TE TUMU
SCHOOL OF MĀORI, PACIFIC & INDIGENOUS STUDIES

Manawa whenua, wē moana uriuri, hōkikitanga kawenga
From the heart of the land, to the depths of the sea;
repositories of knowledge abound

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Mai i Aotearoa – From New Zealand

The effects of living in Australia on Māori identity

A dissertation submitted for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Māori Studies at the University of Otago, Dunedin

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This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Henry Sullivan, who supported me in everything that I wanted to do in life.

Thanks Dad.

Abstract

It is estimated that one in every five people that identify as Māori were either born or is currently living in Australia. The large Māori population that currently resides in Australia has forced the question 'Does living in Australia affect one's Māori identity?' to be asked and if it does how so.

This dissertation begins by looking at the causes of Māori migration from New Zealand to Australia and the experiences involved in doing so. It looks at Māori integration into an Australian environment, what experiences impacted on a migrant's identity as a Māori person and the ways in which a Māori identity is maintained whilst living in Australia. This research also aims to show how some key Māori values such as *tūrangawaewae, ahikā, whānau* and *tikanga* have been adapted to suit the Australian Māori community whilst still maintaining those core philosophies that make these concepts uniquely Māori.

This dissertation uses the experiences of five people who have migrated to Australia and have been living there for over ten years. This research provides an opportunity for their journey of identity formation and maintenance to unfold.

Acknowledgements
"E kore te ure e tū ki te kore ngā raho"
"A man cannot stand an erection without the testicles"
(Timoti Kāretu, 2007)

In relation to this dissertation this quote shows that I could not have completed this research without the help of the many people that pulled me along the way to this finished product. They are my 'testicles' that enabled the submission of this dissertation. Thank you all immensely.

First of all I would like to thank Karyn Paringatai (KP) my supervisor. It feels like a cop out trying to thank you in writing as words cannot amount to the thanks needed to even show half the gratitude that you rightfully deserve. KP, you guided me, assisted me in every aspect of this research and even fed me. I know I was a very testing student and you handled that with poise and patience. To you KP I say thank you, thank you, thank you. You are the right testicle. Lucky you.

Secondly, I would like to thank my participants and their families in Australia. Thank you all very much for your thoughts, opinions, laughs, feeds, chats, fun and most importantly time. Hopefully this dissertation will allow your words to shine through; those words that were so vital to this research. Special thanks must go to the little cousin in Mooloolaba for his conversation that inspired me to pursue this as a topic. Thanks a lot bro. Without you all I could not have done this. *Tēnā rawa atu koutou*.

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To Te Tumu staff, thank you for your guidance, wisdom and assistance. Even though we were quite a noisy bunch (sorry about that), if we needed help you all were always willing to lend a hand. Thank you.

My friends (you know who you are) thank you for telling me to "get back to Uni and finish that diss" it actually helped believe it or not. It was your *aroha*, patience and incentives of a cold beer waiting at the finish line that got me through. Also a special thanks to Flynn for offering her proofreading services. Thank you all.

Most importantly, I would also like to acknowledge all my *whānau*: my mother, my father, my cousins, my sister, my uncles, my aunties, my brothers, my nephews and my nieces. Thank you all for making me proud to be who I am today.

To everybody that I may have missed, I am sorry, but I am truly grateful for those little and big things that you have done. It doesn't go unnoticed. Thank you all enormously.

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Ko Courtney Sullivan tōku ingoa
Nō Whakatāne ahau

This research is located within the realm of Māori migration to Australia and the impacts that living in Australia has on the development and maintenance of Māori identity. This topic stemmed from a conversation that I had with one of my cousins while holidaying in Australia in August 2007. Conversations with him elicited feelings such as 'missing out' and 'wishing he knew the Māori language and culture better'. It was at this moment that I decided this would be an interesting research topic as it could potentially involve my *whānau* (family) and I could let their stories about living in a country where they were *manuhiri* (visitors) be told. I also became interested in this research after learning of the term 'Mozzie/Maussie'. I had heard the word a few times before however, I was unsure as to what it meant and what it might mean to those that may be labelled as such. Through this study I could address both these issues.

An identity is not only constructed around social interactions with others but also derives from a sense of belonging to a particular location. I am from the small but beautiful town of Whakatāne and the even smaller suburb known as Piripai. The pride I have for being from this place absolutely consumes me. It is there where my identity originates. I started to formulate ideas around the importance of 'place' in the construction of identity.

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I thought that because there is such a large Māori population residing in Australia, therefore, not living in a predominantly Māori environment, that this should affect their Māori identity, shouldn't it?

Chapter One will outline the processes of Māori migration from New Zealand to Australia. It will look at Māori motivations for moving to Australia, their integration into an Australian environment and the experiences of that migration journey.

Chapter Two describes some important aspects of Māori identity and how it is formed. It will look at traditional descent based groupings such as *whānau, hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) and their importance in constructing a Māori identity.

Tikanga Māori (Māori values and customs) and their significance within a Māori identity will be the focus of discussion in Chapter Three. A selection of key Māori concepts, in particular, *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand, a place to call home), *ahikā* (keeping one's home fires burning), *tikanga* (protocols) and *whānau* will be outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Four will look at the social influences that Māori living in Australia experience and the impact that these may have on their Māori identity. One's sense of belonging in Australia, the cultural transmission of Māori knowledge, contact with other Māori in social circles and the forced or voluntary adoption of labels such as Mozzie/Maussie, Plastic Māori, Ngāti Skippy and Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo will be topics discussed in this chapter.

Methodology

Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, places strong emphasis
on the ideology that research done with Indigenous communities, including Māori,
should be conducted in a manner that is culturally appropriate and which bestows upon
participants the utmost respect and dignity whilst interviewing. This research ensures
this by using the following guidelines provided in Te Tumu's post-graduate handbook:

1. The Indigenous community must be consulted about the nature of the research and it is
    important that they are in agreement that the research may be conducted;

2. All research on or about Indigenous Peoples must be mutually beneficial to that
    community and the researcher;

3. The researcher, in conducting research in an Indigenous field, has an obligation to
    regularly inform, consult and update that community throughout the course of the
    research including the research methodology to be employed and the outcomes of the
    research;

4. The researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Indigenous knowledge.
    It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be
    chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher
    that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Indigenous knowledge in an academic
    context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Indigenous communities;

5. The researcher accepts unconditionally that there are reciprocal obligations to the
    Indigenous community in agreeing to their research to proceed. The obligation may well
    be in terms of unpaid time to undertake a task or several tasks requiring academic
    expertise for their community. This is based on the Māori notion:

    Nō te kopu kotahi
    i kai tahi, i moe tahi,
    i mahi tahi[1]

6. The researcher observes Indigenous protocol at all times in the context of conducting
    research and allows for this in the preparation of their design. This includes the set
    timeframe not only to negotiate access to the sources of Indigenous knowledge and
    collect data, etc., but also to take into consideration those cultural events and practices
    which are mostly unplanned. In the Māori world, this may include *te whānau mai o te
    tamaiti, hura kōhatu, tangihanga, te rā o te tekau mā rua, poukai, kawe mate,*

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[1] We are from the same womb
Eat together, sleep together,
Work together

whakataetae, pōhiri, manuhiri, hui, and *ngahau*[2]. The researcher must be prepared to participate if that is the expectation of the Indigenous community;

7. The researcher must acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research;

8. The researcher, on completion of the research with the Indigenous community, appropriately inform the Indigenous community of the completion of their work in the community and thank them appropriately through *koha aroha* which may include *kai, taonga,* etc;

9. The researcher, on completion of the research document, presents a copy of the document to the Indigenous community from which the information was obtained.

(Te Tumu, 2004:18-19)

This research is based on a mixture of primary and secondary literature. As the dissertation is limited in size, interviews were conducted with only five people. It would have been impossible to incorporate a larger body of information if more participants were used given the limitations of the required word count. The participants were categorised into two groups: those that migrated to Australia as adults and those that migrated to Australia as children. Selection criteria also required that participants had to be over 18 years of age and have been living in Australia for over 10 years, which would ensure that they had been living outside of New Zealand long enough to develop potential identity issues. All participants reside in Brisbane as this city has one of the highest populations of Māori in Australia.

The descriptions of each participant are relatively detailed which aids in an enhanced understanding of the participants' answers. The participants' thoughts are used from the beginning of this dissertation: therefore it is essential that they be introduced at this time. Anonymity was requested by the participants, for that reason measures such as

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[2] Definitions for terms that are used in direct quotes will appear in the glossary.

nomenclature in which to identify the participants were carefully structured. Participants were identified by their gender either *Wahine* (female) or *Tāne* (male), followed by whether they moved to Australia as an adult or a child and also their age.

Tāne (adult, 63), Ngāti Awa

Tāne (adult, 63) was born and raised in Whakatāne. He attended Saint Joseph's Catholic School and Whakatāne High School. He left Whakatāne in 1981 at the age of 36 and went to Sydney for two weeks for a holiday. He disliked Sydney so he went to Brisbane where he stayed and currently resides. Although he initially went to Australia for a holiday, he enjoyed the Australian lifestyle so much that he arranged for the rest of his family to join him in Brisbane. His family at that time consisted of his wife, his two sons aged 13 and 12, and his daughter aged five. He travels to New Zealand approximately once every two years for holidays and special occasions such as *tangihanga* (funeral).

Wahine (adult, 51), Ngāti Awa

Wahine (adult, 51) was born and raised in Whakatāne. She attended Saint Joseph's Catholic School and Whakatāne High School. After high school she attended Waikato Polytechnic for a year studying computing before travelling overseas. She moved to Melbourne in 1979 at the age of 22 and stayed there for four years before moving to Brisbane for work. She now resides in Mooloolaba, Sunshine Coast in the Queensland State with her Irish Australian husband and their three teenage children, where she and her husband run their own business. She has been in Australia for 29 years but she travels to New Zealand as often as possible, which is currently once every two years.

***Tāne* (adult, 50), Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pūkeko**

Tāne (adult, 50) was born and raised in Whakatāne. He attended Saint Joseph's Catholic school then Hato Petera for a year, however, he completed his secondary schooling at Whakatāne High School. In 1981 at the age of 23 he migrated to Australia. He has lived in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney but currently resides in Wurtulla on the Sunshine Coast of Queensland with his Australian fiancé and her three children. He is currently employed as a truck driver and attempts to return to New Zealand for visits as often as possible.

***Tāne* (child, 40), Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau ā Apanui**

Tāne (child, 40) was born in Whakatāne but was brought up in the suburbs of Sunnybank, 8 Mile Plains and Algester in South Brisbane. He attended Saint Joseph's Catholic School and then went to Whakatāne High School for one year before he and his family moved to Brisbane in 1981 when he was 12. He completed his secondary schooling at MacGregor State High School and then undertook an apprenticeship course at Kangaroo Point Technical and Further Education (TAFE) College in Brisbane. He is self employed and part owner of a security business. He currently resides in Wishart, Brisbane with his Greek-Australian wife and two sons aged 10 and eight. He aims to travel to New Zealand whenever possible which is on average once every two years.

***Wahine* (child, 34), Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau ā Apanui**

Wahine (child, 34) was born in Whakatāne but was raised mainly in Brisbane and is an Australian citizen. She began her primary schooling at Saint Joseph's Catholic School in

Whakatāne but moved to Brisbane in 1981 at the age of five where she attended Sunnybank State School for the remainder of her primary schooling. She then attended MacGregor State High School and then completed an Office Studies course at Mount Gravatt TAFE. She currently works as an administrative manager at a leading kitchen firm in Brisbane. She now resides in Sunnybank Hills, Brisbane with her Māori partner and their daughter (12) and son (7) and travels to New Zealand approximately once every two years.

Due to this research encompassing an area of human involvement ethical approval was sought from the University of Otago's Ethics Committee to ensure the safety of the participants. An information sheet was sent to each participant before the interview took place and upon commencement of the interview a further explanation of the project was provided, as was the opportunity for them to address concerns and ask any additional questions they may have. They were then asked to sign a consent form that ensured their rights, safety and outlined their ability to withdraw from the interview if they so desired. The interviews were conducted one-on-one using a semi-structured interviewing technique. The interviews were recorded and the transcripts were sent back to the participants for inspection and accuracy.

As this dissertation is written in English, italics will be used for all non-English words, except those that occur in direct quotes and for proper nouns. Translations of Māori words will be provided the first time they are used and a list of all non-English words used in this dissertation is provided in the glossary at the back. Where applicable,

macrons have been used to denote vowel length except in the case of direct quotes which will be written as they appear in the original source. The word Indigenous will be spelt with a capital 'I' as this matches the standards of other Indigenous writers. Aotearoa and New Zealand are used synonymously throughout this dissertation.

Chapter One

The Great Leap 'Across The Ditch' – Migration to Australia

"Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pāmamao"

"Great Hawaiki, Long Hawaiki, Far-distant Hawaiki"
(Buck, 1962:36)

Māori migration is not a contemporary phenomenon; evidence of its occurrence is visible through the populating of Polynesia and tales of the great canoe migrations to New Zealand. The migration process is different for each individual, and so it should be treated as such. The above phrase is commonly used within Māori tradition, as it is believed that Māori originate from Hawaiki (ancient homeland of the Māori people), also known as Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao. This chapter will provide a historical overview of migration, with a particular emphasis on migration to Australia. It will look at the reasons why New Zealanders, particularly Māori, have migrated to Australia and how these migrants reacted and adapted to settling in Australia. This chapter will utilise interviews conducted with Māori migrants residing in Australia in reference to their experiences of migration, their motivations for migration, their assimilation into an Australian environment, their process of migration and what difficulties, if any, they encountered in their migration journey.

