

Mai i ngā Ao e Rua – From Two Worlds

An investigation into the attitudes towards half castes in New Zealand

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Abstract



This dissertation investigates the attitudes of others' experienced by 'half-caste' or bi-ethnic people of New Zealand, that is, people who have both Māori and Pākehā heritage. The dissertation combines the personal narratives of four half-caste people, my own story, and historical/theoretical literature to illuminate this subject. The dissertation introduces the topic by firstly, discussing the current identity politics in New Zealand, which has tended to dominate the political landscape as of late, and left half-caste people between the crossfire. Secondly, I introduce part of my own story as a half-caste person in New Zealand. In Chapter one, the pre-colonial origins of attitudes towards race, intermarriage and miscegenation are examined through an analysis of religious and scientific discourses. Chapter Two provides a basic understanding of Māori and Pākehā identity as separate entities, with the aim of demonstrating the binary opposites that have informed attitudes towards half-castes in New Zealand. The third chapter outlines a number of themes regarding attitudes towards the half caste people I interviewed as part of this research. The final chapter brings together literature and interview material through the lens of a *Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People* to provide an approach for looking towards the future of half-caste identity politics.

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Introduction



<i>Ko Tinana te waka</i>	Tinana is the canoe
<i>Ko Tumoana te tangata</i>	Tumoana is the ancestor
<i>Ko Whangatauatia te maunga</i>	Whangatauatia is the mountain
<i>Ko Karirikura te moana</i>	Karirikura is the sea
<i>Ko Te Rarawa te iwi</i>	Te Rarawa is the tribe
<i>Ko Ngāti Moroki te hapū</i>	Ngāti Moroki is the sub-tribe
<i>Ko Korau kore te marae</i>	Korau kore is the meeting place
Pekin is the ship	<i>Ko Pekin te kaipuke</i>
John Boyes is the ancestor	<i>Ko John Boyes te tangata</i>
Ngāti Pākehā is the tribe	<i>Ko Ngāti Pākehā te iwi</i>
Motueka is the region	<i>Ko Motueka te takiwā</i>

After studying for six years at University I have learnt many things. When I was posed with the task of writing a dissertation what I have learnt was, that to truly enjoy my research and add purpose to it, the subject of my research needed to be based on something I am passionate about and I am able to identify with. Therefore, I searched the memory vaults of my mind and found particular events in my life that stood out and that I could link to my passion for Māori Studies. Of these major events in my life, my retreat

from the Māori world and subsequent return to it was the most poignant. I was forced to think about the reasons for my withdrawal from this important part of my being. I found it was due to my experience as a half-caste (Māori-Pākehā) teenager and the attitudes others directed at me. Therefore, the purpose of this research project is to investigate the attitudes towards people of mixed-ethnicity, focusing on those people of both Māori and Pākehā descent in New Zealand.

The War Within

Often in debates concerning race relations, the catch phrase ‘We are all New Zealanders’ will be heard. This is usually a reaction to Māori asserting their sovereignty and wanting ‘special treatment’ and suggests that there is no ethnic difference because as ‘New Zealanders’ we share a sense of nationhood: a national cultural identity. David Pearson (Bell 1996) suggests that as the dominant group, Pākehā perceive their culture as the national culture. This is a view shared by Sue Thompson (Thorley 2004), a self-proclaimed Pākehā, who suggests that by saying we are all New Zealanders, people are under the expectation that it is Māori who need to change and become more like Europeans. It is obvious that Pākehā culture is the dominant culture in New Zealand; it dominates the political, legal, education and media institutions. But upon investigating the characteristics of a global New Zealand national identity, what symbolizes uniqueness as a nation comes from Māori culture. Scott Menzies (Collett 2003:11) cited an expression of the national Kiwi character as “the tear in the eye at the sound of Pokarekare ana”. A level of irony is applied to those ‘New Zealanders’ that object to being called Pākehā and yet turn to the Māori culture to represent their nation through

Māori performing arts, a Māori design on their national airline or a Māori *haka* (posture dance) before a rugby game, for instance. It appears that Pākehā culture is the national culture in terms of maintaining control over institutions and power but it is the Māori culture that is the national culture when distinctiveness and “ethnic exoticism” is required (Bell 1996:149). John and Mary Beaumont (Collett 2003) penned a statement of New Zealand identity. They wrote:

We are New Zealand, many people, different backgrounds, healthy differences; together we are one nation, whole, equal and free. We stand together, learning, developing, growing; proud of our past, confident in our future. We are New Zealand.

If this is viewed as a depiction of our national identity, then it is one based in an ideal world, not reality.

The reality is that in this country there are historical binary opposites, Māori and Pākehā, which have sprung forth from the notions of both race and culture. The impacts of colonization on the Māori identity had detrimental effects on the way Māori were able to define themselves and, therefore, represent themselves within society. Forced off their land into urban, Pākehā dominated regions, many Māori were forced to assimilate to the dominant culture. Economic survival meant some Māori lost knowledge of their *whakapapa* (genealogy) and, therefore, an aspect of their identity. At the spearhead of this, Pākehā were able to sit comfortably, not having to assert any form of ethnic identity. Through colonization Pākehā did not have to define themselves. Some Pākehā now choose to define themselves as ‘indigenous’, suggesting that their ties to the land have

become sufficient enough to claim that they are from this land. Suffice to say, however, the land was either stolen illegally or legally. The term Pākehā recognizes their ties to another place but as they have only known one land they believe they can claim indigeneity. Those that identify as New Zealanders and object to being called Pākehā do so whilst clinging to Māori cultural symbols as their symbols of national pride.

This may appear to be ‘Pākehā-bashing’ or a ‘whine’, however, these conflicts are present everyday in New Zealand and, more specifically, in the heart’s and mind’s of half-castes. The anger of Māori towards Pākehā over the atrocities of the past and the Pākehā attempt at trying to belong to a country that is the only one they have ever known are ever present in the world of the half-caste. New Zealand is a country whose political system forces Māori and Pākehā to face off against each other, therefore, forcing the half-caste to choose, not just between cultures and ideals, but between parents, between *whakapapa*. New Zealand, over the last fifty years, has had an increase in assertions by Māori to their indigeneity and the rights owed to them because of their ties to the land. In recent years there has also been a rise in Pākehā claiming indigeneity. For a half-caste in today’s society and, recently, with Dr Brash’s remarks about questioning Māori indigeneity, confusion is setting in. Who belongs to this land? And, therefore, where does the half-caste belong? Not only does this question relate to geography, but in a country where racialised ideas about physical characteristics are rife, a half-caste is often given an identity that is incorrect due to their physical ambiguity. In a country with two cultures often portrayed as very separate and distinct a half-caste must find a harmonious place where they reconcile these two conflicting worlds within one body.

It is reasonable then to see the accuracy of Paul Meredith's (2000) description of the identity struggles of a half-caste as 'cultural schizophrenia'. The term cultural schizophrenia is one that I have borrowed from Meredith (2000), a half-caste academic from Waikato University. Meredith developed the term when a Māori doctor had jokingly diagnosed him as having cultural schizophrenia when he began to explore issues of hybridity. People suggested that perhaps it was because he was having an identity crisis and he was not sure of who he was. The schizophrenia is composed of one contributing identity, whose dominant culture surrounds you in terms of the legislation that you live by, the method by which you are taught in schools, and the media that so easily intrudes; and another contributing identity, whose culture is strong, rich and increasingly assertive in regaining some power in its own country.

The Term 'Half-Caste'

A person that has both Māori and Pākehā genealogical lineage is most commonly known in New Zealand as a 'half-caste' or the Māori equivalent '*awhe kaihe*'. Throughout New Zealand's history, derogatory terms for people of mixed ethnicity have often been used, such as *utu pihikete* (paid for in biscuits), *huipaina* (hoop iron) and *o te parara* (out of the [whalers] barrel). These terms implied that the conception of the mixed ethnic child was an inadvertent result of an early-contact trade transaction (Anderson and Hocken Library, 1991). Judith Binney (2006) suggests that, from the 1920's onwards in New Zealand, the term half-caste and the like slowly disappeared from Māori and English languages. She believes this was due to its removal from the census, lack of legal recognition and people's discomfort with the terms. I do not necessarily agree with her statement because

half-caste was a term that I was familiar with when growing up. I was not aware of the term's derogatory associations, believing it described the reality of being from two different cultures. It was not until my father told me it was a 'mean word' that I became aware of its negative connotations.

There is yet to be a term or name for the mixed-ethnic population that is universally agreed upon as non-derogatory or robust enough to describe the complexity of people with mixed heritage, however, for the purpose of this paper I will use the term 'half-caste', as I am comfortable describing myself in these terms. My thoughts on this matter align with those of Louis Riel who said:

it is proper that we should honour our mothers as well as our fathers. Why do we concern ourselves so much with the degree of blood mixture we possess of European and Indian blood? However, little we may have of one or the other, gratitude and filial love command us to say 'We are Half-breeds'."

(cited in Dover, 1937)

I proudly acknowledge that my mother is of Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri descent and that my father's family history can be linked back to the Norman Vikings of the thirteenth century. I understand that there are derogatory connotations associated with the label half-caste but I would feel ill-at-ease proclaiming to be purely Māori or purely Pākehā, therefore, denying one part of the sum of myself. It is also apparent to me that no matter which label I attach to myself, even the more politically correct nomenclatures such as 'bi-racial' or 'mixed-race', they all carry negative historical associations.

I do, however, take peculiar comfort from a comment made by Waikato academic Tom Roa (Thorley 2004), who said that any word has the potential to be derogatory depending on the tone and ‘sneer on one’s lip’ when it is being said. I say peculiar because, by labeling myself using a so called derogatory term, I am taking the power away from those people that say it with contempt and empowering myself as a half-caste. Therefore, I proudly proclaim to be a half-caste with perhaps a defiant lift of my chin, daring anyone to question the validity of this identity I have chosen for myself. By using this term half-caste I am aligning with Paul Meredith (2000) who agreed with the labeling theory of Geraldine MacDonald. MacDonald (1975) suggests that by describing myself in this way, as a half-caste, I am not attempting to represent an absolute measure of my genetic make-up or describe my descent; rather I am claiming affiliations to different cultures, that is, my claim to bi-culturalism. However, it has not always been this way, when at one point in my teenage years I denied my *taha* Māori (Māori identity).

My War Within and this Dissertation

I was educated in *kōhanga reo* (language nest) in my early childhood years and then in a bi-lingual unit within a mainstream primary school. Due to being surrounded by Māori culture, *reo* (language) and *tikanga* (belief system) through my early education, I entered my mainstream high-school as a proud Māori who was aware of her Pākehā heritage. I could not deny this side of myself, I was born with sandy blonde curly hair and we spent a lot of time with my Pākehā family as they lived in a neighbouring town. Most important to my Pākehā self identification is the love I have for my father, a tall imposing figure, an ex-air force sergeant and a handsome Pākehā man. He actively supported me when I

participated in Ngā Manu Korero (Māori speech competition) and Māori performing arts. However, despite my involvement in things Māori I came out of the other end of the mainstream high-school system as an ashamed Māori trying to assert herself as a Pākehā person.

It was not until my third year at university that I truly began to, again, accept and cherish both lines of my ancestry. It was while participating in a group project for a 200 level Māori Studies paper that I realized I was not alone when it came to struggling with a bi-cultural identity. That is, I wasn't the only person that suffered from 'cultural schizophrenia'. The other students I was peered with in the group project were also half-caste students; we agreed that we had all suffered from an identity crisis. Through our discussion we identified three key issues within our struggle. The first was the difficulties of constructing an identity that included both Māori and Pākehā behaviours and values. The second issue related to how we, as half-castes, behaved in different social contexts, often having to compromise one 'side' of ourselves for the other. The third issue is the unique set of attitudes and perceptions others have towards you as a half-caste.

