotearoa in 2014 has also completed *Poupou Huia Te Reo* through TWoR and at that time her two tamariki were also attending kōhanga reo. She sees how having her children in kōhanga complemented the learning and retention of te reo and that when they relocated to Cambridge and the kids moved into the mainstream system, much was lost. Two of her younger sisters have taking up te reo classes online on the Gold Coast with various levels of success, with one withdrawing as, *"life came up I guess, they still talked about wanting to do it again".* Kylee herself feels some mamae in how *"passive"* they are in embedding te reo into their lives at the moment, with life and other commitments taking precedence. *"My hope was to move over here and really be able to immerse them in far more things 'Māori' than I have. So that hurts me and it kind of makes me regret my choices".* Kylee

works as a midwife largely caring for Māori women and struggles with feeling like an 'imposter' at times due to her lack of proficiency in te reo me ona tikanga. She has been fortunate to attend a number of workshops delivering an insight into te ao Māori and traditional and modern Māori birthing practices and models of care and is excited to think about where her journey will take her, knowing that te reo is still waiting for her to tune in.

Like most of my research whānau, and second language learners in general, there is much dismay and shock in seeing how quickly the language can be lost from a whānau line. How parents and grandparents and so on, who were fluent reo speakers, were so overcome by the ideals of dominant society that sometimes their own whānau were totally unaware of their reo proficiency. Kylee explains that in her whānau, the Church (LDS) always came first:

> *It wasn't until one of their brothers got married and my grandfather spoke in te reo Māori and they were like 'what the hell?!' I guess because church was such a predominant factor in their life that everything else dropped away, because the priority was church.*

This resonates with the statement that it "takes one generation to lose a language and three generations to restore" (Higgins, 2020).

This plethora of experiences and push and pull factors in learning te reo shows the importance of having dedicated spaces and building a community of te reo Māori speakers, at all levels, to support each other, to learn and grow from each other. Understandably, learning te reo will be difficult outside of Aotearoa, where it is recognised as an official language of New Zealand. However, it is a misconception, one that my tāne and I also believed, that once we were living in Aotearoa, learning te reo would be easy. That it would be everywhere, readily available and that we would be confident speakers in no time. These thoughts were quickly disrupted, and

we found out first-hand the struggle in learning and reclaiming our reo. As much as our journey was terrifying and confronting, due to being raised in Australia we weren't consumed with the stifling mamae, with the intergenerational pain and trauma that has been passed down in many of our whānau as their reo was beaten out of them by the state and considered worthless, as was seen in many of our fellow classmates. The connection between intergenerational transmission is evident as research whānau are connecting with having children as the main push factor in learning te reo. It is at such a pivotal time that adults can learn with children who are grasping these new language skills as a natural part of their development; in turn creating community and relevance to everyday life. Te reo Māori is more than just a language- it is culture, and in order for it to thrive it needs community and daily interaction. Although the internet can help, it cannot compare to a 'real' classroom environment.

Kapa Haka

Kapa haka, or Māori performing arts, plays a pivotal role in the retention and the promotion of Māori culture. Our tīpuna, though without a written language, were masters of their reo and used this to create visual stories through a variety of chants, songs, and lyrical poetry. They had songs for war, songs for mourning, songs of love, songs of revenge, of betrayal, songs to scorn, and perhaps most importantly songs to pass on traditional knowledges and whakapapa to children. Kapa haka uses a combination of traditional and contemporary songs today, blending in elements of tikanga with karanga and whāikōrero, and aspects of Māori fighting arts with the use of poi, taiaha, patu and mere. Although performative, traditional skills and knowledge are being transmitted for future generations, and importantly, it is all conveyed through our reo.

Kapa have a long history of touring and entertaining guests both throughout Aotearoa and overseas. Many of these groups are contracted for large performances, for tourism, showcasing

Māori arts to the world. Modern kapa haka today is a highly competitive and structured art form, with the top kapa performing in the esteemed, bi-annual, *Te Matatini* competition. The *Te Matatini Festival* began in 1972 and is hosted by a different iwi every two years; Australian kapa were welcome to compete from 2006 (Te Matatini. Kapa Haka Aotearoa, n.d.). Today, after regional competitions in both Aotearoa and Te Whenua Moemoeā, Australia, the top nine kapa make it through to perform in the finals on *Te Matatini* stage. Not only for the elite, kapa haka is seen throughout Aotearoa- from early childhood centres to universities; football fields to concerts; there are kaumātua kapa and groups for people with disabilities, there are whānau and iwi kapa, and then there are also pan-tribal groups who are formed due to location. Kapa haka is a tool to connect Māori with their language, culture and mātauranga. Just how learning te reo is so much more than just learning a language, participating in kapa haka is so much more than just learning some songs with movement, it is another key to Māori identity.

The ability for kapa haka to strengthen cultural identity is something that my tāne's parents were aware of when they moved to the Gold Coast and formed a small family kapa haka group. They began with performing in retirement homes where they would *"pūkana to the old people and sing waiata for the old people. They enjoyed it"* (Norm, 58). Jackie (53) reflects that she enjoyed doing kapa haka with whānau, with friends and meeting others along the way, *"It really brought me back to being home again".* Kapa haka was used to instil a sense of Māori identity in their children, to connect them to their culture. Both Rona and Norm knew that they had limited knowledge but *"that was the closest they could get to being Māori in Australia"* (Rona, 55).

Over time the group grew, and then when Jack (50) moved over to the Gold Coast in the 2000's things stepped up another level. Jack came with a vast array of knowledge and skills that they had been lacking; he had been in a group in Hamilton and was also well versed in the fighting

arts and applicable tikanga. Eventually, other Māori whānau heard of their kapa and joined, evolving from a whānau-based focus into a community group where they would do things together as families. They began to open for various entertainment acts that were performing on the Gold Coast, taking kapa haka to various sporting events and government events, eventuating into gaining a three-year contract with New Zealand Tourism: *"we were actually making a living just doing haka shows"* (Jack, 50).

After becoming more visible in the community, they began to get asked to attend tangihanga to tautoko with pōwhiri, waiata and wherever else help was needed. More and more families wanted to come on and learn. Jack (50) attributes this to when the 'shine' of the Gold Coast begins to dim, *"and then what happens? Everyone gets mokemoke for the culture, until they'd see outfits like ours and know there were active Māori in the community".* Opportunities kept presenting themselves and soon they were organizing and facilitating several workshops for reo, mau rākau and karanga, culminating in organizing a '*Waitangi Day'* event. What began as a family event of 200 morphed into hosting some 25,000 people six years later. All of this, whilst preparing for and competing in the regional kapa haka competitions. The kapa fizzled out almost as quickly as it started up after a succession of hard-hitting financial woes where Jack decided to step out and that he'd *"had enough of the Māori community",* seeing him step into the world of business and open his own tattoo shop.

During the time of Jack's arrival, the children, the teenagers specifically, turned away from kapa haka. The younger children had fond memories of their time doing kapa haka and being surrounded by whānau: "*Even though I didn't really know the meanings of everything, I felt, you feel quite strong performing and being part of a group like that"* (Terri, 32). Āwhina recalls always enjoying herself and how *"It was like we were camping with all of these other families and they'd do kapa haka concerts".* For the older siblings, who were young teenagers at the

time, kapa haka was the last thing that they wanted to take part in and that they: *"just wanted to do our own thing with our mates"* (Shaun, 37). Stan (37) reinforces this sentiment, and that it *"didn't fit within our paradigm or even correlate with our world. We didn't have any Māori mates; we didn't know what we were saying, and we had to do it or there would be consequences"*. He recalls that they would have to do the haka '*Ka Mate'* at any Māori occasion and felt like that was the pinnacle of their 'Māoriness', *"Everyone get up and do 'ka mate' and that was your thing, ticked the box"* (Stan, 37). Although grateful for various other teachings and experiences of a Māori world view with whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and whānau being paramount, Stan (37) reflects that:

> *I can't do kapa haka now. I understand what that feels like... to be Māori but to be entrenched in another world and then you're kind of getting it forced on you. I feel like it was for our parents' benefit and not ours.*

This difference in experience highlights the range of experiences connected to being Māori on the Gold Coast, where forcing culture for cultures sake can be damaging for those who are not ready or interested. Jack (50) acknowledges that this was an overexposure of culture to the youth, making them confused:

> *They didn't have that grounding, like their parents had a good grounding, but transferring that to children who don't get brought up in New Zealand, in New Zealand you're exposed to the culture, you know, even through schooling it was around, but in Australia you've got absolutely nothing like that.*

He therefore realised that he had to tone it down and that people coming into the group would need scaffolded learning to better understand the culture and themselves. But by that point the teenagers were done.

Tā Moko

Māori of Aotearoa, like our whanaunga of Oceania and indeed many other Indigenous nations, are renowned for tattooed bodies with many a mokomōkai- preserved, tattooed Māori head- being displayed in museums around the world. In te ao Māori moko was first seen with Rūaumoko, the unborn child of our atua Ranginui and Papatūānuku. As Rūaumoko twists and turns in the kōpū of his whāea, her skin ripples and stretches to accommodate her child, creating valleys, earthquakes, and volcanic activity (Higgins, 2013, para. 4). Much like the stretch marks formed on a woman's puku as her baby grows within. Tā moko was then brought to te ao tūroa- the natural world- by Mataora. As the pūrākau goes:

Mataora was a paramount chief and Niwareka was a tūrehu, of the fair skinned, blue-eyed people of Rarohenga- the spiritual realm. In a lover's dispute, Mataora struck Niwareka's face, our first instance of domestic abuse, who in her heartbreak fled to the comfort and shelter of her people in Rarohenga. Mataora mourned his wahine and in his remorse he pledged to find her in the underworld. Adorning himself with markings of blue paint of the upperworld, Mataora began his quest to gain entry into Rarohenga. After much trial and tribulation Mataora passed through to Rarohenga where he was mocked for his dishevelled appearance and for painted markings that had run and could be rubbed of. The tūrehu adorned their bodies permanently through puncturing their skin. Mataora asked to be permanently marked in their way and Uetonga, Niwareka's father (who is Ruāumoko's grandchild), agreed. Such was his pain that Mataora was crying out for Niwareka and they were reunited. Niwareka nursed her tāne and there they stayed for some time. Eventually Mataora asked Niwareka to return with

him to te ao tūroa, but she was hesitant. Her father requested that she stay, that the upperworld was a place of evil and misdeeds. Mataora however convinced them that he had learnt the peaceful ways of the underworld that he would adopt and share with the world above. Thus, the art of permanently marking the skin came to te ao tūroa which, although methods have evolved, we still see in practice today. Receiving tā moko is a commitment to the ideals of Rarohenga, as embodied in the whakataukī: Whāia ngā mahi o Rarohenga- strive to be better than average (Pūrākau adapted from Best, 1982; Higgins, 2004; Kopua & Kopua, n.d.).