Migration

Migration is the process of moving from one place to settle in another. This movement process can range from migrating within the same region (intra-urban mobility), to

moving within the same country (internal migration), to moving to another country (international migration) (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2004:272). International migration is not a recent occurrence, neither is it a phenomenon that one race alone undertakes. The various phases of canoe migrations of the Māori to New Zealand from Hawaiki is an example of this and signalled a final chapter in ocean voyaging of pre-European Māori society travel. It is believed that the ancient Polynesian peoples initiated their exploration of the Pacific beginning from West Polynesia, which included countries like Indonesia and the Philippines, and voyaging eastward to the islands of Hawai'i, Samoa and the Marquesas (Evans, 1998:15). There are many accounts of the discovery of Aotearoa/New Zealand of which Buck (1962) identifies a series of different events. These include: Māui fishing up the North Island, the arrival of Kupe to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the expedition of Toitehuatahi across the Pacific in search for his grandsons (Buck, 1962:4-41). However, the migration of the great fleet of canoes is the story most commonly associated with the populating of New Zealand with early Māori ancestors. It is from this fleet that all tribes can link genealogically back to and it is this fleet that is included in many myths and legends of the arrival of Māori to New Zealand (Buck, 1962:36, Williams, 2004:26). This demonstrates that migration is definitely not a contemporary process. Migration has also occurred all over the world, and with the example of the mass migration of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand's work force after World War II, it shows that migration is neither merely a Māori occurrence (Macpherson, 1997:86).

As was illustrated above, Māori have been migrating around the globe for many years. On a relatively more contemporary scale, however, the destinations of Māori migration have diversified. Countries like England and Austria have been visited and are of current residence for Māori (Walrond, 2008). However, it is Australia that seems to most commonly draw Māori to its shores. Māori have affectionately termed Australia as *te ao moemoeā*, (the land of dreaming) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:134), a play on the concept of 'dreaming' which is a key component to creativity within the Australian aboriginal culture (Berndt, 1974:8). On a more figurative note it is these dreams of opportunities that entice Māori to take that leap across the ditch and move to Australia.

Migration to Australia

Australia is seen to be an epitome of a multiethnic country with a relatively young non-Indigenous population. It is stated:

> One Australian in a hundred can claim a local ancestry of over two hundred years. The majority cannot trace more than four generations in the country, two-fifths are only first or second generation and one in five were born else-where. (Jupp, 1988:9)

This representation of modern Australia as a multicultural society has come about through its historical beginnings as a penal colony, where between 1788 and 1836 Britain began exiling convicts from England to Australia due to overcrowding as well as to establish a new society (Jupp, 1991:1). Most of these convicts were men but this became more gender balanced from the 1830s to the 1860s (Jupp, 1988:10). People from America, Germany and China also migrated to Australia in response to the gold rushes in the state of Victoria in the 1850s (Jupp, 1988:10). With the exception of forced migration of the British convicts, people also willingly migrated to Australia with the

prospect of economic opportunity in mind. It is for this same reason that Māori explorers and entrepreneurs also migrated there.

Migration to Australia from New Zealand has been occurring for some time. This is mirrored in the fact that in 2001 there were over 4000 Australian-born Māori aged 60 years old or over (Bedford, Didham, Ho & Hugo, 2005:4). This large proportion of Māori in Australia in that higher age bracket is attributed to the desire early on to seek better economic opportunities, and this trend can be found to date back as far as the 18th century (Bedford, Didham, Ho & Hugo, 2005:3). As early as 1795, Māori chiefs were amongst those that were sailing to Sydney in search of trading opportunities (Walrond, 2008). Sydney, located in the state of New South Wales, was quickly established as an important place for economic aspirations to be realised. Port Jackson, also known as Botany Bay, was an early centre for almost all of the South Pacific's whaling and sealing productions (Salmond, 1997:282). Fuelled by their competency as seamen, many Māori joined whaling and sealing crews which established Sydney as the most visited overseas port for Māori at that time, insomuch that by the year 1842, *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) was frequently heard on Sydney's docks (Salmond, 1997:316-317, Walrond, 2008). These whaling and sealing ships presented Māori with the ability to travel, giving rise to the thirst of opportunity in Australia that Māori still quench for today.

Once the sealing and whaling industries died down in the early twentieth century, there was still a steady flow of Māori migrating to Australia, aided in large part by the immigration policies of the mid 1900s. Mr. Richard Casey, the Australian Minister of

External Affairs and Development from 1949-1950 declared that the aim of his migration policies was to "…double the population in a generation" (Wilson, 1951:86). This demonstrates the simple policies that were created which did not hinder migration to Australia but rather encouraged it. For New Zealanders migrating to Australia, the migration process was even easier. In the 1970s a Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement was established which allows New Zealand and Australian citizens to move freely between the two countries without a visa (Collins, 1991:247). For the participants involved in this research it is this agreement that proved to ensure an effortless migration.

As has already been stated Australia and New Zealand have a relatively open agreement which permits citizens of either country to inhabit the other without a visa. This hassle-free process seems to have been taken advantage of by all participants that moved to Australia as adults. *Tāne* (adult, 50) migrated to Australia in 1981 and recalled that he

> found it pretty easy, it's not as hard as it is now, you know cos you could get everything straight away. Like a medicare card, you name it, you know. I could of gone on the dole straight away, but I never did. (2008)

This simplicity was described by another participant who also migrated to Australia in 1981. He says that migrating to Australia was

> easy, you just hop on a plane and that's it, just on a plane and away you go, yeah, there were no problems…Oh, you had to have a passport, I did, there was no problem getting a passport, that wasn't a problem really, you just had to apply for one. (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008)

It also seemed that once in Australia the Australian Government provided schemes, such as organised accommodation, training centres and employment for immigrants on arrival to Australia (Peters, 2001:12). It is apparent that these incentives made integration into

the new country easier, thereby providing a positive experience of migration and enticing immigrants to stay. The ability to obtain certain financial assistance and medical cards was also substantially effortless. *Wahine* (adult, 51), who migrated to Australia in 1979 stated that she "…got here [Australia] on the Sunday and on the Monday I went on the dole, that's how easy it was" (2008). In saying that, this participant found work soon after arriving in Australia.

Despite the more positive aspects of easily obtaining employment and accommodation soon after migrating, Australia is not able to provide the emotional support that only one's family can fulfil. This was the only real difficulty that the participants felt to be a burden on their migration experiences. One participant stated that the difficulty came with

> actually leaving the family, the first month it was awful, I was so homesick … Well I think probably what I was homesick for was my family. Nothing else. You know, not the town or anything else, just that bond that you have with your family, that's what I missed. Because you know you couldn't just, you know, go down the road and visit somebody like your cousins or things like that. There was nobody really…you get *hōhā*[3] with all these people but you know, you still felt alone. (*Wāhine*, (adult, 51) 2008)

In the case of the participants that moved to Australia as children they were given no choice to stay in New Zealand; their parents were determined to be in Australia. They stated that their migration experiences on the whole were positive, however, they also longed for their *whānau* in New Zealand. *Wāhine* (child, 34), who migrated to Australia in 1981 at the age of five, and *Tāne* (child, 40), who also migrated to Australia in 1981 at the age of 12, described that their integration into the Australian community was aided by their cousins already living in Australia who they were able to interact with (2008). It is

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[3] Definitions for terms that are used in direct quotes will appear in the glossary.

obvious that in these instances chain migration suited these participants as they already knew people in Australia. Chain migration is the process whereby the migrants follow members of their family or community to a place; this pattern seems to be a prominent occurrence (Castles, 2003:208). All participants combat their longing for their families by returning to New Zealand as often as possible and keeping in regular contact with them. Contact is made via email, phone and the most common communication tool stated was *Bebo*, an internet based social networking site (these communication methods will be elaborated on in Chapter Four).

Population Statistics

Australia is very much a popular migratory destination for many New Zealanders, not just Māori. It was estimated that in 2001 the population of New Zealand born citizens living in Australia was about 460,000 (Catley, 2001:56). With the many economic and social opportunities that are available in Australia in comparison with New Zealand it is inevitable that the statistics on this topic agree. Māori make up a significant portion of those New Zealanders who undertake migration to Australia insomuch that Māori are said to be Australia's largest Polynesian group (Walrond, 2008).

Due to the steady increase of Māori migration to Australia the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), since 2001, has incorporated Māori population figures in Australia in their national statistics (Trewin, 2001:18). Information regarding a person's ancestry was first asked in the 1986 census, the intention of which was to improve the understanding of Australia's ethnic background (Trewin, 2008: 18). The following table shows the Māori

population of Brisbane (the location of all the participants involved in this research), Queensland (in which Brisbane is located) and Australia in comparison to the Aboriginal (the Indigenous people of Australia) and total Australian populations in these three places according to the 2006 census.

Table 1: Māori, Aboriginal and Total Populations of Brisbane, Queensland and Australia[4]

	Brisbane	Queensland	Australia
Māori	16,536	31,076	92,911
Aboriginal	4,124	27,896	115,285
Total population	2,344,666	5,157,898	25,451,383

According to this census there were 31,076 people that identified themselves as Māori that were living in the Queensland State and of that 31,076 people, 16,536 of them lived in Brisbane. The proportion of Māori people living in Queensland contributed to over one third or 33.4% of the total Māori population that were living in Australia at that time. Given this information it is for this reason why the researcher interviewed Māori located in Brisbane as opposed to another area in Australia. Also in comparison, according to the 2006 census there are 115, 285 Aboriginals that reside on Australian soil. Bearing this in mind the Māori population in Australia is almost the same as the Indigenous population of Australia. It is currently estimated that up to 155,000 Māori are currently living in Australia which is an increase of almost 60,000 people from 2006 (Māori living in Australia, 2007).

Gathering statistical information can be flawed as often people will omit information that will skew results. For the ABS's census there is definite cause for concern. The question

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[4] Figures taken from the Australian Bureau of Statistics website.

that is asked is "What is this person's ancestry?" however they are only able to provide two ancestries at the most. This may mean that there could potentially be more Māori living in Australia than is indicated by the statistics provided. This also shows that if people are from various ancestries, this forces people to make a choice and prioritise their ancestral backgrounds. If they do not 'feel' Māori then they will almost certainly choose not to indicate that side of their ethnicity.

Comparatively speaking, the table below refers to the Māori population of in New Zealand. The figures in Table 2 show the Māori population of Auckland (the city with the highest Māori population in the world), the North Island (the island of New Zealand of which Auckland is located) and New Zealand in comparison with the total population of New Zealand.

Table 2: Māori and Total Populations of Auckland, the North Island and New Zealand [5]

	Auckland	**North Island**	**New Zealand**
Māori	137,133	491,836	565,329
Total	1,303,068	3,059,418	4,027,947

According to the 2006 census, New Zealand had a Māori population of 565,329 people. This population is inclusive of those people that claimed that Māori was their only ethnicity as well as those who indicated that they were of two or more ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). This contrasts with the Australian census as they only allow two ethnicities to be stated at the most. 87% of the New Zealand Māori population lived in the North Island and 137,374 or 23.4% of the total Māori population were living

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[5] Figures taken from the Statistics New Zealand website.

in the Auckland region. Interestingly the statistics from the 1956 census showed that around 66% of the Māori population at that time lived in rural areas in comparison with the 84.4% that now live in urban areas (Statistics NZ, 2008). The two tables compare the Māori populations that are residing in both New Zealand and Australia. In reference to the number of Māori in Australia compared with the number of Māori in New Zealand, it shows that approximately one out of five Māori people were living in Australia in 2006. It also shows that the Māori population that are living in Australia is relatively large, especially in comparison with the Indigenous peoples of Australia.

Migration Patterns

It is suggested that the trans-Tasman movement of people make up nearly 50% of the total arrivals and departures in New Zealand every year (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard, 2000:10). Because of this, Australia can be said to be our largest human export market. Whether or not one migrates directly to their current residence or moved around prior will be detailed in order to understand some experiences of a Māori migration pattern.

Migration is not a static process, nor is each individual's experiences identical. There are varying types of patterns of migration that migrants can follow. In the instances of the participants that moved to Australia as adults, they all followed the chain migration process whereby they followed someone else who had already migrated to Australia, then once in Australia, they proceeded with step by step migration. Step by step migration is the method of migrating to other places before arriving in the place of current residence (Düvell, 2006:7). *Tāne* (adult, 50) followed his sister to Melbourne in 1981, he then

moved to Brisbane, then to Sydney and then back to Brisbane where he now resides. This pattern of migration is also evident in *Wahine* (adult, 51) who moved to Melbourne in 1979 and then moved to Brisbane later on. On the other hand, *Tāne* (adult, 63) had intended to holiday in Sydney for only a couple of weeks but then moved to Brisbane where he still lives and has done so for 27 years (2008).