It is this final issue which is the focus of this research paper. According to my fellow half-castes in that particular discussion, we faced a different set of attitudes, negative and positive, to those that identified themselves as solely Māori and solely Pākehā. It was these perceptions and attitudes, most often manifested as discrimination, which I believe caused my retreat from the Māori world towards the dominant culture. It is the aim of this

research paper to investigate these varying attitudes and their origins towards the half-caste in New Zealand over the last 100 years.

The first chapter of this dissertation discusses the historical discourses that are at the core of the attitudes experienced towards race, intermarriage and miscegenation. Theories such as Victorian racial hierarchies and biological studies will be explored in relation to the half-caste and the subsequent attitudes experienced by the half-caste through. Chapter Two defines the two contributing and contentious identities of a half-caste, the Māori ego and the Pākehā ego. The effects the two worlds have had on each other will be discussed which will aid in understanding the identity construction of the half-caste. The third chapter will progress to the attitudes half-castes from the second half of the twentieth century to the present day. These will be explored using the experiences obtained from interviews with New Zealand half-caste students living with these attitudes. Where appropriate my personal situation and experiences have been expressed also. The concluding chapter of this research report will summarise all of the previous discussions within a contemporary mixed-race framework to further illustrate the attitudes present in New Zealand and will also provide a basic framework of the future of a half-caste identity.

The concept of a bi-racial identity is a topic too large for the limitations of this particular research project, however, the investigation into the theories that created the attitudes towards half-castes will be summarised here and effects of these attitudes will be demonstrated through the personal stories of interviewees and enhanced with the

anecdotal literature that is available. It is hoped that this dissertation will provide impetus for further research into the identity formation of half-castes.

Defining Terms: Ethnicity and Race

Prior to proceeding to the body of this dissertation it is important to firstly define the terms ethnicity and race because often these words are used interchangeably when in actuality they are very distinct concepts and, furthermore, these concepts are central to a discussion on identity. Therefore, to have a better understanding of the characteristics of Māori and Pākehā identities, both of which have ethnic, racial and cultural elements, these definitions are essential.

Elizabeth Rata (2004), a principal lecturer at the Auckland College of Education, wrote that ethnicity has become a word used to replace race. She goes on to state that ethnicity means a genetic connection to a group of people. However, if one was to investigate the dictionary definitions of the terms ‘ethnic’ and ‘race’, one would find an opposing suggestion. According to the Collins Dictionary (2002:264, 621), ‘race’ is defined as “a group of people of common ancestry with distinguishing physical features”, however ‘ethnic’ is defined as a “group that shares a culture, religion, or language”. Race then is a term that emphasizes a person’s biological connections and ethnic (or ethnicity) is a person’s cultural connections. This then implies that a person is able to create two different identities, one that is based on their ethnicity and would relate to the culture they experience in their day to day life and an identity based on their genetic connections with other people. Thus, throughout this dissertation when referring to either ‘race’ or ‘ethnicity’, I do so with the above understandings in mind.

Chapter One: Historical Discourses and the Half-caste: Religion, Science and Racial Hierarchy



afa kasi

half caste

cast in half

a loaded past..

- Selina Tusitala Marsh

In this chapter, the pre-colonial theories of race, intermarriage and cross-breeding between races will be explored. The investigation includes interpretations of the bible and religious beliefs, the construction of racial hierarchies and the perceived problems of hybrid offspring. There is also a discussion on how some of these theories and attitudes were expressed in the language of blood. In the New Zealand context, Māori were systematically oppressed via colonial tools and policy that was informed by the mixed race theories to be discussed in this chapter. The British colonialists viewed Māori as a savage and unintelligent ‘race’ compared to their own supposedly more advanced and mature ‘race’. The disparities between the two races gave the British justification to colonize Māori whilst appearing morally upright in their actions.

To understand the origins of historical attitudes towards the half-castes of New Zealand, one must investigate the theories on race that were developed prior to New Zealand even being colonised. Pre-colonial discourses on race formed the foundation of colonial New Zealand's attitudes towards inter-racial relationships and any subsequent cross-breeding. Many of these theories on race have been discredited since yet they were and, to some extent, continue to influence western discourses on race. Race theories contributed to a method of systematic oppression by providing a system of beliefs with 'data' which served to give the system of oppression authenticity and, therefore, to allow those with the power to remain morally and ethically superior (Root 1992). As European societies expanded into Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Pacific, systematic forms of oppression based on race took the form of imperial colonization. The hybridisation of animals, religious beliefs and pseudoscience, such as Social Darwinism, provided the data to justify the colonisation of others and for the construction and maintenance of racial hierarchies.

Religion and Racial Hierarchy

Martin R. Delany (1879) wrote that god created three 'sterling' races, yellow, black and white. Each of these races was attributed by Delany to the three sons of Noah. Shem was the yellow, Ham was the black, and Japheth was the white. According to Genesis (9:19) "these three *were* the sons of Noah, and from these the whole earth was populated". Ham had a son Canaan who was cursed by Noah. Noah stated that Canaan will be "A servant of servants...to his brethren" (Genesis 9:25). Inherent to this religious discourse is the location of the black in a submissive position to that of the yellow and white races

mirroring and, perhaps, informing the racial hierarchies later established by the social scientists of the eighteenth century.

Delany (1879) also introduced the concept of the resolvent process. Delany suggests that the crossing of races will result in the eventual destruction of one of the contributing sterling races. He theorized that:

The offspring of any two of the sterling races becomes a mixed race. That mixed race is an abnormal race. Either of the two sterling races which produced the abnormal race may become the resolvent race. That is, when the offspring of a mixed race or abnormal race marries to a person of sterling race, black or white, their offspring is a quadroon; and if that quadroon intermarries on the same side, and the intermarriage so continue to the fourth cross on the same side, the offspring of this fourth intermarriage, is an octoroon (whether black or white), and therefore becomes a pure blood (Delany 1879:53)

Delany's theory insists that the fourth cross of a mixed-race strain with a pure-bred strain, will resolve the abnormal race, and return the genealogy to 'pure-bred' status.

This theory is procured from Mendelian genetics and Mendel's law of dominance and segregation. These laws were founded by a monk, Gregor Mendel in 1857, who studied the smooth and wrinkled alleles in sweet peas. Mendel's theory, in layman's terms, was based on two varieties of sweet peas that only had one differing characteristic, smooth

and wrinkled. Mendel found that by using a punnet square system, there was a high probability that if one allele was consistently introduced to the cross-bred plant, by the fourth cross, then this allele would become dominant and the cross-bred plant would revert to the dominant allele and, therefore, no longer be mixed (Campbell, Reece & Mitchell 1999).

Delany's simplistic model fails, however, to grasp the complexities associated with ethnicity. Mendel had strict control over the crossing process and this ensured there was only one 'genetic' difference being examined, the smooth allele and the wrinkled allele. Francis Collins, a noted geneticist, has adamantly claimed that "there is no gene for race" (Collins & Mansoura 2001). People's ethnicity encompasses many different genetic traits, therefore, trying to apply Mendel's theory to race is overly simplistic.

Unfortunately, Delany (1879) linked this flawed theory back to Christianity where he states that if miscegenation were to happen then the most numerous of the sterling races would then destroy the other sterling races. That is, the most populous of the races say, for example, the black race, would take over the less populous, the white race. Delany (1979:52) then suggests if miscegenation were to happen it would "set at naught" the work of God by destructing one of the sterling races. Delany's thinking supports four historically constructed notions of race. Firstly that the black race is subservient to other races and at the bottom of the racial hierarchy despite being a 'sterling' race, secondly, that the mixed race is an abnormal race, thirdly, that ones race could be bred out and, lastly, that the pure white race was under siege by the black race who wanted to dominate

them through miscegenation. Delany's ideas on hybridity resemble the dominant discourse of Western society and demonstrate why half-caste people have been stigmatised as abnormal and dangerous for much of colonial history.

The bible also provides examples of discouraging intermarriage between other races, in particular marriage to the black race, the Canaanites. In Genesis (24:3) Abraham forbade his son to receive a wife who was a Canaanite. Issac (28:1) also commanded Jacob not to marry a Canaanite woman. The use of religion in opposition to intermarriage continued throughout Western civilization and can be seen in the mid twentieth century when, in 1959, a judge in Virginia ruled that "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow... The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for there to be intermarriage between them" (cited in Romano 2003:50). By using this interpretation of the contents of the bible, the judge was able to justify a ruling against intermarriage, while appearing morally correct and not discriminatory; a clear example of a system of oppression in action.

Biological and Social Science and Racial Hierarchy

The previous section described the effect of religious discourse on the general attitudes towards hybrid people. Following the dominance of religious discourse prior to the Enlightenment, came the dominance of scientific discourse in the 'modern' era. Scientific discourses included theories of race that aligned with evolutionary theory. The theories of race in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, were constructed on the belief that races were separate and distinct, and could be placed in a hierarchy.

Eurocentric social scientists of the period used 'pseudoscience' to create a framework

that ordered and explained human variations (Jaimes 1995:134). Joseph Arthur de Count Gobineau wrote in 1853 that there were three great ‘types’ of people. He believed that supremacy rested with the white, and that the yellow and black ‘varieties’ would forever crawl at the “feet of the lowest of the whites” (Gobineau 1853:39). In essence, the purpose of this race classification system was to locate a superior space for whites and to marginalize and subjugate other races as inferior (Root 1992). The racial hierarchy theory logically aligned with the process of colonisation. As mentioned previously, British colonialists believed the indigenous races of the countries they wished to annex were savage and, thus, in need of Western civilization and, in turn, colonisation.

Recently, Tariana Turia aligned the colonization of Māori in New Zealand with the word ‘holocaust’. It seems that such a designation is justified given that the theories of Count Gobineau, in particular, those written in his essay *The Inequality of Human Races*, were to also form the core of Nazi ideology. He believed that the white had a monopoly on all of the desirable characteristics of mankind, that is, beauty, intelligence and strength (Gobineau 1853:40). His theories on white supremacy and the construction of societies according to race were at the heart of both the colonization of the world by Europe and the Nazi regime, and were used to justify both systems of oppression.

In contrast to colonial theories of race based on a simplistic hierarchical model, similar to Social Darwinism biological evolutionary theory, Nicholas Hudson (1996) challenges these ideas by suggesting that colonial attitudes were not based on merely race but also a belief by Europeans that Western social civilization was higher than other nations. The

European ideas of urbanity and sophistication appeared far more advanced and their political and social systems were supposedly more mature than those discovered in other parts of the world. Hudson (1996) further justifies his argument by focusing on the word 'race' which, according to him, did not have the same meaning in the mid 1700's in relation to the modern concept of race. He states that, according to the 1755 first edition of *A Dictionary of the English Language*, race was defined as "a family ascendancy, a family descendancy, a generation; a collective family, a particular breed". In contrast, differences between the colonists and the colonizers at the time New Zealand was colonised, for instance, were in terms of 'national' differences in social and political systems rather than solely biological characteristics such as skin pigmentation.

Regardless of whether they stemmed from social or biological backgrounds, theories of a hierarchy of race were evident throughout history and placed the white races or societies above others and, in the process, justified imperialism. In the Pacific and, indeed, throughout the world, hierarchical Eurocentric thought justified colonisation and annexation of land by suggesting these processes enabled the civilisation of the primitive and, therefore, improved the entire human race.

Science and Morality

A branch of hierarchical race theories was eugenics, or the science of improving a population by controlled breeding to increase the occurrence of white genes, that is, interbreeding. Gobineau (1853) stated there were two benefits of interbreeding. He believed that art and great literature were borne from the interbreeding of two races and also the 'improvement and ennoblement' of the inferior races.