These are but two accounts of how tā moko came to be a part of Māori life and it is important to remember that iwi and hapū can have their own, varying origin stories. Because of this whakapapa, this connection to our atua, tā moko is seen as much more than a tattoo to Māori. It is an extension of one's being, a visual manifestation of one's whakapapa and an acknowledgement of one's cultural identity. The art of tā moko was nearly lost, due to the Tohunga Restriction Act of 1908, which was created to eliminate all forms of tohunga, especially:

> . . . people pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment and cure of disease, the foretelling of future events, and otherwise, and thereby induce the Maoris to neglect their proper occupations and gather into meetings where their substance is consumed and their minds are unsettled, to the injury of themselves and to the evil example of the Maori people generally (Tohunga Suppression Act 1908, as cited in Higgins, 2004, p. 121).

The Act was repealed in 1963, well after the last tohunga tā moko had passed away (Higgins, 2004, p. 125). For many decades after, tā moko was seen as taboo and unrefined, found on

gang members and 'activists'. Although urbanised, Māori continued to mark themselves as, "it was something that Māori simply did" (Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 125). Tā moko has seen a renaissance today where it is somewhat normalized and not uncommon to see people with tā moko somewhere on the body. Kirituhi is a new, somewhat controversial term for Māori designs tattooed onto non-Māori. As tā moko/ tattoo artist Taryn Beri (2015) explains, kirituhi allows "Māori to share our cultural arts with people from around the world in a respectful manner". Today a significant shift and resurgence is occurring with mataora, or facial moko, amongst Māori in all sectors of society famously promoted by activist/ rebel/ artist Wairere Tame Iti since the 90s and now seen in parliament, on television, in our courts, universities, schools and defence forces.

Just as tā moko is prevalent amongst Māori in Aotearoa, it is no different on the Gold Coast where people are proud to show a commitment to their culture through this form. Jack (50) began tattooing on the Gold Coast in 2003 and by 2008 he had established his own business on Kirra Beach. He believes he has *"probably done over 5,000 tā moko on the Gold Coast, and probably over 10,000 Australia-wide".* Jack recalls Turumakina Duley[43], who is *"now probably considered one of the best tā moko artists, for moko kanohi, moko kauae, in the mataora scene at the moment",* moving over to the Gold Coast in 2008/ 2010 where they formed a collective and travelled around doing tattoo conventions and promoting tā moko and the relevance it has in Māori culture amongst the industry in Australia. Tā moko is yet another key for Māori to connect to their culture:

[43] See: https://www.artselemental.com/

> *... another medium to re-enter into te ao Māori for a lot of people who hadn't been connected with te ao Māori. Through tā moko we had a way, a strong tool that we used to bring them back into te ao Māori to find out who they were through their whakapapa, through their culture, who they were through their marae and the connection to the land.* (Jack, 50)

This, I believe, pertains to mine and my brother's reasoning in wearing tā moko:

> *I just wanted to get something that meant everything to me. And the thing that means everything to me is my family. So that's represented as well as, it's representative of all my tribes. So, it's everything, going back as far as we can see. So that means everything to me, and I'm very proud of that.* (Nathan, 38)

Of my research whānau, there are those who are yet to wear tā moko. Some don't feel the need or don't have a want to, and others, such as Āwhina (19) don't feel that the time is right and would like to understand more about the culture first: *"I know how important it is to have one anywhere on your body, and I might get one in the future, but I would never get one right now".* This opinion is supported by Āwhina's older siblings Terri (32) and Stan (37), who both feel that they got their tā moko too young because it *"looked cool"* and, on reflection, wish they had known more about the culture and their significance before wearing them. *"I probably wouldn't get any more now, I want to get more in touch with my culture before I get another one"* (Terri, 33).

Rona (55) received her moko kauae in 2020, after being back in Aotearoa for two years. She recalls being in her first year of learning te reo when she was asked if she would ever wear a moko kauae. *"Hell no! I haven't even got the language",* was her reply. Even after her mum

received hers in 2016, it was never something she considered for herself. Over time however, her thinking shifted. As much as she wants to be able to speak te reo fluently, this is something that she is working towards and doesn't feel that she needs to be at a set proficiency to be a wearer of moko kauae, *"I think it's a bonus if I can speak te reo but, to me, the moko kauae is very dear to my heart. It represents my tūpuna and I'm proud to wear it".* Rona received her moko kauae within her wharenui at Taupiri Marae, Waikato. Her three daughters made the trip over from Australia to be by her side, which Terri (33) describes as one of the highlights in her life:

> *The energy in there and the love was overwhelming. I watched my nan for the first time and that was like, one of the most amazing experiences I've ever felt. And then with mum, oh my god! That was like, next level. It was beautiful. I was getting so emotional. It's nothing I've ever felt before.*

Missy (48) is on her journey to receiving her moko kauae and feels that *"moko kauae is quite accepted here on the GC".* Just as there is a resurgence of facial moko in Aotearoa, so too on the Gold Coast, once again reinforcing that culture is tied to people and not restricted to place. Stan (37) also intends to get a mataora in the near future, from a Māori and a spiritual viewpoint he is extremely comfortable with what that means: *"Me, and all the elements around me are one. Ko au te atua, ko te atua ko au; ko au te whenua ko te whenua ko au".* He can understand how it may be challenging in some areas of life and how it can seem unusual to some, especially friends and whānau on the Gold Coast, but that from where we are coming from today, it all fits into place and is natural within our whare, stating:

> *It's not abnormal for our kids to see these things, to talk about these things, to experience these things from a Māori lens, both physically and*

spiritually. Ultimately it is up to the person, but I will heavily encourage and support my children and descendants to continue the tradition of wearing moko kanohi.

As can be seen, there are many different factors that contribute to Māori identity and that Māori have varying degrees of knowledge and interest in each. Again, these all demonstrate that we are not a homogenous group where one size fits all and that Māori of the diaspora must constantly navigate, negotiate, and juggle how certain 'markers' fit in with their life and lifestyle. Just as in Aotearoa, it takes a huge commitment to foster such attributes within oneself and different people prioritise different things at different times. For Māori on the Gold Coast, they can find it difficult to find the time to fit extra activities in their busy lifestyles, especially when their everyday environment doesn't require such skills or knowledge. It is also important to note that it can be damaging to force too much upon people when they are not ready, particularly when their world can be so far removed from traditional practices. It is, however, important to acknowledge the cultural markers and practices, or 'keys', that Māori on the Gold Coast are taking up or maintaining- such as te reo, kapa haka and tā moko- despite certain restrictions and limitations in being away from the homeland. Whether it is one or all three it still shows a commitment to te ao Māori and Māori identity.

Whakatinahia ngā mātua tūpuna	*Embody the ancestors*
Whakatinanahia ngā atua Māori,	*Embody the Māori deities*
ka tīremi, ka tāheke pērā i te rere o te moana	*That ebb and flow like the moving sea*
Ahakoa ki whea, ahakoa taku noho –	*Despite where i may travel, despite where I may stay*
e muramura tonu nei te ahi	*The fire continues to burn*
Anō nei ko rātou ko ahau, ko ahau ko rātou	*As if they are me, and I am them*
Tīhei mauri ora!	*I breathe, there is life!*

He Tirohanga Anamata: Futures

Ki te kāhore he whakakitenga ka ngaro te iwi[44]- nā Kīngi Tāwhiao, yet for Māori diasporic whānau on the Gold Coast, thinking about their futures can be quite complex. As seen through my research whānau many still hold a strong connection to Aotearoa whereas others feel firmly rooted on the Gold Coast. In looking into Māori futures on the Gold Coast we must consider our long-term goals for future generations. What are we leaving for our āpōpō and what can be done to help Māori retain and connect with their culture on the Gold Coast whilst on the country of the ATSI Peoples?

[44] *Without foresight the people will be lost*- a tongikura, or prophetic saying from the second Māori King, Kīngī Tāwhiao, of the Kīngītanga Movement.

Citizenship

Despite the length of time most of my research whānau have been on the Gold Coast, only a few have gained Australian Citizenship. Rona (55) explains that she only gained hers in 2012, *"So I could get my last my four kids, that were born in Australia, their passport because it was quite a bit cheaper if I was a citizen myself".* Kylee (35) was able to get citizenship easily because of the year that she arrived in Aotearoa (pre-2001). However, she reflects that, *"I had never thought about wanting or needing citizenship until I wanted to go to university, and I only got it to be able to study in Australia".* To be able to apply for a student loan today in Australia you must now be an Australian citizen, or (since 2015) be a dependent minor from New Zealand who has lived in Australia for a continual ten years. If not, tertiary fees must be paid upfront and in full. Rheagan (21) wishes she had applied for her citizenship before enrolling into university as it took almost a year to get all of the relevant information processed for her Special Category Visa to get her fees subsidized *"even though I've been in Australia since I was two in 2001, it was really hard".*

Due to the current political climate and with certain decision making by the Australian Government regarding the ability of non-citizens to access government assistance, and non-citizens facing deportation for criminal activity, all of my research whānau are now seriously considering applying for citizenship. *"I think for safety reasons. It won't change how I feel about who I am as a person. It's basically just a safety issue, I think for any New Zealander in Australia at the moment, you know"* (Missy, 48). Even my parents, who as I have previously stated, have lived on the Gold Coast for some thirty-eight years, have yet to apply for Australian citizenship and explain how it can be a lengthy and difficult process to navigate:

> *The process can take two -three years with a waiting list over 150,000. We always thought we were permanent residents, but now we find that*

> *changed some years ago. We are now considered to be 'protected temporary residents' because of when we arrived here. It's tricky because I've spoken to people from New Zealand Immigration and Australian Home Affairs and get different interpretations.* (Sue, 64)

This is reflective of Hamer's 2017 study, highlighting that the take up of Australian citizenship by Māori is disproportionately lower than other migrant groups (p. 177). In these uncertain times, especially with Covid-19 and border and travel restrictions, applying for Australian citizenship is an important consideration for the Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast and those who are considering moving over. With citizenship you have more financial security, support for studies and the extra security of not being deported back to Aotearoa and separated from whānau. For a costly process that can take years to complete, it is timely that Māori on the Gold Coast are thinking about their futures and how they can better protect themselves and their whānau.