At no choice of their own, the participants that moved to Australia as children underwent straight migration where they migrated directly to their current place of residence. Prior to the emigration of these children from New Zealand, their parents had experienced and witnessed the lifestyle and community that Australia provided. This initial experience attracted their parents to establish a home in Australia first, then they moved over a few months later. The children then moved straight to Brisbane with their parents and are currently living within a few miles from where they were brought up. This shows that migration is not a straight forward process and neither is it the same for the next person. Given that the migration process differed with each person, their motivations and experiences of migration will also be different.

Motivations

The reasons for migration have remained the same as those in traditional times. A series of push and pull factors have enticed migrants to make the move to another country. Push factors refer to aspects that urge the movement from their home country to another one. Things like over-population, depleting resources and lack of work are some examples of these. Pull factors are those things that draw one from their home country to

another country. In reference to Australia things such as more work opportunities, a better climate and a change in lifestyle are the common driving factors (Jupp, 1988:9, Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2004:272).

Throughout the interviews the notion of seeking better opportunities occurred frequently. *Tāne* (adult, 50) believed that there wasn't really a lot to keep him in New Zealand and *Wahine* (adult, 51) supported this belief as she stated "…I just could see myself going nowhere…" (2008). These beliefs show the migrant's need to move to an environment that provided opportunities that were easily obtainable such as those in Australia. In contrast, despite the belief that people migrate to Australia mainly for increased economic gain, *Tāne* (adult, 63) claimed that he initially went to Australia for a holiday but enjoyed the Australian lifestyle to the extent that he stayed and advised his young family to join him (2008).

Another motivation that is not overtly apparent throughout literature is the 'good name' that Māori have in Brisbane. In Australia Māori are seen "…as good, honest and hard-working people…" (*Wahine* (child, 34) 2008). Mainstream Australian residents are perceived as people of the 'same colour', with no limitations attached to them based on wrongly assumed racial inequalities. The diverseness of ethnicities residing in Australia provides a forum for Māori people to succeed upon their own merits, rather than to suffer racial discrimination of others which is sometimes apparent in New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:48). It is exposure to these attitudes and stereotypical views that migrants

encountered in New Zealand that may cause the apparent increased migration flow of Māori to Australia.

Māori in Oz is an internet-based social networking that was established in 2004 by Māori living in Australia. This website offers Māori support, thoughts, recipes and contacts that are available for them to utilise throughout Australia. People that have an account with this website can add features as well as get involved in the Māori community in Australia. This website asks members to poll online for their opinions. One poll currently online is entitled "Māori, Why Did You Move To Oz?" which provides six options for people to choose from. These options include; getting away from gangs and crime, economic improvement, for a better life, to improve finances, to join *whānau* (already in Australia), for career opportunities, and for no reason (MIO Web and Graphics, 2008), which presumably indicates that your reason is not one of the other options listed. As at October 18th 2008, there had been 233 participants in this poll. The results are as follows: 33.5% moved for better career opportunities, 24.5% moved for a better life, 23.6% moved to improve their finances, 8.2% moved to get away from violence, crime and gangs, 6.9% moved to join *whānau*, and the remaining 3.4% identified having no reason for moving to Australia (MIO Web and Graphics, 2008). Although there is the potential for non-Māori migrants to also create memberships and vote, these statistics are primarily used as a basis to show the main reasons that Māori move to Australia.

Some of these same reasons were stated by the interviewees. The most common driving factor that pulled Māori to Australia is the vast economic opportunities available in Australia. Researchers state that in the case of many New Zealanders, under-employment and complicated efforts to seek employment in New Zealand prompt New Zealanders to investigate the Australian work force (Birell & Rapson as cited in Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2000:11). It was predicted that by 2001, Australian income levels would be almost 50% higher than their New Zealand counterparts. During May 2001 the average Australian income was approximately NZD $27,750 whereas the average New Zealand income was only NZD $18,280 (Catley, 2001:56). The minimum wage hourly rates in Australia are also higher than those in New Zealand: NZD $16.00 in Australia (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, 2008) compared with NZD $12.00 in New Zealand, and this has only recently increased in April 2008 from NZD $11.25. In this instance minimum wage refers to the minimum someone aged 16 or above gets paid for each hour of work before tax (New Zealand Government, 2003).

Wahine (adult, 51) stated that when she was living and working in Melbourne in 1979 she received what she thought was "good money" (2008). This idea is further developed in the documentary *Waltzing Maori* (2008)*.* This documentary was screened on New Zealand television in May 2008 which identified key causes of Māori migration to Australia. It is cleverly entitled *'Waltzing Maori'* as a play on word from the iconic Australian song *'Waltzing Matilda'* (National Library of Australia, 2008). A participant in this documentary explained that in Australia he was earning approximately NZD

$140,000 before tax per annum and believed that if he were still in New Zealand he would not be so fortunate (Waltzing Māori, 2008).

A better climate is also a common motivation which is discussed as a contributing factor to a migrant's decision to move to Australia. This was particularly evident in the interviews where the hotter climate played a role in the migration flow of Māori to Australia. Even in the 1800s it was seen that due to "…Australia's warmer climate, a few [Māori] made their way across the Tasman" (Walrond, 2008). Others also suggest that the warmer weather that Australia is renowned for may also count for something in terms of reasons for migration to Australia (Catley, 2001:58). *Wahine* (adult, 51) supports this idea as she explains that she would not permanently live in New Zealand "…cos it's too fricken cold [laughs]" (2008).

Integration

Migrating to a new country and settling into a new community can be extremely difficult and at times quite stressful. Migrants have to adapt to various aspects of their new community such as schooling, money, food, the language used and even types of clothing (Koloto, 2003:176). In contrast, all participants found themselves to be easily accepted by the Australian community they were moving into and did not recall of any times where they felt insecure or isolated. They all found it simple integrating into the Australian community as their family and other New Zealanders that were already in Australia aided in this. *Tāne* (adult, 50) and *Tāne* (adult, 63) described that

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amalgamation into the Australian community was easy (2008). *Tāne* (adult, 63) further

explains that, for him at least, he just fitted in (2008).

Moving into new communities can be a difficult process especially when trying to find a

place where one feels comfortable or being able to find people who share similar interests

or ethnic backgrounds. Making a connection to someone or something eases the

transition into a new community. The level and types of interaction with Australian

residents in the community of those Māori that were interviewed varied. In the instance

of one participant he says that "Australians tend to generalise a lot…they are ignorant of

different cultures and they find it pretty hard to understand our [Māori] ways" (*Tāne*

(adult, 50) 2008). However, *Tāne* (adult, 63) had a different experience with Australians

and claims that he had no problems interacting with them (2008). *Wahine* (adult, 51) on

the other hand, believes that it is entirely up to individual personalities that determine the

positive and negative experiences of interaction. She stated:

> It depends on you though. How you approach it. You know if you're open to other
> things, of course they are going to embrace you and that, more than if you're going to
> clam up and say nothing … if you got that personality, of course they will [accept you],
> it doesn't matter what kind of race you come from. (*Wahine*, (adult, 51) 2008)

Māori that participated in this research found that on the whole, assimilating into

Australia's society was trouble-free and straight-forward. This could possibly stem from

the wide range of cultures that live in Australia, where everybody has a place that they fit

into, regardless of personality, race or colour. With reference to the Māori culture this

may be reflected in the relaxed nature and collective personal identities that the Māori

culture presents.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the key aspects of migration and in particular, migration to Australia. Migration has been a process of movement of people for thousands of years. The populating of the Pacific and stories of the canoe traditions show that Māori migration is not a recent occurrence. Māori have been migrating to Australia for the desire to work since the 1770s, particularly in the case of the whaling and sealing industries.

The latest statistics showed that there are approximately one out of five people who identify themselves as Māori that are living in Australia. This is closely compared with 115,285 Indigenous peoples of Australia that were living there at that time. It is also said that Māori make up such a large proportion of New Zealanders who undertake migration to Australia that they were deemed to be Australia's largest Polynesian group.

The experiences of migration are skewed on the positive end of the scale for the participants involved especially due to the embracing nature that they felt Australians have for new cultures such as the Māori culture. Whether for better economic opportunities, a better lifestyle, the good name that Māori have in Australia or a better climate, Australia is the place where many Māori tend to migrate to more so than any other part of the world, which is obviously due in part to Australia being closer to New Zealand than the rest of the world. The move to Australia forces Māori to actively maintain and constantly adjust their identity to cope in a foreign surrounding, which will be discussed further in next chapter.

Chapter Two

'I am who I am' – Identity

"*E tipu e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā tāonga a ō tūpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga; ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa*"

"Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you, your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors as a diadem for your brow, your soul to your God, to whom all things belong" (Brougham & Reed, 2003:89).

This *whakataukī* (Māori proverb) is an effective starting point for this chapter as it is these aspects that shape one's identity and in particular, one's Māori identity. Through *ngā tāonga a ō tūpuna* (the treasures of your ancestors) this illustrates the importance of retaining the teachings from your ancestors to enable you to walk in any world and still affirm your Māoritanga. It is also inevitable that there will be interaction with Pākehā as described by *ngā rākau a te Pākehā* (the tools of the Pākehā), which is not necessarily detrimental, however, the most important thing is to never lose sight of who you are as a Māori person. In reference to identity, interaction with the contemporary Pākehā world, your family, ancestors, religions and beliefs, implicit through the use of God, and the unique intertwining of these elements are the key aspects that develop an identity.

Identity is the sense of belonging that a person holds for a group, community or place. Identity formation is not an obstinate nor is it a static process, but rather, it is a constantly adjusting process which occurs throughout one's life. This changing identity encompasses all aspects of a person's being and influences their perception of others as well as other's perceptions of them. Some of these influencing factors include encounters

with other people, location of the person at any given time, their political views, their religious beliefs and the environment that one is surrounded by.

This chapter will look at key aspects of Māori identity and its formation. It will look at how Māori identity has been defined by Māori and Pākehā as well as including discussions of these definitions as given by the interviewees. Scales of Māoriness and the one drop rule will aid in the understanding of how Māori identity has evolved. Cultural values and societal structures such as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* are pivotal to the maintenance and strengthening of one's Māori identity, therefore, these aspects will also be core features of this chapter.

Māori Identity Origin

It is important that the origins of Māori identity should be established in order for an understanding on the concept of Māori identity to be developed. Similar to other cultures, Māori also have a philosophy of how their world came into existence and through these creation narratives this story will be told. Māori identity stems from Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother) being held together in a tight embrace forming the nothingness that once was the beginning (Buck, 1962:438). As Māori are not a homogenous race, differences exist in creation narratives from tribe to tribe. In some instances, it was Io (the supreme being) that created Ranginui and Papatūānuku, then through these two the universe was created (Reilly, 2004:1). Many stages of energies led to the creation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, some of which are *Te Korekore* (the void), *Te Kōwhao* (the abyss), and *Te Pō* (the night) (Reilly, 2004:3,

Barlow, 1991:11). Regardless of the differences that exist, the following is a summary of the narrative which places Ranginui and Papatūānuku at the centre of the creation story.

Between the tight embrace of Ranginui and Papatūānuku lay their many children, of which there is said to be as many as 70 (Fancher, n.d.:5). However, only eight of those children are most commonly discussed; Tāwhirimātea (the god of the elements), Rongomātāne (god of peace and cultivated foods), Tangaroa (the god of the sea), Tānemāhuta (the god of the forest), Haumiatiketike (the god of uncultivated foods), Rūaumoko (the god of earthquakes and volcanoes), Tūmatauenga (the god of man and war) and Whiro (the god of evil) (Barlow, 1991:11). There came a time when the children were fed up living within the confines of the world of darkness created by the embraced bodies of their parents, therefore, it was decided that they needed to be separated. Many of the children attempted to do so but to no avail, their embrace was far too strong and they would not budge (Reed, 1999:12). Tānemāhuta, placing his back on his mother and his hands and legs to his father, pried the two apart (Grey, 1956:3). Into their dark world seeped *te ao mārama* (the world of light, enlightenment).

Tuakiri

The *Te Matatiki: Contemporary Māori Words* dictionary written by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori/The Māori Language Commission uses the term *tuakiri* as a translation for the word identity (1996:63). In contrast, Williams provides the definition of *tuakiri* as "person, personality" (1971:445). Hirini Mead (2003) provides further discussion on this term by dissecting it into two separate words: '*tua*' meaning 'beyond' and *'kiri'* meaning

'skin' (Mead, 2003:273). What this means is that one's identity is not simply what is on the surface but what also lies beneath. The term *tuakiri* better exemplifies what Māori identity encompasses, as the colour of one's skin and facial characteristics are no longer a distinguishing factor of ethnicity. *Tuakiri* is the description that better defines the soul of what identity includes. It refers to the feelings, emotions and thoughts of a person, the things that cannot be seen or touched (Mead, 2003:273). This proposition is supported by others who have also investigated the fluidity of Māori identity who state that there are no

> observable characteristics, even of behaviour, which help us recognize a Maori, for these characteristics are merely the surface manisfestations of an identity which is not itself observable. (Ritchie, 1963:45).

This further shows that the idea of being Māori is to encompass everything about that person, as opposed to merely judging what lies on the surface. The concept of *tuakiri tangata* (personal identity) further personalises the aspect of *tuakiri*. This recognises the significance that everything has in association with the total personality of the Māori (Ka'ai, 2004:209, Ministry of Health, 2007:13). Physical, emotional, spiritual, mental, intellectual and social elements of self depict the holistic *tuakiri tangata* that is evident in a Māori identity.