Although Joseph Arthur de Count Gobineau (1853) cited some benefits of interbreeding, he also expressed strong opposition to it. He believed the ennoblement of the primitive races was at the expense of the 'great' race. In essence, by raising the primitive they were lowering the "race of princes" (Gobineau 1853:40). He went further, saying that interbreeding caused disorder and the degeneration of people, the degree of degeneracy corresponding exactly to the quantity of new blood being introduced. Gobineau (1853:208) concluded that interbreeding led societies down the "abyss of nothingness, whence no power on earth can rescue them". He suggested that because the white race had all the desirable human attributes, the hybrid could only have half of these. For example, if they were strong, they would be stupid and if they were beautiful, they would be weak. This obviously placed the half-caste below the superior white race, via simplistic mathematics; to interbreed was to divide ones humanity and ones human qualities in half.

Many of the early theories on humans were based on observations made in nature and the evolution of animals and plants. One such theory led to the belief that the product of inter-racial breeding, the half-caste, would be infertile. This was justified by the mule, a hybrid of the horse and the donkey. Robert Knox (1850:38) believed that nature did not allow for the continuation of inter-breeding because he states "when they accidentally appear they soon cease to exist". By stating this he meant that because of an expected infertility, the hybrid species would not continue as it could not produce any offspring.

Although this theory was unproven many times over, it is clear that the use of science and the application of unrelated theories were used in this case to justify the negative attitudes towards miscegenation.

These negative attitudes often manifested themselves in the guise of concern for the hybrid child. Academics often stated that the half-caste would be isolated from both the dominant and inferior groups suggesting that the half-caste child would not be accepted by either race because of their biological connections to both. One such academic, Malinowski, went further by stating that any product of racial intermixture would be socially degraded: “mixed race does not rise to the level of the higher parent stock” (Stonequist 1937:71). In relation to Gobineau’s theory, that a half-caste can only have half of the desirable characteristics of the white race, the other half (the less desirable characteristics) will cause them to face social prejudice. Paul Rich (1990) discusses this attitude in relation to Oscar Wilde’s novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891). In the novel Dorian Gray comes across a half-caste dressed in a “ragged turban and shabby ulster” who “grinned a hideous grin” (Wilde 1891:208). This association of half-castes with the lower levels of society was prevalent in Victorian attitudes. Under the guise of ‘caring’ academics and socialites’ attitudes towards half-castes suggested that the child of a mixed relationship should not face such prejudice and, therefore, should never be born.

Racial Hierarchy and Blood

The issue of blood mixture and blood quantum is central to the ideas surrounding racial intermixture. It has been proven that race accounts for a mere 0.012% difference in people’s genetic make-up. This means, despite all of the physical and biological

characteristics that are outwardly visible and used to differentiate one race from another race, and one person from another, it is in fact a miniscule percentage of one's DNA that help people to visually understand others in terms of 'race'. That is, the colour of one's skin and other physical features. On the whole, however, genetically people of all colours and creeds are not dissimilar. Yet, race throughout academic literature has often been equated with blood (Hoffman 1994:4).

The one drop theory, for example, was a paradigm of thought born out of the racist Southern United States. The theory was based around the idea that if a person had one drop of black blood in them, despite contradictory physical or social characteristics, they were black. That is, even though people may have looked white and/or acted white in ways socially acceptable to whites, if they had even a trace of black genetics, they were considered black and, therefore, inferior. This one drop theory was used as a method of exclusion; it enforced the racial binary of black and white and eliminated any grey area where the hybrid person is located. The theory also implied that black blood would forever contaminate white blood, no matter how diluted the blood subsequently became. Such a notions relate to notions of purity and the superiority of the white (Romano 2003), which is similar to the thinking of Nazi Germany and to Delany's ideas on miscegenation discussed earlier. The idea that the integrity of the white race would forever be 'tarnished' by black blood justified the prejudices against intermarriage. Furthermore, it justified the laws set in place during the colonial period in the United States which banned interracial marriage.

The language of blood goes further to suggest that sex between a black male and a white female is far more destructive than sex between a white man and a black female. It was considered less offensive for a mixed child to be born out of a black woman because the white race would maintain its integrity by simply ignoring the child as a black. However, if a white woman was to get pregnant to a black man this was considered as polluting the white bloodlines (Romano 2003), essentially because the gender roles would expect a woman to care for the child. Undoubtedly, this set of beliefs was merely a guise used to justify the adulterous behaviour of white slave masters who had sex with their black female stable.

This chapter has examined two influential discourses in relation to hybrid people, religion and science. Both began prior to the colonisation of New Zealand, but both heavily influenced the justification for colonisation, identity of Māori and Pākehā in postcolonial times and, in turn, the identity of half-caste New Zealanders. In the following chapter, I focus in on Māori and Pākehā identity and ideas of hybridity in New Zealand.

Chapter Two: Māori Identity and Pākehā identity



carved in half
halved and calved
into one or the other
but neither
is either..

- Selina Tusitala Marsh (2003)

There are many differing views regarding the characteristics of Māori and Pākehā identity. Whilst I acknowledge that there are multiple perspectives on identity, due to the convolution of factors such as class and gender; the purpose of this chapter is to provide at least a minimalist view of the differences between Māori and Pākehā to convey the idea that two worlds can collide within the body of one, the body of the half-caste. It must be stated from the outset that the colliding worlds described here is not biological or determined by genetics, rather by identity politics, and the will by those in power to play on divisive race politics. For instance, negative press regarding continuing Treaty of Waitangi issues and divisive politics employed by Dr Brash (and kin) serve to politically separate Māori from Pākehā and vice versa. These issues are constantly forcing Māori and Pākehā to confront each other, due mostly to misinformation and heightened media

attention on political speeches that target the fears of ‘mainstream’ New Zealanders. At these times, of Māori versus Pākehā debates, the differences are emphasized and the worlds do appear to be separated by a chasm that seems impossible to bridge. For the New Zealand half-caste, the current political landscape highlights their unique position as the ‘nomad’ between worlds. It is here that the half-caste, the fragile bridge, experiences so many conflicting concepts and opposing views.

It is imperative, therefore, to the understanding of the components that make up this middle world of the half-caste, that we investigate what is comprehended as Māori and Pākehā identity. An understanding of the Māori worldview will be established to help with further discussions on tribal identity, the effects of colonization on the Māori identity and the varying degrees of Māoriness. Following this, will be a discussion on the Pākehā identity and subsequent issues surrounding what it means to be Pākehā in New Zealand.

It is generally held that the Māori and Pākehā worlds are distinct from each other. Furthermore, when the two worlds are viewed in terms of their cultural beliefs, practices and traditions, they immediately appear alien to each other. On the surface, I agree with the general view, however, in a colonial society the hybridisation of culture, that is, the influence that two worlds have had on one another, can eliminate or draw closer those aspects that initially appear to keep the worlds apart. An example of this was demonstrated by John Rangihau (1992) when he presented the idea that ‘New Zealanders’ had been influenced by the Māori concept of hospitality, whereby the

warmth of the welcome and showing of concern for guests far exceeds their expectations. In this example, Rangihau (1992) uses cakes and pastries, but the concept is that of kinship, and he believes that this Māori concept has become central to the New Zealand culture and, therefore, to Pākehā society also.

Being Māori

Māori Worldview

There are many different views and opinions about what constitutes someone as Māori, or a person's eligibility to membership as a Māori but before we endeavor to unravel the maze of personal and public opinion on the subject of Māori identity it is important to establish a brief understanding of the Māori worldview. A separate volume would be required to provide an in-depth understanding of how Māori view the world, how they exist within the world, and their relationships with aspects of that world. Therefore, the information presented here is particularly relevant to the discussion of Māori identity, whilst only providing a brief insight into the complexity of the Māori worldview.

The Māori worldview is one which links every person to every living thing and to the *atua* (gods), using *whakapapa* (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004). It is genealogy and kinship ties which establish a Māori person's place in the world and their relationship to the land and the people. The societal structure of Māori, although over-simplified, is viewed as a four-tier hierarchy consisting of *waka* (canoe), *iwi* (tribe), *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *whānau* (family) (Reilly 2004). Those Māori who are cognisant of their genealogy should be able to identify with these groups using *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* also links individuals to the

land through Māori creation narratives that demonstrate a genealogy stemming from the Sky father, Ranginui and the Earth mother, Papatūānuku (Reilly 2004a). In this sense, a Māori cosmos is rooted in the land and bound to the heavens. Ties to land can be literally seen through ancestors being buried in earth while *whenua* (placenta\land) can also be buried in the earth to maintain a connection with the land and a particular *whenua*. The dual meaning of the word *whenua* signifies the importance of a connection between Māori and land. The land also represents the wellbeing of the collective, as *iwi* and *hapū* use natural resources to survive, and maintenance of natural resources is seen as crucial to the survival of future generations. It is clear from this discussion that *whakapapa* and its inherent links to the environment forms the backbone of the Māori worldview and is, therefore, central to what constitutes Māori identity.

The effects of colonisation on Māori identity

The term ‘Māori’ is used to describe the indigenous group of people that belong to New Zealand. However, Māori did not recognize themselves as a ‘race’ in binary opposition to other races because, prior to the arrival of Europeans, no such binary opposition could be drawn. However, with a common *whakapapa* that genealogically ties all Māori to the common creation narratives, some normality of culture was inherent. Indeed, one’s breadth of knowledge of *whakapapa* was\is important as a demonstration of how one understands commonality between people. With the arrival of the foreign navigators, traders and missionaries Māori created the term Pākehā to describe these strange white people. In turn they labeled themselves Māori (normal) to distinguish themselves from the Pākehā (Buck 1950). This saw the introduction of ethnic and racial difference in New

Zealand and the origin of the labels that are commonly used today. It also saw the creation of the binary opposition that can be seen in disputes over land and resources whereby issues are constructed as a ‘Māori versus Pākehā’ scenario.

In contrast to these ideas, John Rangihau (1992:183) said the term *Māoritanga* (Māori identity), was constructed by Pākehā to “bring the tribes together”. Rangihau went further by saying the reason for this was because Māori were a tribal people and “if you cannot divide and rule... all you can do is unite and rule” (1992:183). The creation of a single identity for a tribal people (such as Māori) and by, consequently, disengaging them from their societal structure was a method of colonisation that was further perpetuated by land confiscations. As previously discussed, Māori identity is strongly linked to land because *whakapapa* links particular groups of people to specific geographical areas. This is understood to provide people with *turangawaewae* (a place to stand) and a geographical point of reference in terms of their membership to certain *iwi* and *hapū* (Walker 1998). By alienating Māori from their land, there was loss of identity as those ties to their *whakapapa* were severed.

There were three methods by which Māori were alienated from their land; Crown land purchase, Māori land court decisions, and confiscations (Durie 1998). Confiscations saw the loss of over three million acres of land. The Crown used legislation such as the *New Zealand Settlements Act* and the *Suppression of Rebellion Act* to enable them to acquire approximately 3.25 million acres in New Zealand. Under these acts, *iwi* who resisted attempts to survey and sell land, were seen as rebelling against the government, which,

therefore, gave the Crown the right to appropriate their land (Durie 1998). The enforced migration of *hapū* due to land confiscation saw existing communities break up and new ones established in the territories of other *hapū*. An example of this is the many Waikato *hapū* that supported the King Movement and were forced to spend years living in Ngāti Maniapoto territory (Ballara 1998).

Durie (1998:121) states that it is difficult to know “exactly how much land was alienated through government land purchasing policies”, however, he also states that these aggressive policies caused some of the greatest land losses to Māori. Often the Crown would deal with chiefs who were willing to sell in secret or deal with people that claimed authority, yet did not in fact possess the authority to sell. This type of manipulation was further exemplified in the Native Land Court. The purpose of the establishment of the Native Land Court was to “bring Māori land onto the market” (Durie 1998:122). Māori were forced to divide their tribal estates into individual shares of land. Those people that had opposed the Crown in anyway forfeited their right to their land and it was appropriated by the Crown. Unreasonable pressure was then placed on the individual title holders to sell their land. According to Durie (1998), in the Hawke’s Bay area, four million acres of land was purchased by less than fifty Pākehā farmers.