Kaupapa

Collectively, my whānau are aware of reo classes, mau rākau, kōhanga, weaving and kapa haka on the Gold Coast. However, a common comment within my research whānau is that although there are various classes and workshops around, that they can be elusive and only for those *"in the know"*. My parents have attended a few Māori 'events', most recently being Rangi Matamua's presentation *Ko Matariki e ārau ana: The gathering of Matariki,* and would love to have more high-profile Māori, experts in their field, coming over to do workshops on the Gold Coast. Whānau are aware that these things are out there, but most are unsure of locations, times, and finer details, and many have not participated in any of these at all. Missy (48) has recently reconnected with taiaha practice, and pre-Covid-19 was attending weekend wānanga under *Whare Aitū* where people, *"came from Brisbane to down here, I was the furthest south.*

We had some youth, not many, most were in their 30s to 50s". She also connected with the *Māori Movement* workshops which founder Beez Ngarino brought over from Aotearoa with two Queensland-based practitioners. She has also been considering returning to *Piki te Hauora's* reo classes now that they are going to be starting face-to-face teaching again. She did some online classes over lockdown but found it too disconnected being online and pulled out. *"They are doing classes now here on the Gold Coast, so I think that is a much better situation for me to do. And I'd like to take the girls as well and get the girls into it"* (Missy, 48).

In general, my whānau would like to see more for Māori on the Gold Coast, that due to the large Māori population there, more should be done to create a sense of community and to promote Māori culture to avoid feelings of disconnect. Terri (32) comments how she *"has felt a bit 'lost' at times growing up in Australia but being Māori, and not really having that strong connection to culture"* and that *"having more Māori 'things' around would help a lot of Māori in my situation that have been brought up in Australia and away from the culture".* Kylee (35) would like to see more kōhanga reo and reo classes on the Coast so Māori can continue to grow and immerse themselves noting that *"there are so many Māori over there who are just trying to live good lives but also do want to be 'Māori' and keep their Māori heritage".* As reported by *Te Ao Māori News*, 2017 saw the first kōhanga reo/ puna reo opened in Brisbane (Capital city of QLD). The centre is bilingual with the hopes of instilling te reo in their tamariki and whānau and "preparing them should they one day be called back home to their marae" (Paranihi, 2017). A parent of the kōhanga states that many Māori whānau are unaware that there are kōhanga in Australia and that they can often be too whakamā to take their children into the centre, "a lot of it is because the families aren't actively involved in the Māori community" (Tarawai, as cited in Paranihi, 2017).

Stan reflects on this cultural disconnect and applies it to his younger siblings, who at this time show little yearning for te ao Māori but have mentioned that it may come of interest as they get older and have children:

> *I think once they have families and kids, and they start being more responsible for who they are, I think those wants and needs will come naturally, I definitely think those questions will be there. And if a space is created, or there for them to ask the questions and get the appropriate answers, I think that transition from not knowing to knowing will be a lot easier. For example, if we were to go home to the GC, which is always a possibility, I would definitely want our family to be a part of Māori kaupapa there. I mean it's good that our children can speak te reo, so they have a good foundation there, but again it's not enough, especially if you're in a foreign country. So, I guess one of our strategies would be to latch on and get involved with those different Māori groups/ communities/ events/ kaupapa on the GC.*

George (63) would like to see more kaupapa Māori based events and initiatives on the Gold Coast but is concerned about the logistics of it all, *"I would say definitely yes, bearing in mind that Māori work and most of these programs have to be at night to fit, unless they've got full-time transitions for our younger generation".* This is something that Jack (50) noticed when they were running various classes on the Coast, *"That was the hardest thing that we had to juggle- was time. We knew that a lot of people would work and so then a lot of them couldn't come".* He believes the structure of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) here in New Zealand is an effective model for adult education and would like to see something like that transfer over to Australia where students can do noho-based, wānanga learning whilst maintaining their jobs.

He believes the community needs to come together to work out an appropriate solution, to group learning areas, to get numbers locked in and then get the appropriate tutors: *"It's up to the Gold Coast community to organize themselves and their financial platform to pay for the professional tutors".*

Expanding on financial issues, Norm (58) notes how, *"The want is there especially for the older Māori wanting to extend our Māoritanga, our reo...the want's there but the follow through's not… there's no funding".* This is an area of contention that was raised in Paul Hamer's 2011 study on te reo Māori and trans-Tasman migration. Wherein he discusses a divided reaction by both Māori in Aotearoa and Australia regarding which Government should be supporting such ventures. Some feel that the Australian Government cannot be expected to compensate for what the New Zealand Government took away, and others feel that New Zealand's funds are spread too thinly as they are and should only be for New Zealand residents (Hamer, 2011). The New Zealand Government has made goals for te reo such as The Māori Language Strategy of 2003 aiming that: "The majority of Māori will be able to speak Māori to some extent by 2028" (as cited in Hamer, 2011, p. 61) and recently in Maihi Karauna: The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitilisation, 2018 - 2023, where one of their goals is that: "By 2040, 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use te reo Māori as much as English" (Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development, 2019, p. 14). Although neither strategy explicitly leaves Australia out, it is of concern that neither do they make any mention of the one fifth of Māori in Australia, with the highest concentration on the Gold Coast. Both strategies have a strong 'Aotearoa' focus, as they should, but it is disappointing that they have not considered our large diaspora and that many may return to Aotearoa at some point with a desire to contribute to their marae/ hapū/ iwi.

Due to the current lack of options on the Gold Coast and the challenges whānau face, as discussed here and in the previous section *Ngā Tohu: Cultural Markers & Practices* (see pp. 93-106), where some whānau find it hard to connect te ao Māori with their daily lives, Rheagan (21) would rather move over to Aotearoa to learn te reo and be immersed in the culture, *"I'd love to learn it in NZ but I'd also love to see more resources in Aus…I find it hard to do that over here, there's not much".* This highlights important limitations for our whānau on the Gold Coast and something that will need attention, it is not plausible nor realistic for all Māori who want to learn their reo me ona tikanga to move back over to Aotearoa as we did. Te reo Māori is our native tongue that was stripped away by colonisation; it is unacceptable that all Māori are not able to access their Indigenous language, a foundation to Indigenous cultural identity, regardless of where they are located.

As a possible method to address such needs and wants for the Māori diaspora, 2018 saw the emergence of *Hawaiki College* on Facebook, promoting an independent school for QLD with "subject material and tikanga pertaining to Māori and Pacific Islander kaupapa" included in their curriculum based on the principles of Rose Pere's *Te Wheke* (Hawaiki College, 2018). The college states that it will adhere to the Australian Curriculum with the additional use of Māori and Pasifika languages and teachings (Hawaiki College, 2019). They are currently seeking land to establish the college in the northern suburbs of the Gold Coast which have a dense population of Māori and Pacific Islander Peoples. They express that they are involved in continuing conversation with the Indigenous community and that: "Our first conversation always, is in regards to how we can most respectfully teach and learn, and demonstrate the upmost respect and care for the traditional custodians of the land on which we stand" (Hawaiki College, 2020). This is such a timely and energising development for Māori on the Gold Coast and is reflected in the number of positive comments on the Facebook page. The community

eagerly awaits news of development, as Hawaiki College is eagerly awaiting to secure whenua to start.

For Jack (50), the influx of Māori to the Gold Coast in recent years is a positive for Māori trying to learn or maintain their cultural knowledge as there are now a lot of whānau over there who are fluent speakers and well-versed in tikanga and mātauranga. This is supported by Rona's (54) observations when she was on the Gold Coast in early 2020:

> *They are of the generation who went through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa and all that. They have been brought up in te ao Māori and they are trying to take it over to the GC and help other Māori who are seeking to connect with their culture. And yeah, I can see it flourishing, it'll be great!*

Missy (48) would like to see more youth-based activities and initiatives to help with Māori youth identity where *"a lot of youth know that they are Māori but don't have any substance to grab hold of and they can easily go down the wrong track".* She thinks that Māori on the Gold Coast need to be very cautious in undertaking kaupapa Māori wānanga and initiatives and not properly adhering to tikanga or acknowledging the traditional peoples of the land. She is aware of instances where people have got into some spiritual trouble leading to physical illness and notes:

> *Those are the practices that we need to do better, to do a better job at. I think we need to be really careful. There's not enough substance or knowledge; the foundations not strong enough or solid enough for what they're doing. I mean, I think what they're wanting to achieve is great, but there's lots of gaps.* (Missy,48)

A number of the whānau feel similarly and that any Māori kaupapa need to be undertaken carefully, with thorough consideration, consultation and/ or even collaboration with the ATSI community. Kylee (35) can see how having an influx of kaupapa Māori initiatives could impact ATSI Peoples and that: *"It is hard though because over there, there is hardly anything for Indigenous Australians and it just seems crazy that there would be more Māori initiatives, than there are for Indigenous Australians".* Stan (37) expands on this, seeing issues arise if procedures are not followed. He thinks that Māori need to be careful in creating kaupapa on the Gold Coast and not just self-promoting their own culture without proper acknowledgment to the ATSI Indigenous people:

> *And I think a lot of people do that. I think Māori are Māori focused and I think a lot of them don't actually understand colonisation and the whole backdrop to how Māori and other Indigenous people got to where they are now. So, they are kind of carrying that colonising construct and impositions onto others, where the other side, the tangata whenua isn't being properly recognised.*

Both Rheagan (21) and Hinerei (19) believe that Māori kaupapa and events will encourage and inspire others to delve into their own culture and to teach and pass this on. They can see a time where Māori will have spaces to hold cultural events, teachings, and tangi, however they are both aware that there is a certain way to go about it and that interacting with the local Indigenous community is key. Many of the research whānau hold a similar view, that an increase in Māori initiatives will *"inspire"* and *"invigorate"* the ATSI community and that *"as long as it is done respectably then it shouldn't be an issue"* (Jackie, 53). George (63) believes that an increase in Māori initiatives will have *"a profound effect on them* [ATSI]. *It will bring*

their Dreamtime back into reality. They can see it. They can do something about it through Māori, or in conjunction with Māori. The white man ain't gonna do that".