Whānau identity

Traditionally the word *māori* meant 'normal' or 'usual' and was used to show that something was natural. For example *wai māori* meant 'fresh water' as opposed to salt water and *tangata māori* meant 'a regular man' in contrast to a *tohunga* (expert) (King, 1997:8). Māori identity springs from a membership within a collective, that is, within

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whānau, hapū and *iwi* structures. The significance of these structures is demonstrated in the linking of these terms to other valued aspects of Māori society. *Iwi* is not only the Māori term for tribe but it also refers to bones (Buck, 1962:333). This shows the value of one's *iwi* to a Māori person, insomuch that it is in their bones, something that gives them the ability to move and express themselves in a way that is unique to them (Morice, 2006:2). *Hapū* not only means sub-tribe but it also has a dual meaning of describing someone who is pregnant, and *whānau* not only means family but is also used to describe the act of giving birth (Morice, 2006:2). The allocating of important periods in a person's life such as pregnancy and child birth demonstrates its importance on one's identity, as it is from these rudiments that one's identity sprouts. This parallel use of the same terms for societal structures and significant entities such as bones, pregnancy and giving birth, cements what Māori people know to be vital in shaping their identity, that is their *whānau, hapū* and their *iwi* (Reilly, 2004:61-63).

The notion of *whānau* based identity is apparent in the interviews where four out of the five participants described being Māori as being part of a family or *whānau*. *Tāne* (adult, 50) grew up in a large family and recalls that his eight siblings and his many cousins were always around. He believes that being Māori is

> me! It's what I am, who I am. Why I do things the way I do things. The way I speak, it's the language, the customs, the traditions, and basically the family. That is a big, big part of it. And it's everything mixed in together … it makes it a complete package. (2008)

It is thought that Māori identity is principally based on one's inherited status and their relationship and input into their society, hence a non-individualistic view (Solomon & Higgins, 2003:258). This again highlights the importance of *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*

structures in relation to one's identity as a Māori person. This contrasts with that of European views, where they are more individualistic and centre themselves predominantly only within the borders of their immediate families (Morice, 2006:5). *Wahine* (adult, 51) supports this view, although not generalising for all Pākehā, in that she believes that Pākehā tend to think of themselves first. She further adds that "We [Māori] are very family orientated and we always have been" (2008).

Whānau is the most close-knit and smallest group out of the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* structures. It comprises of immediate and extended family members and therefore it can be said that the *whānau* in particular is a very important component of one's Māori identity. Given that one is constantly in contact with and immersed in *whānau* life, it is vital to incorporate the *whānau* into one's identity. Maori Marsden suggests that the *whānau* as a

> group shared a corporate life and each individual an integral member of that body or organism performing a particular function and role. Therefore, to serve others is to serve the corporate self. Thus, loyalty, generosity, caring, sharing, fulfilling one's obligations to the group, was to serve one's extended self. (Marsden in Morice, 2006)

As the *whānau* unit is seen as an extension of one's self, Māori identity therefore relies heavily on their involvement and participation within this *whānau*. Four out of the five participants interviewed also support this sentiment and saw *whānau* as an integral part of who they are. For one participant, being Māori was "having a family and having close ties with your family" (*Tāne* (child, 40) 2008) and as informed by *Tāne* (adult, 50) being Māori is the entirety of who he is. He stated "it is the way I speak, it's the language, the customs, the traditions and basically the family" (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008). This

multifaceted layer which incorporates Māori identity can be further interpreted in the already mentioned concept of *tuakiri tangata*. As stated by *Tāne* (adult, 50), being Māori is his complete self, the language, culture, protocols and family (2008) and in the instance of *tuakiri tangata* it is the encompassing of every aspect which is epitomised in this case. For the participants, this shows that even though they are living away from a vast majority of their *whānau,* they are still an essential piece in the structuring of their Māori identity.

Blood Quantum

Māori identity is a highly topical point of political, social and economic discussion in New Zealand society. Who exactly can qualify as being Māori, measurements of one's Māoriness and Māori identity construction are common areas of research interest. The confusion surrounding Māori identity may, in part, arise from the differing governmental policies that have been used in New Zealand's history. The Māori Affairs Act 1954 stated that one could not claim their identity as a Māori person if their genetic makeup was less than 50% Māori (Broughton, 1993:506). This Act stated that

> Maori means a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand; and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between half-castes and persons of pure descent from that race. (cited in Broughton, 1993:506)

This Act caused problems because, even though some Māori were not legally classified as Māori, their physical characteristics still labelled them as such. This resulted in 'outcasts' centred in the middle which were not accepted by law as Māori but wanted to be considered as one (Borell, 2005:27).

Fortunately, the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 enabled a more generalised definition of the term Māori. It effectively allowed any person who wished to self-identify as Māori, regardless of the amount of 'Māori blood' they had, could now be legally defined as such so long as they could claim descent from a Māori ancestor (Broughton, 1993:506). Blood quantum also fuels debate even on an international level with the notion of the one drop rule.

The one drop rule redefines what people perceive to be Māori. This rule is particularly relevant in America where the one drop rule means "… a single drop of "black blood" makes a person black" (Davis, 1991:5). Although this definition of the one drop rule refers to Black Americans within the United States, it can also be applied to Māori (Davis, 1991:5). In other words, a single drop of Māori blood makes a person Māori. Nowadays, there is no such thing as a half Māori or a quarter Māori but rather one is now defined by one's ancestry, that is, you either have Māori *whakapapa* (genealogy) or you do not. In some instances being able to prove one's Māori ancestry can be advantageous. For example, world renowned New Zealand rugby player Christian Cullen was granted entry into the Māori All Blacks rugby team because he was able to prove Māori ancestry although he is said to only be one sixty-fourth Māori. His father infamously stated "you only need a little fingernail don't you?" (BBC Sport, 2003). This comment in itself is problematic and causes serious debates on the commitment of people, such as Christian Cullen, to their Māori identity and caused much antagonism over whether cultural commitment should also be a pre-requisite for gaining entry into teams such as the Māori All Blacks.

Measures of Māoriness

There are a variety of definitions of what contributes to and validates identity as a Māori person. Measures of Māori identity can be found by examining research done by people such as Sir Āpirana Ngata, Dr. Mason Durie, James Ritchie and Brendan Stevenson. These ideas of measuring one's Māoriness will be examined and compared with those of the interviewees.

Sir Āpirana Ngata (as cited in Ritchie, 1963) devised a scale of Māoriness which included eight components that he believed constituted one's Māoritanga (Māori culture, practices and beliefs). It included knowledge of; the Māori language (an ability to converse in Māori), the sayings of the ancestors (Māori histories), traditional chants and songs (*karakia* (ritual chants) and *waiata* (songs)), posture dances (*haka*), decorative arts (*whakairo* (carving), *tukutuku* (wall panels) and *raranga* (weaving), the processes of the traditional Māori house or *marae* (meeting place), the body of *marae* custom like *tangi* (funeral) and *pōhiri/ pōwhiri* (rituals of encounter) and the retention of the prestige and nobility of the Māori people (retaining of *mana* (prestige, status, nobility)) (Ritchie, 1963:37). Of course it is recognised that Ngata did develop these components of what he thought constructed one's identity as a Māori person at a time when the Māori population was still largely rural and traditional modes of Māori living had not altered much. This led to an easy transference of knowledge in all these areas to subsequent generations. These components have severe limitations but they were also used by Ritchie (1963) at a time when rapid Māori urbanisation was occurring and the dynamics of Māoritanga was changing. It is important that these be included in this study to show how little attitudes

have changed over what defines someone as a Māori person. It is the continuing use of some of these parameters that are still confusing today, which is apparent in interviews conducted. *Wahine* (adult, 51) showed her confusion as to the usefulness of these definitions of what constitutes a Māori as she says "I don't know the *reo* so does that make me less of a Māori?" (2008). *Tuakiri* is linked to the view of this participant as her physical abilities show that she lacks knowledge, however, she still retains her inner virtues of Māoritanga. The conformity of Māori to identity indicators such as those listed above is also apparent in current research.

Dr. Mason Durie's (2005) research into being Māori includes similar suggestions to that of Sir Āpirana Ngata but he also includes abstract notions that have to be felt by the individual. These notions delve once again into the concept of *tuakiri tangata* where not merely Māori physical features define what it is to be Māori, but, the emotional aspiration to also be identified as one is also important. He believes that a person must identify as Māori first and foremost to be considered a Māori and that they must believe that they are Māori and be proud of that fact (Durie, 2005:13). In *A New Maori Migration*, Joan Metge (1964) provides an example of a person who even though "both my grandparents were Pakehas [sic], but I always put myself down as full-Maori, because I feel Maori" (1964, 116). This belief is also shared by *Tāne* (adult, 63) who quickly replied "Oh yeah, very proud. I'm not anything else, so what's the point, that's what I am" (2008).

Durie further espouses that Māori should belong to a Māori network or group such as a *whānau, hapū, iwi* or even an organisation with common Māori interests for instance. He

also believes that being active within a Māori world and enjoying closeness with the natural world is a must. One is also obliged to honour the Māori language and its use, have knowledge of *tikanga Māori* and heritage (Durie, 2005:13).

Brendan Stevenson (2005) also provides a model based on measurements of Māori cultural identity. This model is very similar to that of Durie and Ngata as Stevenson incorporates Māori self identification, competence within the Māori language, involvement with *whānau*, knowledge of *whakapapa*, frequent contact with Māori, participation within a *marae* setting and showing of interests in the topic of Māori land (Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005:38). It would seem that perhaps having Māori 'blood' or Māori ancestry is not the only requirement that classifies one as Māori.

Definition of Māori Identity

Adding to the confusion of the definition of what exactly Māori identity is are the countless contradicting definitions that are present, mostly between Māori authorities. Pākeha base their definition of what a Māori is on their own ethnic background and their interpretation is much more individualistic than that of their Māori counterparts (Solomon & Higgins, 2003:258). Furthermore, Pākehā are more inclined to classify Maori based on their appearance and possessing physically recognisable Māori traits such as skin colour (Jackson & Harré, 1969:153, Moeke-Pickering, 1996:n.p.). This seems to correlate with some accounts experienced by *Tāne* (adult, 50) where he claims that he has been mistaken for being of Mexican, Chinese, Saudi Arabian, Tongan and Samoan descent (2008). This indicates that *Tāne* (adult, 50) was also characteristically found to

belong to these other ethnic groups based on his physically recognisable traits of people from these places. The impression that physical appearance plays an important part in shaping their identity as a Māori person is not a common feature of research done by Māori scholars.

An array of academics, including Dr. Ranginui Walker (1989), Cleve Barlow (1991), Dr. Mason Durie (1994) and John Rangihau (1977), have their definitions of what Māori identity constitutes and have been incorporated into a definition by Moeke-Pickering (1996:n.p.). He states that Māori identity should be

> derived from membership and learning within the whanau, hapu, iwi and waka [canoe]. The individual was able to maintain their sense of belonging through their capacity to whakapapa or find genealogical ties to each of these structures within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained. Cultural practices such as language, customs, kinship obligations and traditions were fundamental to the socialisation of Maori identities. The tribal structures intertwined with the cultural practices provided the pathways through which Maori identities could be formed and developed. (Moeke-Pickering, 1996:n.p.)

This supports the measures of Māoriness that were mentioned previously as well as incorporating the fluidity of change that accompanies the variety of aspects in one's life which directly influence their identity.

What makes me Māori?

When the question "What makes you Māori?" was posed to the participants, in most instances it was very difficult for the participants to answer. This shows that they know they are Māori but in terms of defining it to someone it was a difficult task. *Tāne* (adult, 63) described that being Māori was "…just the way we [Māori people] are, I mean, the

way and how we are brought up I suppose and how our culture [is]…" (2008). *Wahine* (adult, 51) stated:

> I don't know, I really, really [don't know]. That is really quite a hard question to answer. Because, you know, how do you classify being Māori? How do you think then? What makes you Māori? Give me a clue because I've got no idea, I just am. That's how I was born. (2008)

She also added that she 'just is' Māori and she finds it quite difficult to pinpoint and define exactly what it is that makes her Māori. *Tāne* (adult, 50) also found this a perplexing question to answer so much so that his answer was simply "Māori is me" (2008). This is similar to the idea of *"Ko au he Māori, he Māori ko au"* which translates to "I am Māori and Māori is me".

The participants that moved to Australia as children also found answering this question a difficult task. *Tāne* (child, 40) recognised that being Māori was his culture and that being a part of a family and having close ties with family was also significant (2008). In this example it is again evident that *whānau* plays an important role to identifying as Māori.

Pride in being Māori is eminent and adopting visual markers of being Māori is becoming predominant, particularly amongst those living in Australia. Many Māori male sports stars in Australia, for example those playing in the National Rugby League (NRL) as well as rugby players, have permanently made a stance of who they know themselves to be through obtaining *tā moko* (Māori tattoos with genealogical underpinnings) and *kiri tuhi* (Māori skin art). A reason for this may be that because Polynesians are relatively scarce in Australia, many Māori have been mistaken for other ethnic groups such as Lebanese,

Greeks, Italians and South Americans and so the need for them to have some form of a visual distinguishing mark was becoming a neccesity (Walrond, 2008). Not only are *tā moko* and *kiri tuhi* increasing in popularity to indicate ethnicity but so too are other visual markers such as *hei tiki* (a neck ornament usually made of greenstone and carved in an abstract form of a human), pendants made of *pounamu* (greenstone) and clothing with Māori insignia.