With this immense loss of land, the centre of Māori society eventually shifted from the rural tribal bases to the established urban areas. Ranginui Walker (1998) states that for 70% of Māori living in urban areas, all ties to land were severed. This is a strong statement to make and, perhaps, inaccurate, however, the sense of loss of land was great

and, therefore, so was the loss of a significant component of the Māori identity. Angela Ballara (1998) corroborates this statement in terms of identity, when she stated that the dispossession of land and consequent population upheavals saw the loss of the identity for small *hapū*.

The loss of land also meant the potential loss of other Māori concepts such as *mana* (power, authority) and *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty). The 1850's saw a response by Māori to this oppression of Māori culture. This movement sought to establish a Māori King, which became known as the Kīngitanga movement (Paterson 2004). The King movement was set up to mainly stop land sales by giving the King ownership and *mana* of that land (Durie 1998). It was the first real attempt to create a pan-tribal, Māori national identity alongside the traditional *iwi* identity. It presented a united front that politically gave Māori strength, however, some *iwi* did not believe this could maintain tribal identity and chose not to join the Kīngitanga. These *iwi* were not comfortable placing their *mana* under the chief of another *iwi* and preferred to maintain their *mana* under the protection of the government (Paterson 2004). The ensuing events saw land confiscation in the King Country, due to their rebellion, yet also the loss of land by those *iwi* who did not take part in the Kīngitanga. Despite these downfalls, the Kīngitanga highlighted the differences in attitudes towards a national Māori identity and a tribal identity.

The significance of land to Māori identity and the confiscation of land by Pākehā, left half-caste New Zealanders in an invidious position. One part of them had been oppressed

through colonisation, the other had benefited. Throughout colonial history, therefore, the nomadic half-caste has had to reconcile a history of oppression and advantage within the body of one. Sometimes the nomad found refuge with the subjugated, at other times s/he found shelter with the subjugator.

Tribal Identity

John Rangihau (1992:190) firmly states that his identity is totally dependent on his affiliation as a “Tuhoe person as against being a Māori person.” This is based on the fact that each tribe had a unique *whakapapa* and history. Whilst interrelated through *whakapapa* Rangihau (1992) only absolutely claims to be Tuhoe. His identity is formed around the history of the kinship group that he shares direct *whakapapa* with through an eponymous ancestor, Tuhoe. Hana O’Regan (2001) discusses this further when speaking about her identity as a Kāi Tahu person. She recalls a time when she was in tears speaking to her father about not feeling Māori enough. His response to her was not to worry about being Māori as such, she was Ngāi Tahu and she had the *whakapapa* which “no one can take away” (O’Regan, 2001:21). Her father, Sir Tipene O’Regan, was telling her that her tribal identity was represented in her genealogy, an unchanging aspect of one’s personal history. Just as *iwi* have unique *whakapapa* and histories, they also have unique linguistic dialects and idiosyncrasies. Moana Jackson (2006) spoke about this uniqueness. He, like many other Māori, was able to identify where a person was from geographically and to which *iwi* they belonged to depending on the dialect and idioms they used. For example, if a person were to say “*takata whenua* (people of the land)” as

opposed to the common parlance “*tangata whenua*”, one would be able to easily identify them as from the Kāi Tahu *iwi*.

In the Māori world, collective identity takes precedence over individual identity.

O’Regan (2001) links the concepts of *whakapapa* and land to the oral traditions of Māori. It is traditional for a Māori person, when standing at a meeting or on the *marae* (meeting place) to introduce themselves using their tribal *pepeha* (proverb). These *pepeha* use the names of significant landmarks and *tīpuna* (ancestors) specific to a person’s tribal *whakapapa* and area. The *pepeha* specific to my *iwi* and, furthermore, to my *hapū* can be seen on page one of the Introduction. This *pepeha* begins with the canoe that brought my *iwi* to Aotearoa and the leader aboard that *waka*. The mountain and the sea are specific to the location that my sub-tribe settled themselves in a small town outside of Kaitaia called Ahipara. The *marae* is that which is specific to my *hapū* and my *whānau*. This form of introduction is used to introduce an individual and their history, placing significant importance on links to the land and ancestors. As illustrated, the *pepeha* is specific to my *hapū* and *iwi*. Other members of Te Rarawa will have different landmarks that are more specific to their own *hapū* history and the region their *hapū* is based. As a half-caste, knowledge of my *whakapapa* and *iwi* affiliations has been central to understanding and constructing my identity. Fortunately, my *whānau* still maintained this knowledge and had rekindled their *ahi kā* (fires of occupation) in Ahipara. For other half-castes, however, this has not been the case and some are still trying to retrace their *whakapapa* to find their *turangawaewae* and identity.

In pre-contact and early contact times it was the *hapū* that was viewed as the political and social entity (Ballara 1998), therefore, *hapū* was your identity marker. It has been recognised that the importance of *iwi* has changed since contact with Europeans and the importance of other descent and kinship groups has fluctuated over time (Ballara 1998). Generally, in modern society, Māori affiliate themselves more strongly to an *iwi* rather than a *hapū*. There are many reasons for this, however, ultimately it is the impact of colonisation that has significantly impacted on this aspect of Māori identity.

From this section, it would be fair to say that, although some Māori concepts such as *whakapapa* are absolute, the question of Māori identity or rather tribal identity was complex prior to colonisation and has been further complicated by the arrival of Pākehā. It is not surprising, therefore, with the hybridisation of people, that half-castes experience ‘cultural schizophrenia’. This is especially the case where ‘degrees of Māoriness’ or ‘authenticity’ become an unfortunate discourse.

Degrees of Māoriness

In modern society people are no longer restricted to the characteristics of their given ethnic identities as colonization and immigration have created nations that are melting pots of different races and cultures, as opposed to the bi-ethnic populace that had historically formed New Zealand. Cultural identity markers were originally specific ethnic traditions, religions and laws, however, they are no longer the sole characteristics a person is able to apply to their identity (O’Regan 2001)

Daniel J. Elazar (2001) researched the development of Jewish ethnicity in the United States (cited in O'Regan 2001). Elazar used a circular diagram which consisted of seven circles that represented the varying degrees of identification a person is able to maintain. If applied to Māori, as Koa Mantell did with Ngāi Tahu (cited in O'Regan 2001), the central circle represents Integral Māori: That is, Māori people whose entire identity is based around the Māori culture and the worldview of Māori. The next circle is the Participants, who maintain a strong Māori identity and actively participate in the Māori community but allow themselves to be influenced by the wider society. The next group is known as the Associated Māori, who are much like the Participants, however, their participation in the Māori community is at a lower level. The next group are the Contributors and Consumers who may not be involved daily in the Māori community but attend *tangihanga* (funeral) and contribute financially to Māori causes such as family trusts and building projects. Peripherals are those Māori that are so by descent but who do not actively participate in the Māori community financially or otherwise. This may be due to their upbringing in an urban area or in a household that is dominantly Pākehā in ethnicity and/or culturally. The next group is the Repudiators that view their ancestry as worthless and deny it. This group of Māori may be those that have faced intense discrimination and, therefore, wish to be part of the dominant society to feel safer. The final outlying circle is known as Quasi-Māori, this group has been completely assimilated into the Pākehā society. This may have happened over generations and they may not be aware of their *whakapapa*. This model demonstrates the ability of modern Māori to align themselves with Māori identity markers to varying degrees. It also shows that there is no single unitary Māori identity. All Māori have been subjected to colonization and it has

affected the way Māori live their lives. Some grow up speaking the Māori language and others do not even know they are Māori (Carter 2000). The model is particularly relevant to half-castes who will inevitably face questions of authenticity from both cultures.

Being Pākehā

The term Pākehā is controversial due to, in part, the misunderstanding of the origins of the word. It has been speculated that the word Pākehā is a racist term, used by Māori and has been inaccurately translated to mean ‘pig’ or ‘flea’ (Thorley 2004). Despite the attempts of many to educate and debunk the myths about the derivation of the word ‘Pākehā’, some people refuse to be identified as Pākehā and prefer to be known as New Zealanders. This reflects the identity issues of Pākehā people. Although not accepted by all people of European descent living in New Zealand, the term Pākehā will be used consistently throughout this dissertation. I choose to do this because I am aware of the origins of the word Pākehā and I believe it as a word unique to New Zealand. The word, being a Māori word to define people of European origin, also highlights the hybrid identity of Pākehā, an amalgamation of indigenous Māori understandings and European genetics. Some do not accept this label due to the fact that it is a Māori word and they do not feel comfortable with a minority group ‘giving’ them a name and the applicability of a Māori word to their personal identity (Bell 1996). It is possible that such people are the ones who, indeed, have cultural amnesia in not wanting to recognize the influence of Māori culture on their unique identity, as Pākehā or their belief that ‘races’ are distinct and exist in binary opposition to each other.

Binary models of analysis are prevalent in early Victorian theories. They created dualisms such as male/female, true/false. Colonization was justified and continues to be justified based on a racial binary that perpetuates dangerous power dynamics. Māori, for instance, were originally seen as uncivilized, savage, of lower intelligence, and physical. Such traits were in opposition to the civilized and intellectually mature European. The racial binary sees black versus white. Although not necessarily black in pigmentation, Māori are the ethnic binary to the Pākehā white, which Ranginui Walker (1989) attributes to the historical process of colonial despoliation. He suggests it was competition for land and resources, more explicitly power, that created the binary opposition. The colonizers greed for land and resources saw events such as confiscation take place and dominate New Zealand society. Māori were forced to the peripheries and became the ‘other’, the binary opposite to the colonizer, the colonized. A white ethnic identity has been stated to have no meaning without its opposite of blackness (Romano 2003). This is demonstrated above, as without a minority group to be colonized, there would be no colonizer. Without a minority group on the periphery there would be no centre. Without Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand, Pākehā would have no meaning.

In White Studies it has been noted that white people, in this case Pākehā, have never had to define themselves. Historically they have not had to define themselves due to the powerful political and economic positions they have created through colonization and imperialism. By creating a government based on their beliefs and systems from their parent country, they placed themselves in a position which allowed them to remain unquestioned in terms of their identity. In contrast to this, it has been stated that minority

groups have a stronger ethnic identity than that of the dominant social group. The development of ethnic consciousness is a result of experiences as a minority group and used as a focus for mobilizing in terms of reacting to oppression (Spoonley 1993). This can be seen in terms of the Kīngitanga movement, where Māori attempted to create a pan-tribal identity to combat the dominant, oppressive Pākehā system.

In a study conducted in 1994, 28% of New Zealand secondary students described “being Pākehā” as not having Māori characteristics (Thomas & Nikora 1994). This group based the Pākehā identity on the characteristics it does not have rather than the characteristics it does have. It is unclear from the study what was meant by ‘Māori characteristics’, but we could assume that ‘characteristics’ referred to physical and cultural characteristics and, therefore, a Pākehā identity is held by someone that does not speak the Māori language or have brown skin. More and more, such racialised attitudes will be challenged especially in light of the ascending Māori language. With the increasing hybridisation of both skin colour and Māori and Pākehā culture, it is increasingly difficult to define one’s Pākehāness or Māoriness or authenticity to a group based on traditional identity markers. However, in today’s society, with increasing assertions to sovereignty by Māori and the shift in cultural capital as Māori gain more recognition, Pākehā are forced to reassert their identity. Hence, the attempt to ‘indigenise’ Pākehā.

Indigenous Pākehā?