These are waters that must be tread carefully to avoid damaging Indigenous futures. For his mixed Māori/ ATSI whānau, Shaun (37) imagines a future where:

> *My kids love and know both of our cultures. I mean how amazing would it be if our kids could do a proper corroboree and speak te reo at the same time. That'd be awesome. It would be such an achievement for the kids to have an understanding of, and to embrace both cultures. And it would strengthen people around them, they'd see it and it will draw people to them and their cultures. Other people will see that, and they'll want that too.*

A recurring theme that has emerged from kōrero with my research whānau is that the Māori community on the Gold Coast is actually quite disconnected. This is shown through people not knowing about certain events and being too uncertain or embarrassed to show up. If Māori on the Gold Coast are serious in their wants to have more kaupapa Māori initiatives there, then they need to organize themselves and come together as a community to find the best ways to reach these goals. More spaces need to be created for those who have recently emigrated over, those with kete full of knowledge, to meet with those who have been in the community for a while and those who are too nervous or whakamā to step into the community. And then they need to be sure to consult and liaise with the local ATSI community and create a way forward that suits the needs of Indigenous cultures on the Gold Coast. The establishment of a kura for Māori and Pasifika in Australia will create a blueprint and a template for other Māori

communities to work from, and I am certain many are following these developments with keen interest.

Te Moenga Tē Oho: Death

> *"Death is as much a part of the Māori world as life"* (Pōtiki, p.137).

As previously discussed in *Part A* (pp. 62-93), Māori have an awareness of 'home' as being Aotearoa, whether in a physical or a spiritual sense, and that our final journeys take us back to our beginnings in Hawaiki. When the kaupapa of death and death rites came up in my kōrero with most of my research whānau there was often a lengthy pause, some time for contemplation, before an uncertain reply.

To date, a marae has never stood on Australian soil. As stated by Megan Pōtiki (2018), "The tangihanga….is a bastion of our long-standing traditions and it has remained with us through to the modern day" (p. 151), with the marae being the central site for such traditional practices to be enacted. Similar to tangi held in Aotearoa, tangihanga on the Gold Coast generally continue over three days where the whānau pani sit and sleep with their deceased as friends and extended whānau come to grieve, farewell, and support the whānau pani. Hinerei (19) mentions how *"we are the only ones of our friends who have ever experienced being with a dead body for a week in a house or a marae",* with sister Rheagan (21) adding that *"compared to the Aussie way, dealing with our dead is very much a process".* Missy (48) believes that *"protocol is followed as closely as possible with flexibility to adapt as needed".* Acknowledging that not all whānau have kaumātua, or reo speakers, or knowledge of waiata tautoko, and that these were some of the gaps they would fill in when they were doing kapa haka. Tangihanga follow a pōwhiri process to welcome guests into the space. Jack explains how he would navigate this process in not being 'tangata whenua' in the traditional sense:

> *We always acknowledged that the people of the land were the Aboriginals, or the local nation, we would always acknowledge the area and the true people of the land". We would be the kaitiaki of our people and bring the cultural side of our people, while understanding and giving thanks to the Native Peoples of Australia*.

Despite being conducted in the home or in a hall, it is clear that the tangihanga process is of importance to diasporic Māori: *"There is also that very strong pull to gather, to be together to support each other, to be with the tūpāpaku and try to incorporate tangi protocol as much as we can"* (Kylee, 35).

Surprisingly, many of my research whānau on the Gold Coast mentioned that they would like to be cremated which, in itself, is not typical of traditional Māori death practices and was only really seen in times of battle or health pandemics. However, several whānau who are open to cremation are also open to the thought of spreading their ashes in the ocean or in multiple locations- in both the Gold Coast and Aotearoa (Hinerei (19), Missy (48) and Nath (38)). This is definitely not a traditional Māori whakaaro and would be incomprehensible to some, but I think this is where we see a very clear distinction in the difference of whakaaro in our diasporic communities and their connection to place and belonging and that sites of significance are usually those with special memories to the person.

Generally, the older generation would prefer to be buried in Aotearoa however they are aware that a reality of living on the Gold Coast is that their children may want to keep them there or they may not be able to afford to send them back: "*In the end I'll leave it up to them* [the kids]" (Jackie, 53). Likewise for Jack (50), despite always seeing Aotearoa as home, he was content on the Gold Coast where he had raised his children and lived for fifteen years and had given thought to the idea that, "*If I had stayed on the Gold Coast, I probably would have got buried*

there to give the kids an option, because the family are here [NZ]*."* George (63) also expresses that his children will ultimately decide, "*I'll go wherever my children want to put me. No cremation, I want to be buried"* (George, 63).

Both my parents and my in-laws would like to return to Aotearoa to lay with their respective parents although Rona (55), understands and accepts that it may be easier for her children to cremate her and/ or remain in Australia if she were to die there. On the contrary, Norm (58) has never considered another option, stating: *"I've never thought of anything else, Taupiri is my spiritual home. Mum and Dad are up Taupiri, they're buried on top of each other."* Like many Māori on the Gold Coast, Dad (65) intends to first lay in their home on the Gold Coast before his final haerenga, explaining that: *"Our home is our marae, so that's where I will lay, before being cremated and returning to Tokoroa."* Kylee (35) has no reservations in being buried in Aotearoa. She holds such strong connections to her whānau land, their homestead and urupā in Te Wairarapa, that it is an easy decision for her and believes that most of her family feel similarly. For Stan (38), he finds it important to consider future generations, and that he would prefer to be buried in Aotearoa, so they have a reason to connect and visit:

> *When I go, it's really not about me physically and spiritually, especially not the processes. It is more about wherever I go, that becomes the platform to delve into those whakaaro or to delve into my whakapapa for our babies, and our moko and the ones to come. And Australia is not going to allow them to engage with a Māori viewpoint.*

Despite not always being a comfortable topic for conversation, our wishes about death are important for whānau to consider, particularly for those of the diaspora, some of whom have such a strong longing to return home to their people, to their tīpuna, to rest. Similar to those who had a desire to return 'home' to live, the strength of the desire to return in death often

depends on an individual's memories and feelings of connection to the whenua in Aotearoa. My research whānau are aware that this may not be logistically possible at the time and that amendments may need to be made, with which they are mainly concerned that the needs of their whānau are met and that everyone is comfortable with the decision at the end. Over the decades, Māori in Australia have made do with using the whānau home or booking out a community space to hold tangihanga, to uphold Māori tikanga and death rituals as authentically as possible. Even with the development of a multi-purpose or a marae-like space, whānau are aware that it will serve more of a ceremonial purpose as we are not the people of the land, but that with proper consultation and development with the local ATSI community, well, anything is possible, and our future could very much be one formed in solidarity and support with our Indigenous relations.

Cultural Spaces

Although not an instant solution to all of challenges ahead for Māori on the Gold Coast, it becomes clear that in order for diasporic Māori to move forward spaces must be created where they can gather, share kōrero, wānanga, mourn and learn. Up until now, much like urban Māori in twentieth century New Zealand, Gold Coast whānau have needed to book community halls, sports clubs, churches, and the like to hold any of their events, with tangihanga usually held in the home. They have had to make do with what they can get and be flexible, working around other community organisations, some who may not allow tangihanga, others may not have kitchen facilities, and so on. They have had no unique space to call their own. Mason Durie (2009) sees marae as "a cultural anchor in an otherwise assimilating environment" (p. 10). There are marae overseas (Hawai'i, London) where there are also substantial diasporic Māori, however it has never come into fruition in Australia. Despite the many attempts to do so over the decades, things have always fallen through. This is a discussion with which Māori both on

the Gold Coast, Māori Australia-wide, and those in Aotearoa are all too familiar, with passionate discussion on both sides of the argument, some holding fast to the belief that Māori have no right in establishing such a space on the land of ATSI Peoples[45].

Despite such reservations evident within te ao Māori, after three decades of trying, the Cumberland City Council (Sydney, NSW) have approved the build of a cultural centre/ whare wānanga (Sydney Marae Alliance, 2020). The agreement is between the Council and the Sydney Marae Alliance, which is a merger between three separate community organisations- Ngā Uri o Rahiri, Te Aranganui and Sydney Marae (Sydney Marae Alliance, 2015). It is fitting that Sydney will be the first to have a specific Māori cultural space as they have the longest history with Māori. Samuel Marsden opened the New Zealand Seminary in Parramatta in 1819, where twenty-four young Ngāpuhi were taught the skills of farming and cultivation up until 1822 (Standfield, 2012, p.123), with post-settlement Sydney being the traditional focal point for Māori in Australia (Hamer, 2008). It has been a long process with many setbacks for the Alliance where they state that they have worked "with council, the tangata whenua and our many supporters to achieve our collective dream of a place in Sydney to nurture our Maori culture" (Sydney Marae Alliance, 2020). It is an exciting time for Māori in Sydney, and I have no doubt that many eyes will be watching this space to see how it unfolds[46].

Through kōrero with my whānau it is apparent that they also believe that there is a real need for such a space in the community, but many are not prepared for this space to be called a

[45] Such discussions can be seen across social media platforms where an article, news story or post has been made relating to marae in Australia. Māori communities in Perth, Melbourne, Sydney, and the Gold Coast have made attempts to establish such a space over the years.

[46] I am aware that Innez Haua has commenced doctoral research on this kaupapa of the development of marae in Sydney.