Although all participants were hesitant in describing what makes them Māori, when they were asked "Are you *proud* to be Māori?" all of them answered yes emphatically. All participants stated that they were extremely proud and there was no hesitation to do so. *Wahine* (adult, 51) also commented that "I think it is important that I know and my kids know where they come from" (2008). This shows that even in a foreign country, people still go to great efforts to maintain what it is that makes them Māori and to pass this cultural pride on to future generations.

Conclusion

Tuakiri tangata was a term used to describe what Māori identity encompassed, that being the entirety of a person's psyche, emotions, physicality as well as their connections with their *whānau.* The collective concepts of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* that were outlined in this chapter showed the contrasts between a non-individualistic Māori family and a more individualistic oriented European family. *Whānau* is seen as an extension of one's self and therefore the *whānau* is a significant contributor to a Māori identity. With responses of what constitutes being Māori, such as "…having close ties with your family…" (*Tāne*

(child, 40) 2008) the importance of *whānau* in the construction of a Māori identity is evident.

This chapter has also explored some of the major concerns surrounding the complex and difficult interpretation and definition of Māori identity. With the investigation of Māori identity through the measures of Māoriness, it seems to have caused confusion for Māori people with the likes of one participant in reference to her lack of knowledge of the Māori language, and her concern that this would make her less of a Māori (2008). The controversial issues surrounding blood quantum and measures of Māoriness shows that perhaps Māori identity has swayed from genetics as the sole determining factor of being Māori to include the combination of ancestry, no matter how distant, the desire, commitment and practical application of *tikanga Māori*. Māori identity is also based around the development, maintenance and usage of *tikanga Māori* and it is these things that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Tikanga Māori i Ahitereiria = Tikanga Māori i Aotearoa?

"E kore koe e ngaro.
He kākano i ruia mai i Hawaiki
He tāonga nō ngā tūpuna
Tuku iho, Tuku iho"

"You will never be lost
You are from the seed planted in the homeland of Hawaiki
You are a treasure from our ancestors
Handed down, handed down"
(Smith, 2002:468)

The above *whakataukī* demonstrates the significance of knowing your point of origin and highlights the importance that knowing you are of Māori descent and knowing where you are from is essential in order to 'never be lost'. Figuratively, no matter where one is, what one is doing, or where one is going, they can never feel that they do not belong. Knowledge of origins and knowing that 'you are a treasure from our ancestors' cements what is needed for confidence of self identification. This *whakataukī* effectively sets the scene for this chapter as it is Māori values that is the focus, and it is those values that form the foundations for one's Māoritanga and ultimately identity as a Māori.

Mead states "Tikanga Māori is no longer bound geographically, culturally or ethically. Wherever Māori go we take our tikanga with us" (2003:22). This is particularly noticeable in the instances of Māori in Australia where cultural beliefs are still maintained even though they are living away from New Zealand. *Tikanga Māori* is central to the conventions of a Māori mindset, thus, this chapter will outline some of the values that are important in structuring one's Māori identity. These values include

tūrangawaewae, *ahikā*, *tikanga* and *whānau*. It is these Māori values in particular that are seemingly the most vulnerable to change and neglect especially if one is living in another country. Throughout this chapter, interpretations of these values will be discussed in combination with the opinions of the participants. It is said that possessing Māori cultural knowledge gives a Māori person confidence to not only participate in Māori occurrences but to also move freely within the Māori culture (Mead, 2003:22). This demonstrates that the knowledge of concepts such as *tūrangawaewae, ahikā, tikanga* and *whānau* are important markers in order to be able to do so.

Tūrangawaewae

An important marker of identity is where one is from, where one was born and, most importantly, where one calls home. These concepts of self-belonging can be encompassed in the term *tūrangawaewae*. *Tūrangawaewae* is defined by Mead as "a place for the feet to stand" (2003:272). *Tūrangawaewae* is also defined as:

> a place where they [Māori] know they belong. Everything is familiar – the faces, the surroundings, the noises, the talking. It's a home where they know they belong and can truly relax. (Harawira, 1997:5)

Tūrangawaewae is a notional place that enables freedom of expression in a non-threatening environment and marks the value that one places on the land.

The importance of land is easily recognised in a Māori world view and the high regard that land is held in is best exemplified in the following: *Whatu ngarongaro te tangata, toitū te whenua* (People perish, but the land is permanent) (Asher & Naulls, 1987:3). This shows that land remains even when people have passed on. People are seen as a

mere *kaitiaki* (guardian) of the land who will protect and cherish the land for its utilisation by future generations as it is land that sustains life (Marsden, 2003:54-55). This is also connected to the fact that Papatūānuku is the representation of the land and she is also a significant part of Māori *whakapapa*, as it is from her that the first human form was created. It is the land that gives people their sense of belonging and provides a base for their children to feel the same connection to in the future. This belonging is best described in the recital of *pepeha* (sayings of tribal identification that include geographical features). An example of this is in the Introduction of this dissertation which states "*Ko Pūtauaki me Taranaki ōku maunga. Ko Ohinemataroa me Oakura ōku awa.*" It is this acknowledgement to tribal geographical features that demonstrates how connected Māori identity is to the landscape.

The intention to return to New Zealand

The concept of *tūrangawaewae* and the connection that Māori have with the land is deeply ingrained into Māori beliefs that the desire for Māori to return home is immense. According to reports it is apparent that Māori who are presently overseas are more drawn to go home in comparison to other New Zealanders (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:153). Participants were asked accordingly of their intentions to ever return to New Zealand to live permanently, which proved to be a difficult question for all participants to answer. Quite a bit of time was taken to deliberate on what their appropriate answer would be. *Wahine* (child, 34) eventually stated that nothing would force her home while the four other participants were indecisive. These four participants stated that moving back to New Zealand to live permanently could be a possibility, but at this stage of their lives

they are quite content with the lifestyle that living in Australia offers. Both *Wahine* (adult, 51) and *Tāne* (adult, 63) suggested that ideally they would prefer living in both New Zealand and Australia for a period of six months in each. This seems to indicate that the child that grew up in Australia from a much younger age has a closer affinity to Australia, whereas the child that grew up in New Zealand is more attached to New Zealand.

There are suggestions that chances of return migration of Māori migrants are slim as there is no incentive for them to return to New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:153). This corresponds with *Wahine* (adult, 51) who states that on one occasion she rang up crying to her sisters because she was immensely homesick, however, because she knew that there were no opportunities for her back home, it prevented her from moving back to New Zealand at that stage. In comparison *Tāne* (adult, 50) stated that he would return to New Zealand only if his emotional feeling to go home was evident. With this in mind, discussions also took place surrounding the participants' preferred burial place.

With the yearning to be laid to rest in an area where home is believed to be, *tūrangawaewae* is again a key feature. With respect to the participants, the preference of place of burial was overall the hardest question to answer in the cases of Māori that moved to Australia as adults. This may be because the experiences of who they are and where they believe they belong is more heavily weighted towards their land connection with New Zealand. Conversely, those participants who migrated to Australia as children may not have such a deep connection. Although *Tāne* (adult, 63) states "home is home

no matter where you go" (2008), it is apparent that this perspective is changing, especially in regards to deciding a preference for place of burial. Although still difficult for the participants that moved to Australia as children, on the whole, they answered the question rather more quickly than those who moved as adults. *Wahine* (child, 34) knew that she would be buried in Australia while *Tāne* (adult, 40), who was more open to being buried elsewhere, stated "I think it wouldn't worry me but probably if the kids are here [in Australia] then probably here" (2008).

In comparison with the participants that moved to Australia as adults, this question was indeed very difficult to answer. *Tāne* (adult, 63) replied:

> Well, that's a good question. I know that I'm going to be buried somewhere and then end up somewhere else. But personally, yes, I would like to go home. That's my personal opinion but whether or not that happens I don't know. It's not up to me I'm afraid. But personally, I want to go there [New Zealand] but hey you have no control over it. In the end, you got no control over it. (2008)

This notion is also shared by *Tāne* (adult, 50) who stated:

> Well, I'm not too sure what the go is because it's not a thing to bring up around the family, but I think we got a family plot up the board mills and so for one, I'd say they all want us there [Whakatāne]. It could change, I mean, I wouldn't mind a *tangi* either and really to have a *tangi* in the right way is to go back to my *marae*. But really, I got no say in the end. I mean I could end here [Australia], but I'm more leaning towards hopefully somebody eventually will bring me home. Emotionally speaking I would like it that way. (2008)

Wahine (adult, 51) also shared similar sentiments:

> Oh that's a hardy. I've thought long and hard about this and I still don't know. But the thing is, I think, you know you always want to go home aye. In the end, where ever you are, you still want to go home. That's a hard question, because it all depends on what happens to my husband. Who goes first…then I think about it, well if I'm dead then who cares [laughs]. And then I think well, it's just my memory isn't it, as long as they have the memory of me, that's the main thing. Where I'm buried is probably very irrelevant. I think as long as they have the memory of me. (2008)

The desire to eventually be laid to rest at home in New Zealand is evident in these three cases. This idea of eventually returning home is one also shared through the following: *Hokia ki ngā maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimatea* (Return to the mountains and there be purified by the winds of Tawhirimatea) (Kāretu, 1990:117). What this seems to mean is that one should attempt to return to wherever they believe they belong, regardless of where in the world their life has taken them. This aspect of where one wants to be buried builds on the importance of *tūrangawaewae*, where Māori feel the pull of home to the extent that "…in the end, where ever you are, you still want to go home" (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008) is overwhelming.

Tīmoti Kāretu stated that "I could claim turangawaewae in Ireland, Scotland, England and Italy because of genealogical ties, but the urge to do so is nil" (1990:117). What this implies is that the attitude and value that is placed on an area is what determines whether or not that place is considered *tūrangawaewae*, rather than merely biological membership to an ethnic group. It can therefore be assumed that if they feel they have a spiritual and emotional link to a particular area then they are able to call that place their *tūrangawaewae*. This shows that *whakapapa* is not the only important thing in determining *tūrangawaewae*, what is also important is the desire to call that place as such. If one feels that they do not belong there, then they would almost certainly disregard that place as their *tūrangawaewae*. In reference to Māori in Australia it is apparent that the definition for *tūrangawaewae* is changing.

The question "Would you call Australia your *tūrangawaewae*?" was posed, and all of the interviewees, although after long deliberation, replied in the affirmative. *Tāne* (adult, 50) even stated that although he felt that Australia was his home, he found it more of a temporary place of residence, even though he has currently been living in Australia for 27 years. He also went on to say that

> because I've spent more than half my life here [in Australia] and because I've got a relationship here, it is fairly permanent. To me, again, home is home…it's hard. (*Tāne* (adult, 50), 2008).

Tāne (adult, 63) answered the question with "Yes and no. I suppose, not to the same degree you know, not to the same degree as at home [New Zealand]" (2008). These responses suggest that Māori still consider New Zealand their home and it would seem that the participants have also interpreted *tūrangawaewae* as 'home', however, some temporary measures of creating a 'home away from home' is also evident.

Despite feeling strongly that New Zealand was home, *Wahine* (adult, 51) stated without hesitancy that she did feel at home in Australia (2008). This contradiction continued with the question "Do you feel you have *tūrangawaewae* in New Zealand?" Four out of the five participants stated that they felt they had *tūrangawaewae* in New Zealand and there was no hesitancy in answering this question. Interesting though, one participant stated that even though she felt she had *tūrangawaewae* in New Zealand it was "probably not as much [as Australia]" (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008). She adds:

> I've lived over half my life out of New Zealand…but I think if I went home to live now, it wouldn't take me long to get it. You know it wouldn't take me 29 years to feel like I could call [it home] you know (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

When the question "Would you call Australia your *tūrangawaewae*?" was posed it was apparent that this question was difficult to answer. It took four of the five participants some time to answer it. However, the reply to the question "Do you feel you have *tūrangawaewae* in New Zealand?" was instantaneous. Further questioning was asked into why this was the case and one participant answered:

> I think because we always class New Zealand as home, home, home. Our main home. But I'm coming to the stage where I think because I've been brought up here [in Australia] I'm starting to call this my home as well.. (*Wahine* (child, 34) 2008)

Another reply given was:

> Well home to me is not the physical place but the family, a family unit you know. Parents and all, more so my wife and my kids you know. Whereas New Zealand, it was automatically like that, that's why. (*Tāne* (child, 40) 2008)

This again exhibits the homely feel that New Zealand exerts on people and this is particularly prominent in people born in New Zealand, especially amongst Māori people. However, as can be seen here, Māori are beginning to come to terms with making a home for themselves in Australia, even to the extent that some Māori are calling Australia their *tūrangawaewae*.

Ahikā

Ahikā, also known as *ahikāroa* (the continual occupation of land) is defined as the continual occupation of an area of land over a considerable duration of time by a group. The group can link back their connection to that land through *whakapapa* and the initial founders of that land (Mead, 1997:228). What this term literally means is the need to keep one's fires burning (Kāretu, 1990:112) (*ahi* – fire, *kā* - be lit, *roa* - for a long time

(Williams, 1971:2-344)). The concept of *ahikāroa* belongs to the theory of land title via *whakapapa* where the land for a number of generations, has been kept warm through usage by the people who occupy it and have kept their *ahikā* from extinguishing (Mead, 2003:228).