Michael King (1999) introduces the concept of an indigenous Pākehā in his book “*Being Pākehā Now – Reflections and Recollections of a White Native*”. In this book King

(1999) strongly proclaims his identity as a Pākehā in New Zealand by aligning his identity with an intimate relationship with the Māori world. His view was that Pākehā, especially those born and raised in New Zealand, had as much right to claim indigeneity to this country. He drew his identity from the land, a similar concept to that of Māori, and believed that along with other influences he had created his “own brand of New Zealand Pākehā identity” (1999:239). Some may disagree with this view, but King’s words are a strong expression of Pākehā ethnicity, something that is largely lacking in New Zealand literature. He acknowledges his Irish history, but sees himself as an Irish New Zealander, or a non-Māori New Zealander, a Pākehā.

Paul Spoonley (1988:63-64), perhaps one of the few other than King to discuss Pākehā ethnicity, defines Pākehā as “New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behavior have been primarily formed from the experience of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand”. An example of somebody that has adopted the ethnic label ‘Pākehā’ is Susan Thompson (Thorley 2004), who argues she likes the fact that Pākehā is a Māori word that inherently recognizes the *tāngata whenua*, and the effect these unique people and their culture have had on her identity. It also acknowledges her connection, her *whakapapa*, with Britain but also her experience of living in New Zealand.

Despite the positive attitudes towards the term Pākehā there are still those who oppose it. In an attempt to accommodate both of these attitudes the Department of Statistics used the term New Zealand European/Pākehā in the ethnic options question. In this discussion,

it is significant to pick up on the idea of Pākehā culture and/or identity being empty, yet being everywhere. Many Pākehā New Zealanders prefer to call themselves ‘New Zealanders’ suggesting they do not understand what it means to be Pākehā but they do understand New Zealanderness, including nationalistic icons. Pākehā culture, in this sense, is everywhere and nowhere. This concept is important to the half-caste who will often have to defend their Māori authenticity because of the clear cultural markers that define Māoriness such as language and the colour of one’s skin. The defence of one’s Pākehāness is perhaps less seldom, however, because like society the whiteness within a half-caste body is everywhere and nowhere.

In this section it is apparent that Pākehā, whether they acknowledge this term or use another, such as ‘New Zealander’, define themselves in terms of what they are not. That is, Māori. In relation to being half-caste, therefore, it is easy to see how hybrid people come to align themselves with Māori culture. It is easy to see how a person who may only be one/eighth or one/sixteenth Māori, still calls themselves ‘Māori’. For what is Pākehā culture? What does it mean to be Pākehā? It means to be not Māori and, therefore, often the half-caste has nowhere to go other than to be Māori.

It is apparent from this chapter that there are many diverse characteristics of a Māori and a Pākehā identity and it is undeniable that the two ethnicities have had positive and negative effects on each other. Māori society and Māori identity faced the devastating force of colonisation, however, not without casualties. Māori identity was changed forever due to dispossession from the land, near-death of the Māori language and

domination by a Pākehā colonialist society that had fixated attitudes towards notions of 'race'. The Pākehā society dictates the way in which people live through legislation and policy and, yet, despite being everywhere, defining the Pākehā culture and identity provided difficult and surprising. It was difficult because there were no distinct characteristics, and surprising because, the characteristics that tied Pākehā New Zealanders to this country, were in fact aspects of Māori culture. It is no wonder then that to discuss a half-caste identity in the next chapter is equally as confusing.

Chapter Three: Being Half-caste



This chapter will discuss the attitudes of others experienced by half-castes as a result of their dual heritage. Before the personal stories of the half-castes are introduced and dissected, there is a brief discussion on the beginnings of intermarriage and miscegenation in New Zealand. This will set the historical backdrop for the intimate stories of the interviewees that, coupled with the understanding of pre-colonial theory, will provide an insight into the origins of the attitudes towards half-castes. Following this is excerpts from interviews with half-castes, discussed under the headings of themes, which relate to the identity construction of half-castes and the attitudes they face, sometimes, on a daily basis.

Intermarriage and the Half-Caste

This section will provide a brief overview of the historical beginnings of intermarriage and the half-caste in New Zealand. The section will also provide a brief insight into the attitudes towards these phenomena. While preparing to write this section I found myself extremely limited in terms of factual evidence of the level of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand, while anecdotal evidence was plentiful. Erik Olssen (1999) observed that the topic of mixed marriages in New Zealand remained relatively unstudied. Early censuses are unreliable in terms of data on the half-caste population but ambivalent in terms of intermarriage. Angela Wanhalla (2006) states that a majority of the literature on intermarriage in New Zealand constructs the phenomenon as a process of

trade and exchange, that is, the trading of goods, such as nails, for sex. Furthermore, the literature often places the Pākehā male at the centre and the Māori female in a passive position, that is, the Pākehā male had control over the situation by offering goods and then requesting the ‘services’ of a Māori woman. The Māori woman is then viewed as having no input into the situation. Wanhalla’s doctoral thesis focuses on a small South Island community, Maitapapa. In this, she insists that intermarriage in this community ranged from brief relationships to ‘meaningful marriages’. Despite this fact, the so-called ‘sex industry’ of the early contact period has been credited with most of the intimate relationships between Māori and Pākehā. James Belich (1996:251) discusses the sex industry of this period and suggests that all products of Māori and Pākehā relationships were “less the fruits of intermarriage than of the sex industry”. It was from this that the names, *utu pihikete*, and *o te parara* (see Introduction) were created for those children of mixed blood. This prejudice towards half-castes relates to the Victorian association of mixed-bloods with the lower echelons of society and, in particular, prostitution.

Marriage alliance was also another reason for the relationships between Māori and Pākehā. By forming relationships with Pākehā, Māori could gain benefits in terms of trade and being treated favorably by the incoming regime. Some Pākehā who entered into Māori tribal life were referred to as *mokai* (pets), and there were recorded incidents of Pākehā receiving full facial *moko* (tattoo) as a symbol of their close relationship to Māori and amalgamation into the Māori society. These Pākehā have been referred to as Pākehā-Māori. On the flipside, there were obvious benefits for Pākehā; they were gifted land along with wives, and also a supply of desirable trade items such as flax. Binney (2006)

uses an example of the Fulloon family from the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Koka Te Matauranui was the eldest daughter of Tuhoe chief, Te Mautaranui of Maungapōhatu. Her arranged marriage to Pākehā trader John Fulloon enabled a resident trader for Whakatāne to be obtained. Their arranged marriage produced two children, James and Elizabeth.

The 1886 census was the first official attempt to measure the percentage of intermarriage between Māori women and Pākehā men and the population of half-castes. It found that from a population of nearly 12,000 adult Māori women, only 201 lived with European husbands, while 4212 people claimed to be half-castes. This would indicate Belich's previous 'sex industry' thesis to be correct, however, this measure only included those who claimed to be living as Pākehā. Despite the unreliability and inconsistency of the information it is evident that only a small portion of the population was identified as 'half-caste' (Binney 2006). The use of the word half-caste in censuses ceased after 1921. In the next census in 1926, people with at least half Māori genetic lineage were categorized as Māori until later, when people were able to choose how they were categorized.

The use of the word half-caste in the censuses is, in part, one of the reasons for some people's negativity towards it. It was used to identify the degree to which Māori were being absorbed into the European society. This is evident by the distinctions made between those living as Pākehā and those living as "tribal members" (Binney 2006:94).

By identifying those that were living as Pākehā, the government believed they were able to measure the proportion of Māori families being absorbed into the new regime.

However, there was a high degree of inconsistency as people who were considered to be half-caste or more were also considered natives in legislation, which would contradict the information portrayed in the census enumerations. The *Half-caste Disability Removal Act* of 1860, for example, legitimized children of Māori and European descent who were born out of wedlock but whose parents had subsequently married. According to Binney (2006), the purpose of this Act was to allow these half-castes to inherit land from their parents. Although this may be true, to some extent, there is also the belief that this Act was enacted to secure the positions of those half-castes that lived as Pākehā and their land that they subsequently inherited. Māori in this Act were defined as anyone of half-Māori descent and all people of the mixed blood of Pākehā and Māori. Binney (2006) suggests that the Act indicated an acceptance of intermarriage, however, it still displayed a negative attitude towards de-facto relationships and illegitimate children.

Belich (1996) discusses unsanctioned mixed relationships between Pākehā men and Māori ‘mistresses’. He suggests that Pākehā leaders such as “Gustavus von Tempsky... Walter Mantell... and George Grey” all had Māori mistresses (1996:253). He goes further to state that Māori mistresses were “officially unmentionable” (1996:253), therefore, diminishing the status of the relationship in terms of an alliance between Māori and Pākehā, whilst placing the Pākehā male and his reputation at the centre of the issue, Māori women on the other hand were left in the margins. Wanhalla (2006:6) suggests

that to show a more balanced history of these interracial relationships, one must apply the feminist theories of Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant to acknowledge “Māori women’s agency in cultural encounters”, therefore, not viewing Māori women as passive pawns in a colonial game, but as mediators, creators of important alliances and the female heads of some of the most influential families in New Zealand’s history.

In this section, we are able to see that intermarriage in New Zealand history has been viewed in terms of agreements and partnerships. Intermarriage was a product of trade and exchange, which, according to the dominant discourse, left the Māori female in a seemingly passive position and the half-caste child a product of prostitution. Such a discourse has since been challenged. Although the statistics of the time are inaccurate and provide only snapshots of a particular time, the general picture suggests only a small proportion of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā. With the lack of literature from the period, it is difficult to ascertain the exact attitudes towards half-castes during this time. Because of the exemption of the term ‘half-caste’ from the census in 1926 and beyond, it is difficult to provide a bridge between the early knowledge about half-castes and understandings of today. This is especially so, given there is virtually no academic literature on half-caste people looking at the period from the 1920’s to today. Yet, from Chapters One and Two, it will be easy in what is to follow, to see how history and historical discourse has influenced contemporary notions of ‘being half-caste’.

Personal Stories of being half-caste

To know the difference between a Māori,

a Māori-Pākehā,

a Pākehā-Māori,

and a Pākehā,

and to beware of the last two.

- Anonymous

This section discusses themes found from interviews with ethnically mixed people about their experiences as ‘half-castes’ and any attitudes regarding their hybridity that they may have been subjected to by others. Along with snapshots of the interviewees’ narratives, I have also inserted my own experiences into the text where I deem appropriate. The themes tell of personal struggles with identity and portray feelings of being caught between two worlds that are culturally different including the anxiety elicited when one does not fit into either ethnic categories, Māori or Pākehā. Through their stories the interviewees, show that even the smallest comments or things that can appear unimportant to others can affect the way they felt about themselves.

The interview process

The interviewees were selected on the criteria that they had one biological parent who identified as Māori and one biological parent who identified as Pākehā. One particular problem associated with interviewing of bi-ethnic people is the difficulty associated with accurately identifying potential respondents (Root, 1992). However, I was able to discuss the topic of bi-culturalism with fellow students and was easily able to identify possible

respondents. Four half-caste students were identified and then approached via telephone as to whether they would like to participate in the interview process. All four students agreed. They were also selected due to the fact that they were from four different regions of New Zealand. In doing this, it was hoped that results could demonstrate a robustness in that the results would not be particular to any region or town, which may have its own unique set of influences and tensions. The interviews were audio taped and transcribed.

The transcripts have not been provided in the appendices of this report to maintain the anonymity of the interviewees and also because the consent forms were signed with the understanding the transcripts will only be viewed by my supervisor and I. It became apparent that the interviewees were at times anxious about sharing their stories for fear of ridicule and allowing others to know about their internal struggles with their identities. Given the Otago University Māori student community is small (i.e., everyone knows everyone); even nomenclatures such as 'Participants' would not have protected the anonymity of the subjects. The participants' hesitancy regarding anonymity also presented difficulties in terms of prompting them to open up and give more details. One interviewee, in particular, once the interview was over and the tape recorder was turned off, opened up and told very personal stories of her struggle. Another interviewee, because of our close relationship, failed to share some of the stories during her interview because we had already spoken about them in more relaxed, informal settings. Therefore, some of the information presented is done so with background knowledge of the subjects and details of their stories that may have been omitted during the interview process. This then presents a subjective view of the information in the interviews; also as a half-caste

myself I bring my own stories and personal understanding of the struggles my interviewees have faced.