'marae', although it may function as one for all intents and purposes. George (63) has officiated many tangi on the Gold Coast finding it *"limiting having them in people's homes"* and believes that the Gold Coast Māori community needs a marae. He is aware that many people, many Māori, are against establishing marae in Australia, but he sees it as a natural progression: *"Where were marae before everybody got to Aotearoa? Ki Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pāmamao. And where else? Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Tokelau. And has that journey stopped in Aotearoa? Kāo, it hasn't!"*

Stan (37) believes a unique space is needed for Māori on the Gold Coast but that it should not be called a marae as, *"a marae is a stake in the ground, claiming that land"*. He feels that many Māori don't have a lot of grounding on what it would mean to set up a marae:

> *I think if we are setting up marae in Australia, just because we are Māori and we want a marae, then that is an ignorant position. It's probably not the best position and it's actually going to create conflict somewhere in the future. I can see a lot of holes and things getting easily distorted if things aren't done carefully and properly.*

Likewise, Missy (48) doesn't see a 'marae' in the full understanding of the word being built on the Gold Coast either. *"I don't think it will be a marae, I think it will be something that can be dressed as a marae when the times are right or needed"*. Despite not agreeing with the term 'marae', Stan (37) does however think that space needs to be created where our tikanga and kawa can play out. He believes that if done in the correct way:

> *The collective of Indigenous to Indigenous will actually be able to come up with an appropriate term, and the tikanga and kawa behind that. The*

> *main objective is for whānau to be able to mourn, really, within a comfortable space that they're familiar with.*

Here, George (63) would also like to see something done in conjunction, in partnership with the Indigenous people of the Gold Coast commenting that, *"Our bloodlines are already mixed so why not?!"* This is a notion also supported by Stan (37), who believes that *"If a person has whakapapa to ATSI and tangata whenua Māori then they are able to pave a new way forward that suits them and their needs".* He is excited by the possibilities that the future holds within their whānau as they have ATSI descendants: *"We've linked in through whakapapa, through marriage, through the birth of Native children and I think we've got every right to do that. No one can stop us".*

There is no doubt that the effect of creating a unique 'cultural space' for Māori on the Gold Coast will be enormous, that it will alter how certain practices are undertaken presently and could forever change the way that the Māori diaspora think of their death and tangihanga practices overseas. It will help to build community, where whānau will have a larger support network for learning te reo me ona tikanga and to share mātauranga through our people. It can open space for discussion and building reciprocal relationship with the ATSI community, the only true custodians of the land, and working together for a brighter āpōpō. There is much excitement and opportunity for Indigenous futures in Australia, seen here through Jackie (53) and her thoughts on her mokopuna:

> *I think the Indigenous part will play a big part in their life because that is who they are first. They are children of both cultures so that's going to play a big part in their life and then everything else around them is a bonus at the end of the day.*

Referring back to the quote by Yorta Yorta Goomaroi elder Winsome Ruth Matthews (see p. 73), the visitor/ host relationship between our two Indigenous cultures is outlined. Mikaere (2011) explains how "it is never possible for manuhiri or manene to take upon themselves the status of tangata whenua" (p. 113), until there are children produced "who could claim such tangata whenua status" (p. 113). Matthews (as cited in Henare-Solomona, 2012) speaks of "tomorrow" where "your children and mine" are located (p. 152), acknowledging the relationship of and between both cultures in the future. With this in mind our children can re-imagine our marae and cultural spaces of tomorrow. They will define what their Indigenous futures will look like, and it is up to us all, in the now, to provide them with the tools and knowledge to do so in the best way.

Although diasporic Māori in Australia often cling to memories and notions of 'home' and hold onto the thought that they 'may' someday return, it is not realistic to expect that all of them will. Nor should they feel the need to return in order to be 'Māori' by the measure of anyone else's standards. They are now an intergenerational community with some having as many ties to Australia as they do to Aotearoa, with new generations bringing the promise of greater reciprocal relationships between cultures. The Australian Government is creating a more hostile environment towards non-citizens than we have experienced for a long time, further exemplified by Covid-19 and the lack of support available for non-Australian citizens. In these changing times it is imperative that whānau are thinking about their future safety and doing what is best for their security and that of their descendants, where gaining Australian citizenship may now be a necessity. Also, keeping in mind the repercussions for future generations who may be denied citizenship to their ancestral homeland, seen as 'visitors' if

unable to claim direct decent from a parent (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2018, p. 66).[47]. Where they will need to apply for New Zealand citizenship the same way as every other migrant, which could have long lasting effects for Māori, who are connected to the land through whakapapa, through blood, and yet have no official status as tangata whenua, as people Indigenous to the land. This, in turn, could lead to further issues over time in regard to land shares, voting, access to iwi authorities, study and so on, if laws should happen to change.

Due to financial restrictions and varying whānau situations, Māori whānau on the Gold Coast are far more flexible and open to alterations of our traditional customs for tangihanga. Many are open to cremation for ease of transportation, with some even wanting their ashes spread in special locations in both countries. They have had to change tikanga to best suit their needs to reach a desired outcome specific to the diaspora. Despite living outside of Aotearoa and restraints on time, my research whānau would like to be able to access more kaupapa Māori services. They still have a desire to build and develop their reo and their cultural identity in a range of ways which should be seen as an asset for Aotearoa and Māori culture whether they return or not. There is a definite want for specific cultural spaces where Māori don't need to fit into the timetable of other organisations, spaces to learn, mourn and celebrate out of the whānau home. My research whānau are aware that any future on the Gold Coast requires a solid

[47] Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta proposes an automatic right to citizenship by descent for Māori to claim citizenship in Aotearoa; a step to honour Te Tiriti and acknowledge the special status of tangata whenua, to not have to apply for a grant as an 'immigrant'. See: Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta, "The right to return: Challenging existing understandings of 'citizenship' in Aotearoa/New Zealand," In P. Calla & E. Stamatopoulou (Eds.), *Walking and learning with Indigenous Peoples: A contribution to the 5th anniversary of the international summer program on Indigenous Peoples' Rights and policy at Columbia University* (Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race and the Institute for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University, 2018, 66-81), 80, https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D8W68347

relationship with the local ATSI community and it is exciting to think of the possibilities that can be born from this.

CHAPTER FIVE: HE KŌRERO WHAKAKAPI: CONCLUSION

2020 was a year of 'unprecedentedness', and in 2021 we are still in the midst of a global pandemic. However, despite all of its turmoil, the world keeps turning and 2020 saw me begin this Masters journey looking into the Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast whilst being stuck in Aotearoa, even restricted to my own whare for weeks. The year has been less than ideal and forced me to rethink my kaupapa and my methods for conducting this study many times where it was necessary to become more flexible, accommodating and content. The pandemic has also affected the thinking of diasporic Māori on the Gold Coast and their relationship to Aotearoa and notions of 'connection' and 'home' and has brought many reflections and important considerations to the forefront. Without Covid-19, these feelings may have remained in the back of their minds as they continued to be caught up in the hustle and bustle of Gold Coast life. I am certain that any research conducted in the coming years will be able to show significant trends of the Māori diaspora, particularly in migration back to Aotearoa due to a sudden change in financial situations and/ or a yearning to be surrounded by whānau and loved ones during such challenging times.

Conclusion of Findings

I have gained much insight and taken many learnings on my journey in striving to answer my thesis pātai: *What constitutes a Māori identity on the Gold Coast?* And *What does it mean to be 'Māori' on the Gold Coast?* I, of course, was aware of mine and my tāne's whakaaro but it was illuminating to be able to compare and analyse our experiences with those of our wider whānau, showing the diversity of Māori experience; a diversity which must now include our diasporic and migratory communities to fully encompass the Māori population. Just as, in today's modern climate, there is no one way to be Māori in Aotearoa, there are also multiple ways of being Māori on the Gold Coast. There is no one way to be diasporic and Māori, and

focussing on the experiences of one whānau certainly does not cover the range of experiences in the remaining tens of thousands of Māori on the Gold Coast. It does, however, give a specific insight into the many complexities of being Māori on the Gold Coast, and in being Māori on the land of the ATSI Peoples.

My research findings show that although people identify as Māori, they each have their own methods of connecting to their identity and construct this in their own way with variations seen within whānau, gender, age, and country of birth/ upbringing. Much of the existing scholarship in Aotearoa measures a person's cultural efficacy on a scale of competency in relation to a selection of markers determined as essential. These measures are extremely limiting, dismissive of the diversity of modern Māori experience and constructions, in fact many Māori in Aotearoa and most of my research whānau would present as deficit. However, it is evident that most of my research whānau are not concerned about validating their identity or prescribing to any measures on what being Māori 'should' look like. Whakapapa and whānau present as their keys to identity construction, with many finding community and security in belonging to the 'group'. It is fair to say that my research whānau place themselves in the generic grouping 'Māori' rather than specific iwi or hapū groupings as a result of being in Australia. Whilst many are aware of these connections, they find it unnecessary to define themselves in this way on the Gold Coast, some not having a full understanding of the distinction.

Te reo Māori me ona tikanga, tā moko, kapa haka, ingoa Māori and mau rākau are the various other ways that Māori on the Gold Coast decide to connect with and affirm their identity. They each offer a key to our Māori worldview and are beneficial on their own or in combination with others. Participation in any of these generally requires a huge sacrifice on whānau who are already time poor and more isolated from large communities of like-minded people. There can

be difficulties in accessibility, travel and of course the personal cost as there are currently no dedicated spaces for cultural practices on the Gold Coast, nor are there any institutions or organisations where study is funded for Māori on the Gold Coast. Despite such barriers, Māori on the Gold Coast are still committed to their culture with many hoping to participate further in future.

Following the trend of Māori having a disproportionately low uptake of Australian citizenship, most of my whānau are still New Zealand citizens. Due to several policy changes over the years and now with Covid-19 highlighting their vulnerability, my research whānau have been looking into applying for Australian citizenship for increased security and peace of mind. Financial concerns aside, whānau are also worried that they could be deemed of 'poor character' at any time and deported to Aotearoa, away from their whānau and support networks formed over the years on the Gold Coast. These are very real fears for Māori on the Gold Coast who are seeing just how abruptly their lives can change.

My research whānau are generally content to stay on the Gold Coast, seeing it as their 'physical' home with Aotearoa as their 'spiritual' home; this does not mean that they have no spiritual relationship or awareness on the Gold Coast, but they know that Aotearoa is the land of their ancestors; where they have lived, died, and fought for a better future for their descendants. Mokopuna further the hononga to Australia, making it more difficult for people to leave as they feel committed to help their tamariki and mokopuna, sharing their 'puna' and imparting any mātauranga, reo and tikanga that they can. They all see themselves connected to and intertwined with both lands, with the older generation who grew up in Aotearoa having a clear desire to return to Aotearoa to be at one with their tīpuna, their whānau, when they die.