This concept of *ahikā* has differed somewhat than its traditional application. The rules governing the concept of *ahikā* were previously a lot more stringent. Kāretu states that *ahikā*

> meant that to have rights to a certain territory one had to be in residence – that is, have one's fires constantly lit – for at least three generations. If one were absent from that area then one's fires were said to be extinguished, and all rights to that land were forfeit. The Māori term for this was ahi matao, literally, extinguished fire. (1990:112)

The 2006 New Zealand statistics show that, 84.4% of Māori live away from their tribal areas and are now residing in urban areas, thus no longer exhibiting the traditional concept of *ahikā* (Statistics New Zealand – Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2007:3). In the case of Māori living in Australia, and especially Māori migrants that now have families born in Australia, this concept of *ahikā* is obviously difficult to maintain. As a consequence, there are other paths that Māori living in Australia have adopted to demonstrate this concept. Obligations to maintain connections can be fulfilled in different ways. Living in one's tribal area is not the only way one can 'keep their home fires burning' but it is also essential to be seen at important gatherings held on that piece of land like *hui* (meeting) and *tangihanga* (funeral) (Kāretu, 1990:112). This idea of *kanohi kitea* (a face seen), although a concept foreign to all the participants, was something they regularly maintained. *Kanohi kitea* exhibits the obligations necessary to fulfil *ahikā* as this keeps

the area warm by being seen (Mead, 2003:41). All participants stated that they attempt to travel to New Zealand at least once every two years. All participants stated their reasons for returning to New Zealand were for family gatherings such as reunions, birthdays and weddings. *Tangihanga* attendance was evident in all participants, and it was these gatherings that seemed to be of precedence (*Tāne* (adult, 63), *Wahine* (child, 34), *Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008). Thus, in this context, whilst being completely unaware, the participants still fulfilled *ahikā* obligations by being seen and maintaining contact with their *whānau* and *hapū* through *kanohi kitea.* Interestingly enough, *kanohi kitea* may begin to be considered as the new form of *ahikā* for Māori in Australia.

Whānau

The concept of *whānau* is pivotal to the mechanisms of a Māori identity. Traditionally *whānau* encompassed just those people in blood relationships (Metge, 1995:16). Nowadays, a wider interpretation of *whānau* is currently being developed and it is not only inclusive of the nuclear family (mother, father and children), cousins, uncles, aunties and their families, but is also starting to include friends, sports mates and work colleagues.

The interpretations of *whānau* are relatively diverse and these differences are exhibited in the comments of the participants. *Tāne* (adult, 63) described *whānau* as being kinship based on blood (2008) while *Wahine* (adult, 51) expressed it as being more of a feeling (2008). When the question was asked "Can sport and work mates be classed as *whānau*?" *Tāne* (adult, 50) stated:

No…in most ways with me I have different categories…to me work is work, family is very much number one and everybody else is everybody else, friends are friends. (2008)

This contrasting definition of *whānau* ranging from blood-related to someone that they may have met two months prior emphasises the ambiguity that can be attached to this term. In a published report on Māori living in Australia one participant stated that:

I have found whilst living here [Australia] that the Maori you associate with become your whanau. Even if they are from different iwi. Everyone is aunty & uncle, and cousins. In a way you can call it an iwi of your own, that continually grows bigger, either through extending the whanau, or new ones coming over. (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007:108)

The perception of *whānau* being more than merely a kinship relationship was also voiced by *Tāne* (child, 40) as "…the area that you've been brought up in and the same faces that are around you since you've been brought up as kids…" (2008). This understanding of *whānau* seems to incorporate the people of the area that one grew up in or the people from one's *tūrangawaewae*. *Wahine* (child, 34) explained that *whānau* can encapsulate "…close knit people, special people, so, friends and like *whānau*, blood *whānau*" (2008). This non-blood relationship being included in the term *whānau* is a sentiment also shared by *Wahine* (adult, 51) where she stated:

I think my perception of *whānau* is you feel it more…you could meet somebody probably a couple of months ago and think, geez I think I've known this person for years. It's something that's just bang, you click you know. And to me, I think usually that doesn't happen a lot that kind of feeling. I don't think that it should be a family thing, especially when you're overseas too. Because it doesn't, you know, because sometimes when you haven't got whānau around, you tend to make one. (2008)

This idea correlates with what was noted in the report published by Te Puni Kōkiri (2007). It highlights that Māori have developed new ideas of what constitutes *whānau*

membership as a way of filling the void of *whānau* still living in New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:108). It is clearly demonstrated that because blood related *whānau* members are less accessible in Australia, new types of *whānau* have had to be created.

Tikanga

The term *tikanga* underlies practices and protocols unique to Māori culture. It is a common term that denotes a law, regulation, method or more commonly a means of behaving a certain way. *Tikanga Māori* are the conventions underpinning the way in which something is done according to Māori custom (Mead, 2003:11). If one were to analyse the term *tikanga* the root word '*tika*' meaning right or correct would be found (Metge, 1995: 87). Principally, *tikanga* refers to the belief in a right way to go about accomplishing a task.

Two participants understood the term *tikanga* where one explained it as being "*kawa* [protocol]…that's your rules…protocols" (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008) and another participant stating it as "our culture and our families" (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008). The other three participants were initially oblivious to the meaning of *tikanga,* however, when the definition was given to them they knew exactly what *tikanga* was and were also able to provide examples. One participant suggested that younger members of the community respecting the older ones exhibited the concept of *tuakana/teina* (older sibling/younger sibling) (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008). The *tuakana* is generally an older member of the family who organises and manages operations within the *whānau* (Nepe, 1991:28). It is the *tuakana* that teaches and has responsibility over the younger members and in return is

afforded respect from the younger members or *teina* of the *whānau* (Pere, 1982:53). This

relationship is demonstrated in the instance of *Tāne* (adult, 50) who stated:

> With Toni and Bruce [pseudonyms] because I am an elder…they have to show me
> respect, whether it's good, bad or otherwise and to me that's a protocol, you know
> what I mean because I do the same to my uncles and my older brothers. (2008)

Some *tikanga* are exhibited publicly, for example the *pōwhiri*, and others are privately

adhered to in the home (Mead, 2003:15). Obviously with the lack of a physical space in

which to engage in public displays of *tikanga* like the *pōwhiri,* the *tikanga* that is

commonly exercised in Māori homes in Australia are ones on a personal level. This can

be seen in the instance of *Wahine* (adult, 51) where she separates her laundry. She is

adamant that the tea towels must be washed independently to other particles of clothing

(*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008).

Some *tikanga* provide the rules and regulations for appropriate behaviour and as such,

this behaviour becomes profoundly ingrained into one's personality and way of life to the

extent that these *tikanga* become second nature and are often regarded as normal,

everyday aspects of one's life (Mead, 2003:15). This idea is epitomised with statements

drawn from the interviews. *Tāne* (child, 40) affirmed that *tikanga* is "…pretty much your

everyday thing you know, you don't think twice you know. You just do it" (2008). This

notion was also shared with two other participants where they declared that *tikanga* was

"just a normal thing, I think because mum brought us up that way so it's just normal"

(*Wahine* (child, 34) 2008) and "…you know those little things you do…" (*Tāne* (adult,

63) 2008). This shows that although these Māori people are no longer living in New

Zealand, their Māori beliefs and cultural markers have still remained fixed to their identity as a Māori person.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at some of the aspects of Māori identity that would be the most susceptible to change whilst living in another country. These factors included *tikanga, tūrangawaewae, ahikā,* and *whānau. Tikanga* seems to have remained active in the lives of the participants with the examples of the *tuakana/teina* relationship and the separation of tea towels whilst doing laundry. *Tūrangawaewae* appears to be linked to the connection that an individual has to the land. In the instances of the participants that migrated to Australia as children, it is here that they would like to be laid to rest. However, in contrast with the participants that migrated to Australia as adults, they all desired to be buried in New Zealand.

It is apparent that the concepts of *whānau* and *ahikā* are adjusting to the lifestyle of the individual. More than 80% of Māori people are currently living in urban centres and in the cases of the participants, *kanohi kitea* has somewhat challenged the traditional conventions of *ahikā* to the extent that *kanohi kitea* may be viewed as the new version of *ahikā* for Māori in Australia. *Whānau* has also evolved from its traditional usage. Nowadays, *whānau* does not have to adhere to merely one's immediate family, but can incorporate people who are not related by blood. These new notions of *whānau* have been created to fill the emptiness that *whānau* back in New Zealand left.

Throughout this chapter, it has been shown that the participants living in Australia, they have managed to maintain these key components of Māori culture. It is apparent that some concepts of Māori identity such as *tūrangawaewae*, *whānau* and *ahikā* have evolved from its traditional foundations, however, these aspects that ground one's Māori identity remain ongoing even when living overseas and the determination to maintain these important aspects of their identity is present now more than ever.

Chapter Four

Te Ao Hurihuri – The revolving world
Effects and influences on identity

"Te Ao hurihuri
Te ao huri ai ki tona tauranga:
Te ao rapu;
Ko te huripoki e huri nei
i runga i te taumata o te kaha"

"Te Ao Hurihuri
is a world revolving:
a world that moves forward
to the place it came from;
a wheel that turns on an axle of strength"
(King, 1992:191)

The above phrase demonstrates that the world we live in today has come about by change and evolution but is always looking to the past for guidance and direction. This has provided the destiny for the participants in this study as it was their determination for a change that led them to look back and reflect on the the migratory nature of their ancestors and follow in their footsteps by moving to Australia. This phrase states that Te Ao Hurihuri is a world that moves forward thereby showing that change is not necessarily detrimental but is essential for progress. The wheel that turns on an axle of strength can be likened to the foundations of Māoritanga that underpin ones identity. Those fundamental Māori values such as *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi, tikanga, tūrangawaewae* and *ahikā* which form the axle of strength on which Māoritanga is stabilised.

This chapter will outline the influences that Māori in Australia have grown up with and what effects these things have on their identity as a Māori person. As mentioned previously, everything that one is involved in, has experienced, is surrounded by, and

believes influences one's identity, regardless of whether these things are direct or indirect situations. The terms Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, Mozzie/Maussie and Plastic Māori that seem to have attached themselves to Māori living in Australia will also be looked at in this chapter as will the attitudes that are associated with such names. In order to understand how the participants' Māori identities are formed, it is important to understand the environment in which they live.

Social activities

Involvement within a social group is important in integrating into a new community. Belonging in a social group enables a means of inclusion and comfort which eases migrants into a new environment (Fuatagaumu, 2003:215). This is indicative in the instances of all participants. All participants are currently involved in a variety of social activities, hobbies and pastimes. Some of these things include; boxing, shooting, 10 kilometre running, sport supporting, *waka ama* (out-rigger canoeing), and *kapahaka* (Māori performing arts).

A key feature of the interviews was whether or not the participants were or are currently involved in activities that had a culturally distinctive Māori element. Three of the five participants indicated that they were or are currently involved in the *kapahaka* community of Brisbane. *Kapahaka* is the most common tool used to socialise and maintain the Māori culture in the Australian environment as it is claimed that *kapahaka* groups are a forum for Māori to meet and socialise with each other and it is these things that help keep their Māori cultural ties strong (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:113). *Kapahaka*

groups in Australia range from serious groups to informal groups that are merely constructed as a social gathering outlet for Māori. The more competitive groups compete in competitions such as the Easter and July festivals in Sydney, of which the latter acts as a qualifying competition for entrance into the Te Matatini festival, the national Māori performing arts competition held biannually in New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:106). The ability for Australian *kapahaka* groups to enter and compete at Te Matatini shows the commitment and cultural talent that is obviously emanating in Australia. *Kapahaka* groups in Australia are not bound to *iwi* restrictions, neither are they bound to ethnicity restrictions. This gives everybody and anybody the opportunity to participate in the Māori culture.

With this said, *kapahaka* is not the only social avenue in which Māori participation features. Participation in sports is also a well used mechanism for the gathering of Māori people and has always been prevalent amongst Māori in Australia (Bergin, 2002:257). The physicality and competitiveness of Māori in the sports arena is one that is renowned, and, like *kapahaka,* sport is also used as a socialising tool for Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:123). Sport acts as a public stadium for showcasing Māori identity in Australia. The Taki Toa Challenge Shield Tournament is an example of a Māori focussed sports competition which takes place in Australia. This tournament is held annually, generally in South Australia, and comprises of netball and rugby (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:123). The Harry Bartlett Memorial Tournament is yet another example of how Māori cultural identity in Australia is fostered within a sporting atmosphere. This tournament consists of an array of sports, including snooker, golf, darts, netball, athletics and tug-o-war for

example and focuses more on participation than competition (Bergin, 2002:258). Both of these tournaments begin with a *pōwhiri* and are followed by *whaikōrero* (formal oratory), *waiata* and *hongi* (pressing of noses). A *karakia* is then recited before the proceedings of the tournaments commence. The tournaments are then concluded with a social get together and the sharing of a *hāngi* (food cooked from the earth) (Bergin, 2002:259). These tournaments illustrate the importance of maintaining Māori cultural identity in Australia and the lengths to which Māori in Australia go to do so.