The Language

The Māori language is unique to the Māori people; varying dialects are identity markers of tribal affiliations and, in general, the Māori language is central to Māori identity.

However, despite all of the historical information on the colonization process and the recognised effect this process has had on Māori language decline and loss, there is still much prejudice towards those people that identify as Māori but who do not have the language. Many people with Māori heritage, due to the historical process known as the urban drift, grew up in the city and in Pākehā dominated environments. Many did not have the privilege to attend *kōhanga reo* or *kura kaupapa* (immersion schools).

Therefore, it is not uncommon among half-castes to lack fluency in Māori language. The lack of language, compounded with the fact that half-castes have a Pākehā parent can bring about intensely negative attitudes from others regarding their authenticity. The negativity draws on the fact the half-caste lacks an aspect of their Māori identity and, for some people, this marks them as being ‘less’ Māori than someone who does have the language.

Interviewee One expressed this point when she was asked if she had noticed any attitudes towards people that were half-caste. She said:

“Sometimes I find that people that are fluent in Māori, not like look down on but think your not as Māori as them because you can’t speak..” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

I have also noticed this attitude, not directed towards myself, but in comments made by people about others who are Māori but did not have the language. There does appear to be a common attitude that to be ‘completely’ Māori or have the right to claim to be Māori, a person must be able to speak the *reo*. Some of these comments were made by people that are fully aware of the historical reasons behind the loss of language in some families, and that not all people have been given the opportunity to learn the Māori language due to where and how they were brought up. Therefore, I find it somewhat bewildering that people with this knowledge can discriminate against their own people because of a situation that, for the most part, was out of their control.

Interviewee Two discusses this theme also when asked if he had noticed any attitudes within his family towards people of half-caste descent. He said:

“ some of my cousins that can speak Māori and that and they know that some of the other cousins can’t and um.. they actually give them shit.. like speak Māori to them and they don’t know and embarrass them and stuff” (Male, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Pākehā)

This interviewee went on to state that many of his cousins who could not speak the language had grown up and had returned to school in their twenties and thirties to gain knowledge of the language. This shows the increasing of awareness of the importance of the language to Māori identity and also the availability of learning the language in a modern society.

On a personal level, having the language and developing my fluency has not made me more Māori than somebody that doesn't have the language, but it has allowed me to express my Māori identity and that sense of Māoriness that you draw from within. The fact that your *wairua* (spirit) is Māori and your *whakapapa* links you to the Māori world gives you the right to claim a Māori identity. The importance of learning the language lies in its revitalization and the assertion by Māori to their indigeniety, however, if you do not have the language or are yet to commit to learning it, then you are no less Māori than anybody else.

"I don't think being Māori means you have to speak the language, just be Māori"

(Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

Physical Ambiguity

There are racialised attitudes and stereotypes of what a Māori person should look like. There is a general view that Māori people have brown skin, dark hair, big lips and a flattish nose. If a person does not fit this description, others will question that person's identity. For many half-castes, this is an attitude that they have had to face, often on a daily basis, because of their physical ambiguity. For one of the interviewees her physical appearance was a central theme. She immediately expressed this when she introduced herself by saying:

"My mum is brown, my dad is white. I am... white? White-brown... my sister is brown-white" (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā).

It is clear from this that she has been given the physical characteristics of her father, or more pointedly from her Pākehā side. By putting the white before the brown she is

indicating that she is fair-skinned and by saying that her sister is brown-white she is suggesting that her sister is brown-skinned.

Because of her fair skin, most people assumed that she was Pākehā and were often shocked when she asserted that she was Māori. When she spoke about the attitudes of others towards her as a half-caste, she brought up the point that her sister looked more Māori than her and that, despite people knowing they were full-blooded sisters, they still could not see that she was Māori also.

“When they look at her they can accept that she is Māori, but they can’t accept me” (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā)

Even within her own family, this interviewee faced attitudes because of the way that she looked and, in particular from her Māori *whānau*:

“I’m known as the Pākehā grandchild, that’s what Koro calls me.. ‘Where’s my Pākehā grandchild, my grand daughter?’ And cos I don’t have the same nose as them either. ‘Where did you get your hook nose from? Cos you didn’t get it from us!’” (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā)

Even though her family were obviously aware of her *whakapapa* ties to the Māori world, whilst the above could be seen as playful jokes, often these “jokes” hit straight to the core of a half-caste’s insecurities and identity issues. The feeling of not measuring up or not fitting into a particular social group is exemplified when half-castes physical characteristics are pointed out and they are told exactly why they do not fit in. Not being brown enough, also apparently means they are not Māori enough; an attitude created from beliefs based on race that ignore culture and ethnicity.

This particular interviewee grew up in a household that was dominated by the Pākehā culture and also attended a school dominated by Pākehā. However, now she is studying towards a degree in Māori Studies. She is gaining knowledge of the Māori language; she participates in and even tutors Māori Performing Arts. She is involved with an initiative that is promoting the learning of the *reo*. Despite all of these cultural identity markers, her physical appearance marks her as Pākehā to outsiders that do not know her degree of involvement in the Māori world or her *whakapapa*, yet also sometimes by insiders of this knowledge also.

‘What’s in a name?’

Just as physical characteristics and cultural characteristics, such as language, are identity markers of ethnicity, so is one’s given name. In a modern society where many cultures are living together and often borrowing or appropriating aspects from each other, a person’s name can often be misleading as to what their ethnicity may be. However, if a person has a Māori name, they are generally identified immediately as being Māori. This was expressed by one of the interviewees who said:

*“..if my name wasn’t ***** they probably wouldn’t think I was a Māori.. [my name] gives me away..”* (Male, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Pākehā)

This interviewee had both a Māori first name and Māori last name, therefore, people would identify that he was Māori before they had even met him.

As a person with English first and last names, I am often considered Pākehā until people meet me when they see that I have Māori physical characteristics. Often my physical appearance has shocked people, who have only previously dealt with me on the phone

and then have subsequently met me in person. One person even commented, when I went for a job interview, “Oh I didn’t know you were Māori?” My first name Suzanne was given to me because my Aunty Susan, on my Māori side, who passed away the day before I was born. Initially, my first name was to be Unaiki, my Māori grandmother’s name which is now my middle name. I have often wondered how my life would have been had Unaiki been my first name? Would I have been more readily accepted in the Māori world, or would it have made life more difficult in the Pākehā world?

My Māori grandfather was known as John Cameron, however, at some stage in his life he changed his name to Hone Kamariera. Now, at family reunions, our branch of the *whakapapa* tree is the only one known as Kamariera. This was his way of asserting his Māori identity, something he felt that had been taken away when the Pākehā anglicized his family name. This was not uncommon in the early Pākehā schooling system where many Māori names were changed to Pākehā names because the teachers could not pronounce them. For my grandparents’ generation in my family, their names were changed. My Aunty Eliza, is actually Raiha and my grandmother was known as Eunice until she reclaimed her Māori name, Unaiki.

For me, my name is important; it recognizes both sides of my *whakapapa*. I know the history behind my first and middle names, and also that of my surname. Before my ancestor arrived from England, our family name was Boys, without the ‘e’ seen today. Previous to that it was Dubois, a French name from Normandy, that was anglicized so that my ancestors who emigrated from France would be more accepted into English

society. My name expresses my *whakapapa* and my family history, and knowing that history secures my identity as a half-caste. I hope to pass this on to my children with names that express their *whakapapa* and will help reaffirm their identities. Having Pākehā names and a Māori name has not confused me rather it has put into words my identity, a bit of Pākehā and a bit of Māori.

Culture Clash

“It causes a lot of conflict.... within our family it’s caused a few issues” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

This comment was made by one of the interviewees when asked what it meant to her to be from two different worlds, what it meant to her to be half-caste. Her response focused on the bringing together of those two worlds and how difficult this can be sometimes.

“we’ve talked about when we die where are we going to be buried and there is no way that my mum would be buried in our urupā, she absolutely refuses to but there is no way dad wants to be anywhere else. But mum and dad both want to be buried together” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

This comment highlighted one of the issues that had arisen in her family due to the difference in cultures. This interviewee expressed that her mother was uncomfortable in the Māori world. The biggest reason for this, the interviewee said, was because her mother was scared of upsetting other members of her husband’s family and doing something that was considered wrong in the Māori worldview. Certain customs and traditions made her mother anxious, such as the *whakanoa* (lift restriction) process after being in an *urupā* (cemetery). A process where Māori traditionally wash their hands and sprinkle water on themselves when they leave a cemetery to lift the *tapu* (restriction).

This custom is very much a part of the Māori way of life, however, the interviewee's mother was anxious about sprinkling the water in the wrong place, something that perhaps would be scoffed at, but a genuine concern of an outsider that had entered the Māori world.

She went on further to say that it made her sad to see her mother uncomfortable; naturally she is protective of her mother and aware of her feelings but also, as a half-caste, the interviewee was very aware of how it feels to be uncomfortable and anxious in different situations. A half-caste, as previously discussed, can struggle to fit in both the Māori and the Pākehā worlds, therefore, this interviewee could sympathise with her mother's anxiety.

'she's never adjusted to being on the marae she doesn't like the whole communal thing, she finds that quite hard' (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

The interviewee went on to say that because of her mother's anxiety about the Māori world, it often meant her mother missed out on aspects of her life. The interviewee said she and her brother had been brought up with these aspects only because of their father and inclusion in the multicultural army environment.

In my family, my father has adjusted and accepted aspects of the Māori world. We encourage him to pronounce Māori words and place names correctly and he has always encouraged us to participate in all things Māori. I think this is due to my mother educating my father to ensure he is comfortable in certain situations. My parents have

never put their children in a situation where we were completely aware of the fact we had two different cultures in our household and that this was different from other households. They brought the best aspects of their differing worldviews to create a home based on *whānau*, respect and food.

Best of both worlds

In a wider context, there is the general belief that as a half-caste, you are able to walk easily in both worlds. This is often expressed by examples of historical Māori leaders such as Sir Peter Buck, who was able to participate in the Pākehā education system and other Pākehā dominated environments but who also contributed to the Māori world.

There is definitely truth to this belief; a half-caste can experience the benefits of belonging to the dominant culture, in terms of avoiding prejudices and discrimination which can be experienced by those who are viewed as solely Māori. It is possible that the half-caste is also able to enjoy the benefits of being Māori with its rich culture. A half-caste can also be brought up with examples of appropriate behavior from people who belong to both of their contributing ethnicities, especially both of their parents. This allows for easy transitions between the two worlds:

“I guess if you’re a half-caste you can work in both worlds... so if your mates give you stick you can say your just half. I kind of get the best of both worlds” (Male, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Pākehā)

This comment reflects the ability of this half-caste to work in both worlds by using his dual heritage as a defence mechanism for any prejudice or negative attitude directed towards him. If someone was to make a negative comment about Māori, a half-caste is able to assert that it is only half of their identity and the person then assumes that the half-

caste is more strongly associated with being Pākehā. Like the chameleon, a half-caste is able to hide themselves or pass themselves off as something else to fit a particular social situation. As much as this is considered a benefit of being bi-racial it can also be a confusing and damaging aspect of a half-caste's identity.

“Lots of confusion really... How do you do justice to both sides?”(Female, Ngāti Kahungunu)

Dualism or switching between ethnicities can cause a half-caste to not feel completely whole. By doing this to protect yourself as a half-caste, you are often compromising one part of yourself for another, which can be construed as choosing one parent over another. It then appears that although a half-caste can experience the best of both worlds, this can often turn into having to defend your dual heritage when the worst of both worlds presents itself.