Due to the limitations in holding tangihanga on the Gold Coast and the cost and difficulty in flying tūpāpaku back to Aotearoa, combined with the now widely accepted practice of cremation, more Māori are now open to the idea of cremation and see it as a means to ease pressure from their whānau and to be more flexible, even to be split and scattered in different places of significance. I believe that this is more of a unique practice of the diaspora as they are accustomed to bending and re-framing traditional tikanga to better suit their modern lifestyle. Like many changes to tikanga, it is not done to takahi or disrespect traditional practices but to preserve the essence of a practice whilst modifying it to best suit the needs and restrictions at a particular time. Covid-19 in Aotearoa has prompted many changes of tikanga in formally 'closed' spaces as people were restricted in gathering for tangihanga, karakia or wānanga. To ensure the tikanga of mourning, whanaungatanga and spiritual health were maintained, it was generally agreed that technology would need to be used thus seeing the streaming of such protocols over various internet platforms. Previously seen as a breach of tikanga, the internet has now been used to retain tikanga which brings forth many, previously censured, possibilities for Māori of the diaspora.

Although technology has been a gift and has allowed me to conduct my research whilst being 'locked' in Aotearoa, I have also felt constraints on maintaining whanaungatanga through a screen. It has been interesting to reflect that despite strongly positioning myself in this kaupapa and with ongoing relationships and whanaungatanga with my research whānua, subtle aspects of being an 'outsider' were still evident in certain situations. My brother felt it necessary to explain to me how thongs are the same as jandals although we had the very same Gold Coast upbringing. Also, in certain discussions, a defensive tone was noticed in response to kōrero about their knowledge and understanding of te reo me ōna tikanga, and in the justifications for making certain decisions. Despite knowing that I am Australian-born and was effectively raised as an Aussie, certain reflex reactions were triggered when whānau perhaps felt they were being

interrogated about their construction of identity. This was noted as a possibility in my ethics proposal which was why self-positioning, prior-relationships, whanaungatanga and relationality are so important in this kaupapa. Although an 'insider' in many ways, through residing in Aotearoa, becoming a reo speaker with reo speaking children, bearing moko kauae and conducting research through university, it is evident that I can also be viewed as an 'outsider', as a researcher peering in. Due to the nature of research, it may be impossible to totally mitigate these feelings however I believe it would be much less so in a kanohi ki te kanohi experience as physical closeness would further bonds, and build a more natural and relaxed environment. Being in the same space provides a setting where it is harder to misinterpret intentions, body language, tone and wording.

Māori have a long history on the Gold Coast, and they are continually considering the future possibilities Australia holds for their tamariki, mokopuna, and what they can begin to implement now for te āpōpō. They are aware of the complications and concerns of establishing Māori spaces on the land of the ATSI Peoples and the need to create meaningful, reciprocal relationships with the Indigenous community and to support them in their efforts to attain self-determination as they deem fit. Most of my research whānau would like to see Māori specific spaces on the Gold Coast to strengthen the Māori community and to better pool and share their many resources. The establishment of a kura holds much promise for children of the diaspora to learn their traditional knowledges within the Australian curriculum and it goes without saying what a difference a space to hold tangihanga and wānanga would make for whānau and the community. Like Māori in Sydney, my research whānau are aware that this would not be a traditional marae to function exactly like those at 'home' but that it would be better than anything they have access to now.

Recommendations

This kaupapa has relied much on the empirical data of Hamer (2007, 2008, 2017, 2018) and Kukutai & Pawar (2013) to build a solid foundation and to better contextualise the situations and experiences of Māori in Australia and for those on the Gold Coast. By honing in on my whānau I have been able to gain deeper insight into the lives of the Māori diaspora through analysis of their own narrative, in relation to the personal journey of my whānau and myself. There is still much room for further research in this area. My kaupapa is very much focussed on a tiny pocket of Southeast QLD, inside the much larger state. There are also concentrated Māori populations further north in Southport, Coomera and Logan which will also need attention to better understand the Gold Coast region in its entirety and the diversity of the diaspora located within. In turn, this can then extend out to diasporic communities throughout Australia and further abroad, adding to the ever-growing scholarship within the broader Pacific and Oceania contexts, and to Indigenous discussion worldwide.

It is my hope that my research gestures very clearly to my goals set, taking readers a step closer towards understanding Māori diaspora on the Gold Coast and how these issues relate to Māori-Māori relationships, to Māori- ATSI relationships and to the relationships between Māori and the state; relationships that are ever-shifting and evolving as we ourselves continue to do so. I am aware that my research has uncovered many other areas of discussion that need further development and deeper understanding. Areas that I have not been able to fully explore in this thesis. There are people that are currently doing this work, and then of course, there are areas that must still be further pursued.

If we return to the metaphorical manu aute used in: *He Kōrero Tātaki: Introduction: Māori Diaspora* and the importance of keeping the string of the kite 'taut', we must consider, as asked by Te Punga Somerville (2012), "who holds the string?" (p. 86). I propose that the string is

held by the whenua, by Aotearoa- the homeland, where we are tangata whenua- and the string is that connectedness, that feeling of knowing in the pit of the stomach. In order for the string to remain taut both ends must be actively engaged in keeping connected; sole responsibility does not lie in one or the other. So, what does this mean for Māori research? This means that Māori research needs to extend from the local and national context, and instead look further afar internationally to effectively cater to all Māori. We must also consider creating pathways for future generations to claim a special citizenship status as tangata whenua of Aotearoa, cementing our unique relationship to the whenua. Māori do not mysteriously stop being Māori once they leave Aotearoa and current studies do not generally fit with the contours of Māori outside of Aotearoa. This type of thinking must be adjusted if we are serious in fully understanding our Māori community.

A number of my research whānau want to know more about their taha Māori, more about their marae, hapū and iwi, but don't know where to start. Considering the large population living outside of Aotearoa, mainly in Australia, it is alarming that the diaspora is not mentioned in current government reo strategies. In focusing solely on Māori in Aotearoa we are essentially shunning all of those who are not, regardless of if or when they may return. I feel that this is an area where marae, hapū and iwi need to step in so if and when diasporic Māori do return, they can immediately begin to contribute and not feel 'othered' and disconnected on their own whenua. Māori shouldn't be waiting on government decision making, but should be acting on their own, activating their mana motuhake and finding and connecting with their diasporic whānau. Ella Henry encompasses this notion on the *Indigenous 100 Podcast* stating that in order to enrich the tribe, we must think of our tribal members as assets and not traitors when they choose to make their life elsewhere (Wilcox, 2020), "Because there are literally tens of thousands of Māori out there looking for ways that they can still be of use to their tribe and still

get some of that spiritual and cultural capital, but their lives are somewhere else…and that for me takes strategic leadership" (Henry, as cited in Wilcox, 2020).

We are at an intersection where traditional tikanga is crossing with modernity. A healthy iwi is one whose uri have a sound knowledge of their history, reo and tūrangawaewae. It is where descendants feel a sense of belonging and connection to whenua and can stand proud in their Māoritanga no matter what soil they are standing on. With such advances in technology and data sovereignty today, opportunities for future ventures are virtually endless in connecting the modern Māori with traditional mātauranga and ideals to ensure prosperity for us all. More effort needs to go into creating online spaces where whānau can meet and wānanga, learning practical, relevant, and life-long knowledge to build cultural capital and a strong cultural identity. My hope for this work is to enable more Māori researchers to challenge and expand on what have become conventional ways of measuring Māori identity and valid cultural markers. If the Māori community in Aotearoa continues to ignore and undervalue the validity and experience of diasporic Māori outside of the homeland, many an opportunity will be missed in understanding our diversity and potential for growth and progress on a national and international scale.

A positive future for Māori on the Gold Coast needs to see more spaces for the Māori community to come together. Whether it is to learn our reo, to teach our tamariki, to do kapa haka or mau rākau. Spaces where wānanga can be held and knowledge shared with the community. Where guest speakers and cultural exchanges can occur, and most importantly where tangihanga can effectively be held to respectfully send loved ones on their final journey, acknowledging tikanga and cultural customs. For a culture with whanaungatanga and manaakitanga at its core, it is essential that Māori are able to access each other in shared spaces.

I can see these as being ‘hubs’ to connect the diaspora with the homeland, keeping the string of the manu aute taut.

Of course, none of this is possible without proper acknowledgment, discussion and respectful relationships built and maintained with the local ATSI Peoples. This is a complex situation, often sparking robust debate: Who are we to establish customary practices in a land that is not ours? Yet how can we justify setting our Māoritanga to the side and not give our future generations the taonga of their tīpuna? Emalani Case (2021) expresses that in denying ourselves the chance to root and grow in new places, we are also denying the chances to act upon the connections that already exist, Oceanic connections. And that no one, in fact, benefits from our disconnection or distancing, that it is our ancestral responsibility “to seek and find kin underground and to nourish” the root systems already in place (25:51- 26:54) . Our history is fraught with various interactions and impressions, however for Māori to adhere to tikanga and maintain a reciprocal relationship with the ATSI community, we must remain ever humble as manuhiri or manene, under the hospitality of the original people of the land- the ATSI Peoples. Essentially, Māori futures in Australia cannot be considered without ATSI peoples. Our histories are intertwined, and whakapapa is mixed, providing exciting possibilities for our Indigenous future. As predicted by Mason Durie (2009, as cited in Durie, 2011):

> Over time the concept of indigeneity will also change. Indigeneity will be about embracing the lives that indigenous peoples live in modern times; it will rest on a reconfigured collective indigenous estate; and it will celebrate the ways in which indigenous peoples build on past experiences in order to face the future. (p. 482)

Nō reira, mai i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama- wherever our seeds may have dispersed- tihei mauri ora!

NGĀ WHAKAPUAKANGA: REFERENCES

.id-the population experts. (n.d.). *Gold Coast City: Ancestry*. Gold Coast City: Community profile. Retrieved December 29, 2020, from https://profile.id.com.au/GOLD-COAST/ANCESTRY?WEBID=10&BMID=50

Aird, M. (n.d.). *Indigenous history and heritage.* City of Gold Coast. Retrieved December 29, 2020, from https://www.goldcoast.qld.gov.au/thegoldcoast/indigenous-history-heritage-29149.html

Allam, L. (2019, May 23). Dark Emu's infinite potential: 'Our kids have grown up in a fog about the history of the land'. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/may/24/dark-emus-infinite-potential-our-kids-have-grown-up-in-a-fog-about-the-history-of-the-land

Anderson, K. (2000). *A recognition of being: Reconstructing Native womanhood*. Second Story Press.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. (n.d.). *The Mabo case.* AIATSIS. Retrieved December 28, 2020, from https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/mabo-case

Barlow, S., & Horyniak, A. (2019). *Dark Emu in the classroom: Teacher resources for high school geography.* Magabala Books.