The participants interviewed also chose to protect their Māori identities through sport, however, they did so in less elaborate ways. *Wahine* (adult, 51) participates in *waka ama* and one participant claimed that when he was playing rugby in Brisbane he recalled that most of the clubs he played for did indeed have a lot of Māori people in it (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008). He also recalled a pre-season game in which his club played against a team from Invercargill, where

> they [the Invercargill team] ran out and we were all Māori and they were all Pākehās
> [sic] and we said "Well who is the visiting team?" (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008).

The notion of surrounding oneself with familiar and comfortable surroundings seemed to help ease this particular participant into the Australian community.

Enthusiastic support of sporting events has always been a key feature of Māori participation in sport. *Tāne* (adult, 63) highlights this feature by cheering on his grandchildren in all their sports games and has affectionately called this support network the '*koro* club' (the grandfather club) (2008). By simply naming this club as the '*koro*

club' shows that the concept of *whānau* through the relationship he has with his seven grandchildren is very much an important part of who he is. A grandparent and their grandchildren often hold bonds that are sometimes more impenetrable than the ones between the parent and child which is illustrated here (Nepe, 1991:30).

Cultural Transmission

The ease of cultural transmission of Māori knowledge to others and the willingness of others to actively engage in learning about the Māori culture is important to take into consideration, as this could possibly play an important role into whether or not Māori people take pride in their culture while living in Australia. Four out of five participants found that the transmission of Māori knowledge to others was a simple task in Australia; because they found the Australians that they interacted with to be genuinely interested in the Māori culture. For example *Wahine* (adult, 51), who is involved in *waka ama*, described an occasion where her *waka ama* paddling crew were interested in why she named her paddle Wairaka. Wairaka is a pivotal Ngāti Awa heroine who saved the *Mātaatua* canoe from its potential demise, at a time where women were not permitted to paddle and direct canoes (Simpson, 2006:3). Whilst all the men were inland hunting for food, the women and children were left alone in the canoe. This event is said to have occurred in the Bay of Plenty region and it was here that the canoe began to drift out to sea. In order for Wairaka to rescue the boat she called out, *Kia whakatāne au i ahau* (Let me be like a man) thus enabling her to gain the strength she needed to paddle the *Mātaatua* canoe to safety, and subsequently the reason behind the naming of the town of Whakatāne (Mead, 1997:255,). *Wahine* (adult, 51) explained that her crew appreciated

the story, illustrating that, for at least some particular members of the Australian community, there is a desire to learn about Māori culture.

The reasoning behind this could seemingly be coined to the fact that Australia is such a diverse and multicultural country that plays host to an environment that includes a vast array of different cultures (Jupp, 1988:9, Hardy, 1988:2-3). According to the 2006 census there are 264 different ethnic groups currently residing in Australia (Australian Government, 2008). Given that this census may not have accounted for everyone in the country at the time, this list could possibly be more extensive. A coherence of the Australian community towards a culture is needed for cultural acceptance. It is said that "…they [Australians] don't understand a people who really have a culture" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:160). *Tāne* (adult, 50) recognises that this was the case, however, Australians are now gaining a better grasp of the Māori culture than what they have had in the past (2008). He also says that "they [Australians] [are] still not really sure what…how things happen. So it can only get better if we're learning more" (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008). This indicates that an increased knowledge in a culture may result in a more sound understanding between the Australian and Māori dynamic.

Contact with Māori

Māori identity is a fluid and dynamic concept which is susceptible to modification through changes in the environs and the availability and access one has to things that are of a Māori nature. With reference to the measures of Māoriness outlined in Chapter Two, it is the strength of Māori values that are intertwined in one's life that determines their

path to a Māori identity. It also relies on the wider community that one is engaged with on an everyday basis but begins ultimately with *whānau*.

The mechanisms that people utilise to keep in contact with their *whānau* have undertaken a technological change. The more traditional method of sending hand written letters via post to keep in contact with someone has almost completely vanished. Sending emails, texting and using internet based social networking sites such as *Bebo* and *Facebook* are more predominant methods of keeping in contact with others. It is suggested that particular technological developments are providing the means for amplifying the networks that are now available (Spoonley, 2001:88). The developments of such technology have made communication simple and effective, especially in an Australian environment where Māori culture and values can be overlooked. The establishment of websites, such as *Maori-in-Oz*, encourage Māori participation and communication in a non-threatening environment. This website is owned and operated by Māori living in Australia but its use is not only restricted to Māori people (MIO Web and Graphics, 2008). The initiative of establishing websites in order to keep in contact with others of the same beliefs and cultural values are evident in other cultures. For example, similar to *Māori in Oz*, a website called *The Kava Bowl* was established as a post for Tongan people to maintain contact with each other and for those interested in the Tongan culture to participate in a non-threatening environment (Spoonley, 2001:89).

The mechanisms that the participants used to maintain contact with their Māori families and communities in New Zealand were usually telecommunication and computer-based

avenues. Four out of the five participants commented to have used *Bebo* and email to maintain a relationship with their families in New Zealand. Only *Tāne* (adult, 50) did not utilise computer-based communication systems due to the mere fact that he is unfamiliar with the process of operating a computer. He stated in good humour that "I can barely turn the bloody thing on let alone do all those sort of things" (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008). Telecommunications was the most popular method of maintaining one's links with their Māori family. All participants agreed that it was via telephone that their contact was largely maintained. Keeping in contact with one's Māori family on a regular basis ensures the continued existence of one's Māori identity.

Belonging in Australia?

A sense of belonging to a particular area is significant in the moulding of one's identity. Based on the interviews, Australia seems to be a country where Māori feel comfortable and where Māori cultural differences are not negatively stigmatised. All participants stated that they have never been in a situation where they felt uncomfortably different while in Australia. *Wahine* (adult, 51) stated that in regards to her *waka ama,*

> they [Australians] treat me differently…so in that way, they have me probably up in high regard I suppose. Yeah maybe cos I joke with them and I think because paddling is like a Polynesian type thing and they watch me when I'm doing it. (2008)

However, according to many sources of literature such as stories exhibited in Carol Archie's *Skin to Skin* (2005) and John Hardy's *Stories of Australian Migration* (1988), the experiences of establishing a new home in another place were far less pleasurable than the experiences of the participants. Although over 76% of Māori living in Australia

agreed that they fit much more easily into an Australian community in comparison with their other immigrant counterparts, there is still a small percentage that disagree with this idea (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:137). One account stated:

> Life for me identity wise & culturally has been a huge struggle. In my younger years as a child & teen going to school I basically gave away my heritage & identity to adapt & I guess become a Pakeha. Back then I guess I just wanted to fit in because there weren't a lot of Maori's where we lived. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:138)

Disconnection from one's surroundings is a common focus of research and can also be seen in writings of Pacific Islanders who have either migrated to New Zealand or were born in New Zealand who seemed to always feel out of place in the larger New Zealand community (Aiono-Iosefa, 2003:102). One person expressed that she did not belong anywhere and that she felt like an 'ugly duckling' in New Zealand and a 'quacking swan' in Samoa (Fuatagaumu, 2003:220). This seemed to mean that her appearance did not allow her to be included in the New Zealand environment and her lack of the Samoan language made her feel like an outsider in the Samoan environment. This contrasts with all participants who had no negative experiences of exclusion or discomfort in the Australian environment.

Belonging in New Zealand?

The place where one was born seems to have an emotional and spiritual link to that person. Regardless of the time spent away from the area, the intention to return to one's place of birth is still evident. This can be noticed in the instances of the participants' desire to eventually return to New Zealand which was mentioned in Chapter Three. This desire to return to one's birth place seems to share a relationship with a sense of

belonging that they have for that area. With reference to the participants, four out of five participants felt at home and accepted whilst visiting New Zealand.   One participant stated that he felt that way

> because it's my home [New Zealand], it's my spiritual home. I'm more comfortable there, I can be myself. (*Tāne* (adult, 51) 2008)

However, this feeling was not felt in one instance where a participant stated that

> sometimes I feel like I'm not…I mean I know in my family yes I do, I feel welcome but you know if we go somewhere I feel … [uncomfortable]. (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

The worth of what home is, seems extremely important to the participants, however in some cases the disconnection has been so timely that the link they have with New Zealand has been somewhat severed.

Content in Australia?

The question "Have you always been content with living in Australia?" was asked of the participants.   Two participants stated that opportunities like sport, business and opportunities for their children made them content in living in Australia (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008, *Tāne* (child, 40) 2008). *Wahine* (child, 34) was again similar and stated that it was because she had been raised for the majority of her life in Australia she has reached a stage where Australia is now home (2008). However in the case of two other participants that moved to Australia as adults, the pull to return home is still prolific. *Tāne* (adult, 50) described that he is

content work wise and obviously relationship wise, but again, every time I go home I feel like there's something missing. You know and it's like it gets filled there [New Zealand]. (2008)

Similarly another participant stated that sometimes she does not feel content in Australia and that sometimes she feels like she wants to be home. She states:

When I get home I think oh my goodness I want to be back. I mean it's good to go home for a holiday and sometimes you want to just stay there a bit longer, but sometimes that's what I think a holiday is all about. That you go away feeling that you should of stayed a bit longer. But then you have that feeling like I will always go back. (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

This idea encapsulates the longing to return to one's homeland and in the instance of *Wahine* (adult, 51) this is not noticeable until she has to return to Australia and does not have the desire to leave New Zealand, however, the feeling that she should have stayed longer is important enough to ensure her return.

Affected identity?

The most important question that this dissertation attempts to address is in relation to the effect that living in Australia has on one's identity as a Māori person. How people view themselves as a Māori person living away from their tribal area and whether or not they believe their Māori identity has been affected by living in Australia is the question that was posed to the participants. When asked if living in Australia has affected their identity as a Māori person the replies of two participants in particular were unanimous that it had not changed their identity at all (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008, *Wahine* (child, 34) 2008). In comparison, one participant stated that, in terms of their Māori identity, living in Australia has

lessened it only because you're not part of the Māori day life like over there [New Zealand], you know. In terms of speaking it and all that, you know, cos you're over here [Australia] you're not mixed in and around Māori so it pretty much watered it down to some extent aye. Cos you're not living it every day (*Tāne* (child, 40) 2008)

The idea of not being immersed in the Māori culture, therefore causing a subsequent diluted Māori identity is supported with the response of another participant

everything they [*whānau* in New Zealand] do is got to be related to some kind of Māori thing or another isn't it? Sometimes when I go home and they go oh, we got to go to so and so's because of so and so, and so and so…and they say it to me as if I should know that. And I think, oh my god I'm going to feel really dumb if I ask who? Sometimes that's where I think I've lost my identity. And often I don't know what it is that they are talking about. But I think that they think that I should know. Cos they don't understand that I haven't been there [New Zealand] for years and years and years. And they take it for granted that I should know and then I feel stupid asking what? You know so I say nothing, I just bluff my way through it. (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

In reference to particular *marae* protocols there have been a few cases where some participants have felt that they did not know what to do. It is apparent from the above quote that in these situations participants will try and bluff their way through it. *Tāne* (adult, 50) stated:

Like on the *maraes* [sic] I mean, I've had a few of your [researcher] cousins ask me what to do on the *marae* and…I haven't been home for 16 years so really I didn't [know what to do either] (2008).

This feeling of inadequacy in Māori cultural situations does not occur only from living out of New Zealand. It can also occur within New Zealand and the inter-regional migration that has occurred here. This is particularly evident in Carol Archie's *Skin to Skin* (2005) where Carol Hirschfeld, a well-known television presenter on Channel Three News, recalls that she found it

hard in Māori situations. Sometimes I don't know what to do. I need somebody to take me through it. And I feel it really strongly when we do go to whanau occasions

and Fin [husband] is looking at me to tell him what to do and I'm thinking, I don't know. I need a guide myself. (Archie, 2005:60)

Situations involving *marae* protocols are where some feel the impacts on their identity. Their loss of knowledge on these occasions has made them feel that their Māori identity has also decreased.

Despite these feelings of lacking knowledge of Māori protocols, one participant stated that he had gained a newfound appreciation for his identity as a Māori person, insomuch that living in Australia has strengthened his pride, desire and identity of being Māori (*Tāne* (adult, 50). He stated that living in Australia has

made me proud of who I am and I find myself defending who I am, you know, because the … older I get, the more…Māori spirited I seem to be getting. (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008)

Literature suggests that moving away from the country of ethnic origin, in this case from New Zealand to Australia, can also lead to a deeper connection, understanding and appreciation of ethnicity and cultural identity (Moore as cited in Courtney, 2008:44). It is believed that moving to another country helps gain a stronger Māori identity and an increased pride in being Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:160). This is certainly the case for *Tāne* (adult, 50). It can be seen that there are effects that can be had with moving away from one's homeland. On the one hand, one can feel extremely disconnected from their Māori identity, but on the other hand, one can gain more pride in being Māori.

Labels of Māori in Australia

Mozzies/Maussies, Ngāti Skippy and Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, and Plastic Māori are labels regularly heard which fuse both Māori and Australian identities together to form a new identity to describe Māori living in Australia. The idea of assigning a label to describe a new situation is bound not only to Māori in Australia but can also be found in other cultures amongst people of similar circumstances. For example, Samoan people in New Zealand have established names such as *fa'a Aukilani* (the Auckland way) or *fa'a Niu Sila* (the New Zealand way) to replace that of *fa'asamoa* (the Samoan way) as new identity descriptions (Macpherson, 1997:93). *Fa'asamoa* is a term to describe the Samoan culture, similar to that of *tikanga Māori* and means to do things in the 'Samoan Way' (Anae, 2007). Samoan people who moved to New Zealand use the terms *fa'a Aukilani* and *fa'a Niu Sila* to show that their ways of doing things, whilst still Samoan in essence and spirit, have had to adapt because of the changes that have occurred from living in Auckland or New Zealand.

Similarly, the labels that have been attached to Māori living in Australia, such as Ngāti Skippy, Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, Mozzies/Maussies and, Plastic Māori also show an adaption to *tikanga* from living away from New Zealand. The idea of combining Māori and Australian values suggests that Māori are beginning to find a home in Australia and are desiring less and less to return to New Zealand (Waldrond, 2008). This may also suggest that they are embracing their Māori culture in a new environment. This idea is again supported with New Zealand-born Samoans "…who are taking elements of Samoan culture, filtering them through their own experiences and building them into a

new and distinctive identity" (Spoonley, 2001:92). This idea seems to be evident in the examples of labels that Māori in Australia seem to bear.

Mozzies/ Maussies

Literature surrounding the contemporary development of terms like Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, Ngāti Skippy and Mozzies/Maussies is extremely sparse. These terms seem to have developed because of the proliferation of Māori who either migrated to or were born in Australia. Various definitions for the term Mozzie/Maussie were provided by the participants: Australian-Māori, Māori-Ozzie, half-Australian/half-New Zealander, OZ-Kiwi. As can be seen there are a variety of interpretations to this term and the perceptions of this label to identify Māori living in Australia is also diverse. The interviews showed that some people did not mind being referred to as a Mozzie/Maussie and some really disliked the term. The dislike seemed to be prevalent amongst those people that moved to Australia as adults, whereas those who moved to Australia as children had no real objections to the term. Discontent with the term can be seen in the following:

> I think it's quite a horrible name…and I don't like it, I particularly don't like that name…yeah I just don't like it. You're either one or the other. (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

> I'm me first and foremost, I'm a Māori…I mean to have a name like that stuck on you I would find it very offensive. (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008)

These thoughts are also echoed when asked if they considered themselves a Mozzie/Maussie:

> Nah actually I'm not…Yeah I've sort of heard of it but I don't take much notice of it, nah I don't really fit under that. (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008)

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The participants that moved over as adults have had more grounding in their Māori identity, therefore, do not feel that they need to be labeled as a Mozzie/Maussie.

In contrast all participants who moved to Australia as children considered themselves to be Mozzies/Maussies and that the label of Mozzie/Maussie was not as odious to them as it is to the participants that moved to Australia as adults. The reaction to why they felt this way was simple:

> Because I am Māori and I am an Australian citizen. (*Wahine* (child, 34) 2008)

This comment, and those above, show that the amount of time lived in New Zealand before migrating to Australia has a close association to the acceptance of the term Mozzie/Maussie as an identifying label. It is apparent that the younger in age you were at the time of migrating to Australia the more accepting of the term Mozzie/Maussie you are.

Ngāti Skippy, Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo

There are also other names that have plagued Māori in Australia like the terms 'Ngāti Skippy' which is associated with the Australian Television series known as *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo* (Australian Television Information Archive, 1999), as well as 'Ngāti Kāngarū' or the 'Kangaroo tribe'. When this issue of whether the participants considered themselves as such, the answers were undivided. They saw themselves not as Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, not as a Mozzie/Maussie but just a Māori and nothing else (*Tāne* (child, 40) 2008, *Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008, *Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008).

The prefix *Ngāti* is commonly followed by the name of an eponymous ancestor and is used to denote those that descend from that person as belonging in the wider social collective of a tribe (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008:521). For example in the instances of the *pepeha* used in the Introduction of this dissertation, Ngāti Awa is used to describe all those who descend from Awanuiārangi. It has also been used for naming pan-tribal associations and the members involved with living in a certain area with a particular focus. Ngāti Pōneke (those living in Wellington) and Ngāti Ākarana (those living in Auckland) are just two examples. With this in mind, it may be possible that Māori in Australia disregard affiliation to Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo or Ngāti Skippy as this would denote that those people would have descended from a kangaroo. Another reason could be due to the fact that the participants already belong to their own *iwi* of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Pūkeko and Ngāti Awa (outlined in the Introduction).

The attachment of the prefix *Ngāti* is not only used with Māori in Australia and New Zealand, but also those living in England. Ngāti Ranana (those living in London) seems to have lent itself to those Māori that are currently residing in London (Bedford & Pool, 2004:47). These terms give the impression that Māori living in all these places are creating new homes whilst still upholding their Māori origins.

Plastic Māori

The label 'Plastic Māori' is another term that seems to have fixed itself onto Māori living in Australia (Waltzing Māori, 2008). Although this term does not merely attach itself to those Māori in Australia alone, it is a term that ignites controversy and does not sit well

with all of the participants. The label of Plastic Māori can be attributed to any "Māori which have only a superficial knowledge or commitment to being Māori or practising Māori culture" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007:143). It would seem that this term is prevalent with Māori that are succeeding in the Pākehā world and, in relation to those Māori that are living in Australia, this seems to be the case.

The quote "We are seen as traitors, being called Plastic Māori" (Waltzing Māori, 2008) was taken out of a documentary on Māori living in Australia and was given to the participants to comment on. Their responses are as follows:

> I don't think that quote is too good to tell you the truth and it doesn't say anything to me. (*Tāne* (adult, 50) 2008)
>
> Plastic?...nah I don't think so nah. Nah, that don't sit right that. (*Tāne* (adult, 63) 2008)
>
> That Plastic Māori all comes up and I get really pissed off about that. (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008)

These comments are evidence of the label of Plastic Māori being unwelcome in the lives of Māori living in Australia. *Wahine* (adult, 51) expressed that sometimes this term could be ascribed to people that promote the attention of others in what they have achieved (2008). She stated that in her experience Plastic Māori tends to be someone who exclaims "…look at me, look at what I've done over here [in Australia]" (*Wahine* (adult, 51) 2008). From this comment, it seems to indicate that the flaunting of one's achievements is not what being Māori should encompass and is best described using the *whakataukī*: *Kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna māngaro* (The *kūmara* (sweet potato) does not say how sweet it is) (Brougham & Reed, 2003:93).

Conclusion

Social activities are spaces where people can feel included and share common interests. Through this chapter it is apparent that *kapahaka* is a prominent social forum for Māori in Australia insomuch that competitions are held annually at the Easter and July *kapahaka* festivals in Sydney. Another stage for the showcasing of Māori cultural identity is through sporting tournaments such as the Taki Toa Challenge Shield Tournament and the Harry Bartlett Memorial Tournament held throughout South Australia.

Living in Australia has had a dual effect on one's Māori identity. Some participants stated that they have gained a newfound appreciation for their Māori identity and culture and claim that the longer they have lived in Australia, the more Māori spirited they have become. Conversely, other participants suggested that living in Australia has to some extent watered it their Māori identity. Based on the interviews, all participants confirmed that they felt comfortable in both the Australian and New Zealand environments; however, some believe that they lack the sufficient knowledge to operate confidently in *marae* situations.

Attitudes towards the terms Ngāti Skippy, Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, Mozzie/Maussie and Plastic Māori seemed to show disparity between the participants, where the participants that migrated to Australia as children did not mind the term Mozzie/Maussie, however, the participants that migrated to Australia as adults absolutely detested the word. Nonetheless, with the establishing of the '*koro* club' and the oral transmission of

Māori legends like that of Wairaka, it demonstrates the overt pride that the participants have in showcasing their unique Māori identity.

Conclusion

Through the voices of Māori living in Australia, this dissertation has looked at the effects that living in Australia has on one's Māori identity. The structure of this research mimics the participants' steps in establishing their Māori identity in a new place like Australia. Chapter One outlined the migration journey of the Māori participants. Migration is not a contemporary phenomenon which is evident in the peopling of the Pacific as well as the Māori canoe migrations from Hawaiki necessary in order for Māori to inhabit New Zealand. The reasons for this migration was to seek better resources, food, space and ultimately more prosperous openings. In the instances of Māori migrating to Australia, this rationale continues. The first step began with the desire they had for the opportunities that were available in Australia, for example a warmer climate, a better lifestyle and increased economic benefits. With Australia being a multicultural country, this was a defining factor that allowed the participants' migration experiences to be a positive one.

Their next step was to determine what it is to be Māori and their quest to seeking their Māori identity in a foreign country. Chapter Two explored the concept of Māori identity which led to its fluid, dynamic and constantly evolving characteristic. The idea of *whānau* based Māori identity was ascertained as being an important marker of a Māori identity. The antiquated blood quantum fixtures have recently adopted a more relaxed approach to being Māori which is apparent in the 'one drop rule'. However, the broad

and diverse definition of the term 'Māori identity' has led people to ask questions of themselves like am I less of a Māori if I don't know the language?

The participants then proceeded to determine their Māori identity through the use and maintenance of *tikanga Māori*. Chapter Three investigated Māori values such as *tūrangawaewae, ahikā, whānau* and *tikanga* whilst relating the significance of these concepts in the shaping of a Māori identity. This chapter revealed that in the circumstances of the participants interviewed, living in Australia has slightly altered Māori values such as *whānau* and *ahikā,* whereby in one case, in order to fill the void that their *whānau* in New Zealand had left, they created a new *whānau*. *Tikanga Māori* is situational and as shown through the concept of *kanohi kitea* beginning to perhaps become the new adaptation to *ahikā*, it shows that this is the case. *Tikanga* was still apparent in the private lives of the participants, however, due to it being instilled into who they are as Māori people, *tikanga* was considered as 'the norm'.

Chapter Four concluded the journey that led to the re-establishment of one's Māori identity. This chapter outlined some aspects of social life that contribute to Māori identity in Australia. Things such as contact with other Māori, social activities, cultural transmission of Māori knowledge to others and accessibility of Māori contact was discussed. Contact with one's Māori family was indicated to be of primal importance. Telecommunications, face to face or the contemporary computer based social networking systems like *Bebo* and *Facebook* were measures utilised to maintain one's cultural ties. Terms such as Ngāti Skippy, Ngāti Kāngarū/Kangaroo, Mozzie/Maussie and Plastic

Māori were also discussed to show that adaptation of the Māori culture is necessary in Australia in order for it to remain relevant to those living there, although not all participants found these terms satisfactory.

This research demonstrated that no two Māori identities are identical. Māori identity is viewed through a holistic lens demonstrated through the concept of *tuakiri*, where incorporating all aspects such as desire to be Māori, commitment to practising *tikanga Māori*, maintaining *whānau* bonds and *whakapapa* is encompassed. If all these aspects are intact then perhaps Māori identity may no longer need to confine its roots to being *mai i Aotearoa* (from New Zealand).

Glossary

ahi	fire
ahikā	the continual occupation of land/ to keep one's home fires burning
ahikāroa	the continual occupation of land
awa	river
fa'a Aukilani	the Auckland way
fa'a Niu Sila	the New Zealand
fa'asamoa	the Samoan way
haka	posture dances
hāngi	food cooked from the earth
hapū	sub-tribe
hei tiki	a neck ornament usually made of greenstone and carved in an abstract form of a human
hōhā	annoyed
hongi	pressing of noses
hui	meeting
hura kōhatu	unveiling
iwi	tribe
kā	be lit
kai	food
kaitiaki	guardian
kāngarū	kangaroo
kanohi kitea	a face seen
kapahaka	Māori performing arts
karakia	ritual chants
kawa	protocol
kawe mate	mourning ceremony
kiri	skin
kiri tuhi	Māori skin art
koha aroha	gift of thanks
koro	grandfather, elderly man
kūmara	sweet potato
mana	prestige, status, authority
manuhiri	visitors
māori	normal/ordinary
Māoriness	the essence of being Māori
Māoritanga	Māoriness/the essence of being Māori.
marae	meeting place
maunga	mountain
ngahau	entertainment
Ngāti	tribal prefix
pepeha	sayings of tribal identification that include geographical features
poukai	King Movement Celebrations

pounamu	greenstone
pōwhiri/pōhiri	rituals of encounter
raranga	weaving
reo	language
roa	for a long time
tā moko	Māori tattoos (with genealogical underpinnings)
tāne	man
tangata	man/person
tangata māori	an ordinary man
tangi/ tangihanga	funeral
taonga	gift
te ao mārama	the light/enlightenment
te ao moemoeā	the land of dreaming
Te Korekore	the void
Te Kōwhao	the abyss
Te Pō	the night
te rā o te tekau mā rua	church services of the Ringatū faith held on the 12th day of each month
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te whānau mai o te tamaiti	child birth
teina	younger relative
tika	right/correct
tikanga Māori	Māori values and customs
tikanga	protocol
tohunga	expert
tua	beyond
tuakana	older relative
tuakiri tangata	personal identity
tuakiri	identity
tukutuku	wall panels
tūrangawaewae	a place to stand/ a place to call home
wahine	woman
wai māori	fresh water
waiata	songs
waka ama	outrigger canoeing
waka	canoe
whaikōrero	formal oratory
whakairo	wall carvings
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataetae	competition
whakataukī	Māori proverb
whānau	immediate and extended family
whenua	land

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