Worst of both worlds

In contrast to the idea of being accepted in both worlds, there is also the common theme of not being completely accepted in either. Half-castes often experience negative attitudes from Māori and Pākehā, some based on their physical appearance, and others based on a lack of characteristics that strongly mark an ethnic identity. Not fitting the ethnic box and blurring the lines can leave half-castes in a third space, which can at times be a lonely place.

One interviewee talked about the prejudices she faced as a girl at high school:

“like the Māori kids would tease us, the ones that were brought up around the marae, cos we weren't Māori enough and then you've got the Pākehās at school

like cos I was in the brainy class. So like being the only Māori in the brainy class they didn't want anything to do with me cos like how could I be in the brainy class? So I had it coming from both sides” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā).

This interviewee was not Māori enough for the Māori kids and not Pākehā enough for the Pākehā kids, a theme that is often echoed in the stories of half-castes. Also, because the half-caste comes from two worlds that are often in conflict with each other (in the media at least) a half-caste often combats negative comments made about one or both of their lines of heritage.

Effects of attitudes

“they didn't see me as being Māori enough to be in the kapahaka group, so my confidence during high school was pretty low” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā)

One interviewee spoke about returning home one day from school and crying to her mother saying that she hated her father for being Māori and making her look Māori. This is sad and a result of the negative attitudes experienced by half-castes; the sense of hating one side of you because of all the negativity associated with it.

By using her duality as a defence mechanism, this interviewee continued her schooling as a Pākehā and only recognising her Māori side when she was in a safe environment, with her family. She maintained however the fact that at school and during this period, life was “pretty shit”. Being judged on her appearance as a Māori and her academic success as a Pākehā, this interviewee was not able to express the identity she felt inside, therefore robbing her of her confidence.

Being part-Māori

Being half-caste and, therefore, being part-Māori a person can still claim to be wholly Māori because they still possess *whakapapa* and, therefore, they are Māori.

“I hard out tell people I’m Māori and hard out proud too.” (Male, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Pākehā)

This interviewee grew up deeply involved in the Māori world, that is, he attended *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa*. He grew up on and around the *marae*, surrounded by Māori family and he draws most of his identity from his *taha* Māori. One key aspect of his Māori identity that was truly important to him was *whānau*:

“I would way rather be a Māori. Sometimes I look at my Pākehā mates and they are real hard out nuclear family and they just chill out with their mum and their dad and their siblings and not so much their cousins. When I go home it’s like you hang out with all your cousins and they are all hard out interested in what your up to and I’m always dying to go back to the marae cos you might see a cousin you haven’t seen in ages...” (Male, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Pakeha)

This interviewee believed that being Māori had a benefit over being Pākehā in terms of relationships with affiliates of his Māori side.

Another interviewee, one that perhaps could be seen to have grown up in an opposite way to that of the previous interviewee, placed importance on *whakapapa*. This interviewee became active in finding out her Māori lineage and incorporating aspects of the Māori world into her life. She said that previous to doing this she would say she was only part-Māori but:

“now I can say “Yeah I’m Māori”. Knowing where you’re from, your ties to the land” (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā).

Her *whakapapa*, like any half-caste, gives her the right to claim her rightful place as a Māori person, despite the attitudes about blood quantum.

Being part-Pākehā

When the interviewees were asked what it meant to them to be Pākehā, it was not the Pākehā culture that they drew from to explain their association as they had done with their Māori side, rather it was purely the fact they were biologically Pākehā that they acknowledged:

“Being Pākehā.. having a white dad.. that’s pretty much what it is. I know where I’m from on that side. Like I won’t deny that I’m Pākehā.” (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā)

This highlights a half-caste’s loyalty to their Pākehā parent, and the unchanging fact that they are borne from a mixed-race relationship.

“not saying that Pākehā don’t have a culture, but there is nothing that I’ve really embraced from that side.. being Pākehā... loving my Pākehā mum” (Female, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pākehā).

When this interviewee was asked about what it meant to her to be Pākehā, she was unable to provide any cultural identity markers of Pākehā society. It was again only the love she had for her Pākehā parent that gave her an aspect of her identity.

It was a common theme throughout the interviews and throughout my research that the Pākehā side of a half-caste identity had no cultural aspects that were on the same level to

that of the richness of the Māori culture. One interviewee wasn't even able to make a comment about the Pākehā culture without highlighting the fact he drew most of his identity from his Māori side.

Being Half-caste, what is it?

The interviews that I conducted provided many different themes that helped present the life of a half-caste. There were many positive aspects and many negative aspects, however, it is through these stories and my own experiences that people may begin to understand or add to their understanding of the harsh realities of life between two worlds.

“when I think of half-caste I just think of conflict.” (Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā).

The negative attitudes experienced by half-castes causes confusion about their identities and creates situations where they have conflicting feelings. Half-castes are often told by others that they are not either of their given ethnicities, due to a lack of language or by their physical ambiguity, and this can force a half-caste to question their identity. It causes them to feel out of place, as if they do not belong and as if they are alone.

For some half-castes, their dual heritage allows them to combine their two given ethnicities or benefit from the best of both worlds. This can allow for a half-caste to choose their identities depending on which social situation they are in. This is generally a mechanism to avoid conflict or defend themselves from any negative attitudes they may experience. It can also mean the half-caste is able to fit into either world and make easy transitions between the two. Some may view this as being able to work in the Pākehā

dominated society while still maintaining a strong link to their Māori side and involvement in the Māori community.

“I’m thinking about getting my tā moko and stuff and its hard out Māori tuturu and then my brother said “I’m going to get one and I’m trying to incorporate mum’s side” and I was like “true I’m not even thinking about stuff like that”
(Male, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Pākehā)

For this interviewee’s brother, incorporating his mother in to his *tā moko* (tattoo) was a sign of his dual heritage and recognition of that side of his *whakapapa*.

Conclusion

This attitude of bringing two worlds together often does not come until later in life. For me it wasn’t until I arrived at university and was in an environment that encouraged critical thinking. I had also left behind the cruelty of playground prejudice and went to environment where difference was more readily accepted. By reconnecting with my Māori world I began to educate myself in a holistic way, not only focusing on the mind but also the spirit. This has allowed me to accept my duality, my hybridity, my mixed ethnic heritage.

Being half-caste is a situation that is made confusing by other people’s perceptions and attitudes towards you. The attitudes can perpetuate the “cultural schizophrenia” a half-caste experiences. These attitudes can be considered the outside voices which force a half-caste to change and act differently in certain situations. They then turn into voices heard only inside the half-castes mind, which cause the internal identity struggles and batters at the half-caste’s confidence. In an ideal world, a half-caste or any person would

not have to face negative attitudes or discrimination. The reality is, however, that being half-caste is tough work sometimes. Being half-caste can be simple.

“It means I’m Māori and Pākehā... that’s what it means to me... when anyone asks what I am... I say I’m half-caste... I say I’m part-Māori and part-Pākehā..”

(Female, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pākehā).

This chapter demonstrated that attitudes towards half-castes, constructed by pre-colonial theories and further developed by the interaction between Māori and Pākehā, are prevalent in modern society. Half-castes face prejudice from both Māori and Pākehā about their physical ambiguity and apparently confusing identity markers. Because half-castes blur boundaries and test others’ notions of ‘race’ they are subjected to negative attitudes which propagate struggles with identity and the feeling of not fitting in. It also becomes apparent, however, that a half-caste can come to grips with the fact they are from two worlds and perhaps without the negative attitudes of others have a less traumatic existence. This leads to the next chapter which introduces the half-caste of the future, a half-caste that despite the attitudes of others can assert their identity’s as people of dual heritage

Chapter Four – Discussion: The Half-Caste of the Future



Recently there has been increased interest in the half-caste among academics and social campaigners. This has mainly taken place in the United States and the United Kingdom, where people of mixed race are asserting their right to certain aspects of society that others may take for granted, for example, the right to tick a ‘mixed-race’ box on a census form rather than choosing between their ethnicities or ticking the ‘other’ box. This increase in awareness of mixed race politics and half-caste identity issues has led to a movement for the rights of people of mixed heritage to be recognized as such.

A particular product of this movement has been a *Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People* written by Maria Root (1992). Maria Root is an Associate Professor of American ethnic studies at the University of Washington. A half-caste herself, Root’s works focus on the rights of mixed-race people and the injustices they have faced throughout their lives (Root 1992). *The Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People* has three sections, the first section focuses on the attitudes of others towards mixed-race people and the right of the mixed-race person to ignore these attitudes. The second section focuses on the identity politics of mixed-race people and their right to construct their identity as they please despite the attitudes of how others’ view them. The final section has the mixed-race identity and particular characteristics of that identity as its focus. All of these sections recognise the uniqueness of being mixed-race and the difficult situations it presents.

This document will be used to summarise the attitudes towards half-castes by presenting a story from a half-caste underneath each heading. These narratives provide two clear themes of life as a half-caste, of not fitting or being fully accepted due to the half-castes hybridity and the half-caste using this seemingly negative situation to their advantage to walk in both worlds. By placing all of this information within a framework that focuses on the rights of the half-caste, I will represent a picture of the contemporary half-caste and the direction that the half-caste identity is heading.

I have the right not to...

justify my existence in the world

Paul Meredith (1998) said that being half-caste was about being “situated in a space where two cultures edge each other” and whereby the half-caste could act as a cultural lubricant between the two worlds. His existence as a half-caste is a conscious choice that reflects the way he was brought up, his biological ties and the half-caste lifestyle he pursues today. He also states that his existence does not make him “un-Māori/un-Pākehā” (Collins 2001), but reflects the reality of a multi-cultural society and recognition of intermarriage in New Zealand.

keep the races separate within

Rachel Paul, the daughter of a Māori father and Pākehā mother incorporates both sides of her heritage by pursuing her fluency in the Māori language but also by wearing the Monteith Scottish tartan (Archie 2005). Further she says that she identifies as Māori because “that’s the face I see in the mirror” (Archie 2005:95), however, it is apparent that she does not necessarily separate the two ‘races’ within her own being despite the way

she looks. This is similar to that of one of the brothers of a half-caste, interviewed for the previous chapter, who was incorporating his Pākehā side into his Māori *ta moko*.

be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical ambiguity

Miria O'Regan (Archie 2005) with her white skin, red hair and blue eyes constantly had to justify her ethnic identity as a Māori. Because of the way she looked people did not readily accept her as a person with Māori heritage. In addition to her physical ambiguity, her name was Māori, something that would confuse her teachers at school. She would often be asked "How come you have a Māori name?" They had identified her as a Pākehā due to her physical appearance, despite her Māori name and upbringing in a Māori environment.

not to justify my ethnic legitimacy

Alan Duff (2000) describes himself as a 'half-caste Māori' had been born into a country obsessed with blood quantum. Māori people were categorised by the number of sixteenths of Māori blood they had, which in turn, determined their degree of Māoriness. This attitude continues today, as can be seen with Dr Brash recently asserting today's lack of 'real' Māori. This biological arithmetic is what Sir Tipene O'Regan describes as a "hangover from colonialist racism" (Archie 2005:207). Blood quantum and the subsequent attitudes towards those people of mixed-blood, place half-castes in a position whereby they have to justify their ethnic legitimacy. Under this *Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People*, half-castes should no longer have to justify their choice of identity based on their blood quantum.

I have the right to identify myself...

differently than strangers expect me to identify

As one interviewee said from the previous chapter, people or ‘outsiders’ as she called them would identify her as Pākehā because of her physical appearance and, yet, she had a stronger affiliation to her Māori side. Because of her physical ambiguity she would also be identified by people within her family as being Pākehā. Makere Harawira (2000:203) whose family had attempted to bury their Māori ancestry asked the question “Can I, a fair-skinned, blue-eyed person, whose Māori genealogy is uncertain, claim myself to be a Māori, have the right to speak as a Māori?” She goes further and states that due to her upbringing with a parent who denied their ancestry and genetics which determined her physical appearance she has been “unhesitatingly constructed” as non-Māori. But, as this *Bill of Rights* suggests, half-castes identify not according to the perceptions of strangers, but by the culture within.

differently than how my parents identify

As stated above, Harawira’s mother denied her Māori ancestry and she was brought up very much in a Pākehā environment (2000). Half-castes have parents with different ethnicities, therefore, it is not uncommon for half-castes to not identify with one of their parent’s ethnicity. If the half-caste asserts a strong bi-ethnic identity then effectively, they do not entirely identify with either of their parent’s ethnicities and, thus, have constructed a new hybrid identity. This identity is often not accepted and half-castes are forced by a society fixed on binary opposition to choose one ethnicity over another.

differently than my brothers and sisters

Harawira (2000) whose family had attempted to bury their Māori ancestry became completely aware of her heritage when her mother passed away. It was then that Makere was able to connect with what she had always known in her *wairua*. Despite her move towards the Māori world she said “my sisters and brother continue to disassociate themselves from anything Māori” (Harawira 2000:203). Such a concept recognises that people, even from the same family, have the right to identify with the identity that is appropriate for them.

myself different in different situations

The defence mechanism of the half-caste to avoid prejudice by identifying themselves differently in different situations is the right and a benefit of a half-caste. Carol Hirshfeld (Archie 2005) touches on this when she discusses how it became second nature for her to assess what people’s attitudes were towards Maori people. This is an experience I can identify with, as I remember coming to university and assessing nearly every person in my hall of residence as to what their attitudes towards people of Māori ancestry were like. This then allowed me to use my defense mechanism as a half-caste and ‘pass’ myself off as Pākehā if I were put into a situation of dealing with those people that had negative attitudes. Ultimately, this notion highlights the multiplicity of the contexts that half-castes have to deal with, and the strategy of accepting one’s multiple beings to deal with these varying contexts.

I have the right to...

create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial

Jacq Carter (2000) is a half-caste that began to learn about her hybridity and her Māori side after a somewhat traumatic experience growing up, disconnected from one side of herself. She uses literature by Paulo Freire and words spoken by Nelson Mandela to help express herself as a person of mixed-race. Carter (2000:260) uses Freire's term of 'human vocation' when discussing her right to assert herself as a whole person, not someone that is oppressed by the attitude that she cannot be fully Māori or fully Pākehā. Also, her "potential to be Māori" (2000:260) are words borrowed from Mandela's concept of people's potential to be something great, someone that can and will inspire others.

change my identity over my lifetime – and more than once

As a half-caste, a blessing in disguise, is the ability to be mistaken for one or the other of our contributing identities. Therefore, a half-caste can change the way in which they identify themselves, this could be as a defence mechanism, or purely the result of a person struggling with their identity. I have been brought up as a person from two cultures. As a half-caste who was surrounded by things Māori, I, perhaps, identified more as a Māori person. Then, high school saw me pass myself off as a Pākehā to avoid the prejudice I had experienced for being Māori. Now, I am identifying myself as a half-caste and ignoring the negative attitudes that so hounded me as a teenager.

have loyalties and identify with more than one group of people

In a country where Māori and Pākehā are portrayed as constantly being at war with each other, it can often force a half-caste to choose between their ethnic identities. Carter (2000:264) said “Negotiating my way between my Māori friends and my Pākehā friends is a journey I still don’t make with ease”. This reflects the historical binary construct that is still prevalent in New Zealand, us\them, brown\white, friend\foe, but also a way for the half-caste to navigate in the third space between these binaries.

freely choose whom I befriend and love

Tainui Stephens (Collins 2004:3) stated that when he began to discover his Māori side, he had a “strong wish to marry a Māori woman”, however, as he became more confident in his identity he does not see the colour of skin as a determinant of the love he can feel for another. The Victorian attitude against inter-racial relationships has perhaps died out in contemporary New Zealand. Yet perhaps, there are many Pākehā who will have a Māori girlfriend or boyfriend, but who will not take these people home to meet the parents, especially with regard to marriage. Narratives still tell of prejudice against intermarriage, mainly by an older generation, however, despite the political climate, inter-racial relationships in New Zealand are increasingly becoming more accepted.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are still many attitudes that originate from pre-colonial theories that still permeate today. The negative attitudes towards half-castes are most often experienced in social interactions with friends, families and strangers, however,

fortunately there is nothing to suggest such negativity in any formal arena, such as the law. The positive attitude towards being half-caste is gaining more momentum, as an awareness of the bi-cultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā and also the multi-cultural melting pot that is Aotearoa, increases. The half-caste is slowly being able to assert themselves as being from two worlds who can traverse the third space as a legitimate place of identity. With this change of societal attitudes, the trauma of coming to grips with hybridity will lessen.

This research project has effectively painted a chronological picture of the attitudes towards half-castes. The pre-colonial theories can be viewed as the artist's easel that supports the canvas. In this case, the artists are the scientists, sociologists, anthropologists of the Victorian era. Their 'data' and theories are what support the belief systems and societies that have oppressed minorities and their offspring for decades. The following chapter discussed the two contributing identities of the half-caste. These identities can be viewed as the paints and the varying colours. It became apparent that there is no 'one' identity for Māori or for Pākehā, therefore the colours vary in shades and depth.

Following this chapter, the story of the half-caste is told and the attitudes they experience expressed. These attitudes may be portrayed as the brush strokes. In some areas, the brush strokes are heavy and broad, and thick with paint. These represent the negative attitudes, such as the half-caste not fitting into any particular ethnic group because of their physical ambiguity or lacking other ethnic characteristics, such as, language. Other strokes may be smaller, only dabbed in areas, and these represent the attitudes that still remain but are not as prevalent, such as, blood quantum, although constantly disproved as

an indicator of one's identity or continued disapproval by some people towards interracial relationships. With the picture painted, the framework of the final chapter represents the future of the half-caste, and the battle to rid the world of the negative attitudes towards half-castes. *The Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People* represents the paintbrush and the assertion by people of mixed-race to take control of that brush, that is, the right to construct their own identities. The future will see half-castes painting their own identities with whatever colour and shade they choose. Although the negative attitudes may remain, by asserting rights to claim whatever identity a half-caste can choose, without being forced to conform to other's notions of race, these attitudes will lose their impact.

It may be that in time I will identify myself as something else, not a half-caste, but another term that will incorporate both sides of my heritage. As the awareness in mixed-race politics is raised and as I develop as a person, the label may change to *tangata awarua* (person of two rivers), a term that has been brought to my attention through this research. I have that right as a person of mixed-race to change who I am, not for the benefit of others, but to represent the changes that may occur in my lifetime. For now, however, it is half-caste and I proudly acknowledge that. I am, perhaps, in the 'rebellious teenage' years of my identity construction, having gone through naïve childhood, where I was unaware of race politics, and the sensitive adolescent years where I felt hurt and battered by negative attitudes. This period of my 'identity life' and appropriating the term half-caste is an act of defiance, of stubbornness, and as my identity matures this may change. However, I will always continue to encourage recognition of those of us from two worlds and work hard to discourage the negative attitudes we face. Most importantly,

however, is that I will continue to recognise both sides of my *whakapapa*, all of my ancestors, white and brown, because as Jacq Carter (2000:267) wrote:

“...I am
because they were
and because I am
they are”

Glossary of Terms



<i>ahi kā</i>	fires of occupation
<i>atua</i>	gods, ancestors of continuing influence
<i>awhe kaihe</i>	half-caste
<i>haka</i>	posture dance
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>huipaina</i>	hoop iron
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	language nest
<i>kura kaupapa</i>	total immersion school
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori identity
<i>mana</i>	power, authority
<i>marae</i>	meeting place
<i>mokai</i>	pet
<i>o te parara</i>	out of the whalers barrel
<i>pepeha</i>	proverb
<i>rangatiratanga</i>	sovereignty
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>tā moko</i>	tattoo
<i>taha Māori</i>	Māori side/identity
<i>tangata whenua</i>	people of the land

<i>tangihanga</i>	funeral
<i>tikanga</i>	belief system
<i>tīpuna</i>	ancestors
<i>turangawaewae</i>	place to stand
<i>wairua</i>	spirit
<i>waka</i>	canoe
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whakanoa</i>	lift restriction
<i>whānau</i>	family
<i>whenua</i>	land/placenta
<i>urupā</i>	cemetery
<i>utu pihikete</i>	paid for in biscuit

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Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet for Participants

Date: / /

**MAI I NGĀ AO E RUA
INFORMATION SHEET FOR
PARTICIPANTS.**

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The information being sought will be used as part of a Bachelor of Arts with Honours dissertation , for which I am enrolled at Otago University, Dunedin. This may also result in further publications on bi-racial identity and/or indigenous cultural knowledge.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to provide responses to a number of questions regarding being bi-racial , and if you agree, then your responses will be recorded, and transcribed, after which, relevant information will be processed and included in the dissertation. (If applicable)

A copy of the electronic recording and the transcript will be returned to you if you would like a copy, or another person as stipulated by you.

My supervisor will have access to the information if requested. I trust the integrity of the supervisor and the position they hold that there will be no misuse of this privilege.

Because this information will form part of a dissertation, it will be publicly available. Parts or all of the information may also be subsequently used in other publications. Nothing will be cited from you without your consent.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it.

You have entrusted your knowledge to me on the understanding that I will be responsible for safeguarding it and using it wisely and appropriately. From a Māori perspective, such knowledge is a *tāonga* (cherished possession. The information is therefore priceless and I request that it be retained for the benefit of younger generations. I will keep it secure and only use those parts of it which you give me consent to use. If, however, you do not wish that this information be retained, then at the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

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Appendix B: Consent Form for Participants

MAI I NGÃ AO E RUA

CONSENT FORM FOR **PARTICIPANTS.**

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only the researcher, the supervisor/co-supervisor, and the transcribers will be able to gain access to it.
4. Please indicate your choice by striking through that which you do not support :
 - a) the researcher will be responsible for safeguarding it and using it wisely and appropriately,
 - or**
 - b) the recording will be retained, then at the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

5. the results of the project may be published and will be available in the library with my name referenced appropriately;
6. Parts or all of the information may also be subsequently used in other publications, but that nothing will be cited from me without my consent.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....

(Name of participant)

.....

(Signature of participant)

.....

(Date)

Appendix C: Poetry

afa kasi

afa kasi

half caste

cast in half

a loaded past

carved in half

halved and calved

into one or the other

but neither

is either

full

nor half

caste

and dyed

cast

and died

as different

- Selina Tusitala Marsh (2003)

Identity Crisis

I'm sick of being

a Pākehā-Māori

not a real one

but still a hori

sick of being middle-classed

(as if poverty is

traditionally Māori)

sick of hearing

the same old thing

I'm the whitest Māori

you've ever seen

sick of people

who have to ask

am I eighth

a quarter

I couldn't be half

But if I chose

to be Pākehā

I'd be turning my back

on my tūpuna

when I am

because they were

and because I am

they are.

Jacq Carter (2000)

Appendix D: The Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People

The Bill of Rights:

I have the right:

-not to justify my existence in this world

-not to keep the races separate within me

-not to be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical
ambiguity

-not to justify my ethnic legitimacy

I have the right:

-to identify myself differently than strangers expect me to
identify

-to identify myself differently than how my parents identify
me

-to identify myself differently than my brothers and sisters

-to identify myself different in different situations

I have the right:

-to create a vocabulary to communicate about being
multiracial

-to change my identity over my lifetime - and more than once

-to have loyalties and identify with more than one group of
people

-to freely choose whom I befriend and love

Maria P. Root (1992)