Beri, T. (2015, April 10). The difference between 'kirituhi' and 'moko'. *About Me, Kaupapa, Tikanga.* http://www.tarynberi.com/blog/2015/4/10/the-difference-between-kirituhi-and-moko

Best, E. (1982). *Maori religion and mythology : Being an account of the cosmogony, anthropogeny, religious beliefs and rites, magic and folk lore of the Maori folk of New Zealand. Part 2*. Government Printer.

Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A Maori approach to creating knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(2), 199-219. https://doi:10.1080/095183998236674

Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research: A Kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed., pp. 109-135). Sage Publications.

Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of diaspora: Contesting identities* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203974919

Brooking, T. (2018). He takaoraora, he whakameto: Struggle and advancing in a stealthy manner, 1881-1918. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 224-244). Auckland University Press.

Bruneau, M. (2010). Diasporas, transnational spaces and communities. In R. Bauböck & T. Faist (Eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (pp. 35-50). Amsterdam University Press. http://doi:10.2307/j.ctt46mz31.5

Cavino, H. (2017). *Towards a method of belonging: Contextualising gender violence in Māori worlds* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Syracuse University.

City of Gold Coast. (n.d.). *2016 Census population highlights*. Retrieved January 2, 2021, from https://www.goldcoast.qld.gov.au/documents/bf/Population_highlights_from_2016_Census_First_Release_June_2017_version_2.pdf

Center for Pacific Island Studies. (2021, March 25). *Emalani Case: Keynote Address, 2021 Center for Pacific Islands Studies Student Conference* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qKPdkKEBJt8

Commonwealth of Australia. (2020). *NAIDOC history.* Celebrating NAIDOC Week. Retrieved January 2, 2021, from https://www.naidoc.org.au/about/history

Commonwealth of Australia. (2021, January 1). *Australian national anthem.* Australian Government: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. https://www.pmc.gov.au/government/australian-national-anthem

Deguara, B. (2020, June 17). *Should New Zealand be officially renamed Aotearoa?* Stuff. https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/121861371/should-new-zealand-be-officially-renamed-aotearoa

Department of Internal Affairs. (2008, February 22). Official version of Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori and an explanation in English. Pursuant to Section 155A of The Education Act 1989. *New Zealand Gazette, Wellington,* (32). https://seonline.tki.org.nz/content/download/749/3894/file/Supplement_TeAho32Feb08.pdf

Dockery, A. M. (2010). Culture and wellbeing: The case of Indigenous Australians. *Social Indicators Research, 99*(2), 315-332. https://doi:10.1007/s11205-010-9582-y

Drahm-Butler, T. (2015). Decolonising identity stories: Narrative practice through Aboriginal eyes. In B. Wingard, C. Johnson & T. Drahm-Butler (Eds.), *Aboriginal narrative practice: Honouring storylines of pride, strength and creativity* (pp. 25-46). Dulwich Centre. https://dulwichcentre.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Decolonising-identity-stories-Narrative-practice-through-Aboriginal-eyes-by-Tileah-Drahm-Butler.pdf

Dudgeon, P., Wright, M., Paradies, Y., Garvey, D., & Walker, I. (2010). The Social, Cultural and Historical Context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. In N. Purdue, P. Dudgeon, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice* (pp. 25-42). Commonwealth of Australia. http://hdl.handle.net/10536/DRO/DU:30058500

Durie, M. H. (1985). A Maori perspective of health. *Social Science & Medicine, 20*(5), 483-486. https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(85)90363-6.

Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Maori health development*. Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2011). *Ngā tini whetū: Navigating Māori futures*. Huia Publishers.

Elder, B. (2003). *Blood on the wattle: Massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788* (3rd ed.). New Holland Publishing Australia.

Fred, C., & Clark, I. D. (2014). The Maori presence in Victoria, Australia, 1830-1900: A preliminary analysis of Australian sources. *NZ Journal of History, 48*(1), 109-126.

Fujikane, C. (2008). Asian settler colonialism in the U.S. colony of Hawai‘i. In C. Fujikane & J. Y. Okamura (Eds.), *Asian Settler Colonialism* (pp. 1-42). University of Hawai'i Press.

Fujikane, C., & Okamura, J.Y (Eds.). (2008). *Asian Settler Colonialism*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Gabel, J. (2020, September 24). Professors call out racism as a ‘major issue’ at universities. *NZ Herald.* https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/professors-call-out-racism-as-a-major-issue-at-universities/ZSQ2UDFJAMK2XHZEWDGTYLMXEA/

Graham, J. (2005). He āpiti hono, he tātai hono: That which is joined remains an unbroken line: Using whakapapa (genealogy) as the basis for an Indigenous research framework. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 34*, 86-95. https://doi:10.1017/S1326011100004002

Greaves, L., Manuela, S., Muriwai, E., Cowie, L., Lindsay, C.-J., Matika, C. M., Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. (2017). The multidimensional model of Māori identity and cultural

engagement: Measurement equivalence across diverse Māori groups. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology (Online), 46*(1), 24-35.

Haami, B. (2018). *Urban Māori: The second great migration.* Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust by Oratia Books.

Hamer, P. (2007). *Māori in Australia: Ngā Māori i Te Ao Moemoeā*. Griffith University; Te Puni Kōkiri. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/documents-212/tpk-maorinaustralia2007-en.pdf

Hamer, P. (2008). One in six? The rapid growth of the Māori population in Australia. *New Zealand Population Review, 33*(34), 153-176.

Hamer, P. (2009). Measuring Māori in Australia: Insights and obstacles. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 36,* 77-81.

Hamer, P. (2011). The Split Totara: Te Reo Maori and trans-Tasman migration. *Te Reo, 54*, 45-69.

Hamer, P. 2012. *Māori in Australia: An update from the 2011 Australian census and the 2011 New Zealand general election.* https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2167613

Hamer, P. (2017). The electoral participation of Māori in Australia. *Political Science, 69*(2), 175-193. https://doi:10.1080/00323187.2017.1346546

Hamer, P. (2018). *From federation to the "501s": Māori inclusion and exclusion in Australia since 1901* [Doctoral thesis, Monash University]. Monash University Research Portal. https://doi.org/10.26180/5c8ef89e7a263

Haua, I. (2015). *Comrades in common, or clash of cultures? Perception of Māori identity, and solidarity between Māori and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia.* [Unpublished honours dissertation]. Western Sydney University.

Haua, I. (2017). *The little whare in Waterloo: Thinking about Māori in Australia.* (Masters thesis). Macquarie University. http://hdl.handle.net/1959.14/1267886

Hau'ofa, E. (1994). Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific, 6*(1), 148- 161. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/12960

Hawaiki College. (2018, November 6). *School will start at Y7-Y8 under Australian curriculum, English speaking, multicultural enrolments with the subject material and tikanga pertaining.* Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/HawaikiCollege/posts/778577475826120

Hawaiki College. (2019, March 17). *Australian Curriculum, In English with beautiful mixture of Maori/Pasifika languages, subjects pertaining to Maori and Pacific Island* 🙂 [Image included]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/HawaikiCollege/posts/856953377988529

Hawaiki College. (2020, March 12). *The staff at Hawaiki College, understand the importance of all three of these elements and when we write our curriculum* [Image included]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/HawaikiCollege/posts/1126758437674687

Heather, B. (2012, October 30). Māori turn Australian towns into 'little NZs'. *The Dominion Post*. http://www.stuff.co.nz/world/australia/7879055/Maori-turn-Australian-towns-into-little-NZs

Henare-Solomona, R. (2012). *Whakaaro rua-Two ways of knowing: Understanding how identity and culture changes when Maori migrate across the Tasman to live in Australia* [Doctoral thesis, University of Western Sydney]. Western Sydney University Thesis Collection. http://handle.uws.edu.au:8081/1959.7/520058

Higgins, R. (2004). *He tānga ngutu, he Tūhoetanga. Te mana motuhake o te tā moko wāhine: The identity politics of moko kauae* [Doctoral thesis, The University of Otago].Otago University Research Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/157

Higgins, R. (2013, September 5). Page 1: Origins of tā moko. In *Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Ministry for Culture and Heritage. https://teara.govt.nz/en/ta-moko-maori-tattooing/page-1

Higgins, R. (2020, September 19). *Revitalising te reo a three-generation process: Prof Rawinia Higgins* [Transcribed interview]. RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/saturday/audio/2018764734/revitalising-te-reo-a-three-generation-process-prof-rawinia-higgins

Hinton, T. (2020, December 17). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia-statistics and facts.* Statista. https://www.statista.com/topics/4821/indigenous-people-in-australia/

Hope, S. (2020, September 25). *Waikato Uni racism claims 'incorrect', sparked by spending probe- report.* Stuff. https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/300116670/waikato-uni-racism-claims-incorrect-sparked-by-spending-probe--report

Hudson, P. W. (2020). *Can te ao Māori worldviews exist within a western institute's online teaching and learning environment?* [Masters thesis, The University of Waikato]. University of Waikato Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13880

Jackson, M. (2013). He manawa whenua. In L. Pihama, H. Skipper, & J. Tipene (Eds.), *He manawa whenua conference proceedings: Inaugural issue, 2013* (pp. 59-63). Te Kotahi Research Institute, The University of Waikato. https://issuu.com/tekotahi/docs/proceedings_final_hi_res_version_si

Lorre-Johnston, C. (2018), Unsettling Oceania, 250 years later: Introduction. *Commonwealth Essays and Studies, 41*(1), 75- 82. https://doi.org/10.4000/ces.393

Kamira, M. (2016). *Māori trade & relations in Parramatta*. City of Parramatta.

Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social Work, 45*(5), 439-447. https://doi:10.1093/sw/45.5.439

Keegan, T. T., & Sciascia, A. D. (2018). Hangarau me te Māori: Māori and technology. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 359-371). Auckland University Press.

Kopua, M., & Kopua, D. (n.d.). *The story of Mataora and Niwareka.* Mahi a Atua. https://www.mahiaatua.com/page/our-work/

Korff, J. (2019). *Treaty timeline: Events from 1835 to today*. Creative Spirits. https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/selfdetermination/treaty-timeline-events-from-1835-to-today?page=3

Korff, J. (2020). *Voting rights for Aboriginal people*. Creative Spirits. https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/selfdetermination/voting-rights-for-aboriginal-people

Kosasa, K.K. (2008). Sites of erasure: The representation of settler culture in Hawai'i. In C. Fujikane & J. Y. Okamura (Eds.), *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai`i* (pp. 195-208). University of Hawai'i Press.

Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations and contexts.* University of Toronto Press.

Kukutai, T. (2012). *The global Māori diaspora: Findings from the Every Kiwi Counts 2011 survey*. Te Puni Kōkiri. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/documents-201/TPK%20Every%20Maori%20Counts%20WEB.pdf

Kukutai, T., & Pawar, S. S. (2013). *A socio-demographic profile of Māori living in Australia, NIDEA working papers No.3.* University of Waikato, National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/7978

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI review, 2*(3), 1-12. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/view/242/268.html

Liang, S., & Fu, Y. (2020). *Otter.ai* (Version 2.3.67) [Online transcription software]. https://otter.ai/

Lopesi, L. (2018). *False divides.* Bridget Williams Books.

Mahi Tahi Media [Indigenous 100]. (2020, April 7). *Te kōkōmuka episode 1: Tangihanga* [Livestream Wānanga]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/100329974678017/videos/617946055720917/

Mahuika, R. (2015). Kaupapa Māori Theory is critical and anticolonial. In L. Pihama, S.-J, Tiakiwai, & K. Southey (Eds.), *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshop series* (2nd ed., pp. 34-45). Te Kotahi Research Institute. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/11738

Ka'ai-Mahuta, R. (2018). The right to return: Challenging existing understandings of 'citizenship' in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In P. Calla & E. Stamatopoulou (Eds.), *Walking and learning with Indigenous Peoples: A contribution to the 5th anniversary of the international summer program on Indigenous Peoples' Rights and policy at Columbia University* (pp. 66-81). Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race and the Institute for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University. https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D8W68347

Mate, A. (2017, January 26). [Blog post] I am Australian (we are Australian) song lyrics. *Our Aussie Blog.* https://www.australian-native.com.au/blogs/our-aussie-blog/i-am-australian-we-are-australian-song-lyrics

McGarvey, R. (2017). Ngāi Tūhoe. In *Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Ministry for Culture and Heritage. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngai-tuhoe

Mein Smith, P. (2012). Page 1: Shared colonial history. In *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/australia-and-new-zealand/page-1

Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonising myths, Māori realities. He rukuruku whakaaro*. Huia Publishers; Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Moorfield, J. C. (2003-2017). *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary.* Te Ipukarea Research Institute. http://maoridictionary.co.nz/

National Museum Australia. (n.d.-a). *Defining moments in Australian history: Cook claims Australia.* https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/cook-claims-australia

National Museum Australia. (n.d.-b). *Defining moments in Australian history: National apology.* https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/cook-claims-australia

Paranihi, E. (2017, May 15). *Brisbane Kōhanga Reo first of its kind*. Te Ao Māori News https://www.teaomaori.news/brisbane-kohanga-reo-first-its-kind

Paringatai, K. (2018). Te hūnuku: Māori urban migration. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 266-281). Auckland University Press.

Pascoe, B. (2014). *Dark emu: Black seeds: Agriculture or accident?* Magabala Books.

Paterson, L. (2018). Piki, heke: Opportunity and disappointment, 1840-1863. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 194-208). Auckland University Press.

Pere, R. R., & Nicholson, N. (1991). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand.

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tīhei mauri ora : Honouring our voices. Mana wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. University of Auckland Research Repository. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/1119

Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Korero: A journal of Māori Studies, 9*(2), 5-14. https://www.hepukengakorero.com/

Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S.-J & Southey, K (Eds.). (2015). *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshop series* (2nd ed.). Te Kotahi Research Institute. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/11738

Pōtiki, M. (2018). Takiauē (tangihanga): Death and mourning. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 137-151). Auckland University Press.

Rautaki LTD & Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga (n.d.). *Principles of kaupapa Māori*. Rangahau. Retrieved January 13, 2021, from http://www.rangahau.co.nz/rangahau/27/

Ravulo, J. (2015. *Pacific communities in Australia.* University of Western Sydney. https://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws:31311/datastream/PDF/download/citation.pdf

Russell, L. (2018, February 12). *Kevin Rudd's Indigenous apology: Sorry, but not much has changed in 10 years* [Article]. Monash Indigenous Studies Centre. https://www.monash.edu/arts/monash-indigenous-studies/news-and-events/articles/kevin-rudds-indigenous-apology-sorry,-but-not-much-has-changed-in-10-years

Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of homeland and return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies, 1*(1), 83-99. https://doi:10.1353/dsp.1991.0004

Salmond, A. (1991). *Two worlds: First meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772.* Viking.

Salmond, A. (1997). *Between worlds: Early exchanges between Māori and Europeans, 1773-1815.* Viking.

Sciascia, A. D. (2016). *Māori cultural revitalisation in social networking sites* [Perspective paper]. Te Puni Kōkiri. http://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/2402/tpk-cultural-revitalisation-social-media-2017.pdf

Simpson, L. B. (2017). *As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through Radical Resistance*: University of Minnesota Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt1pwt77c

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and praxis* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. University of Auckland Research Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/623

Smith, G. H. (2003, October). *Indigenous struggle for the transformation of education and schooling* [Keynote address]. Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) Convention, Anchorage, Alaska, U.S. http://www.rangahau.co.nz/assets/Smith,%20G/indigenous_struggle.pdf

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books.

Standfield, R. (2012). *Race and Identity in the Tasman World, 1769–1840* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315655338

Stannard, D. (2008). The Hawaiians: Health, justice, and sovereignty. In C. Fujikane & J. Y. Okamura (Eds.), *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai`i* (pp. 161-169). University of Hawai'i Press.

Sydney Marae Alliance. (2020, September 4). *Kei aku nui, kei aku rahi, e te ti, e te ta, tena koutou katoa. I te tuatahi ka mihi* [Image included] [Facebook post]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/SydneyMaraeAlliance/posts/3246790835413429

Sydney Marae Alliance. (2020, November 8). *COMMUNITY ANNOUNCEMENT NGA URI O RAHIRI, TE ARANGANUI AND SYDNEY MARAE ANNOUNCE MERGER Three of New South Wales community organisations* [Facebook post]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/SydneyMaraeAlliance/posts/915314401894429

Taonui, R. (1994). *Te haerenga waka; Polynesian origins, migrations and navigation* [Masters thesis, University of Auckland]. University of Hawaii eVols repository. https://hdl.handle.net/10524/48709

Taonui, R. (2008, November 24). Page 1: Exploration and naming. In *Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Ministry for Culture and Heritage. https://teara.govt.nz/en/tapa-whenua-naming-places/page-1

Tatz, C. M. (2011). *Genocide in Australia: By accident or design?* [Occasional paper]. Presented at the Indigenous Human Rights and History. Monash University.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2003). Ta Moko: Culture, body modification, and the psychology of identity. In Nikora, L.W., Levy, M., Masters, B., Waitoki, W., Te Awekotuku, N., & Etheredge, R.J.M. (Eds.), *Making a difference: The Proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium 2002.* Māori and Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/869

Te Matatini. Kapa Haka Aotearoa. (n.d.). *Te Whenua Moemoeā*. https://www.tematatini.co.nz/community/regions/te-whenua-moemoea/

Te Punga Somerville, A. (2012). *Once were Pacific: Maori connections to Oceania*. University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctttt8gw

Te Punga Somerville, A. (2020). OMG settler colonial studies: response to Lorenzo Veracini: 'Is Settler Colonial Studies Even Useful?'. *Postcolonial Studies*, 1-5. https://doi:10.1080/13688790.2020.1854980

Te Punga Somerville, A. (2014). Living on New Zealand Street: Maori presence in Parramatta. *Ethnohistory, 61*(4), 655-669. https://doi:10.1215/00141801-2717813

Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development. (2019, February). *Maihi karauna: The Crown's strategy for Māori language revitilisation 2019-2023.* Te Puni Kōkiri. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/tpk-maihi-karauna-en-2018-v2.pdf

Trask, H.-K. (2008). Settlers of color and "immigrant" hegemony: "Locals" in Hawai'i. In C. Fujikane & J. Y. Okamura (Eds.), *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai`i* (pp. 45-65). University of Hawai'i Press.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonisation is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1), 1-40.

Wake Up World. (2020, May 22). *-with Jatin Nirmal and Jesse Salazar* [Image included]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/joinwakeupworld/photos/a.211922382186675/3037805509598334

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end* (2nd ed.). Penguin Books.

Walker, S. (2020). *Impossible: My story.* HarperCollins Publishers.

Wilcox, J. (Host). (2020, October 8). *Indigenous 100: Episode 22- Dr Ella Henry* [Audio podcast episode]. Mahi Tahi Media. https://indigenous100.com/episode-21-ella-henry/

Williams, G. (2014). Does true reconciliation require a treaty? *Indigenous Law Bulletin, 8*(10), 3-5. http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/ILB/2014/1.pdf

Williams, M. M. (2015). *Panguru and the city: Kāinga tahi, kāinga rua: An urban migration history*. Bridget Williams Books.

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods.* Fernwood Publishing.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the Native. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8*(4), 387-409. https://doi:10.1080/14623520601056240

Wright, K. M. (2019). *A study of iwi communication between Te Tau Ihu iwi and intergenerational diasporic whānau* [Masters thesis, The University of Waikato]. University of Waikato Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/12600

Yates, S. (2020, September 21). *A yearning for the reo.* E-TANGATA. https://e-tangata.co.nz/reo/a-yearning-for-the-reo/

Yeung, J. (2021, January 1). *Australia has changed its national anthem in a bid to reflect 60,000 years of Indigenous history.* CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/01/australia/australia-anthem-indigenous-intl-hnk-scli/index.html

Ethics Approval

Faculty of Maori & Indigenous Studies
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Associate Professor Maui Hudson
Phone +64 7 838 4028
maui.hudson@waikato.ac.nz

Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

18/08/20

Ethics Approval

Tēnā koe e te manu hakahaka e whai atu ana i te whānuitanga me te rētōtanga o ngā kaupapa rangahau o te wā.

This letter is to confirm that Eve Henderson has received ethical approval for the study '**Māori Diaspora: Being Māori on the Gold Coast**'. The ethics application was reviewed by members of Te Manu Taiko and was signed off by the chair of the committee on 18/08/20. Good luck as you embark on your research.

Kimihia, rangahaua!

Associate Professor Maui Hudson
Convener, Te Manu Taiko
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies