

BETWEEN THE MARGIN AND THE TEXT

He kanohi kē to Te Pākehā-Māori

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Table of Contents

Attestation.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Abstract.....	viii
Preface.....	ix
Chapter One: Background to the study.....	1
<i>i. Researcher's personal story.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>ii. Emergence of the topic for the study.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>iii. Impetus for the study.....</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>iv. Overall approach to the study.....</i>	<i>9</i>
Chapter Two: The Whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori.....	11
<i>i. Pre-contact Māori society and identity.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>ii. Whakapapa of the term Pākehā-Māori.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>iii. Socio-historical context.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>iv. Pākehā-Māori in the socio-historical context.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>v. Current socio-cultural context.....</i>	<i>28</i>
Chapter Three: Theoretical perspectives.....	34
<i>i. The theory of Transculturalization.....</i>	35
a. The development of the theory of Transculturalization by Irving Hallowell.....	35
b. Specific aspects of the theory of Transculturalization.....	37
c. Applications of the theory of Transculturalization.....	40
<i>ii. Theoretical approaches related to Transculturalization.....</i>	43
a. Acculturation Theory.....	43
b. Border Theory.....	44
c. Identity Theory.....	47
<i>iii. Applying the theory of Transculturalization to Pākehā-Māori.....</i>	59
a. Relevance to this study.....	59
b. Limitations.....	60
c. Significance and contribution to the wider body of knowledge.....	60

Chapter Four: Methodological approaches.....	63
<i>i. Data collection processes.....</i>	63
<i>ii. Participant selection.....</i>	64
<i>iii. Underpinning research paradigm.....</i>	65
<i>iv. Methodological approach.....</i>	66
a. Method.....	67
b. Researcher positioning.....	72
c. Data presentation and analysis.....	73
d. Ethical considerations.....	76
e. Validity and potential limitations.....	77
Chapter Five: Participant stories.....	82
<i>i. Participant one.....</i>	82
<i>ii. Participant two.....</i>	84
<i>iii. Participant three.....</i>	86
<i>iv. Participant four.....</i>	88
<i>v. Participant five.....</i>	90
Chapter Six: Encounters with te ao Māori.....	93
<i>i. Initial encounters.....</i>	94
<i>ii. Experiences of te ao Māori.....</i>	99
<i>iii. Challenges.....</i>	104
Chapter Seven: Identity.....	118
<i>i. Sense of self.....</i>	120
<i>ii. Positioning.....</i>	123
<i>iii. Roles</i>	126
Chapter Eight: Aspects of Transculturalization.....	131
<i>i. Attitudes toward second culture.....</i>	132
<i>ii. Length of exposure.....</i>	136
<i>iii. Adopting values and beliefs.....</i>	137
<i>iv. Roles in society.....</i>	143
<i>v. Motivational factors.....</i>	145
<i>vi. Language acquisition.....</i>	147
Chapter Nine: Discussion on the overall findings.....	154
<i>i. Significant emergent themes.....</i>	154
<i>ii. Development and application of Transculturalization Theory.....</i>	159
<i>iii. Changing views.....</i>	161

Chapter Ten: Conclusion.....	170
<i>i. Conclusions.....</i>	170
<i>ii. Discussion.....</i>	176
<i>iii. Future research possibilities.....</i>	179
Bibliography	181
<i>i. Books and book sections.....</i>	181
<i>ii. Journal articles.....</i>	194
<i>iii. Newspaper/magazines articles.....</i>	201
<i>iv. Government documents/reports.....</i>	201
<i>v. Theses/papers/presentations.....</i>	201
<i>vi. Personal communications/interviews.....</i>	203
Glossary of terms.....	204
Appendices.....	206

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning.

Signed.....

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Abstract

This thesis applies the theory of Transculturalization to examine Pākehā-Māori within current New Zealand contexts, how they see themselves, where they position themselves in relation to society, and what meaning they make of events that have shaped them. The study undertaken uses Transculturalization Theory in order to understand individuals who choose to cross cultures, and focuses on European New Zealanders who engage with te ao Māori. The topic has connections to many disciplines and to a range of theoretical perspectives, but is predominated by the theory of Transculturalization which was developed by an American anthropologist, Irving Hallowell, in 1963 as a theory to study the phenomena of what he termed 'Indianization', that is, individuals who consciously chose to cross cultures and live amongst the Native American Indians.

This study conducted explores the experiences of five individuals who are moving between te ao Māori (Māori world view) and te ao Pākehā (European world view). The role of Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand in the nineteenth century is discussed in relation to the socio-historical context of the time, and Transculturalization Theory is used to analyse the narrative voice of the five individuals who could be named Pākehā-Māori within current contexts. The experiences of these individuals are examined through their stories of engagement with te ao Māori and the findings consider the participants' self perceptions in terms of their social and cultural positioning.

The theory of Transculturalization is used to examine commonalities in the participants' experiences, with relation to factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization. In doing so, the study further develops the theory for application in current contexts.

Preface

A group of people known as Pākehā-Māori have been identified as existing in New Zealand society in the early nineteenth century. These Pākehā-Māori were Europeans who had been accepted into various Māori hapū (sub tribe) to live with and as Māori. Bentley (1999), who studied Pākehā-Māori, described them as filling the role of cultural intermediaries. Although they were a recognised group in New Zealand society in the early nineteenth century, Pākehā-Māori diminished in prominence, and the historical literature makes no reference to them from the 1870s on.

In the early 1970s, a period of Māori cultural revival began, and, through the actions of groups like Nga Tama Toa and individuals like Dame Whina Cooper, the socio-cultural landscape in New Zealand entered a post colonial phase (G. McLennan, McManus, & Spoonley, 2010). The post colonial phase is a point where the impact of colonisation is viewed in a more critical way, resulting in an 'attempt to establish new, non- or anti-colonial institutions and identities' (McLennan, 2004, p. 196). In New Zealand, since the 1980s, there have been Government initiatives promoting the value of Māori cultural distinctiveness (Houkamau, 2006). Māori culture and identity have been reaffirmed, acknowledged, and included in European New Zealand society (Metge, 1990). With an increasing emphasis on inclusion of Māori knowledge and cultural practices in New Zealand society, the post colonial era has seen the re-emergence of individuals who might be named Pākehā-Māori. These people are working, researching, and engaging with te ao Māori in the space between the two cultures (Brown, 2011). The space where Māori and Pākehā intersect is an area of interest to anthropologists and historians and is often seen as a reflection of cultural relations in society (McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley, 2000).

The first part of the title of the thesis, 'between the margin and the text' is in direct reference to this area where cultures intersect. It refers back to a time before computers and word documents, when we wrote on paper. Each sheet of paper had a margin drawn down the left side and this was used for making notes that either supported or contrasted what was written in the main text. It

was also common practice to write ideas that helped link what was in the margin to what was in the text along the line between the two. The first part of the title is an analogy of the position of Pākehā-Māori in relation to the dominant group (Pākehā as the text) and Māori (as the margin).

The second part 'he kanohi ke tō te Pākehā-Māori' was chosen after consultation with a te reo expert and has a literal translation from te reo to English which states 'the face of Pākehā-Māori' is different. However the literal translation does not convey the layers of meaning behind the phrase. In this instance the phrase is used to convey the idea that not so much the face, as in the face we see, but more the whole being of Pākehā-Māori is different. There is also a further meaning surrounding the use of the word 'kanohi' which can translate as face, but also has other meanings such as eye. In the context of this thesis the deeper meaning of the phrase surrounds the translation of kanohi as eye and states that Pākehā-Māori have a different eye, which symbolises that Pākehā-Māori see things differently.

The topic has a socio-cultural perspective and is set with-in the context of New Zealand society as it currently exists. The study undertaken analyses the stories of five Europeans who engage with te ao Māori to contribute to the wider body of knowledge on processes of transculturalization by drawing on the voice of individuals who have experiences living and working in the space between European and Māori cultures. Such people are sometimes referred to as culture crossers occupying a third space (McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley, 2000). Investigating the people who occupy this third space has opened up new ways of looking at the limitations of existing socio-cultural categorisations, (Webber, 2008) and reveals a deeper insight into Pākehā-Māori.

The thesis begins with a chapter on the background and development of the topic, including the researcher's own story followed by an introduction of Pākehā-Māori in historical New Zealand contexts, specifically the period from the late 1790s through to the mid 1800s along with discussion on the involvement of the current socio-cultural context. The next chapter is on the

philosophical approach used in this work, which is based on Transculturalization Theory. The methodology used to underpin this study is discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five presents edited versions of the participants' stories. It was important to present the participant stories at this juncture, in order to illuminate the conclusions drawn from the data. Following the participants' stories, there are two chapters that analyse the emergent themes from the data. Chapter Eight explores these themes alongside Transculturalization Theory. Chapter Nine contains a discussion on the overall findings of the study, and the thesis concludes with Chapter Ten, a summary of the work and its significance.

Throughout the thesis there are many words and phrases in te reo Māori, and as an acknowledgement that te reo Māori (the Māori language) is an official language of New Zealand, these have only been translated in brackets in the main text the first time they appear. There is a full glossary of these words at the end of the thesis.

Chapter One: Background to the study

Introduction

This chapter provides background information on the structure and purpose of the thesis. The chapter begins with an outline of the context I bring to the research and includes elements of my own personal story. Aspects of this narrative will be used to inform the discussions in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Further to this, presenting my story as part of the study addresses the methodological question of personal bias, which is detailed in Chapter Four. Along with an outline of the emergence of the topic, this chapter on the background to the study also includes discussions on the impetus for the study and the overall approach taken.

The central purpose of this thesis is to examine Pākehā-Māori within current New Zealand contexts. The thesis explores how contemporary Pākehā-Māori see themselves, where they position themselves in relation to their society, and what meaning they make of events that have shaped their lives. The conversations with these selected individuals provided the narrative data for this investigation.

As the researcher I am immersed in the topic of the thesis and my personal background affects my relationships with the participants, their stories, and ultimately to some extent, my analysis and findings (Scheibe, 1995). According to Van Manen (1990. p. 54), as one's 'own life experiences are immediately accessible, they are the ego-logical starting point'. I have taken this approach because my lived experiences have had a strong influence on the development of the topic, and are the starting point of the investigation, providing the impetus for the study and its context. Consequently, including my story is essential to understanding the background, development and analysis of this research.

i. Researcher's personal story

I was the third child and first daughter born to my parents in a small rural town in the South Island of New Zealand in the early 1950s. I had a very European upbringing and I grew up unaware of the fact that another culture formed part of this country. The primary school I attended in the early 60s had a roll drawn in the most part from farming families and the children from a small semi-rural settlement close to where the school was situated.

When it came to things Māori my first realisation that there were people in my world who had a culture different to the one I had been immersed in was when there was a huge debate taking place nationally regarding making Waitangi Day a public holiday. I had reached the age of 13 and did not know that we had such a thing as a Treaty, let alone an understanding of its significance to New Zealand or its place in the country's history.

In 1999, I met a man who was to become a close friend, and his first language was te reo Māori (Māori language). When I listened to him speaking in te reo there was something about the sound of the language that appealed to me. I wanted to learn and he suggested I enroll in a free Māori language course. This was being run through the local polytechnic and was a year-long total immersion program. By the end of the year, a close connection had formed amongst the students and teachers. We had become one big family group and this was my first experience of a whānau (family) in the broader sense of the term. I believe it was experiencing that closeness, the concept of being part of a whānau group that had the most impact on me. It was as if something had been awakened in me during my initial journey into learning te reo, and I desperately wanted more. At the time I would not have been able to explain a desire to extend my knowledge of te reo and te ao Māori (Māori world views). This is a similar aspect of all the participant stories gathered for this study, and will be discussed in the section on participant experiences in Chapter Six.

In December 1999 I moved to Auckland and, in 2000, I began a degree in Māori Studies majoring in te reo Māori. Like many of the participants of this study, I had to make significant sacrifices in order to do this; I did so without hesitation, and have no regrets for doing so. I have often wondered why I was so determined to follow this path, and what drove me, especially in the face of some of the challenges I experienced.

Over the years I have been, and still am to an extent, often questioned by both Māori and non-Māori for my choice to become heavily involved in teaching and researching in Māori subject areas. I find it especially challenging when I have to deal with issues that involve the marginalisation of Māori. I now work as a senior lecturer in education, and teach predominantly in Māori subject-related areas such as Māori pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning, and Pre-European Māori social structure, spirituality, and philosophy.

Through my engagement with te ao Māori and learning the Māori language, I am now much more aware of myself as a Pākehā New Zealander. I feel a strong affinity with te ao Māori and I no longer look at the world in the same way. I am ethnically a European and yet I identify with Māori values and beliefs and have a view of the world that is closely aligned with Māori views. I have no Māori whakapapa, therefore am not Māori, yet I no longer feel European. I feel as if I exist somewhere between the two world, te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

ii. Emergence of the Topic for the Study

The initial idea for this study came out of my Master's thesis. The comments sheet from one of my markers stated I had not 'positioned myself clearly in the research'. The marker commented that she felt I was 'sitting on the fence', that I needed to take up a position one way or the other and if I couldn't do that then I should take that section out altogether. I actually had the opportunity to speak to her sometime after the degree had been awarded and we had a very interesting conversation on the matter.

This marker is a very well known and deeply respected Māori academic and I was interested in her thoughts on where and how I should position myself in the research. I tried to explain that, although at the time I understood her comments regarding not sitting on the fence, in fact that was exactly where I saw myself. It is very difficult for people who are not in the same place as me to understand this and the more I tried to explain it the more abstract and confusing it got. Then she turned to me and said 'I think you have a doctoral study here'. That sowed the seed of an idea that over time has developed into this thesis.

Initially, I began by considering a study based around the so called in-between space that exists between cultures, and I investigated the ideas of some of the theorists who had written on the topic, such as Davies and Harre (1990), Hermans, (2001), Radhakrishnan (1996) and specifically, Bhabha's (1994) concept of the third space. I also sought out literature on the topic in the New Zealand context (A. Bell, 2004; C. Bell & Mathewman, 2004; Collins, 2004). Collins (2004) and Meredith (1998) both considered how the positioning of people of mixed Pākehā/Māori descent can be explained in discussions of place through their in-between-ness. This in-between-ness is a descriptive term applied in reference to individuals who are somehow seen as being in-between two cultural groups (Webber, 2008). Bell and Mathewman (2004) discussed how people of mixed descent have the ability to move between the two groups, and Smith (2006) acknowledged the value and importance of what took place in what she named the third space. By aligning Bell's ideas on in-between-ness to Bhabha's theories of the third space, I began to consider ways I might investigate the people who lived and worked in this space: the space between cultures.

As my investigation into this third space developed, I encountered two issues that proved challenging. The first was that much of the literature on the subject related to people of mixed ethnicity which led me to investigate theories of hybridity. Some of the information gathered from that has been useful in informing this study, but much of it was not directly relevant. The emerging idea

for the study was to investigate the space between Pākehā and Māori cultures occupied by Pākehā and not people of mixed ethnicity.

Investigating the so called space proved to be a difficult task, especially given that this space in the New Zealand context had not been clearly defined at the time this study began. In discussions with colleagues and after searching through the relevant literature, I realised that the notion of a space was too vague and not specific enough for the topic I wished to investigate. This led to the next stage in defining the topic. If exploring the space was too abstract, perhaps emphasis could be placed on defining the people who may or may not occupy that space.

An investigation began around theories of identity with a focus on cultural identity, but this led to areas that were more about defining people, which was not what the initial idea was. What I wanted was to explore a group of people and their place in the current socio-cultural context. However, there were challenges in framing this in theoretical terms. Having begun as a student enrolled in doctoral studies in Education, not only was there difficulty in clearly defining the topic, there was also an emerging struggle to connect it with Education.

A close friend suggested doing some reading in areas outside education and looking at a wide range of disciplines, such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies. The latter began to open up new directions, specifically the literature associated with cross-cultural studies and instances of culture-crossing individuals (Baker & Galasinski, 2001; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Hallowell, 1955; Hermans, 2001). At around the same time, I first encountered the work of Trevor Bentley (2007) on the role of Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century in New Zealand.

From there, the investigation of Pākehā-Māori in relation to culture-crossing continued, and a broader understanding of the topic emerged through looking at

others who had written about Pākehā-Māori as well as searching for similar instances of culture-crossing outside of New Zealand (W. Cross, 1991; Gibbons, 1992; Green, 2009).

I began gathering information on theories relating to processes involved in culture-crossing and during the search of the literature an article written by Irving Hallowell (1963) regarding early settlers in the American Mid-West who lived as Native American Indians, was of particular interest. The article introduced Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization which offered an approach to the study. The topic was refined and, rather than investigating a space or attempting to define people who occupy that space, I now had a theoretical lens through which to investigate Pākehā-Māori as a phenomenon. However, Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization had only been applied in historical contexts and had remained largely undeveloped since its emergence. Therefore, it was decided to include further development of the theory and its application in current contexts as part of the study.

The next step in formulating the study was to consider the methodological approach that would allow investigation of Pākehā-Māori in relation to aspects of Transculturalization Theory. The first stage in this process involved situating the study within a research paradigm (Crotty, 1998). As the researcher, I was able to closely identify with the participants because I had similar experiences to them. Therefore, my background was of significance in the research, not only in the data collection process, but also in the interpretation and analysis of that data.

Consequently, this placed the study in an interpretive paradigm, which rests on the premise that reality is constructed by subjective perception (Crossley, 2005; Trochim, 2001). In an interpretive paradigm, it is important that the researcher interacts with the participants in a way that enables an understanding not only of the experiences they are relating, but also the meaning they attach to those experiences (Austin, 2005). In order to do this, it is essential that the researcher understands and can articulate their position in relation to the phenomenon

under study (Van Manen, 1990). Through my background of engaging with te ao Māori, I was better able to understand my participants' descriptions of their experiences (Van Manen, 2002).

For the participants involved in this study, it was essential to employ a method of data collection that not only clearly presented their voices, but also allowed for their own self-interpretations to emerge. As the study developed, there appeared to be a number of possible methods that would assist with the collection of the data (Davidson & Tolich, 1999). Of these, an autobiographical approach seemed to fit best (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Autobiography and autoethnography as research methods are discussed fully in Chapter Four. While autobiography was the method used, in respect to the background and development of the topic, the initial choice was simply to gather and present the stories of the participants.

As work progressed on the study and it came time to choose supervisors, I considered both the topic I was investigating and my needs as a student. During my undergraduate years, I had studied under the direction of Professor Paul Moon, a renowned historian. Part of my study included historical aspects of Pākehā-Māori and I felt Paul would be able to offer me sound direction in this area. I was also confident Paul could not only guide me well, but would also keep me working to the highest level of my abilities. My second supervisor, Dr Andrew Gibbons, was a colleague and friend from within my own department who had extensive editorial experience, and was someone I related to well. I knew Andrew would be able to work closely with me on a day to day basis and provide me guidance throughout the writing process.

Following discussion with both my supervisors, it was decided that, due to the topic and the potential extent of the study, I should move from a Doctorate in Education to a PhD. This was, in the most part, simply a paperwork transition, but as a consequence of this, it was requested that I be enrolled through the department of my primary supervisor. I moved from being a student with the School of Education to being a student with Te Ara Poutama, the University's

faculty of Māori Studies. For me this was like coming home in a sense, as Te Ara Poutama was where I was first enrolled in my tertiary study, and I saw it as rather fitting that my studies would be completed where they had begun.

iii. Impetus for the Study

While an inability to clearly explain my personal position and my affinity with te ao Māori provided the initial thrust for the direction of this thesis, it is my deep and constant desire to improve understanding and cultural awareness in New Zealand that has provided and continues to provide the broader motivation for the study. In the context of a bi-cultural New Zealand society, I see myself as a New Zealand Pākehā, and rather than constantly having to explain my position, I am embarking on a study that is both personal and professional, and one which I hope will provide a deeper understanding to others of what being a New Zealand Pākehā really means.

As the study has developed and, especially through conversations with the participants, I have come to realise that there are many people in this country who like me, have for a variety of reasons, found themselves in a place somewhere between two cultures. We share similar experiences and there are some common themes that have emerged as part of this study, but it is through my conversations with the participants that the primary impetus for the study has been maintained and strengthened.

I am sure anyone involved in a doctoral study has, at some point, felt they were flailing around in the dark so to speak and wondered why on earth they even began the undertaking. Many times I have asked myself that very question, yet just one conversation with any of the participants provides me with the answer. There is something that resonates when listening to a story you can relate to on a personal level. Hearing how others have sacrificed a great deal and have consciously chosen to work in a place that is not always that comfortable or even safe can encourage the telling of new stories (Mykhalovskiy, 1996). On

one level, this is a study to help me better understand my own position, and give me a way of explaining that to others, utilising a particular theoretical lens. But, more importantly, this is a study to provide a voice for others, and open the possibility of greater dialogue on what it means to be Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand, in the current socio-cultural climate. That, in itself, is impetus enough to bring this study to conclusion.

iv. Overall Approach to the Study

The best way to understand a phenomenon is to talk to the people who are part of that phenomenon (Van Manen, 2002). That has been the overall approach I have taken to this study. I am aware that, at this level of academic analysis, there are certain aspects that must be part of any study in order for it to be considered robust, but I struggled in the beginning to find an approach that would allow me the freedom to engage in the sort of study I envisioned. Initially, it was nothing more than my desire to provide a place for the telling of life stories, but as the topic developed I realised that it required a strong theoretical underpinning. Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization (1963), and the ways it could be applied to the study, provided the approach and direction to follow. The underpinning theory and the methodological approach are discussed fully in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

Conclusion

This first chapter has explained the connection between my own lived experiences and the focus of the study. These connections supported the development of both the method of gathering participant stories and the theoretical analysis of those stories. There are many other elements, and in particular many other theoretical positions, that have influenced the research and the construction of this submitted thesis. However, the focus has been underpinned by the theory of Transculturalization.

People who have not embarked on higher study may not realise that a thesis rarely, if ever, gets written in the order it is finally presented. I had already completed the first drafts of much of this thesis, and begun my data collection and analysis before starting on this chapter. Writing this chapter, looking back to where, how, and why I undertook the study, has helped me re-connect with some of the initial drive I had. I am not sure the direction has been the same as I envisioned, but by looking back to where it started, I am more clearly able to see where it has taken me. I am confident now that the impetus for the study, development of the theory of Transculturalization to examine Pākehā-Māori, in order to open a space for continuing dialogue, will be the overall outcome from this thesis.

Chapter Two: The Whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori, with regard to the socio-historical contexts of the appearance and development of Pākehā-Māori from the end of the eighteenth century, and changes that have led to the possible re-emergence of Pākehā-Māori in current contexts in New Zealand. The chapter begins with an overview of Māori society prior to European contact, followed by a discussion on the emergence of Pākehā-Māori in the late 1790s. The whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori and their historical involvement is discussed, including the various roles they filled in the early settler and Māori societies. The chapter includes specific roles occupied by Pākehā-Māori within the historical context, because the roles that culture crossers play are a significant aspect of Transculturalization Theory and, as such will form part of the overall analysis of the study.

The literature reviewed in the course of presenting this chapter was increasingly refined with regard to its relevance and it is acknowledged that there is a range of literature that has not been included. In the section on the current socio-cultural context there is extensive literature available on post colonialism, colonisation and decolonization, which was not included. The rationale for this is that much of that literature is not specific to the subject of the study and as the thesis crosses many disciplines maintaining the central tenant of the study was imperative in order to maintain the focus on the lived experiences of the participants that revealed narratives of identity within social and cultural worlds. There is also a strong focus on the work of Trevor Bentley in discussions of Pākehā-Māori in the late 1790s. While there are works by other authors on Pākehā-Māori, and some have been included, many refer back to Bentley and some have paraphrased his work extensively. Therefore those works have not been included other than where they offered information not found in Bentleys work.

The historical context is discussed by considering how the New Zealand socio-cultural context has evolved since the arrival of the first Europeans, and this is followed by exploring Pākehā-Māori in relation to the socio-historical context. In this section of the chapter, the roles of Pākehā-Māori are discussed in order of their evolvement from the first renegade sailors, through to traders, priestly experts and chiefs. The current socio-cultural context is then introduced and defined, in order to examine the circumstances leading to the re-emergence of Pākehā-Māori.

i. Pre-contact Māori identity and society

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Māori occupied distinct geographical areas throughout New Zealand. The areas were separated by clear boundaries, although these boundaries were often under dispute. Māori were a hunter gatherer based society that operated around clear social expectations and obligations (Best, 1924). Roles were a significant part of society and there was a class system in operation. Rangatira (chiefs) and tohunga (priestly experts) were responsible for upholding social rule and traditional Māori lore. Society was organised through groups called iwi (tribes). Each iwi consisted of sub tribes known as hapū and hapū were made up of various whānau (family) groups. The survival of hapū depended on their ability to form and maintain mutually beneficial relationships and work together as a unit on a day to day basis (Belich, 1986; Best, 1924; O'Regan, 2001a).

Before European contact, there was no concept of a Māori identity. Being Māori, as such, was primarily an outcome of European arrival and influence, with the European need to classify the natives (Bentley, 1999). The European discoverers adopted the word Māori, in reference to the native people as a whole. Originally, this term was used as an adjective, not a noun, to describe ancient, local, and ordinary things (Salmond, 1993).

In pre-European Māori society, a person's identity was derived from whichever hapū group or combinations of groups the person had links to. Individuals formed an identity based on their hapū affiliation, resulting in pride in hapū and tribal membership (Salmond, 1997). This was essential for the survival of the hapū because it provided loyalty and commitment in times of inter tribal conflict (Leaf, personal communication, 2010). As well as tribal identity, which was derived from inherited blood links to whānau, hapū and iwi (tribal groups), Māori identity was also strongly linked to association with ancestrally occupied lands (Houkamau, 2006). In Māori society, a connection to the land is of specific importance, as it indicates not only where a person comes from, but also helps to establish links to shared whakapapa (genealogy, inherited bloodlines) (Rangihau, 1992). While inherited bloodlines and connections to land were the predominant ways of establishing an identity as part of a group in pre-European Māori society, there were also other ways a person could become an accepted member of the group, including intertribal marriage, war captives, and whāngai (adoption) (Best, 1924). However, essentially, to be Māori or to have an identity as Māori, one still required a bloodline linked to a tribal ancestor.

ii. Whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori

From what is known of the composition of pre-European Māori society, and the ways in which a person was identified as Māori and accepted as a functioning member of the hapū or iwi, there is strong evidence in Māori oral histories to show that Europeans were accepted into the various hapū or iwi, and became known as Pākehā-Māori (Leaf, personal communication, 2010). Tracing the whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori from earliest references forward is a complex process, due to the many variances of the use of the term within the historical literature and the transient nature of the people at the time (Bentley, 2009). The first step in this process is to seek some clarification of the term itself, as it will be applied throughout this study.

Māori oral histories giving accounts of early contact with Europeans share the supposition that the Europeans could not be described as being Māori, or ordinary (Leaf, personal communication, 2010). According to Salmond (1997), 'the newly constituted groups were defined in relation to each other; what are now commonplace ethnic labels in New Zealand (Māori and Pākehā) at first meant simply familiar, everyday, and extraordinary in some way' (p. 22).

The term Pākehā-Māori appears to have originated amongst Northern Māori as part of Ngā Puhi dialect. Initially, some of the other iwi had their own terms for the newcomers (Salmond, 1993). Early variances in the term mostly hinge around the word Pākehā. In 1815, the word packaha was being used in the Bay of Islands to describe strangers who visited the area, and, in the Hauraki Gulf, these people were referred to as tangata tupua, meaning goblin people (Wilson, 1985). From his textual analysis of the historical literature regarding Pākehā-Māori, Bentley (2007) found that 'the term Pākehā-Māori is historically, orthographically, and historiographically a slippery one' (p.10) and, from his research, he concluded that, as well as being a 'class marker', the term Pākehā-Māori was most likely a Māori invention. The literature indicates the pronunciation was Māori and Bentley (2007) suggests it is acceptable to assume the term was of Māori origin, given that, in the early years of contact between Māori and Pākehā, Māori also named in te reo many new things the Europeans bought with them, and, indeed, the Europeans themselves. According to Bentley (2007, p. 11):

The first recorded use of the term occurred in 1827 when Rev. John Hobbs noted the chief Patuone's agreement to the construction of a Wesleyan mission station at the Hokianga, but with the proviso that the missionaries should 'let the Paki'ha Māori (natural white men) trade in muskets, powder, and what they please'.

By the mid nineteenth century, the word Pākehā-Māori was well established and both Māori and Pākehā were very familiar with the term (Bentley, 1999). Writers of the time not only mentioned Pākehā-Māori, but some adopted the pseudonym. The most notable of these was Frederick Maning (1863), who

published a book, titled *Old New Zealand* as a reference of early New Zealand history and claimed authorship as a Pākehā-Māori.

While tracing the term Pākehā-Māori is possible through an analysis of the historical literature, establishing a clear definition of the term is more problematic. Given that the early colonists were in a state of constantly reassessing their political and personal identifications (Sinclair, 1986), and a suggestion that the boundaries between Pākehā and Māori were somewhat blurred (Goldsmith, 2005), it is no surprise that there appear to be a variety of definitions of the term Pākehā-Māori. There are some commonalities though, not least of all is that the term was initially only ever applied to males. There are recorded accounts of woman who did meet many of the criteria recognised as necessary to being able to claim to be Pākehā-Māori, but, traditionally, only men were named as Pākehā-Māori (Nicholson, 2006). Another commonality was that these men were all of European descent. Although there were others such as Tahitians, Marquesans, Lascars, and American Negroes who lived with Māori in the same time frame as Pākehā-Māori, particularly in The Bay of Islands, they are not referred to as Pākehā-Māori in the historical literature (Cowan, 1911; Manning, 1863; Thomson, 1974).

As previously stated, the term Pākehā-Māori was only applied to men who lived with and as Māori, although there were many men and women who crossed over into Māori culture but were not named Pākehā-Māori (Fitzgerald, 1988; Morris, 1970). Some European women, for example, went voluntarily into Māori society, and there were others who were taken as captives. Just as the first male Pākehā-Māori came from the ranks of escaped convicts, so too did some females. One of the most notable is Charlotte Badger, an escaped convict who lived among Ngā Puhi for about ten years (Nicholson, 2006). On at least one occasion during that time, she refused offers of rescue, choosing instead to live as the wife of a chief, and she is perhaps the first example of what could have been called a wahine Pākehā-Māori (woman). Other women who have been mentioned in the historical literature include Anne Morley who, survived the

incident on the Boyd (see later this chapter), and Mary Bell, who lived for two years amongst Ngati Toa (Bentley, 1999; Sinclair, 1986; Thomson, 1974).

Along with men not of European ethnicity and women who were living with Māori, there were also some people who called themselves Pākehā-Māori but were not recognised as such by either Māori or Europeans (Cowan, 1935), because there were certain conditions regarding being named Pākehā-Māori. From his evaluation of representations of culture-crossing Pākehā in the colonial texts, Bentley (2007) offers a definition of Pākehā-Māori as:

all Europeans who lived among Māori permanently or temporarily as culture-crossers...but distinguish between those who 'went native', lived as Māori and were labelled Pākeha-Māori, and those who retained their European values and identities and were never so labelled (p. 16).

The factors contributing to being recognised as a Pākehā-Māori included taking a Māori spouse, having Māori relatives, observing Māori customs, taking part in inter-tribal warfare, and speaking the Māori language. From Bentley's definition, it would seem that becoming Pākehā-Māori may have been more an act of giving the perception of having taken on Māori ways, than one of clear categorical definition. Perhaps the most significant aspect of identification as Pākehā-Māori is found in Bentley's (2007) observation that:

The basis of being Pākeha-Māori, then, does seem to have been the mental attitude of the culture-crossers. It was their acceptance of Māori protocols and the subordination of their own interests to the tribe that made their identity transformations recognisable and durable (p. 16).

Of particular note here is that there appears to be a link between Bentley's suggestion around durability of identity transformation in Pākehā-Māori to aspects of Transculturalization Theory (Berry, 1990). This connection is examined with relation to the findings of this study in Chapter Eight.

The whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori began during the 1790s, when, following the maps and journals of Captain Cook, trading vessels arrived in New Zealand. In

1794, convict crewmen of the trader *The Hunter*, abandoned ship and sought refuge with local Māori communities (Campbell, 1998). These earliest known Pākehā-Māori were escaped convict crewmen seeking to disappear from the authorities (Bentley, 1999) and these escaped convicts were the predominant form of Pākehā-Māori, through to the arrival of the first missionaries in 1814. Māori oral histories (Watson, 3/1/11) and historical literature indicates that these Europeans were kept by local chiefs as *mōkai* (Manning, 2001) and served little purpose in Māori society other than as a symbol of the status of the chief (Maude, 1968; Thomson, 1974; Campbell, 1998). Their usefulness in this regard was soon exhausted as contact between the two cultures increased, and many of these convicts were handed back to the authorities. This may have been because more Europeans were arriving and, hence, the pets were no longer a rarity, therefore decreasing their effect on the status of the chief (Cowen, 1910). There are also indications they were handed back in an act of good will, with many chiefs attempting to build relationships with the European authorities (Bentley, 1999; Manning, 1863; Thompson, 1974).

While at first these earliest Pākehā-Māori were highly sought-after by the chiefs as a way of increasing their mana (prestige), there followed a large number of runaways seeking refuge with various hapū, and as the value of these Pākehā as 'keepsakes' consequently diminished, the ransom offered for their return provided a motive for handing them back to the authorities (Wilson, 1985). An Arawa Pākehā-Māori, Phillip Tapsel, kept a ledger account showing ransoms paid. According to Maude (1968), among the entries are the following;

- Three; one Englishmen and two Americans purchased from Ngā Puhi for an equivalent value of £20 each
- Two; Englishman (Jackson) and a whale-ship cooper purchased from the chief Apanui at Whakatane, £20 each
- Six women of the Arawa tribe, slaves to the Ngā Puhi, £20 each
- Six; a man named Taylor (English), his wife and three half-caste children and his wife's sister, £20 (p. 137).

Although many of these early runaways were eventually returned to the authorities, there were instances of convict Pākehā-Māori being kept within the hapū (Colquhoun, 1984). Some of the chiefs had become very fond of their Pākehā, and had developed strong relationships with them, particularly those who had demonstrated a usefulness and moved from being mōkai (pets) to a higher status (Fitzgerald, 1988).

In regard to those who remained with Māori, Bentley (1999) indicated that even as early as 1800, Māori chiefs had some kind of criteria by which Pākehā were fully accepted into the hapū. This included a usefulness that would benefit the people, a connection through marriage, and a demonstrated loyalty to the hapū. Thomson (1974) stated that many chiefs 'recognised their potential as trading intermediaries' (p. 298) and therefore accepted Pākehā-Māori into their hapū. Polack (1976, p. 41) suggested other criteria included accepting the markings of the moko, taking a Māori spouse and having Māori relatives. Maning (2001) described in some detail the list of agreed responsibilities he as a Pākehā-Māori was expected to meet in order to remain under the protection of his chief. The literature indicates that the main criterion for accepting Pākehā into the hapū was based around their 'usefulness' (Bentley, 1998). There was even the suggestion of a 'scale of value' attached to each Pākehā-Māori, according to the extent of their usefulness to the hapū (Maning, 1863; Nicholson, 2006), with a labourer at the lowest end and a tohunga (priestly expert) at the highest end.

iii. Socio-historical context

The arrival of the first trading vessels in the late 1700s marked the beginning of sustained intercultural contact between Māori and non-Māori. The newcomers were most commonly referred to as tauīwi, meaning strange tribe (Manning, 1863). Blood links between the various iwi and hapū, through intermarriage and inter-tribal relationships and alliances, meant news travelled between iwi and hapū and many would have heard of these tauīwi or strange people who had arrived. However, most of the early contact between the Māori and Europeans

took place in the areas where the trading vessels landed and many hapū, especially those living inland, had no direct early contact at all (Thomson, 1974). In some parts of the country, first contact was sometimes less than peaceful and there are historical accounts of skirmishes between Māori and ships' crews (Sinclair, 1996) and from the time of first contact, the socio-cultural landscape in New Zealand changed (G. McLennan et al., 2010).

Reports of the abundance of seals in Dusky Sound (from Cook's second voyage in 1773) led to the first sealing gang arriving in the area (Salmond, 1997). Although not hugely profitable at first, other sealing gangs followed and established small, primitive settlements. The interaction between these first sealing gangs and local hapū was limited but did mark the beginning of an intercultural relationship that was further developed by the arrival of the whalers (Bentley, 1999).

In the period from 1800 to 1820, whalers and sealers, based out of the New South Wales penal colony, traded peacefully with Māori and began establishing small settlements centred round areas where whales and seals were found in commercial numbers (Sinclair, 1996). Whaling stations were set up at various points around the New Zealand coast (Dieffenbach, 1843). The two most productive areas were in Dusky Sound in Fiordland, and in Queen Charlotte Sound in Marlborough, and between 1816 and 1820 whaler settler numbers rose to over 100. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, bay whaling became prominent and whaling settlements increased (Thomson, 1974). There were many secluded bays around the New Zealand coast where whales came to calve and the whalers took full advantage of this, setting up stations in these areas. Whalers were 'put ashore' and virtually abandoned to their own devices by the various whaling companies (Manning, 1863). Initially, the whalers were reliant on local hapū for their survival and many moved out of the whaling camps and took up residence with the locals. Most took Māori wives, and although 'they continued their European ways to an extent they also adopted Māori customs' (Watson, personal communication, 2011).

At its peak, the whaling industry in New Zealand had over 30 established settlements. Each settlement had a number of men who took up residence with local hapū and were known as whaler Pākehā-Māori (Taylor, personal communication, 2011). According to Thomson (1974) there were an estimated 43 whalers living with Māori in the early 1820s. When the whaling stations closed, most whaler Pākehā-Māori elected to stay behind. Some were so fully integrated into the local hapū that their names have been lost, having been replaced by Māori names (Watson, personal communication, 2011). Generally, the South Island Māori hapū welcomed the whalers (Ryan, personal communication, 2011), although the North Island hapū initially regarded them with caution and suspicion (Morrell & Hall, 1958). Despite early whaler settlements being small and remote, this early contact with Europeans had an effect on Māori society (Vaggioli, 2000). Māori rapidly developed a desire for European goods, such as blankets, hatchets, and nails. The introduction of these imported goods meant that many traditional practices were influenced by European contact (Nicholson, 2006). According to Vaggioli (2000), 'by 1808 New Zealand Māori were much more at peace than they had been in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. The reason for the positive change was that trade and commerce were firmly established' (p.26). Once trade was introduced, Māori became, to some extent, dependent on European goods (Morrell & Hall, 1958).

Although largely initial relations between Māori and the early settlers had been mostly peaceful, the peace deteriorated rapidly in 1809, following an incident that has been described historically as the Boyd massacre (Manning, 1863). Tara, son of a prominent Māori chief, had been on board the British ship, the Boyd, and had been severely mistreated. In retaliation, the Boyd was attacked by a war party from his hapū and most of the passengers and crew were killed. Thomson (1974) stated that merchant ships visiting New Zealand then committed many acts of atrocities on any group of 'natives' they came across. Other ships, namely the brig Agnes, the brig Hawes, and a whaling ship at

Wanganui, were taken by Māori in this period, resulting in a number of captives and sailors who became taurekareka Pākehā-Māori (Reeves, 1950). By 1832, the incidences of merchant retaliation had reached such extreme levels that the British Government passed a law allowing the courts in Australia to pass sentence on crimes committed in New Zealand. Although there had been skirmishes between Māori and Europeans, in general, Māori had been welcoming of the newcomers and anxious to establish friendly relations for mutual benefit (Salmond, 1997). However, retaliation by the Europeans for the Boyd incident, and the increasing lawlessness of sailors in areas like Kororareka raised concerns amongst hapū leaders.

A significant impact on Māori society of the time, was the introduction of European weaponry (Thomson, 1974). Prior to European contact, there were skirmishes between iwi over land and resources (Nicholson, 2006). Pre-European intertribal battles were won and lost on tactics and hand-to-hand combat ability. The introduction of the musket changed the way Māori conducted their battles and this began a new era of intertribal fighting known as 'the musket wars'. The availability of muskets upset the balance of power between the various iwi. Initially, only chiefs who had already established strong trade relations with the Europeans had access to the musket, and what ensued was a sustained period of one sided battles, which resulted in huge losses of life for iwi and hapū who did not have guns (Morrell, 1958).

The effect the introduction of the musket had on Māori society was widespread. It is estimated that in the period between 1821 and 1841 inter-tribal battles claimed an estimated 20,000 native deaths (Sinclair, 1996). Thomson wrote that 'the possession of guns and powder were absolutely necessary for self-preservation' (p. 258) and the daily lives of many Māori became focused on harvesting goods for trade in order to purchase muskets (Sinclair, 1996). As well as the effects of the musket wars, Māori society also had to adjust to the arrival of increasing numbers of settlers who took up residence on what was essentially Māori land, and increasing issues with lawlessness and immorality in

areas such as the Bay of Islands. By the late 1830s the effects of European involvement in New Zealand reached a crisis point for Māori and moves were undertaken to address the issues of the time, which ultimately resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Moon, 2002).

The Treaty of Waitangi, or more correctly, the application of the Treaty of Waitangi has been a contentious issue in New Zealand history (Spoonley, 1991). The Treaty opened the way for further European settlement in New Zealand (Moon, 2002). Following the signing of the agreement, there was a sustained period of settlement, the establishment of a settler government, and the beginning of the shift in power from the Māori to the European inhabitants of New Zealand. From the time the Treaty was signed in 1840, Māori society was not only changed by contact with Europeans, but was also subject to new laws created by the government (Belich, 1996).

In the years following the signing of the Treaty, the settler government introduced legislations that resulted in loss of land for many iwi. In the 1840s several skirmishes broke out between Māori and government surveyors, and between 1845 and 1872 a series of battles were fought between Māori and the settler government, in various parts of the country (Belich, 1996). In spite of strong resistance on the part of Māori, with superior fire power and large numbers of soldiers recruited from New South Wales, the settler government became established and took over the running of the country.

iv. Pākehā-Māori in the socio-historical context

Pākehā-Māori in the nineteenth century have been depicted in various ways, often as rather unsavoury characters, but, according to Nicholson, they are deserving of some acknowledgement for the roles they played in-between two cultures. Nicholson (2006, p. 56) states;

The common view of the Pakeha-Maori as drunken, promiscuous troublemakers may be partly justified...But these netherworld dwellers are entitled to some credit as well for their roles as interpreters, guides, advisors, intermediaries and peacemakers...

Along with Nicholson, several other writers, both current and historical, have expressed the idea that Pākehā-Māori in the nineteenth century played some part in acting as cultural intermediaries (Brown, 2011; I. Campbell, 1998b; M. Campbell, 2005; Reeves, 1950; Thomson, 1974). Reeves, (1950, p. 91) considered that Pākehā-Māori 'had their uses in aiding peaceful intercourse between the races'. Although Pākehā-Māori occupied a somewhat short period in New Zealand history, some were not only well known at the time, but have continued to be written about two centuries since they first appeared. Bentley (1999) described Pākehā-Māori as 'a third kind of New Zealander' and stated:

Pākehā-Māori have always been an important but invisible facet of New Zealand life. Inhabiting the zone where Māori and Pākehā merge, they continue to serve as cultural intermediaries...they continue to intrude on our consciousness to remind us of our inter-cultural past... (p. 11).

From the first escaped convicts who hid amongst Māori hapū to the prolific and prominent Trader Pākehā-Māori, their roles changed and adapted and they occupied various positions within the structure of Māori society (Nicholson, 2006; Thomson, 1974; Wilson, 1985).

As well as the many variances in definitions of the term Pākehā-Māori, there are also differences in the way these people's roles have been represented in the historical literature, with both positive and negative connotations (Bentley, 2007). Yet, although historical literary representations are varied, as were the people themselves, there are some clear Pākehā-Māori roles that emerge (Best, 1924; Campbell, 1998a; Maning, 1863). Bentley (1999) identified some of these as convict Pākehā-Māori, trader Pākehā-Māori, rangatira Pākehā-Māori (chiefs), Pākehā toa (warriors), taurekareka (captive slaves) renegades and tohunga Pākehā (priests).

The renegades, as they were referred to by Bentley (1999), were some of the first outsiders to make full transition to life amongst the Māori. They were similar to those who were known as mountain men or squaw men in North America (Campbell, 1998b; Thorp, 2003), which suggests that the phenomenon was part of the wider context of European colonisation of the non-European world. These renegades, also known of as white savages, were the first Pākehā-Māori to completely adapt themselves to live amongst Māori. Although these renegades were the first Pākehā-Māori, and held only a novelty value for the chiefs, they were amongst the first Europeans to come in direct contact with Māori and they played a part in providing the chiefs with an understanding of the ways and practices of Europeans (Nicholson, 2006). Some of these men went on to become Pākehā toa (White warriors), and a few even became rangatira (white chiefs), and tohunga (experts, spiritual leaders).

Taurekareka were Pākehā who were kept by the various hapū as slaves, often having been captured in various raids, and although some did gain higher status later on, as captured slaves their initial engagement with Māori was not by conscious choice (Marshall, 1984; Nicholson, 2006). Taurekareka were transients with few skills or prospects and were usually either killed or returned in exchange for ransoms. Generally, the influence of taurekareka Pākehā-Māori on Māori society was limited, although according to Bentley (1999, p. 75) there were exceptions such as 'artisans and armourers Jacky Marmon and Kimble Bent and the two unidentified agriculturalists on the Mokau and Whanganui Rivers'.

In contrast to the limited influence on Māori society of the renegades and taurekareka Pākehā-Māori, Pākehā-Toa had a visible influence and undoubtedly contributed to Māori knowledge of European weaponry and fighting tactics (Maning, 2001). There are various accounts of Pākehā-Māori being involved in battles that took place (Cowan, 1911; Nicholson, 2006; Sinclair, 1996). For example, James Burns fought alongside Ngā Puhi in the epic intertribal battle against the Arawa people on Mokoia Island (Bentley, 1999). Other well known Pākehā-Māori of the time, such as John Rutherford, Jacky

Marmon and Frederick Maning, were all prominent in intertribal battles, and at the height of the musket wars all Pākehā-Māori residing with a tribe were expected to take part in support of their iwi (Thomson, 1974). Not only were Pākehā-Māori not exempt from the fighting, they were also not given any special treatment, if conquered by their enemies, and there are various accounts of Pākehā-Māori being killed and eaten following battles (Bentley, 1999). A small number of Pākehā-toa were recognised and rewarded for their prowess in battle and went on to achieve rangatira status. Maning (2001) stated that he was elevated to the rank of rangatira as a result of his prowess on the battlefield (Nicholson, 2006), along with Rutherford and Marmon.

The traders were the largest and perhaps the most common group of Pākehā-Māori (Bentley, 1999). Many traders initially established themselves with various hapū as Pākehā toa and a few emerged from the ranks of taurekareka (Maning, 1963). While there are some early examples of trader Pākehā-Māori, particularly with regard to establishing early trading links between Māori and the ships, this group didn't come into real prominence until the late 1820s (Nicholson, 2006).

Trader Pākehā-Māori have often been represented as profiteers (Maning, 1963; Thomson, 1974) and, although commercial gain may well have been a motivating factor, many of these men started out as ex-crewmen left behind between voyages to collect goods like flax and timber (Cowan, 1935). In the 1790s, these men often took Māori wives and lived with the hapū, and many found it difficult to leave once the ship returned. In the Marlborough Sounds, several ex-crewmen chose to stay with the local hapū and set themselves up as traders (Wilson, personal communication, 2010). Jacky Love, Dicky Barrett, Barnet Burns, and Frederick Maning, were all Pākehā-Māori who initially established themselves with various hapū through trade.

Trader Pākehā-Māori had a significant influence on Māori society, and, between 1827 and 1830, it is estimated there were up to 130 traders settled with tribes. Thomson (1974, p. 301) stated that, by 1840, 'every tribe of any size possessed

a white man'. Along with other Europeans, trader Pākehā-Māori introduced new goods to Māori and made European goods readily available and trader Pākehā-Māori also played a role in equipping Māori with muskets.

With the introduction of muskets to some of the Northern Tribes, an ability to trade for weapons became of prime importance to all hapū, and this was where the trader Pākehā-Māori came to the fore. Earlier on, having a mōkai Pākehā-Māori added to a chief's mana, and later, having a trader Pākehā-Māori as part of the hapū helped establish good trade links. Once the introduction of European weapons began, to have a resident Pākehā-Māori who could purchase muskets and negotiate trade was seen as essential to the survival of the hapū (Marshall, 1984).

Alongside the growing changes in traditional Māori society as a consequence of European influences, the numbers of known Pākehā-Māori increased dramatically. In the mid nineteenth century, it is estimated that there were approximately 150 permanent Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand, most of whom were trader Pākehā-Māori (Thomson, 1974). Some trader Pākehā-Māori took up other roles and became deeply involved with various hapū. For instance, Maning became initiated into the Māori priesthood as a tohunga. Tohunga were the high priests of Māori society, the holders of sacred knowledge and were recognised experts in their field (Leaf, 1999; Salmond, 1993). Similarly, one of the most well-known Pākehā-Māori, Jacky Marmon, became a war tohunga for Hongi Hika, and took part in several campaigns in 1821. Thomas Kendall, a missionary and former mōkai of Hongi Hika, was taught Māori cosmology by Rakau, a senior tohunga from Ngā Puhī, and went on to become a tohunga in his own right (Nicholson, 2006; Thomson, 1974; Wilson, 1985). Some well known Pākehā-Māori, such as Kimble Bent and Frederick Maning, were referred to as tohunga but it is not proven that they acted in this role. There are also reports of a very small number of unnamed men who became recognised as tohunga (F Maning, 1863; Marshall, 1984; Thomson, 1974), but their overall contribution has gone unrecorded. Some tohunga Pākehā-Māori whose European names have been forgotten lived and practiced under full tohunga

status and, due to their tapu (sacred) roles or perhaps because these people often avoided European contact, little is known or recorded about them. According to Bentley (1999):

They are a forgotten class who have slipped between the cracks and crevices of history. In conflict with European authority, or critical of it, they were individually despised by many of their European contemporaries (p.119).

These men would have had to have been fully accepted into Māori society in order to train and become practicing tohunga (Leaf, personal communication, 2010), as this was seen as one of the highest ranked classes within the iwi (Best, 1924). They had not only abandoned their cultural upbringing, but many had also renounced their European Christian beliefs and devoted themselves to living and practicing Māori spirituality (F Maning, 1863; Thomson, 1974). Their stories contrasted starkly with those for the majority of their European peers.

Although relatively few in number, rangatira Pākehā-Māori were another group who had an influence on the changing society (Nicholson, 2006). In the years before 1840 there were only four named Europeans to claim the rank of rangatira, James Caddel, John Rutherford, Jacky Marmon, and Barnet Burns (Bentley, 1999). As high ranking persons within the hapū, the influence of the rangatira Pākehā-Māori was far reaching. They contributed to the decisions made by the tribes, spoke openly, either in support of or against, European interests in trade and land purchases and controlled many of the day to day directions of the hapū (Polack, 1976). These Pākehā-Māori were also part of the decision making process surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and some openly opposed the Treaty. Marmon and Maning in particular were very vocal in their opposition and the latter spoke openly at Waitangi, advising the chiefs not to sign the document. Maning considered it inadvisable to apply British law to Māori (Orange, 1987).

Of all the different roles Pākehā-Māori filled in the early nineteenth century, perhaps the least known and seldom discussed were the men (and women) who voluntarily, and without any personal gain, chose to live in Māori society.

These individuals took on Māori identities and became functioning members of the hapū. Little is recorded of them in the historical literature and perhaps the best opportunity of identifying them is through oral histories and whakapapa, as, in many cases, their transition to a Māori identity was so extensive that their European names have been forgotten. In a personal communication with Mereama Watson, a respected Kuia from the Marlborough Sounds area (Watson, 3/1/11), she recalled:

There were a lot of Pākehā who came to live with my ancestors especially in the Sounds in the early days, with the whaling. We don't remember most of their names because once they were accepted as part of the iwi, then they had Māori names. After that they just became one of us. They kind of just disappeared into the iwi.

Bentley (1999) claims that Pākehā-Māori like those referred to by Watson, people who were so fully accepted into the iwi that their names and origins are forgotten, made up the bulk of Pākehā-Māori in colonial New Zealand.

The historical literature indicates that Pākehā-Māori began to disappear from the New Zealand landscape from the mid 1850s. The Pākehā-Māori who were completely absorbed into Māori society not only remained, but arguably have become ancestors to some Māori today. Pākehā-Māori were a significant part of the socio-historical context of New Zealand. Thomson (1974, p. 301) lists the number of 'known' Pākehā-Māori between the years of 1814 and 1853, referring to it as evidence of 'their periods of prosperity and decay'. His statistics suggest at one time Pākehā-Māori were perhaps as high in number as 15% of the overall population. However, these figures do not account for the many Pākehā-Māori who remained with the various hapū and identified themselves as Māori (Martin, 4/1/11).

v. *Current socio-cultural context*

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, increasing numbers of immigrants began arriving and the settler government came under pressure to provide land.

There followed a period in New Zealand history when more and more land that had belonged to Māori was taken by the government under a series of law changes (Belich, 1986). Māori resisted both peacefully and through warfare but the superior fire power of the government eventually overcame them. Many iwi and hapū lost large tracts of their land and Māori society became marginalised and oppressed (Appleby, 1980).

In the period from 1890-1935, social reforms were introduced by New Zealand's government, which resulted in attracting a reputation as 'the social laboratory of the world' (Beatson & Shannon 1990, p. 155). This period saw the beginning of government attempts to address equality disparities, which led to considerations of new ways of forming a national identity (Brown, 2011; Ritchie, 1971; Sinclair, 1986; Spoonley, 1991). Māori were also seeking ways of overcoming their oppression and several movements were initiated (Walker, 1983). An example of this is the Young Māori Party, established in 1909 and led by Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, and Maui Pomare. The political intentions were dedicated to improving the position of Māori through community health programmes and tribal economic reconstruction (Beatson & Shannon, 1990).

The 1970s saw the beginning of an increasing commitment to working towards a bicultural society (Ritchie, 1992). The government introduced policy changes that promoted biculturalism, the most noticeable being the recognition of te reo Māori as an official language. As a response to the declining number of people able to speak te reo Māori, education initiatives such as te kōhanga reo (Māori-language pre-schools), kura kaupapa (Māori pedagogical schools) and wānanga (universities) were set up. One of the most lasting and influential changes that happened was the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975. Established to investigate treaty breaches and make recommendations as to possible reparation, the tribunal has changed the socio-cultural context in New Zealand (R. McLennan, Ryan, & Spoonley, 2000). During this time, Māori continued to actively campaign for justice and recognition of treaty breaches. According to Brown (2011):

For Māori, this was another time of struggle. Nonetheless, extending on from the efforts of educated Māori in the earlier decades, Māori political and social representation became more prevalent and was strengthened by the re-examination and recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Aided by the Iwi Transition Agency which was formed in 1989, which helped to restore the tino rangatiratanga Māori had lost in previous decades, more robust, open and equal discussions between Māori and Pākehā about the contradictions of Te Tiriti took place.

Māori activism during the period from the 1970s through to today included actions such as land occupations, protest marches and political involvement, all designed to raise awareness of issues and gain recognition of rights (Bell, 2004). Since the 1980s, there has also been a gradual change in public attitudes, which have moved to reflect more cultural awareness and acknowledgement of the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua (first people of the land) (Bell, 1996; Rata, 2005; Spoonley, MacPherson & Pearson, 2004).

Along with an increasing recognition of the place of Māori came a search for a sense of belonging as a European New Zealander (Tilbury, 2001). This opened the discourse for re-examination of the term Pākehā, and what that meant in relation to Māori and to a national identity (King, 1985). According to Paul Spoonley (1991, p. 148), 'the term Pākehā seldom appeared in the 1950s and 1960s and it was not until the 1970s that this term related to a specific cultural group. In 2000 Rose Black (2000, p. 1) defined the term as:

A unique and indigenous word for the non-Maori settler of Aotearoa/New Zealand [that] implies an acceptance of Maori as a separate cultural entity...a relationship with Maori as a Treaty partner, a cultural identity for people of Northern European origin and a sense of uniquely belonging to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

By the 1990s, the Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism, and Pākehā/Māori relations became central to discussions on being Pākehā (Spoonley, Macpherson & Pearson, 2004; Vasil, 2000). In the decades between 1990 and 2010, Māori grievances became highlighted and began to be addressed as the government accepted a responsibility to honour the Treaty. During this time, the term Pākehā was explored in regard to the relationship between Māori and Pākehā and what being Pākehā meant in terms of a national identity (King 1985). In the

early 2000s, the discussions on being Pākehā changed, as a result of the changing demographics of the country (Rata, 2005; Tilbury, 2001). With large numbers of immigrants arriving to take up residence, talk of a bicultural society rapidly moved to notions of multiculturalism. However, for Māori talks that moved away from biculturalism and towards multiculturalism only served to further marginalise Māori (Black, 2000).

The rapidly changing demographics of New Zealand even suggest that, within the next 50 years, Pākehā New Zealanders could find themselves in a minority position, suggesting the opportunity to solidify New Zealand as a bicultural society may have passed (McLennan, McManus & Spoonley, 2010). However, while discussions about multiculturalism may be reflective of the demographics of the current New Zealand socio-cultural context, Brown (2011, p. 34) suggests that there is still a place in the current climate for discussions on biculturalism, as 'it situates Pākehā and Māori relationality in a postcolonial relation that recognises being Pākehā is separate from being Māori'. These discussions on biculturalism are still significant, particularly with respect to the formation of a national identity linked to being Pākehā, an identity which is shaped through the interface between with te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā (King, 1999).

The words te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā are becoming more commonly used within New Zealand society today and are generally taken to mean differing world views. These world views encompass values, beliefs, and cultural practices (Leaf, personal communication 2010). King described the differences as (1985) 'a kind of shorthand to describe two broadly separate though not homogenous cultural traditions . . . two different forces in New Zealand by which people can choose to organise their lives' (p. 13).

Cultural awareness and the inclusion of Māori culture in the New Zealand socio-political context, especially over the last 4 decades, has provided opportunity for increasing numbers of Europeans to engage directly with te ao Māori. With increasing awareness of Māori cultural practices and through research, work, and personal connections, more and more Europeans are becoming deeply immersed in te ao Māori (Campbell, 2005; Tilbury, 1999; Vasil, 2000). The term

Pākehā-Māori is still most commonly associated with people in a historical context and is rarely used in reference to people in current contexts. However for Europeans who have become and are currently involved with Māori, many of the defining aspects of the term, such as commitment and loyalty to the tribe and adopting Māori values and beliefs, can be applied.

Conclusion

Pākehā-Māori occupied different roles in early settler New Zealand. From mōkai and taurekareka to rangatira and tohunga, the status achieved by early Pākehā-Māori was a direct result of both their usefulness and abilities. For the most part, their mana was derived directly from demonstration of their loyalty to the hapū (Nicholson, 2006). Hence, there is no one definition, no singular category by which Pākehā-Māori in the nineteenth century can be identified. While they have been considered as a 'singular class of people', they are perhaps better viewed as part of a continuum (Bentley, 1999). At the one end, those who crossed cultures briefly and without any personal sense of identity shift, to those who completely renounced their ethnic identity and became part of a hapū.

In the historical context, Pākehā-Māori were adopted as fully functioning members into the various hapū. Although, historically, iwi and hapū membership was clearly defined through direct links to shared blood lines and ancestral lands, examination of some of the more subtle facets of traditional Māori society indicates aspects that would allow for the acceptance of non-Māori and these aspects are still present in current contexts. What it means to be 'Māori' is about more than just blood lines and inherited links to ancestral lands (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). Being Māori is also about spirit and co-operation, pride in observing tikanga, and a sense of unity (Houkamau, 2006). In a study undertaken to examine facets of Māori identity, Liu and Tamara (1998) demonstrated the importance of communal commitments in relation to identity as Māori. In a series of interviews conducted among the Tuhoe people, communal activity for collective gain, reciprocity, collective development, loyalty,

and mutual support were identified as strong themes in identifying as Māori (Liu & Tamara, 1998). The themes revealed as significant in identifying as Māori in current contexts were recognised as having been a central part of pre-European Māori society, indicating potential provision for the acceptance of non-Māori into the hapū. Bentley (2007) noted that perhaps being Pākehā-Māori was possible for Europeans through acceptance and observation of Māori protocols, and the subordination of their own interests to those of the tribe.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the establishment of a settler government and the resultant power shift, Pākehā-Māori appear to have dissolved into the newly developing society. Certainly, by the early 1900s, the term was seldom used other than in historical references. However, these historical references are of increasing interest and importance to historians of the 21st century. According to Bentley (2007, p. 312) 'culture crossing Pākehā are today being given a much wider role in our history... and writings about Pākehā-Māori can help overcome divides between Māori and Pākehā by reminding us of our entangled bicultural past'.

Pākehā-Māori have been described as a third kind of New Zealander yet according to Cleave (1995) their existence in our vocabulary of biculturalism is as uncomfortable for government today as it was in 1840. The presence of Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand's history and the contribution they made to shaping the changing socio-cultural context of nineteenth century New Zealand has become more widely recognised in recent studies of cross-cultural contact between Māori and Pākehā (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005), and this study will add to understanding of Pākehā-Māori in current contexts.

Chapter Three: Theoretical perspectives

Introduction

This chapter provides the philosophical framework for the application and development of Transculturalization Theory to study Pākehā-Māori within the current New Zealand context. The theory of Transculturalization is used to provide: a) a new understanding of the process of transculturalization in relation to Pākehā-Māori; and b) a theoretical tool for analyzing the experiences and contributions of individuals to wider society. This chapter explores ideas relating to transculturalization by focusing on the following areas: the theory of Transculturalization; theoretical approaches related to transculturalization and culture-crossing; and the application of the theory of Transculturalization to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, that is, Europeans who engage with te ao Māori through work, research, and daily life.

The theory of Transculturalization rests within the broader discipline of anthropology, the evolution of many subfields from within the discipline make anthropology itself too wide a field for a suitable theoretical approach. Anthropology was initially defined as the study of man (Sapir, 2006) but it has developed to the point where even this definition is now being challenged. Needham (2006. p. 258) argues that;

So far as the term 'anthropology' has a patent sense, it ought to denote the discipline that determines the characteristics of man; but in the course of its development the emphasis of the subject has generally been placed instead on the environments in which man has his being.

While environmental factors will be included as part of this study, particularly from the perspective of circumstance, the focus here is on individuals within the society, place, or even time. Of the other related theories, many of which have aspects that are considered in the discussion of the findings, those that have been drawn on include Acculturation Theory and some sub-fields of Identity Theory.

i. The theory of Transculturalization

a. The development of the theory of Transculturalization by Irving Hallowell.

Transculturalization Theory was developed by Alfred Irving Hallowell (1892 – 1974), an American anthropologist. Hallowell's main field of study was the lives and practices of Native Americans, with his primary areas of focus including kinship and social organisation, folklore, culture, the psychological dimensions of human evolution, and the history of anthropology (Wallace, 1980). Hallowell's fieldwork was primarily conducted among the Northern Ojibwa people of Canada. An area of specific interest to this thesis is Hallowell's conceptualisation of a theory that could be used to adequately define the phenomenon of early settlers in North America who adopted the cultural practices and lived the life of Native Americans (Wallace, 1980). As part of his graduate student studies, Hallowell began visiting the Abenaki tribe at Odanak, Quebec, Canada. His intent was to secure information about the tribe's past. It was during this time that Hallowell first became aware of the phenomena of Indianization, that is, the phenomenon of individuals who lived with and as Native American Indians. Hallowell found there was no generic term for the phenomena of individuals who consciously chose to adopt a culture different to the one they were born into and in which they were raised.

Building on existing theories of acculturation, Hallowell developed the theory of Transculturalization. The theory was introduced in an article titled *American Indians white and black: The phenomenon of transculturalization* (Hallowell, 1963). Hallowell argued that the expansion of European peoples since the fifteenth century not only accelerated contact with other cultures, but that the ensuing processes of colonisation also involved the instigation of the categorising and naming of many peoples (Darnell, 2006). Early culture-crossers in North America were often referred to as squaw men. In the South Pacific, notably Tahiti, they were known as squaw men of the South Pacific and in New Zealand, as Pākehā-Māori (Thorp, 2003). Hallowell looked to his

background in anthropology for a theory to examine this phenomenon, and began by considering the theory of Acculturation.

At the time of Hallowell's study on Indianization, Acculturation Theory was still in its infancy and not yet an established anthropological discipline (Kan & Strong, 2006). Hallowell began his study by considering the application of Acculturation Theory to Indianization. However, he stated that he felt that Acculturation Theory did not adequately define the processes taking place. In 1963 he (1963, p. 523) commented that:

What American anthropologists have called *acculturation*, British anthropologists, *culture contact*, and the Cuban scholar Ortiz, transculturation, refer primarily to the effects of contact and subsequent cultural attributes of organized *groups*. While individuals belonging to these groups are, of course, involved and play a variety of mediating roles in the process, the characteristic focus in acculturation studies is upon the changes induced in the mode of life of either, or both, groups.

Hallowell noted that while the historical context of Indianization was the same as that required for acculturation, the phenomenon could be clearly distinguished from acculturation and he believed it needed conceptual and terminological differentiation, stating:

It is a phenomenon that involves the fate of *persons* rather than changes in socio-cultural systems. The fact that the identification of these persons with the group to which they formerly belonged has been broken, or modified, distinguishes them as a class from persons undergoing readjustment who remain functioning members of an organized group undergoing acculturation (p. 523).

The lack of an existing generic term that clearly characterised this significant differentiation led Hallowell to, in his own words, 'coin one', and he suggested that 'Transculturalization' seemed appropriate (Hallowell, 1963). He also introduced the term 'Transculturite' as being a person who had been involved in the process of Transculturalization. He (1963, p. 523), went on to define Transculturalization as:

the process whereby *individuals* under a variety of circumstances are temporarily or permanently detached from one group, enter the web of social relations that constitute another society, and come under

the influence of its customs, ideas, and values to a greater or lesser degree.

Hence, an essential element of Hallowell's definition is the centrality of the individual. The theory of Transculturalization was developed by Hallowell to address gaps in other theories on culture crossing that did not account for the specific phenomenon of 'individuals' who choose to cross cultures (Hallowell 1963).

b. Specific aspects of the theory of Transculturalization

Hallowell (1963) explored many factors that he believed contributed to the phenomenon of people making what he termed a successful transition from one culture to another, which he called the process of transculturalization. He argued that, in other studies, it was commonly accepted there were certain contributing factors that could be identified. Hallowell (1963) stated that:

In studies of diffusion and acculturation it has always been assumed that selective factors were at work which were a function of the organization or a pattern of the culture. The same seems to be true of the reception of transculturites (p. 528).

According to Hallowell, there were degrees of transculturalization which were dependant on different variables. The extent to which individuals cross cultures varies, as Thorp (2003) noted in his comparative study of 'Pākehā-Māori and White Indians':

Some Europeans entered native society willingly, while others were dragged kicking and screaming; some adopted just the external symbols of native life – clothing, for example – while others seem to have genuinely internalised a native world-view as well as lifestyle; and while some of those who went native returned to European society within a few months, others never went back (p.1).

Hallowell (1963) similarly suggested that there were varying degrees of transculturalization and observed that, 'at one polar extreme are individuals who become permanently identified with the second culture' (p. 523). He also suggested that, in such cases, 'there is more than a cultural re-adaptation-

typically, there is a psychological transformation'. He went on to elaborate on this, stating:

The degree of transculturalization depends, of course on a number of different variables: the age at which the process begins; the previous attitude towards the people of the second culture; length of residence; motivational factors; the nature of the roles played, and so on (p. 523).

One significant factor he considered is the extent to which transculturites were willing and able to adopt the values and beliefs of the new culture. Values also played a part in another facet considered by Hallowell: the role of transculturites in the promotion of cultural change. He stated that:

Hypothetically, the role of transculturites as agents in the acculturation process may be a function of the degree to which they explicitly reject the culture of their natal group and become identified with the central values of their adopted culture (Hallowell, 1963. p. 529).

In other words, transculturites might, more or less, facilitate a process of acculturation. Although Hallowell considered the possibility of transculturites as agents in the acculturation process, he suggested that, in North America, they did not appear to have played an active role in promoting social change. In contrast to Hallowell's findings, Bentley suggested that Pākehā-Māori played a significant role in the acculturation process and that historically, they were instrumental in bridging the gap between cultures. Bentley (2007) stated that;

Pākehā-Māori have always been an important but invisible facet of New Zealand life. In habiting the zone where Pākehā and Māori cultures merge, they continue to serve as intermediaries between the races (pp. 10, 11).

The role of Pākehā-Māori as cultural intermediaries both historically and in current contexts, is examined in Chapter Nine, in relation to the participants' sense of self. In developing the theory of Transculturalization, Hallowell also considered personal capabilities and attributes as contributing factors. Bentley (2007, p. 10) likewise made specific reference to the character of Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand by commenting that 'close scrutiny of the contemporary evidence reveals a unique class of men (and women) possessed

of knowledge, skills, and courage necessary to live and prosper among a warrior society'. Hallowell considered that individuals' prior attributes were a strong factor in making a successful transition to a second culture.

Thorp (2003) noted one specific factor in the process of transculturalization that merits further investigation in the context of this thesis: the willingness of the second cultural group to accept outsiders. Hallowell (1963, p. 526) also asked the question 'what cultural factors were present in Indian societies that made it possible for alien individuals...to become functioning members of them?' Significant to the Indianization process was the common practice of Native American tribes to accept outsiders into the tribal group. According to Hallowell (1963, p.526);

Among the Indians ... there was a well-known custom, antedating white contact, of adopting persons captured in war...This custom, then, must have led to the transculturalization of Indians by Indians...The same practice was carried on in the period of white contact.

Thorp (2003) also made reference to this, stating that 'adopting outsiders into the native community was a common feature among many of North America's eastern woodland tribes long before they encountered Europeans' (p.11). He believed the acceptance of outsiders was easier with the North American tribes because they did not see race as the source of their identity. However, Thorp believed that Polynesian societies were generally more reluctant to accept those born outside their own tribe as full members of the community. But when considering the phenomenon of Pākehā-Māori, Bentley referred to comments made by Maude (1968), who suggested that Polynesian societies were always highly receptive to the assimilation of immigrant groups and individuals (Maud, 1968). Thorp argued that Polynesian societies were reluctant to accept outsiders, but in the specific context of this thesis, it is important to separate Māori from the generalization of the Polynesian group. Māori have a long-standing practice of 'adoption', known as whāngai, which is a fundamental concept of the culture. While the act of whāngai does not automatically entitle those adopted into whānau groups to inherit communal land and titles the way

whakapapa does, it nevertheless provides evidence of a pre-established practice that indicates the existence of a willingness by Māori to accept others into the community. Thorp and Hallowell both observe that the acceptance of outsiders was generally able to be explained in terms of motivations. Hallowell referred to the acceptance of outsiders with specific reference to the South Pacific, stating that, 'even a superficial examination of a few cases of transculturalization illuminates the motives of chiefs as well as the institutional basis of the process' (p. 528). Specific motivations, along with the other factors outlined by Hallowell (1963) as being significant in the process of transculturalization, are examined in Chapter Nine, in relation to the findings of this study.

c. Applications of the theory of Transculturalization

Although Hallowell's studies were limited primarily to the Native American context, he believed that the process of transculturalization was not restricted to North America, and referred to the existence of the phenomenon in other parts of the world, particularly in areas of the South Pacific. One of the most notable studies regarding transculturalization in the South Pacific is *Going Native in New Zealand and America: Comparing Pākehā-Māori and White Indians*, in which Thorp (2003) explores the theory and application of Transculturalization. Thorp noted several earlier studies carried out by historians such as J. Norman Heard, Janes Axtell, Aldent Vaughan and Daniel Richter that had examined the phenomenon of transculturalization and observed that;

With the rise of Native American scholarship, after 1970 historians took a new look at (these) captivity narratives and a significant body of literature began to emerge describing and analysing the phenomenon of transculturations (p. 2).

Although these historians wrote extensively on the phenomenon of culture crossing, as such, none employed Hallowell's Transculturalization Theory as a lens to interpret their observations.

Use of the term transculturalization in regard to cultural studies has evolved to the point where a clear, singular definition is difficult to find. This is not surprising, as the field of cultural studies has produced an array of terminology that has become 'excessive and confusing' (Szwed, 2003. p. 9). According to Szwed (2003) there are;

a vast array of words that have been used over the last four hundred years to describe the processes and products of cultural contact in the Americas and elsewhere in the world: words like *nomadism*, *detrterritorialization*, *transnationalism*, and *postmodernism*, all of which attempt to characterize some of the conditions under which people come into contact and produce new cultural forms;...terms that are used to name the social results of such encounters, results that social scientists have also called *transculturalization*, *oppositional culture*, or *contra-acculturation* (p. 9).

The commonest application of Transculturalization appears in historical linguistic studies concerned with the duality of cultural identities (Reisman, 1970; DuBois, 1938; & Abrahams, 1983), but in most, if not all instances, there is no evidence of reference to a theory of Transculturalization. A further connection to the study of culture-crossing with particular historical references to Transculturalization is in the field of ethnography. Hosmer (1997) mentioned Transculturalization in relation to historical studies on cultural intermediaries and even acknowledged the work of Hallowell in this field, but did not discuss or apply the theory.

There appears to be a void of historical studies applying and developing Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization. Many historical studies of the phenomenon of individuals who cross cultures, in a variety of fields, could have applied Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization. From a New Zealand context, with perhaps the notable exception of Thorp, there has not been any extensive study on Pākehā-Māori in a historical context using Transculturalization Theory. Bentley (2007) was primarily concerned with the historical literary representation of Pākehā-Māori, but he did discuss many of the factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization. Through an analysis of Bentley's work, it is possible to demonstrate how

Transculturalization Theory could be applied to a study of Pākehā-Māori in the nineteenth century.

A central premise to this study is that Transculturalization Theory can be used in current, as well as historical contexts. With rapid globalisation and increasing numbers of migrant communities worldwide, Transculturalization Theory can be applied to a variety of cross-cultural studies. Hallowell (1963) acknowledged this and proposed that 'neither acculturation nor transculturalization has been limited to this period' and went on to state:

The historical setting for acculturation is provided wherever peoples of different socio-cultural systems come into contact, and transculturalization is possible whenever conditions arise which permit an individual to become detached from one cultural group and temporarily or permanently to become affiliated with another (p. 524).

Although Hallowell stated that Transculturalization Theory is not limited to specific periods and can therefore be applied in any context where socio-cultural systems come into contact, there appear to be very few studies that have directly employed Transculturalization as the underpinning theoretical approach. In current studies, the word transculturalization is most commonly linked with theories of hybridity and cultural identity. Some international studies appear suitable for the application of the theory of Transculturalization (Benet-Martinez, 2002; Berry, 1997; Bochner, 1986; Green, 2009); however, most are underpinned by theories of identity. A study carried out by Amber Robinson Green (2009), titled *White Skins, Black Cultural Identities: Examining the Emergence of Black Cultural Identity in the White Person*, stated that 'there are times...when an individual's primary identification is with people who are of a different racial group than themselves (p. 4)'. Green went on to describe the focus of the study as being on 'individuals who, despite their birth membership to a White racial grouping, psychologically align themselves with Black culture' (p.1). Although Transculturalization Theory could have been applied to her study, she chose identity as her underpinning theoretical basis, along with theories of race and culture.

There have been several recent studies in New Zealand with a cross-cultural focus, including: Brown (2011); Campbell (2005); Jellie (2001) and Mitcalfe (2008). For his study on Europeans' cross-cultural experiences, titled '*Decolonizing Pākehā Ways of Being: Revealing Third Space Pākehā Experiences*', Brown (2011) explored aspects of Orientalism to underpin his approach. He drew from Said's (2003) *Orientalism* and Sardar's (1999) explorations into othering and also drew from Bhabha's theories on hybridity and the notion of the third space. Transculturalization Theory may have been applicable to Brown's study and to other similar studies carried in New Zealand and overseas, as many of the factors identified by Hallowell also appear to be present in these studies.

ii. Theoretical approaches related to Transculturalization.

This next section explores several theories that are related to Transculturalization Theory and, hence, are relevant to this study. In particular, Acculturation Theory provides a background and starting point for the development of Transculturalization Theory (Hallowell, 1963). In addition, Identity Theory and Border Crossing Theory have, as their focus, cross cultural encounters that connect their scope and purpose to Transculturalization Theory. A further purpose in examining related theories is to reinforce the choice of Transculturalization Theory as the most relevant theory for examining Pākehā-Māori in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

a. Acculturation Theory

Acculturation Theory is defined as the study of cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Hallowell (1963) noted, 'from the beginning, acculturation has been recognised as one aspect of the study of cultural dynamics' (p. 523). The study of cultural dynamics in Acculturation Theory focuses on the changes induced in the ways of life of societies or groups,

significantly, groups not individuals. As noted above, Acculturation Theory, which has links to Cultural Identity Theory (Berry, 2005), provided Hallowell with the grounding for Transculturalization Theory. Historically, anthropologists have used a variety of terms, such as acculturation, culture contact, and transculturation, to discuss various phenomena surrounding the area of Cultural Theory and, particularly, theories surrounding the influence of one culture on another. John Wesley Powell, an early explorer of the American West, is credited with first coining the term acculturation and defined it as the influences that occurred through cross-cultural encounters (Gone, 1999). The term acculturation refers primarily to the effects of contact between various cultural groups, the influence of one group on another's cultural attributes, and changes in the mode of living of one or both groups, and has been defined by Berry (2005) as 'the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups' (p. 698).

Since first being introduced, Acculturation Theory has expanded and developed into many subfields relevant to this study, including Cultural Adaptation Theory, Marginalization, and Minority Group Theory (Berry, 1990). Acculturation Theory has generally focused on the effects of the convergence of cultural groups when one group is in a position of dominance over the other and although there has been evidence that acculturation involves two way processes of change, research and theory have continued to focus on the changes occurring within minority groups as a result of their contact with a dominant majority (Shils, 2002). This thesis has, as its central focus, a study of individuals who cross-cultures, rather than the convergence of different cultural groups; therefore, only some aspects of Acculturation Theory, such as cultural identity, are considered in relation to Transculturalization Theory.

b. Border Theory

The term border crossing is used along with others, such as cultural interfaces, between worlds, and inter-cultural boundaries, to describe an abstract line where two cultures meet. There is an acknowledgment that these so-called

borders in society are becoming less clearly defined, with increasing numbers of individuals who do not exactly fit in any clearly defined social or cultural category (Pile & Thrift, 2005). Webber (2008) suggests it is through 'this inability to 'fit' into society's racial categorizations... [They are] forced to occupy an 'in-between' position or negotiate many border crossings' (p. 23). This issue of fitting in is considered later in this chapter, under cultural identity and self perceptions regarding cultural identity shifts, and is also discussed in Chapter Nine.

Sibley (1995, p. 32) suggests that 'the boundary question is a traditional but very much under-theorized concern in human geography' and most approaches to this issue are still from an 'insider/outsider' perspective. Yet many who exist in these border regions see themselves as neither insiders nor outsiders (Webber, 2008). In a report on a study conducted in the United States, Krebs (1999) introduces a new term, Edgewalkers, as referring to people in these border regions. The context of Krebs' study is one of people of dual or mixed ethnicity, and is relevant to this thesis, in so far as the relationship between dual cultural identity and personal identity are explored. Krebs (1999) explains that 'Edgewalkers do not shed one skin when they move from their cultures of origin to the mainstream and back. Edgewalkers maintain continuity where ever they go, walking the edge between cultures in the same persona' (p. 75). While this may be true for those who cross back and forth between cultures, there is a significant difference between these people and others who choose to cross the border and remain immersed in a culture different to their own.

The idea that clear boundaries/borders exist between social groups has recently come under scrutiny in cultural sociology. Bhabha (1994) acknowledges the 'impossibility of cultures containedness and the existence of the partial, in-between cultures which are both baffling like those they spring from and yet different' (p. 59), indicating an investigation into these in-between spaces is both relevant and timely. Maaka and Fleras (2005) note that 'many social scientists believe that conventional structural categories are too rigid to capture the fluid and fissiparous nature of contemporary social reality' (p. 84). In the

context of discussing the politics of indigeneity, Maaka and Fleras (2005) indicate that, increasingly, sociologists are being drawn to investigate the 'hybridity and provisionality of new social dynamics, with its celebration of the multiple and overlapping as well as the transitional and contingent' (p. 85). That is to say, a space is observed that is in some way new, and relatively undefined in social contexts. People in this space, Hoogvelt (1997) suggests, are better able to negotiate differences between cultures. The idea of a new undefined space in social contexts is relevant to this study, in so far as the participants all had self perceptions of existing in a new and unacknowledged place in society.

There has been discussion in New Zealand around a space that exists between the dominant and marginalised social groups (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008). Webber (2008) refers to this as a third space and suggests that 'the concept of a third space is liberating, in that it opens a new way of thinking about New Zealand culture' (p. 31). Webber states that:

The third space is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a productive and not merely reflective space that brings about new possibility. It is a space of negotiation, interrogation, and self determination: that is, it produces new forms of cultural meaning that blur the limitations of existing boundaries and call into question established categorisations of culture and ethnic identity (p. 26).

While Webber shows enthusiasm for the acknowledgement of this third space, the context is largely considered in relation to people with dual or multiple heritages. However, an aspect of the notion of this 'third space' relevant to this study is the difficulty associated with conflicting realities faced by people who find themselves occupying said space. Jones (2007) talks of an interminable struggle that takes place for people coming to terms with contradictory and irreconcilable realities that sit in constant tension with the other. This struggle resembles the experiences and processes of transculturalization, as outlined by Hallowell, and is relevant to this thesis in terms of the personal attributes, courage, and psychological adjustment abilities that Hallowell recognised as important influences in the nature of a transculturite.

c. Identity Theory

Identity Theory provides a particular focus on the formation of identity and sense of self that is relevant to this study, particularly self perceptions as they relate to self identity construction, social and cultural Identity Theory, and psychological aspects of self-perception in instances of cross-cultural encounters. Identity theorists generally agree that the construction of 'self' is both a cognitive and an experiential phenomenon affected by interaction with the social world (Baldwin, 1987; Cooley, 1956; Mead, 1934a). Hallowell (1963, p. 524) stated that people underwent a 'reconstruction of the self' as part of the process of transculturalization and included different dimensions of self identity as one of the factors in Transculturalization Theory. There are many ways theorists define the different dimensions of the self with regard to Identity Formation Theory (Breakwell, 1983), and various theorists have attempted to clarify the nature of the 'self' through these different dimensions (Harr , 1998; Neisser, 1988).

In *Transformations and Change among M ori Women*, Houkamau (2006) discussed five primary aspects of the self, as identified by Neisser (1988): An ecological self, a private self, a conceptual self, an interpersonal self, and an extended self. The ecological self is described as 'persons [who] are aware of occupying a physical body within a material world at any given moment over time' (Houkamau, 2006, p. 7). The private self is seen as the aspect of self-experience in the mind of the person who has it, and Houkamau comments that 'while people may reveal aspects of their private selves to others, it is essentially a psychological experience which is never fully available for others to see' (p. 8). The concept of self is significant, in so far as all the participants of the study are exploring their experience of self in relation to their engagement with te ao M ori.

Houkamau (2006) stated that a conceptual self is made up of forms of self information gained through socialisation related to social group memberships, and is part of self understanding. The conceptual self 'comprises knowledge of how we fit into the world and takes into account the social categories we

occupy' (p. 8). The interpersonal self 'emerges when a person is engaged in an immediate social interaction with another' (p. 8) and the extended self is concerned with a sense of continuity. These five primary aspects of self indicate the complexity of Self Identity Theory and Houkamau (2006) suggests that, from this complexity, we can deduce:

The self is not a unified entity. Rather...the label 'self' denotes a combination of different kinds of psychological experiences that derive from a person's perception of themselves as a 'being' with a social status and a history of experiences and interactions with others in their social world (p. 9).

The multiplicity of these self-perceptions and their connection to a person's experiences are especially significant to Transculturalization Theory, with regard to factors identified by Hallowell as central to processes of transculturalization.

A further area of Identity Theory that is significant to this thesis is the concept of cross-cultural psychology. Berry (2005) states that 'cross-cultural psychology views individual human behaviour as interacting with the cultural context within which it occurs' (p. 701). In a study on the relationship between cultural contact and psychological aspects associated with identity and self perceptions, Kosmitzki (1996) found that self perceptions were altered in individuals who were exposed to a new culture. She stated that:

One conclusion drawn from these results is that living in a new culture for at least a few months influences the ways individuals perceive themselves and others in relation to both the native and non-native cultural group (p. 246).

This particular aspect of Identity Theory is concerned with the internalisation of self-concepts through social interactions and group affiliation (Tajfel, 1981). According to Houkamau (2006), 'because the self is an entity among others with whom they are similar or different, people have self-understandings which relate specifically to their social position and relative social standing' (p. 10). Houkamau (2006) suggests that, by occupying a social role, people take on the social conventions of that role, giving the individual a means of re-defining

themselves, and this aspect of the relationship between the social environment and an individual's self perceptions has been addressed by various theorists (James, 1890; Mead, 1934; Sampson, 1978; Stryker, 1986). This relationship between the social environment and an individual's self perceptions is considered in depth in Chapter Seven, with regard to the participants' changing sense of self as a result of engagement with te ao Māori.

One of the key aspects of Identity Theory for this thesis is linked to social roles. In Identity Theory, social roles are considered in relation to the internalisation of social conventions attached to a particular role occupied within society, and in relation to the way that society imposes an identity upon individuals (McCall & Simmons, 1966). However, according to Tajfel (1981), this is a simplistic approach to identity construction, and there is a distinction to be made between social and personal identity. Particularly pertinent to this thesis is Tajfel's definition of social identity as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership in a social group (or groups), together with the values and emotional significance attached to that group membership' (1981, p. 255). A person's self-concept derived from the value and significance attached to group membership is an important aspect to consider, especially with relation to motivational factors that influence Pākehā-Māori, and will be explored in relation to how the participants of this study regarded their own motivating factors, including a sense of social justice.

In considering personal perceptions, or self-concepts, from within the framework of Social Identity Theory, some attention must be given to the relevance of Role Theory. Role Theory was developed out of Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory recognises the multifaceted aspects of group or role membership and individual values, and acknowledges the changing nature of people's identities. Houkamau (2006) suggests that:

Social identity theory extended role theory by suggesting that people do not develop identities simply by passively adopting social expectations associated with group or role membership, rather people's identities reflect a mixture of the features of groups they belong to and their own personal features (p. 19).

This is an identity that is reflective of social positioning. How, for instance, might Pākehā-Māori adopt social expectations and become members of Māori groups through actively pursuing the attainment of cultural knowledge and new cultural identities? The reasons why Pākehā-Māori chose to adopt roles that placed them within new socio-cultural contexts is linked to motivational factors and these are discussed in Chapter Nine of this thesis.

Consistent with the notion of social roles, social circumstances are seen to be a strong factor influencing expression of identity (Davies, 1990). That identity shifts as a result of circumstance is of interest here, in that circumstances have helped shape the self and social identity of Pākehā-Māori, both in the nineteenth century and in current contexts in New Zealand. When considering identity and self-perceptions associated with social roles, it is also important to consider the impact of different social contexts and to understand that role-related identity will vary according to time, circumstance, and commitment (Stryker, 1987). According to Houkamau, (2006) 'the impact of socio-historical factors upon identity are not adequately emphasised in much of the research...Therefore by locating those shared commonalities (and the source from which they derive) one may reveal the consequences of socio-historical contexts for identity' (p. 38). This study examines any shared commonalities of the participants and considers these in relation to current social contexts.

Another element of Social Identity Theory and personal perception relevant to this study is that of cultural identity. Cultural identity is seen as an extension of both personal and social identity, expressed as 'multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 739). One aspect of the link between culture and identity that is particularly relevant to this study is the effect of culture on a person's self-awareness. Sarbin (2000) believed that social identity is both static and transformational and described this as constructions of the self. He suggests that:

The first construction of self is that of a continuous entity that is transcultural and persistent. The other construction is that the form and dimensions of self are products of participations in particular cultures, and allow for change and novelty (p. 253).

This aspect of self construction connected to participation in other cultures is linked to ways the participants in this study see themselves as having changed through engagement with te ao Māori, and is discussed in Chapter Nine. Sarbin (2000, p. 254) also stated that there is now a 'widely accepted premise that a person's ontological beliefs influence his or her constructions of the world, including constructions about the psychological development of the individual'. Hallowell (1963) similarly argued that beliefs play a significant role in the process of transculturalization and in the psychological adjustment of the culture-crossers. Hallowell (1955) believed that there are certain basic orientations required for cultural adjustment to take place:

Culture may be said to play a constitutive role in the psychological adjustment of the individual to his world. The human individual must be provided with certain basic orientations in order to act intelligibly in the world he apprehends. Such orientations are basic in a sense that they are peculiar to a human level of adjustment. They appear to revolve around man's [sic] capacity for self-awareness. If it be assumed that the functioning of human societies depends in some way upon this psychological fact, it is not difficult to understand why all human cultures must provide the individual with basic orientations that are among the necessary conditions for the development, reinforcement, and effective functioning of self-awareness. It is these orientations that may be said to structure the core of the behavioural environment of the self in any culture (p. 89).

The capacity for self awareness referred to by Hallowell above has significance in terms of how the participants might express a sense of a 'core self' that remained even as other aspects of themselves underwent change. For instance, how do participants talk of taking on the values and beliefs of Māori, resulting in a changed view of the world, yet maintain an original or 'core self'. Consistent with Hallowell's basic orientations, the participants displayed a sense of self awareness in a variety of situations. The five basic orientations, as described by Hallowell (1955), are:

1. Self-Orientation. Self awareness of personal existence and action within the behavioural environment
2. Object Orientation. Conceptualization and categorization of objects within a sphere of influence

3. Spatiotemporal Orientation. Self-awareness of one's location in space and time. (*important to this orientation is the ability of culture to help maintain self continuity*)
4. Motivational Orientation. Awareness of objects within the sphere of influence regarding personal satisfaction of needs.
5. Normative Orientation. Ideals, standards, values provided by culture used to evaluate one's own behaviour and the behaviour of others (p. 89).

Hallowell (1955) recognised that culture plays a 'constitutive role' in human self-awareness and identity formation. Theories on the relationship between culture and identity have continued to evolve and the notion/meaning of culture itself has changed. In *The Dialogical Self: Toward a Theory of Personal and Cultural Positioning*, presenting a theoretical framework for considering the mutual inclusion of self and culture, Hermans (2001) stated that 'whereas in traditional conceptions culture was perceived as something *out there*, something outside the self, anthropologists and cultural psychologists are increasingly concerned with culture as structures and processes in the self' (p. 262). Then one question for this thesis is: how do the participants see themselves in relation to their cultural identity?

Neisser (1988) observed that people experience what he termed an extended self. This refers to people's sense of continuity, or more specifically, their understanding of themselves as human beings who have existed over time. This notion of an extended self allows for the incorporation of the many aspects of identity formation and personal positioning within social and cultural constructs. Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones (2006) talk of this extended self in terms of an 'adaptive identity' and state:

Our definition of an adaptive 'identity' includes two components: (a) a coherent *personal* identity, signifying a set of goals, values, and beliefs that are internally consistent with one another and that are employed and manifest similarly across situations, and (b) a coherent *social* identity (including *cultural* identity) that is internally consistent, flexible enough to support changes that occur as a result of

acculturation without losing its internal consistency and workability...
(p. 7).

The concept of an adaptive identity is consistent with Identity Formation Theory, and offers a way of understanding the multiple layers of one's sense of self, especially with regard to personal, social, and cultural identity. Berry (1980) argues that cultural identity can present a way of framing self-definition and a way to order social relationships. Cultural identity can thus be seen as the conception of self and culture in terms of a multiplicity of positions. Sarbin (2000) stated that, 'in order to overcome these multiple positions, the label of *being* can be applied to the self of self-persistence, and that *being in place* can be applied to the self that is socially and culturally conditioned' (p. 254). In the context of this study, the separation of self or that of personal identity, with a constructed cultural identity, is an important distinction, in so far as Pākehā-Māori may be seen as being culturally constructed. In other words, an identity as a Pākehā-Māori is connected to a cultural context. However, it is important to make the distinction here that cultural identity is not synonymous with the culturally constituted self. According to Gone (1999) the culturally constituted self is:

much more inclusive of aspects of the self neither conscious nor readily accessible to the individual...In addition, cultural identity is conceptually distinct from identity more broadly, the latter being once again much more inclusive of aspects of the known self which often lack explicit and primary awareness of or attention to participation in broadly shared cultural practice...(p. 382).

When considering cultural identity, it is important to differentiate between cultural identity and ethnic identity. The distinction between the two is of particular relevance in the context of this thesis because, although Pākehā-Māori could be said to have a Māori cultural identity, their ethnicity is not Māori. The difference between cultural and ethnic identity is based on the premise that ethnicity hinges on inherited bloodlines and kinship, whereas cultural identity is connected to learned characteristics, shared views and acquired cultural knowledge (O'Regan, 2001b). (Gone, Miller, & Rappaport, 1999) comment that 'people come to appropriate, inhabit or own cultural ideals and values through their individual participation in shared cultural practices' (p. 383). Although

cultural identity may be seen as something that one can adopt, personal identity and cultural identity are not distinct. In an essay titled *Cultural Psychology-what is it?* Shweder (1990, p.1) claims:

Cultural psychologists recognize that 'subject and object, self and other, psyche and culture, person and context, figure and ground, practitioner and practice live together, require each other, and dynamically, and jointly make each other up.

In advancing a conceptualisation of cultural identity that preserves both individual agency and cultural durability, Gone (1999) states that 'it is this acknowledgment of the co-construction of psyche and culture which gives rise to the study of culturally constructed selves within cultural psychology' (p. 372). To support the notion of culturally constructed selves, Shweder (1990) suggests that 'a socio-cultural environment is an intentional world. It is an intentional world because its existence is real, factual and forceful' (p.2). Of interest to this thesis is whether the same intentionality could be explored in an acquired cultural identity, as is the case with Pākehā-Māori.

The notion of an acquired cultural identity in relation to cross-cultural encounters, and the formation of changed cultural identities and self perceptions through cultural transitions is of interest in this thesis, in terms of the ways in which the participants' sense themselves as existing in a space in-between cultures where they have developed a new cultural identity. This sense of a new cultural identity is explored in depth in the overall findings of the study.

Although directly linked to Identity Theory, studies on the effects of cultural change on cultural identity have most frequently been addressed in the context of either acculturation studies or social psychology. However, Sussman (2000) states that, until recently social psychology has not contributed to understandings of processes and consequences of cultural transition, although there is a discipline that would provide a basis for research and theories of shifting cultural frames. Sussman (2000) goes on to suggest that:

The companion dimension of self research focuses on the structure of self-concept. Several theories of self knowledge structure are

pertinent to current concepts of self-concept and cultural transitions. Among these is the extent of the integration of dimensions of self knowledge (p. 357).

Self-concepts, or the ideas and knowledge individuals have about themselves, can be described as rich and complex (Baumeister, 1998; S. Cross & Madson, 1997) and many of these ideas of self or self-concepts are formed around self knowledge of personal attributes, such as traits, characteristics, and dispositions. However, many of these ideas also include thoughts about membership in social groups, such as those formed around culture. According to Sussman (2000), cross-cultural contact and cultural transition result in a variety of identity responses, which invariably alter self perceptions and cultural identity. This research is, in this sense, interested in the ways in which participants express shifts in their self perception and their sense of cultural identity. Hallowell (1963) also believed that there was a strong link between cultural identity shifts and culture contact. Sussman (2000. p. 359) proposes four theories that 'either tangentially or directly address the link between culture contact and cultural identity.'

The first theory is Contact Hypothesis. This explores the dynamics of inter-group relations, and how contact might lead to changes in cultural self perceptions, thereby facilitating effective interaction between groups (Stephan, 1987). Initial contact dynamics is a significant aspect to how the participant's of this study experienced te ao Māori, and this is examined fully in Chapter Six. Sussman (2000) suggests that, 'currently, the premise that cross-cultural contact alone, in particular that which results from cultural transitions, will result in cultural identity change remains untested' (p. 359). This study considers cultural identity change as a result of cross-cultural contact and this is explored in depth later in this work, with regard to both the findings and relevance of the study.

The second theory Sussman (2000) considered as linking to culture contact and cultural identity is that of cultural hybridization. According to Hermans and Kempton (1998), the phenomenon of cultural hybridisation could lead to the development of new forms of cultural identity. Oyserman (1993) considered the

self in relation to the layering of different cultural dimensions, and noted that the self has also been considered being socialised in different worldviews as a cultural hybrid or bicultural self (Oyserman & Maekus, 1993; Oyserman, Sakamoto, & Lauffer, 1998). In this instance, the self-concept of cultural identity is interdependent with the social situation, suggesting that cultural selves and cultural identity may have permeable borders that respond to situational contexts. This links specifically in this thesis to one participants' expression of constantly moving from one world to the other, which is discussed in Chapter Seven.

With respect to links between Acculturation Theory and cultural identity, some theorists address the idea of change in cultural identity as a direct consequence of cultural contact (Berry, 1990; Graves, 1967). Berry developed a theory primarily to consider the effects of colonisation, but he and other theorists expanded on it to predict acculturation strategies (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). They concluded that cultural identity change occurred when individuals had extended contact with a new culture. Berry (1990) identified four acculturation strategies that impact on the process whereby individuals adopt a new cultural identity: assimilation, the relinquishing of an individual's cultural heritage to adopt a new one; separation, maintaining only one's cultural heritage; marginalization, distancing oneself from either the old or the new culture; and integration, combining both cultures in the formation of a new or bicultural identity (Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). While these strategies have been researched with a focus on psychological adaptation in cultural identity shifts (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), the role of the second culture in shaping cognitive processes in cultural identity change has had comparatively little attention (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). The extent to which exposure to Māori culture has impacted on cultural identity changes in the participants is relevant to this study and is discussed in Chapter Nine.

Although aspects of Acculturation Theory appear linked to cultural transitions, the value of the theory in considering cultural identity shifts is limited, in so far as Acculturation Theory predominantly focuses on the interplay between collective responses to permanent culture contact. A significant development in this area is that some acculturation researchers have acknowledged that individual cultural identity change is not dependent purely on the successful acquisition of cultural skills and the adoption of cultural norms (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993b; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1983). For Pākehā-Māori, cultural identity change is a far more complex process than simply being exposed to and adopting the ways of a new culture. This aspect is explored in depth in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

Sussman believed that the fourth theory, Social Identity Theory, speaks most directly to the notion of cultural transition and cultural identity change. However, she noted that 'social identity theory does not address the identity effects of sustained contact' (p. 360). A further aspect of Identity Theory of interest in the study of the phenomenon of Pākehā-Māori, with regard to cultural identity, is connected to 'ethnic minority group' identity. According to Hutnik (1991. p. 128):

There seems to be clear evidence that ethnic minority identity must be conceptualized along at least two main dimensions: one relating to the degree of identification with the ethnic minority group; and the second relating to the degree of identification with the majority group.

In relation to ethnic minority identity, ethnic identity is perhaps difficult for non-minority groups to conceptualise. A recent study in the United States found that the participants did not seem particularly concerned with their ethnic identity and shared the view that there was no need to define themselves ethnically because there was only one basic culture in America (Jackson, 1999). However the opposite can be said for ethnic minority groups. According to Houkamau (2006, p. 47), 'social psychological research has consistently demonstrated that minority status seems to 'push' ethnicity to the fore for minorities – that is, they see ethnic identity as a particularly important aspect of who they are'. This may be increased for Pākehā-Māori, who are themselves a minority group, and also because the new cultural group that they have embraced (Māori) is now an

ethnic minority in the current context of New Zealand. While Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century were choosing to align themselves with what was then the dominant culture of the country, those choosing to do so today face a different set of issues that surround being part of a marginalised group. This dimension is examined in Chapter Six.

A further focus for cross-cultural Identity Theory is the impact of cultural values and beliefs on identity transformation. Values and beliefs have been referred to as cognitive social representations of basic motivational goals (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). In instances of cultural identity change, values and beliefs have a profound effect on the psychological processes involved in identity shifts, and Schwartz (2006) states that 'when one comes into contact with individuals from other groups...the need arises to identify with the ideals of one's ingroup in order to be 'something in particular' at the group level' (p. 9). The role that values and beliefs play in the processes of cross-cultural adaptation have been discussed extensively in psychological approaches to identity (Berry, 2005; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006b; Stephan, 1987; Tadmor et al., 2009), especially where the focus is on the psychological effects experienced when the personal values and beliefs of an individual are inconsistent or misaligned with those of the new cultural group. According to Roccas and Brewer (2002), 'values affect the way in which individuals perceive and interpret information, hence values may affect the perception of in-groups and the awareness of nonoverlap between the various groups of which an individual is simultaneously a member' (p. 98). This indicates the importance that values and beliefs play in instances of cross-cultural adaptation.

In relation to identity changes resulting from cross-cultural experiences, there is some argument to be made that it is the misalignment of values and ideals that actively prompts cultural identity changes. For instance, Bosma and Kunnen (2001) state that 'changes in identity occur when one's and/or one's context change in ways that do not mesh with one's current configuration of goals, values, and beliefs' (p. 52). Schwartz (2003) proposes that identity changes are first prompted simply by new cultural exposure, and observes that:

Given that identity develops through changes in the individual and her or his social environment, it may be fair to state that exposure to the receiving-culture context is what initially prompts changes... (p. 14).

However, the degree of identity change, or the permanence of that change, is believed to be dependent on a diverse range of factors, of which values and beliefs play a significant part (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Hallowell noted the connection between values and beliefs and the successful transition to a new cultural identity. From a psychological perspective, Hallowell (1963) argued that:

In transculturalization, at one polar extreme are individuals who become permanently identified with the second culture. In such cases there is more than a cultural readaptation- typically, there is a psychological transformation (p. 523).

An ability and or willingness to adopt the values and beliefs of the second culture was a significant factor in the process of transculturalization for Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand (Nicholson, 2006) and is considered in relation to current contexts in Chapter Seven. While there are clearly close connections between Identity Theory and the focus of this study, there are elements of Identity Theory that limit its applicability.

iii. Applying the theory of Transculturalization to Pākehā-Māori

a. Relevance to this study

Although Hallowell's studies were limited primarily to the Native American context, he believed that the process of transculturalization was not necessarily restricted to North America, and made some mention of the existence of the phenomenon in other parts of the world, particularly in areas of the South Pacific. As noted earlier, identifying Transculturalization Theory as the underpinning approach in this study reflects the way Hallowell's theory articulates the most relevant elements of each of the theoretical approaches considered above, within one theory. Hence, the theory of Transculturalization displayed the most connection to the study.

b. Limitations

There are limitations to the application of Transculturalisation Theory for this study. The most significant factor is that the theory of Transculturalization has had limited use, other than when it was first developed by Hallowell. This has resulted in only one source of information on the theory. However, attempting to explore it further has resulted in the adoption of some aspects of alternative theories into this study, thereby further developing the theory for use in current contexts. This represents a significant development in Transculturalization Theory and allows for the historical and contemporary phenomena of Pākehā-Māori to be contextualised in a new theoretical framework.

Although Transculturalization Theory has only previously been used in a historical context, Hallowell concluded that neither acculturation nor transculturalization are limited to any specific historical period, stating that: 'Transculturalization is possible whenever conditions arise which permit an individual to become detached from one cultural group and temporarily or permanently to become affiliated with another' (p. 524). This thesis rises to Hallowell's challenge to apply the theory of Transculturalization in a different time and place, with the belief that the core elements of his study will ultimately shed light on a phenomenon of importance to the history and the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

c. Significance and contribution to the wider body of knowledge

This study employs a novel theoretical position to interpret and add understanding to the experiences of Pākehā-Māori in contemporary New Zealand society. This is both timely and relevant, according to Thorp (2003. p. 2), who states that:

In recent years Pākehā-Māori have retained a place in popular history...but scholarly interest in them has also grown significantly as

anthropologists and historians such as Atholl Anderson, Anne Salmond, and Trevor Bentley have worked to identify New Zealand transculturites more systematically and reconstruct both their experiences and their motivations.

The purpose of this study is to add to the wider body of knowledge regarding Pākehā-Māori and to demonstrate how Transculturalization Theory can contribute to this development in understanding. The conditions by which processes of transculturalization could take place were not considered to be widely prevalent in the years directly following the introduction of the theory. Since then, cultural studies have moved on from theories of acculturation and transculturalization to a more multi-social approach, in the field of anthropology, resulting in the emergence of theories around globalization, multiculturalism and de-colonisation theories. However, the focus of this study, namely Pākehā-Māori, exists within both historical and current contexts, and opens the possibility of developing more current applications of the theory of Transculturalization. This study will help to redefine and further develop the theory of Transculturalization for use in future studies. Through the application of Transculturalization Theory, this study will contribute to the wider body of knowledge on the process of transculturalization and cross cultural identity changes. The study will also draw on other related theories, such as Identity Theory, Border Crossing Theory and aspects of Acculturation Theory, to examine their relationship to Transculturalization Theory and its application.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the application of Transculturalization Theory to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts. Transculturalization has been examined initially by considering how it emerged, how it has been applied in the past and how it might be utilised in this study. The central purpose of this chapter has been to explore some of the ideas relating to Transculturalization, and how this theory can be used as a lens through which to interpret and add to the understanding of Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century and twenty first century New Zealand. The chapter has focused on theoretical approaches

related to Transculturalization and the application of the theory of Transculturalization to the study of Pākehā-Māori. In addition, related theories have been utilized, in order to refine some of the theoretical approaches to the study.

In the course of investigating the various theories that have elements relevant to this study, psychological theories of adjustment in instances of culture-crossing have emerged as an important aspect for consideration, in relation to the overall findings. The link between culture-crossing and social psychology is strong, as is the role of individuals in the process. It is therefore important for the robustness of this study to incorporate psychological aspects of Identity Theory. Sussman (2000) makes a similar observation:

Social psychology must attend not only to culture as it moves and mixes but to individuals, as cultural beings, as they move between cultures; to the content, evaluation, and structure of the cultural self; and to the awareness of identity in a cultural collective. Individual difference variables might clarify our understanding of why some sojourners experience profound changes in cultural identity... (p. 369).

Likewise, aspects of Acculturation Theory that relate to psychological and cognitive processes have also emerged as requiring consideration, and, according to Tadmor (2009, p. 129), 'in an increasingly interdependent world, understanding the interplay of acculturation and socio-cognitive functioning has become critical'. Aspects of psychological and cognitive processes that are relevant to this study are considered, with relation to the overall findings in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Four: Methodological approaches

Introduction

This thesis emerged from an interest in exploring the lived experiences of Pākehā individuals who identified with te ao Māori. Their stories provide rich narratives that help in understanding the ways in which Pākehā and Māori live together as treaty partners. In order to gather and make sense of their stories, the research for this thesis employed a three pronged approach, involving: examining representation of Pākehā-Māori in the historical literature; the collection of stories from participants identified as potential Pākehā-Māori in the current socio-cultural context; and analysis of selected excerpts from the researcher's reflective journal. This chapter provides a description of the data collection processes, the methods chosen, the rationale for those choices, the methodological approach underpinning the research, and a discussion on how the data was presented and analysed.

i. Data collection processes

Prior to this study, examination of Pākehā-Māori had been limited to historical periods in New Zealand. This presented several fundamental research challenges. The first of these was how to define Pākehā-Māori in current contexts in New Zealand. The second was how to identify and locate those who might be categorized as Pākehā-Māori, and the third issue related to how best to approach these people and gather data from them to inform the study. The research began with a review of literature, in order to understand the representations of Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century, and this led to consultation with Trevor Bentley, a recognised expert in the field.

Through discussion with Trevor Bentley and the review of the historical literature on Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand, it became

evident that Transculturalization Theory would provide a set of criteria to identify possible participants for the study. The criteria that were identified are introduced in Chapter Three of this thesis, in relation to aspects of Transculturalization Theory, and are discussed in depth in Chapter Eight. Although the initial criteria have been developed further, following the findings of the study, those identified in the first instance provided a starting point for participant selection.

ii. Participant Selection

Participants were selected to take part in this study on the basis that they met the following criteria. First, they could not have Māori whakapapa. This was essential to the study, as identified through aspects of Transculturalization Theory. They were also required to have demonstrated an affinity with Māori and Māori culture, either through their work, research, or community involvement. Initially, participants were sought who were known nationally for their engagement with te ao Māori. However, during the selection process, others emerged who did not meet this criterion, but were considered Pākehā-Māori within their own communities, and had adopted Māori values and beliefs. These participants were accepted into the study because they were deemed comparable to many Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand who did not receive national recognition but were known to have been absorbed into various hapū.

Some of the participants were already known to the researcher, and approaching them was done through general conversation during face-to-face meetings. Participants not previously known to the researcher were identified through word of mouth and were often located through following a trail 'of you should talk to so and so'. Many of those approached to take part in the research voiced a strong interest in the study, although they did not see themselves as able to be called Pākehā-Māori. After the initial interview, some participants were excluded for a variety of reasons, such as finding out that they had not

engaged with Māori culture to any great extent, or had done so through marriage. Those who did not become participants as Pākehā-Māori added valuable information to assist in identifying criteria that might define an individual as Pākehā-Māori in current contexts.

The study was limited to five participants. The participants chosen represented an excellent cross section of New Zealand society in that they each had a background and interest in one of five key areas; health, education, research, history, and the environment and they came from a mix of rural, semi-rural, and urban environments. The participants also spanned 3 generations therefore allowing for investigation into their development in different decades in New Zealand history.

The rationale for limiting the study to a small sample group was that the qualitative approach of the research required in depth interviews, gathering an extensive amount of data in the form of participant stories and the involvement of all participants throughout the research process, in the form of consultation on the editing and analysis of their stories. Limiting the study to five participants provided an opportunity to intently examine the data being collected and continue dialogue with the participants to gather further data, as required. The depth of data that resulted from the quantitative approach of gathering participant life stories also meant that a processing data from a larger sample would not have been feasible.

iii. Underpinning research paradigm

In undertaking any research, it is important to determine what lens the research is being viewed through, as this provides a body of theoretical and methodological beliefs that underpin the study (Kuhn, 1970). Although there are variations, four primary paradigms have been identified (Giddings & Grant, 2002). This study is underpinned by the interpretive paradigm.

According to Mutch (2005), a requirement in choosing a research paradigm is that it be coherent with the research processes chosen. The central focus of this research is to apply aspects of Transculturalization Theory to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, how they see themselves, where they position themselves in relation to society, and what meaning they make of events that have shaped them. In this study of Pākehā-Māori, it is important to develop an understanding of how the participants viewed themselves, and how their experiences can be investigated, in relation to aspects of Transculturalization Theory. This situates the research in an interpretive paradigm. Interpretivist theorists seek to understand what it means to be human, how those meanings are formed, and what meanings people attach to the events of their lives (Giddings & Grant, 2002). According to Cocks (1989), the interpretivist paradigm is, in essence, a step towards abstraction. Giddings and Grant (2002) expand on this, stating that:

It is the hermeneutical step in which the researcher considers that some part of the truth of a situation can be found in the 'self-understandings of [her/his] participants'... In this step the researcher does not just play back to the participants what they have told her/him, but interprets the significance of their self-understandings in ways the participants may not have been able to see (p. 16).

Throughout the data collection process, by rewording some of their statements and offering an interpretation of what was being said, the participants often went on to reveal aspects of their experiences they had not first considered. Giddings and Grant (2002) suggest that, in an interpretive paradigm, it is important that the researcher interacts with the participants in a way that enables an understanding, not only of the experiences the participants are relating, but also the meaning they attach to those experiences. In order to do this, it is essential that the researcher understands and can articulate his/her position in relation to the research. In this study, the researcher has a close affinity with the participants, and this has proven to be of significance in the research, not only in the data collection process, but also in the interpretation and analysis of the data. Using an interpretive approach for this study provided an opportunity to

undertake a qualitative inquiry, in which the researcher is able to gather and analyse participant life stories as a source of data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

iv. Methodological approach

Methodological approaches to research are concerned with the way in which the research is undertaken. According to Giles (2008, p.75) methodology 'is concerned with the way or "path" of the research as well as my way-of-being in the research'. The purpose of this study is to explore lived experiences of Pākehā-Māori in current contexts and to illuminate the shared meanings participants have of their experiences of engaging with te ao Māori. As one who shares similar lived experiences to the participants, I am part of a contemplative research process that unfolds (Ironsides, 2005), as well as the outcome of that process (Giles, 2008). The process, in this instance was to collect life stories from participants as data to inform the study. Therefore, the overall methodological approach to this research was based on my understanding of the power of narrative to make sense of an individual's lived experiences, as a way of exploring both the topic under investigation and my relationship with the research.

A research strategy must be built upon a consistent approach to how human beings, both researcher and participants, may know their world (Huygens, 2007). In guiding my choice of methodological approach to the study, I proposed the following questions:

- What methods for collecting data are best suited to this research?
- How does the method chosen for collecting data allow for the voice of the participants to be clearly heard?
- Does the method chosen align with the overall intent of the study?
- Through what lens will the data collected be viewed and analysed?

Using life stories as a method for collecting the data allowed the above questions to be positively addressed. The voices of the participants remain

central throughout the research, and using their life stories to inform the study provides data that is rich in personal experience. This was the overall intent of the study, to examine Pākehā-Māori through their lived experiences. The lens through which the data was viewed and analysed was one of an interpretivist approach, as discussed above.

a. *Method*

The primary data used for the study was collected from Pākehā-Māori participants in the form of 'life stories'. The participants were asked to either talk or write about their personal life experiences, and were given full editing license over the final story presented. There are strong aspects of biography and autobiography in the methods used. The participants were asked primarily to relate their story. Because the participant stories are reflections of lived experiences with socio-cultural contextualisation, there is also a strong connection to auto-ethnography.

Spry (2001) states that auto-ethnography functions as 'a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts' (p. 710). The participants were asked to reflect on the way they saw themselves in their social context during, after and as a result of their engagement with te ao Māori. Hickey and Austen (2007, p. 21) propose that 'auto-ethnography opens possibilities for the development of a critical reflexivity wherein senses of Self and agency might be understood in terms of the social processes that mediate lived experience and the material realities of individuals'. This connection between understanding the self in terms of social processes is central to this study. Buzard (2003) defines auto-ethnography as 'a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context' (p. 37). The primary data that was used to inform this study were the self-narratives collected from the participants in the form of life stories. The participant narratives are presented as individual stories, in a way that allows the participant's voice to be heard, and opens possibilities of exploring possible connections between the stories and their

socio-cultural contexts. According to Ellis (2004), auto-ethnography is 'research, writing, story and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political' (p. xix).

Further to the primary data collected from participants, excerpts from the researcher's own personal journal were included in the study. These journal entries are also auto-ethnographic in nature and provide an 'insider' perspective to the study, which demonstrates a connection between me as the researcher and the cultural context of the study. Relating my personal experiences to aspects of the participants' stories provided an approach that helped clarify some of the issues encountered. According to Foster, McAllister and O'Brien (2006, p. 44):

Auto-ethnography is a qualitative research method that connects the researcher's personal self to the broader cultural context. Evocative writing, where the writer shares personal stories on their experiences, is used to extend understanding of a particular social issue... Auto-ethnography therefore ranges from starting the research from one's own experience, to studies where the researcher's experience is explored alongside those of the participants...

The insider research position allows for more personal interaction between the participants and the researcher, due to a shared affinity with the topic, which, in turn, assists in the establishment of a rapport between the participants and the researcher. The research methods outlined above were all considered suitable approaches to use in this study. The research was aimed at investigating Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, through interpreting their experiences of engaging with te ao Māori. Ulijn, Duysters and Meijer (2009) argue that, when interpreting cultural experience, specifically in cross-cultural contexts, it is the individual's own interpretations of how they think, feel, and act, based on meanings they have constructed, that were the most significant. This indicates that a suitable method for this study is one based on life stories, especially when considering that life stories speak of our understanding of how we are in our world, how we create and recreate that world through our experiences, and, especially, of how we express that understanding through stories. Van Manen (2002, p. 121) proposed that:

Methodologically speaking, story is important because it allows the human science text to acquire a narrative quality that is ordinarily characteristic of story. A hybrid textual form is created, combining the power of philosophic or systematic discourse with the power of literary or poetic language.

There is support for the validity of using stories as a primary source of data to, in Van Manen's words, 'combine systematic discourse and literary language' (Van Manen, 2002, p. 115). Van Manen (2002) suggests, 'a common rhetorical device...is the use of anecdote or story. ...All human science has a narrative quality (rather than an abstracting quantitative character). And the story form has become a popular method for presenting aspects of qualitative or human science research' (p. 115). While stories have been challenged as lacking reliability and validity as data in the human sciences, Van Manen recognises that 'biographies, autobiographies, personal life histories are all potential sources for experiential material' (p. 71). This is further qualified in that 'lived experience descriptions are data, or material on which to work' (p. 55), and it is the lived experiences of the participants of the study that form the primary source of data collected. According to Van Manen (2004):

The 'data' of human science research are human experiences. It seems natural therefore, that if we wish to investigate the nature of a certain experience or phenomenon, the most straightforward way to go about our research is to ask selected individuals to write their experiences down (p. 63).

Gathering the life stories of the participants provided the primary data from which to explore the phenomenon of Pākehā-Māori. Using life stories as an interpretive method in this study enabled the participants and the researcher to explore the diversity of experiences of those involved and how those experiences had impacted on the participants' sense of identity. In support of using stories as a way of collecting data, Alice (2003) states, 'approaches to social research have increasingly utilised a 'storytelling' or interpretive approach that focuses on the construction of individual identity and agency' (p. 66). Alice goes on to suggest that 'storytelling promotes recognition of the relationships between multiple discourses and how these work to position an individual to negotiate social and personal locations' (p. 66). As this study is focused on

investigating a phenomenon that is connected to individual identity, agency, and personal locations within a socio-cultural context, a life story approach was selected as the best method for gathering data.

The use of life story interviews in gathering research data was proposed by Schutze (1991), who argued that simply asking participants to relate the story of their lives provided an appropriate way of gathering personal information. Several theorists have suggested various collection techniques for gathering life stories (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984; Bertaux & Thompson, 1997; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rosenthal, 1993). The approach taken in this study is one of open-ended storytelling, with some specific questions and prompts (see appendix c). In this way, the participants were able to relate their stories with minimal interruption, which allowed the interviews to yield natural data without imposing the researcher's preconceptions upon them (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984). Allowing each participant to relate their individual stories with little interruption enabled the discovery of unexpected material, and the data collected from the interviews gave a clear picture of the feelings and perceptions of each of the participants (Caswell, 2003).

The main focus of the initial participant interviews was to provide a place for the participants to tell their own stories and allow themes and issues to emerge (Opie, 2003). In this sense, the interviews were like a conversation, rather than a formal interview. Each interview followed the same format: introductions; a brief discussion on the topic; and gathering of demographic information. Participants were then asked to relate their stories. Participants had been provided with information sheets prior to the first meeting (appendix a). At the beginning of the interview, participants were asked to complete a consent form (appendix b). All of the participant interviews were audio taped.

Following each initial interview, the audio tapes were transcribed by the researcher. There was a conscious choice made to personally undertake the transcribing of the interviews. The reason for this was that the researcher was very familiar with the topic and therefore able to better understand the subtle

innuendoes and un-captured gestures of the participants during the interviews, and connect these with the words on the tapes. It was also felt that, through personal involvement in the topic, the researcher was better able to make links between the various interviews and clearly identify any early emerging patterns, thereby discussing initial themes that had been revealed with the participants in further interviews. Notes and comments were made in the transcript, and any questions that the researcher had of the participants, in relation to something that had been said or inferred during the interview, were able to be followed up. The interviews were predominantly transcribed verbatim, although it was occasionally necessary to make minor adjustments, in order for the written story to appear grammatically correct.

On completion of the transcription process, the participants were provided with a preliminary written copy of the interview for editing. The edited transcripts were then re-written in a story format, to provide order and flow, if they were not present in the initial transcripts. Care needed to be taken, in order that the editing process did not affect the raw material, and full copies of all original transcripts were kept and used to inform the study, where appropriate. Each participant was sent a copy of the finalised story and asked to comment, add, and/or subtract any information they desired. Participants were also offered the opportunity to re-write their own story, if they wished, and the final edited drafts were presented as participant life stories in Chapter Five of the thesis. Participants were accorded the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any stage. Participants were also offered the choice of being 'named' in the research, and the reasons for this, along with the issues it raised, are discussed later in this chapter, under ethical implications.

b. Researcher Positioning

In relation to my position as the researcher, because I am a person who has experienced firsthand being named a Pākehā-Māori, I was able to fully relate to the stories provided by participants in the study. In setting out to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, positioning myself as the researcher was

extremely important. Although I am the researcher, through the inclusion of my personal reflections and life story, I am also a participant in the research. This has resulted in placing me in both the insider and outsider positions. There are advantages in this position. As a co-participant, the researcher has an affinity with the participants, an insider's ability to understand and interpret data, and an insight into aspects of the study that would not be readily available to an outsider undertaking the research, placing me in a collaborative and reflexive role as the researcher. Positioning myself in the research and including my story as part of the data also allowed for a deeper connection with the participants in the study. However, there were disadvantages in my position. On several occasions, I found it difficult to remain completely objective, and I had to resist a tendency to write excessive amounts from my own perspective.

During the collection of the participant stories, participants related that they felt they were able to express aspects of their stories that they may not have shared with a researcher who had no personal connection to the topic. While conducting one interview, a participant asked for a third party to be present. In the general discussion following the interview, this person commented that they observed a real sense of connection between the participant and myself, and that we seemed to speak the same language, as if we shared a bond of understanding that was visible to observers. I believe this level of interaction between the researcher and the participants was helpful in assisting individuals to reflect and give form and structure to their experiences, and also to feel comfortable expressing those experiences in ways that the researcher found familiar.

As some of the participants were known to the researcher prior to the study, this also benefited the data collection process, as a relationship was already formed. Participant life stories are deeply personal and, in order to gain the most from the data, it is essential that there is an element of trust between the researcher and the participants. This trust had already been firmly established with those participants previously known to the researcher. For those not

previously known, the trust was developed by my ability to position myself alongside the participants. The close connection and interaction between the researcher and the participants formed an integral part of the research.

c. Data presentation and analysis

The analysis of the data involved three stages: content analysis, emergent theme comparisons, and data interpretation. Content analysis is defined as a way of systematically defining the content of the data (Krippendorff, 1980), and this first stage allowed me to extract specific references to instances of intercultural contact and culture-crossing in the participants' life stories. One of the primary aims of the research was to give voice to Pākehā-Māori and to provide a place where they could tell their stories. Therefore, it was decided very early on in the research process that data collected from Pākehā-Māori participants would be presented in the form of individual stories. Each life story was accompanied with an introduction of the participant, followed by the narrative, as agreed between the researcher and the participant. The participant stories presented in Chapter Five are edited versions of those collected at the time of the initial interview. The primary purpose of the editing was to present the most relevant aspects of the individual stories in a format that was easily readable, but it was also necessary to edit the stories, due to the sheer volume of transcribed words, which presented issues around analysing and theorising. Further aspects of the stories not presented in Chapter Five as part of the individual stories of the participants were used to inform the analysis and discussions in the subsequent chapters, by way of direct quotes and fuller narratives.

The first stage of the data analysis began during the process of editing the participant stories for presentation in Chapter Five. In order to edit each story in a way that was deemed relevant and contextual to this study, it was necessary to organize aspects of the stories into emergent themes. I did this by first

considering the factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization and looking for these within each participant story. This provided a set of manageable categories, which formed the initial emergent themes.

In the second stage, emergent themes were condensed and organized into two categories. Each of these two categories then formed a chapter and was broken down into subcategories. These subcategories were selected through considering the emergent themes across all of the participant stories. This offered a way of identifying the emergent themes through the employment of an interpretivist approach, as discussed earlier in this chapter. By allowing for a higher level of theorizing, this also confirmed storylines as an appropriate method of analysis when using grounded theory methodology, because the themes emerged directly from the participants' own stories (Tesch, 1990). The subcategories in each storyline were discussed in relation to the participants' stories presented in Chapter Five.

The discussion on each subcategory of the storylines presented in Chapters Six and Seven drew heavily on the participants' own words. Often, these narratives were extensive, but it was important to include full segments of participant narrative in the thesis, in order to provide both background and context to the discussion. During the initial interview process, many of the participants expressed a desire to have their stories presented in a way that their own voice would be reflected in context and were reluctant to have their words used in isolated, single quotes. It was also important to include fuller excerpts of the participants' stories in the storyline chapters, in order provide a contextual basis for further interpretation of the data in relation to Transculturalization Theory in Chapter Eight. These sections of the participants' stories provide a deeper, more reflective approach to the analysis of the data than single, isolated quotes. Van Manen (1990, p. 121) considered the potentials of using stories as an approach to gathering and present research data rests in their ability to:

- (1) Compel: a story recruits our willing attention;

- (2) Lead us to reflect: a story tends to invite us to a reflective Search for significance;
- (3) Involve us personally: one tends to search actively for the Story teller's meaning via one's own;
- (4) Transform: we may be touched, shaken, moved by story; it teaches us;
- (5) Measure one's interpretive sense: one's response to a story is a measure of one's deepened ability to make interpretive sense.

These traits of stories have informed the way the data from this study has been presented. The inclusion of fuller participant narratives in the storyline chapters, rather than the use of single quotes, provided the reader with the context of the comments.

d. Ethical Considerations

An application for ethical approval to conduct the research was sought from AUT University's Ethics Committee (AUTEC). One aspect required deeper ethical consideration. From the earliest stages of designing the research, it was felt that an important aspect of the study was to give voice to Pākehā-Māori and provide an opportunity for participants to tell their own stories, and it was also felt that, in order to augment the authenticity of the study, the participants should be named in the research. This raised several ethical issues that required consideration. First was the potential influence of social desirability bias (G. McLennan et al., 2010). That is to say, there was a possibility that participants may have felt they were opening themselves up to social categorisation and stigmatisation as a result of being identified in connection with the research and, as indicated earlier in the section on participant selection; many potential participants were uncomfortable with being labeled Pākehā-Māori.

The choice to name participants was challenged by the ethics committee overseeing this research and several recommendations were made, in order to minimize any risk involved. First, participants were offered a choice, to either be represented anonymously or to be named in the research. Some participants elected to be named and some did not. Those who did not, have been represented in the study under a pseudonym. The second recommendation made by AUTECH concerned 'external' potential issues that may arise for participants from being identified in the research. These included possible effects on participants' employers, close family members, and the effects on others who could be identified through the participants' life stories. The latter proved to be very significant, as several participants recalled stories of racism and prejudice that they experienced. While those accounts were important to include as an integral part of the participants' stories, careful editing was required to ensure others were not identifiable. Where it was not possible to ensure these people would not be able to be identified, reference to them was omitted from the thesis.

All participants were asked to discuss their potential involvement in the study with friends, family, and employers, to ensure that any possible repercussions of their involvement had been minimized. Any information included on other people not directly involved in the study, but who formed part of the participants' stories, required that these people were approached and asked to sign a consent to release information form (Appendix d). This only occurred on one occasion and the individual involved was happy to sign the form and allow the information to be included in the thesis.

e. Validity and potential limitations to the thesis

The choice of life story as a data gathering method was seen as valid because it provided an opportunity to collect rich, in-depth, personal reflections of the participants that could not have been accessed to the same extent using alternative methods. According to Atkinson (1990, p. 9) allowing participants'

own voices to be heard 'claims authenticity and authority for their representation of an actual social world'. Presenting the participant life stories in a separate chapter to the data analysis and discussion chapters provided a level of transparency to the findings, so that conclusions drawn could be matched to aspects of the participant life stories.

Life story as a reliable, factual data source has been challenged by some authors (Baumeister, 1991; Burr, 1995; Marcus, 1986). The major issues were related to an individual's distortion of their memories and an inability to maintain consistency (McAdams, 2001). Given that our own recollections of our past can become distorted, there is legitimate argument that life stories can be too subjective to be a reliable source of data. Yet, McAdams (2001) observes that life stories do not necessarily 'lack authenticity', because they rely on 'actual events' and, as such, are a product of real personal experiences. Yet, Van Manen (2002) suggests that 'all human science has a narrative quality (rather than an abstracting quantitative character). And the story form has become a popular method for presenting aspects of qualitative or human science research' (p. 115).

The participant stories used in this study are narratives that are specific to the topic and provide data that, although based on individual life experiences, also provide the opportunity to identify common emergent themes. The participants were made aware at the initial interview that what was required was their story, as they believed it to be, and what was important in telling their stories was not an exact recollection of actual events, but, rather, their interpretation of what had occurred. Van Manen (1990) states:

It is important to realise that it is not of great concern whether a certain experience actually happened in exactly that way. We are less concerned with the factual accuracy of an account than with the plausibility of an account- whether it is true to our living sense of it (p. 65).

On several occasions, participants stated openly that their memory of something was blurred, but that they knew what had happened as a direct result

of the occurrence. In this study, the focus was on the participants' 'sense' of their lived experiences, not to collect factual historical data.

Through the presentation of the participants' life stories and the use of selected quotes and narratives, themes that emerged from the participants' stories were then used to inform the findings. The analysis of the data revealed similarities between the stories of participants who are from diverse backgrounds and experiences. This indicates the validity of using stories as a method, in that, although each story was different, significant themes did emerge across the stories. A further important aspect that validates the choice of using life stories as a method, and for presenting the participants' life stories as part of the thesis, is that extracted quotes from the stories allow readers to determine if the interpretations and conclusions drawn by the researcher are warranted (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). In the context of this study, presenting the participants' life stories and using quotes and narratives from those stories gives an essence of transparency to the findings.

One of the biggest challenges in undertaking this research involved my own position as both the researcher and a participant of the study. Discussion of the researcher's role as a biographical participant raises not simply the degree to which the researcher should place his/her voice within the research context, but also methodological and ethical questions concerning the researcher's role (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001). This challenge was met by stating the researcher's position and any potential bias at the beginning of the data collection process and throughout the study. According to Foster, McAllister and O'Brien (2006), when using researcher self-narrative, 'as the method uses the researcher's self, it requires them to use particular qualities and skills' (p. 49). Some of the qualities and skills needed are: openness; honesty; and an ability to clearly demonstrate conclusions drawn. Along with these skills, the researcher must also be able to maintain a strong focus on the central issue of the study. Van Manen (2002) states that; 'Unless the researcher remains strong in his or her orientation to the fundamental question or notion,

there will be many temptations to wander aimlessly and indulge in wishy-washy speculations...' (p. 33). What is required, in order to maintain focus, is to provide evidence of the processes involved in reaching the conclusions drawn, and openness in declaring personal bias. This was done through analysing and presenting the research data in a way that enabled the reader to clearly identify the links between the themes that emerged from the data and the conclusions drawn. The findings and discussion chapters of this thesis are presented in a more personal form of written text. According to Van Manen (2002), the use of personal writing 'may be seen as providing personal accountability for the researcher's work where rather than using the abstract and impersonal language of traditional academic writing, the researcher 'owns' their voice within the text' (p. 32). The overall findings of the study are, therefore, presented in a way that clearly reflects my voice as the researcher, while maintaining a strong academic focus throughout the treatment and interpretation of the data.

A further potential limitation to the study was that, by using the method of life stories, much of the data is reflective in nature, in that the participants were often asked to reflect and then comment on experiences they recalled. This caused issues as the participants reflected on experiences that were influenced by different variables. However, by reflecting on their own lived experiences, the participants provided insight into the significance of specific experiences. This allowed further significant themes to emerge from the data (Van Manen, 1990). According to Hickey and Austin (2007), the telling of life stories 'opens possibilities for the development of a critical reflexivity wherein senses of Self and agency might be understood in terms of the social processes that mediate lived experience and the material realities of individuals' (p. 21). This study is an investigation of Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, therefore it is the reflective consideration of their life stories that provides insights and understandings into their experiences of engaging with te ao Māori

Conclusion

The focus throughout the design stage of this research was to ensure that the methodology and the chosen method of data collection aligned. The overall findings and conclusions of the study are drawn from the voice of the participants. From the participant stories, a series of themes have emerged that provide an understanding of Pākehā-Māori, and it is from analysis of these same stories that aspects of Transculturalization Theory have been developed for use in current contexts. My own role in the study, as both researcher and participant through the inclusion of my story, challenges the notion that subjective approaches to research are in some way less robust. According to May (1997), 'the idea that rigorous research involves the separation of researchers from the subject of their research, simply reflects the idea that reason and emotion must be separated' (p. 20). Yet, it is this personal connection I have with the topic of the study that I believe has led to an ability to delve deeper into the subject than would have been possible if I were an outsider to the research topic. May (1997) states:

Both the researcher and those people in the research carry with them a history, a sense of themselves and the importance of their experiences... The searchers should be aware of the ways in which their own biography is a fundamental part of the research process. It is both the experiences of the researched and researchers which are important (p. 20).

The methodological approach taken and the researcher positioning in this study, that is, the choice to use life stories viewed from an interpretive paradigm and through an insider lens, has provided a sense of coherence to the overall methodological design.

Chapter Five: Participant stories

Introduction

Using life stories as an interpretive method in this study enabled the participants and the researcher to explore the diversity of experiences of those involved and how those experiences had impacted on the participants. Storytelling promotes recognition of relationships, and the participants all expressed a desire to tell their own story of how relationships with te ao Māori had impacted on each of them personally. The purpose of this chapter is to present the participants' stories. These stories provided rich data to inform the study and are presented here in the form of autobiographical narratives, which were transcribed from audio taped interviews. Each participant story has been edited for this chapter, in order to present significant aspects that relate directly to the study, and to form a contextual basis for discussion in the subsequent chapters. The participants have read these summarised versions and had an opportunity to comment. Some of the participant names have been altered to protect their wish to remain anonymous. The following are the biographical accounts of the participants of the study.

Participant one: Peter

Peter lives in Waikawa Bay, near Picton, at the top of the South Island of New Zealand. His family first settled in Oharia Valley, near Wellington, in the 1850's, then they settled in Endeavour Inlet, in about the 1880s. Peter grew up in Picton and has lived in the area all his life. He currently works as a guide, running ecological sustainability tours in the Marlborough Sounds, and is actively involved with the local iwi.

Peter's story

My family first settled in Oharia Valley near Wellington in the 1850s then they came over here to settle in Endeavour Inlet in about the 1880s. My parents settled here in Picton and I was brought up in a section of the community where there were a lot of Māori families, and so most of my friends were Māori. From an early age I used to envy the fact that they, my mates and their parents, although they were completely 'Pākehāfied', they had a mana about them that I admired. Even though my family had been here just about as long, they, just the fact that they were Māori and they were tangata whenua, which was something that I acknowledged way back then, I felt that they really belonged. They had a sense of belonging. Even though society had marginalised them so much they still felt that they really belonged, they had a sense of belonging. And I envied that in them.

My wife and I married and we had our family, and as your family grows you become protective of them and you become concerned about their future and things, and back in the late 70s, early 80s, there was a lot of talk about the fisheries here. This was pretty much a fishing village back then, and the treaty of Waitangi stuff was coming to the fore, and the amount of racism that that stirred up was scary. For me it was scary. So then I got involved with racial issues. I started going around giving talks on the treaty of Waitangi to different groups. A lot of these groups wouldn't talk to Māori people because they weren't comfortable, but they would talk to me because I was Pākehā. I also became involved in issues of sustainability because I had grown up in the Sounds and I just didn't like what was happening to them. So I started working with the local Iwi in protest against things connected with the area.

Now I continue to work to support the local Iwi and to protect our beautiful Sounds. It hasn't been easy though and it has come at great cost. We (my wife and I) have been fighting now for years to protect the Sounds and in support of Māori culture too. We have had lots of campaigns, and we've led lots of big protests, on the water and on the land, marching. We organised a protest once and we had 100 boats blocking the ferry out there in the channel.

What I have learnt is that every time you put your hand up over an issue, there is a price to be paid, every single time. There is always a price to be paid. We have lived like paupers for the last 10 years. I have been sacked from 3 jobs, because of my beliefs. I have had threats of losing my house, my wife, my family. But I am still here, still fighting for the things I believe to be right.

I am not sure exactly how or why I first started on this journey, but I think the strongest driving motivation for all of us is to protect your

families. I used to say to people when they would say racist things that they were putting oil on a fire that the rest of us were trying to put out. I guess what started out just as a personal interest for me when I was single, changed to wanting to protect and create a better future for my family who are Māori. People often confuse me for being Māori, because I guess today a lot of Māori can be very fair. When people hear me speak they think that I am of Māori descent but it's not something that I ever portray. I never try and give the illusion of being Māori. Over the years I have become more and more involved locally, but I have sometimes been put in a role that makes uncomfortable. I guess I would just say here, that is my own personal feeling, but I have to say that I don't get feelings of discomfort from Māori.

I guess one of the things that caused a big shift in my thinking is that when you get to know the Māori culture what you find is that there is a spirituality to being Māori that is holistic. It encompasses so many things from family to religion to environment that it is sort of all encompassing. Because of the depth of culture, depth of history, it becomes holistic and it becomes spiritual. Not in a religious context, but to me it becomes religious, spiritual, and because I have always had a deep affinity for the Sounds, I started to see the Sounds in a spiritual way. I started to see it as my mother. It was like our mother had provided us with life, and now our mother was old and sick. As in life our mother raises and supports and protects us, and it becomes our responsibility to take care of our mothers in their old age. So I started thinking like that. I think that was a big shift in my life.

Now I am running education based ecological sustainability tours in the Sounds, drawing on all the old Māori stories to explain certain areas. I try to bring about understanding, the kind of understanding that is not just about reading a history book, it's about getting to understand the spirituality and the fact that a thousand years of habitation has given those people a level of understanding that until we have lived here for a thousand years we are not going to have. I guess looking back I am feeling pretty good about the things that have happened in my life and the direction it has taken (Peter, 03/01/11).

Participant two: Sally

Sally was born and raised in a central North Island town. Sally works as a consultant, designing programmes with an education focus. Sally has a background in New Zealand history and is involved in the management of about

20 different historical properties and sites that stretch from the Coromandel down to Wellington, along with some New Zealand war sites. Sally is also a founding leader of a well known Trust board and the organiser of an annual festival held in the area where she lives.

Sally's story

I grew up in a central North Island town and had a fairly 'normal' sort of upbringing. I went to the local high school and that reflected the demographics of the place. My interest in 'things Māori' perhaps started from experiences I had in the town's art gallery early on working with Māori artists and Māori art works and collections, but if I think about it now, it was probably more my experiences working as a youth worker when I was about 20.

Academically I have a history background. I studied history at Massey University and Auckland University, and NZ history was a particular interest. I developed that and worked on some history and archive projects in the Manawatu. I came here in the early 90s, 1992, and there was a position here as a history curator at the local museum. I got that job as history curator and I worked at that job for 4 or 5 years. Then the director left and I applied for that role. I have been the director here for about 8 years. What I inherited with the museum was very much a kind of Eurocentric view. The focus was very much on the colonial history of this community, and the collections largely reflected that. The governance reflected that, the membership, the visitation all reflected that. So the Māori voice and the Māori presence were very quiet. It was during my time as curator at the museum that we first started looking at organising something around the historical events that had taken place in this area. We set up a trust to try and raise awareness of the historical significance of this place here. It was an important aspect of New Zealand history and lives had been lost. We decided that we would start running events and for us it was important to acknowledge what had taken place. We decided that the beginning of it was always to be a commemoration of the lives that were lost. We did this because for a very long time, and we are still struggling with this, the focus has been on Cook and on Cook alone as opposed to the people who were here at the time and the voyaging stories and histories that predated those of the European explorers. So we were trying to redress all of that.

For me as a Pākehā, being involved in these sorts of things has had its issues. There was some resistance I guess. If I go to the first

experiences here which is now almost 20 years ago, it just depended. There was resistance to my involvement in some quarters, but also there were times when the fact that who I was, was seen as a benefit, as strength.

If I think about myself and my role now, I guess the first word that springs to mind is one of facilitation. One way and another I am involved in an array of heritage projects and my role is often quite a strategic one around facilitation. The methodology I employ is like a virtual circle so it doesn't start or end anywhere. One element is recognition, recognition of both the tangible and intangible things. The second thing is reconciliation and that is an identification of those groups and individuals who have a stake in the thing or a relationship to the place. The third part is the re-imagination. That's kind of the re-imagining of a place and we do it kind of like an enquiry context where we go through this exercise of knowledge, individual and group, awareness, and thinking about a place and how they might imagine it could be. So I think now my role is around facilitating that kind of process.

For me personally, my involvement with Māori has certainly brought about personal changes to some extent. I was a bit of a clean sheet when I got here, although there were certainly some influences prior to that. I think for me what's probably changed most is that I have become a bit more comfortable, and a bit clearer about the approach that I take and about the role that I have in it. For a long time I was really not completely comfortable about where I sat and where I fitted in. And also one of the things that really interests me is this notion of common ground between. I think I see things less simplistically now. For me, probably 20 years ago, there was a Māori perspective and there was a Pākehā perspective, you know, Tangata Whenua and Colonial sort of thing. I don't see things like that anymore (Sally, 03/06/11).

Participant three: Zara

Zara lives and works in Auckland as a primary school teacher in a junior school. She has been working in high-decile schools for the last 4 years and currently runs a kapa haka group in the school, with 130 members. She is also the lead teacher of Māori in the school.

Zara's story

I guess my passion and love for Māori started back in my childhood. There were very strong Māori influences in the school, and I learned to look more towards whānau, and the idea of family not being necessarily your blood lines but what you make it and the people you have around you. I learned quickly that you can gain strength and power from those that sit around your friendship circles and your peers, and I learned a lot about tikanga, more so than the te reo I think, within my schooling life.

I think I had an initial sense of belonging when I was first immersed in Māori culture and I always felt like I was accepted within the realms of Māori and the people for who I was and what I was. There was definitely a very strong spiritual connection right from the start. I have never been schooled in nor had a strong home presence of religion. Yet there was a very real spiritual pull towards the Māori culture. A couple of times in my life I have had very negative reactions to me being a Pākehā coming in and trying to do Māori things and that has been quite soul destroying to an extent, because in no way do I want to be disrespectful, in no way do I want to cause offence, and I have always said if there is help or things available to improve my knowledge then please throw them my way. I have taken knocks, but I have always got back there and tried again. I do find it difficult when I am challenged by Māori for my involvement in things Māori. My eyes lower, I just find I have no comeback.

How do you comeback when you are challenged about this? I don't want to start an argument and I am so respectful of tikanga that I couldn't argue in a situation like that. My passion for things Māori, when it comes to education, is what drives me. The gaps are what drive me, and the history of what has happened to Māori people through education. I think it extends further than just Māori in the bigger picture of things, but in my understanding, although some things are being done, it is still not finished, there are still a lot of gaps. I have found that through my involvement and my passion aspects of Māori cultural practices have become a part of me now. I think I naturally do a lot of tikanga things automatically, and I think that when your passion has become part of your life it is inevitable it will be there.

I do have a very strong sense of my own identity and I think that has happened through my involvement in things Māori. I think it has helped me to determine who I am and to recognise my identity. I think that identity with Māori gave me the chance to accept myself, and to look more at the strengths of what I have to offer rather than looking at the deficits. But I do find that being in this 'in between' place can be difficult, especially when you move in and out of

situations. I think people like me, those of us who are committed to Māori culture, though not born into it, are the drivers to the future. Being in an in between position we have a responsibility to both, not only to our own ethnic group but to the Māori of the future. I think those in between are in a potentially very powerful place. We could do amazing or drastic things. I think those that are leading are the in betweeners, those with the passion who will stand up and have that courage to be willing to immerse themselves in things Māori.

I think the 'in betweeners' are those who are willing to take on the knowledge, to learn the Māori cultural ways so they can share it with other non Māori, and I believe they are among the drivers of the future. I think that without people like that, who are passionate, who will stand up for what is right, we are in trouble. From a personal perspective, I hope to continue long on the path towards achieving that spiritual peace I find through Māori (Zara, 02/11/11)

Participant four: George

George is a contract consultant, living in Auckland and working predominantly in the health sector. He has a corporate background and occasionally still works in the corporate sector. George attended a te reo Māori course and is fluent in the language.

George's story

I had virtually no exposure to Māori culture as I grew up, not even at school. We only had one Māori boy at my school and everything in the place I grew up and at the school I went to was very dominant Pākehā culture, everywhere. I got into learning Māori initially when I was working for a public relations consultancy. We were doing resource consent applications for big infrastructure companies and we had to consult with tangata whenua. I was embarrassed because I didn't understand anything they were talking about and it was a whole other worldview I knew nothing of. I remember hearing them talk about sacred space and guardianship and all these things, the spiritual side of things, and it completely captivated me. From there I started doing a lot of pro bono work for Ngati Whatua.

I could see that all these concepts were caught up in the language so I tried to do a night class. Then I heard that there was a course starting up full time over on the North Shore and it sort of planted a

seed in me. I quit my job and went full time for a year, total immersion. I couldn't explain it then and I still can't explain it now. So I did the first year and then went on to do the second year, then I did a Bachelor of Māori Immersion Teaching and then my Honours Degree in Mātauranga Māori on language revitalisation and now I just have my thesis to do to finish my Masters. I remember when I was studying I felt very isolated. I saw that I was kind of stuck in a no man's land. I couldn't explain to my friends the things I was experiencing at course because they would not understand it without experiencing it themselves and I couldn't tell my class mates about having this life of privilege outside the course. I still feel caught right in between, in this no man's land. I can swap from one to the other, but neither quite fit anymore. So I think I am somewhere in the middle. It was interesting being 'other' for the first time, because we just take for granted the world and how it operates and our agency in it. To lose that agency and be in someone else's game was quite a confrontation. It gave me such a totally better understanding of what it means to be Māori. Sometimes when you hear certain comments you try and explain but you are frustrated when they don't understand. I think you kind of forget that you have been on a long journey yourself to reach that level of understanding.

Over the years I have sometimes been challenged by Māori. I don't really know how to respond to these challenges. I do get challenged a lot by non Māori, things like 'oh he thinks he's a Māori or, 'what does he think he's doing siding with them', you know, that sort of thing. Yet I don't think I am Māori, I have no pretention to being Māori, have never claimed it and never will. My identity as non-Māori is very strong, yet I am drawn to Māori cultural practices and the spiritual aspects. With regard to my sense of identity, I suppose because I never had any counterpoint it never occurred to me that I had any kind of identity. Since my immersion in Māori culture I have definitely become much more aware of my spirit. That whole taha wairua is present in ways that it never was before. I think that has deepened my sense of self. I didn't think of myself as a spiritual person, and although I was raised as a Catholic I never believed all that stuff. So that has been a major shift in me. I think my sense of self and my view of the world have undergone a massive shift. I have become quite superstitious about certain things and link them back to Māori spirituality. Looking back I can see it took a lot of courage to make such a shift, but it was just something I had to do. Even during my studies when things were really tough in terms of the class and the composition of that and the sort of barriers I encountered, I still couldn't turn away from it. I think sometimes about what I am doing, and I find it difficult to explain it. I mean there is no question that I bring that sort of Ma Māori Ora way of looking at things to work places.

If I had to explain why I am so passionate about taha Māori, I guess I would have to say because it is a privilege that has been bestowed upon me and I feel an obligation to honour it I suppose. That's the only way I can describe it. I think people like me, other 'in betweeners' if you like, do have some sort of role. We certainly advocate I think. We have an intermediary role. I still don't know what first drew me to all this, or what keeps me here. I know I have been and still am on a journey. I will be on it forever. I don't know where it's going. There's no going back. Sometimes things come to me out of the blue and I know now there is no point wondering where it has come from, or if I will follow it or not, but that is great (George, 07/11/11).

Participant five: Ted

Ted is an academic and researcher currently living in Raglan. Ted has worked closely with Māori in many sectors. His involvement began in the early 80s, while he was at Otago University, and he is well known nationally for his contribution to the Kotahitanga project, which he worked on as a co-researcher with Russell Bishop.

Ted's story

My background is that in the 1920s my father married a Māori lady from Ngati Porou, and they had a child, Jack. So he is my tuakana, but his mother died in childbirth. You can imagine then, in the 1920s, there is no way a Pākehā man would have been left to raise a Māori child. So the baby was taken away from him and whangai'd out. We didn't actually meet until the 1970s or 80s so I was effectively an only child. I can remember from my early childhood, my father singing to me in Māori, which was perhaps strange, but as a kid you never question these things.

In my academic life I did a Doctorate in Toronto and while I was there they asked me if I could speak any Māori, which I couldn't, and I thought yeah, I should really think about that. When I did get back I took a couple of preliminary papers at Auckland University and really enjoyed the language. When I went to Otago as head of department I had the opportunity to enrol as a student in Māori studies. I got interested in the language and the treaty movements and then with Russell Bishop coming down to our university as a lecturer he seemed more interested in being more active about it, making the

treaty known and running treaty workshops about it. That got me hooked into the Māori people in Otago, Kai Tahu, and it got me into the issues of the people. Then I invited them, the Kai Tahu people who had shared a lot of stories with us, into the department, and certain individuals made it quite clear that they were not comfortable with Māori in their staff room. This was in the 80s and it hit me like a brick because I had just assumed everyone would be delighted. Then I got very close to a kaumatua down there, who helped me a lot and built some bridges and helped me with my language a bit. All that was quite a significant turning point, and I found that one of the solutions for all the stress I felt as head of department was to go and enrol as a student in Māori studies.

The research part of my journey came when I was caught up with Russell Bishop. The research that I did with him was my first conscious effort to look at things from a Māori point of view. From that time my experience and involvement in things Māori grew rapidly. I have come up against a lot of challenges over the years. One particularly strong occasion I remember I had was when we were researching at an intermediate school. As we approached the kids we heard them saying things like 'here come the honkies' and it didn't throw me until I stopped and thought yes, that is indeed what it looks like to them. Since then I have learned a great deal about meeting challenges and ways of working with Māori and being 'safe'. I had been starting to think about what was happening to me, and to Māori I worked and researched with, and the co-relationship we had. Russell had written that piece on the whānau of interest. Around that time there were issues around the notion that Pākehā shouldn't be here at all, researching with Māori. So I started thinking about that, and I didn't feel like that about it at all. I thought it was a case of trust that we had built up mutual trust. The other big thing is cultural safety. Everyone is busy thinking cultural safety for Māori which is of course very important, but you also need it as a Pākehā person. Occasionally, I have found that my involvement with Māori has sometimes resulted in me being 'othered' by Pākehā. It is not inevitable but sometimes it happens to some.

Initially I don't think I am different to anyone else. My identity was pretty well formed in adolescence. What I have found is if you go to Wenger's work on communities of practice, what he says is that practice defines identity and identity defines practice. So you find out who you are by what you do and who you engage with. I have engaged a lot with Māori and from that I have found out who I am. I have found that I am not Māori, but I have also found that I am a Pākehā New Zealander.

I find that along with a deeper understanding of te ao Māori come changes. For example, tikanga. There are some tikanga practices that we have adopted into our daily lives to an extent. But the big

thing about tikanga is that at some point you come to trust tikanga, you know that there is always a way of doing things according to tikanga. I understand a lot more about tikanga than I did and I have been invited and had lots of opportunities to go places as part of a whānau rather than as a Pākehā person. That doesn't mean I am not Pākehā, but the invitation is there to the whānau, not to individuals. That is so fascinating because the fact that I am in the whānau, yet I am white, I stand out, but I am in the whānau and it is the whānau that they are responding to. I can actually see what things look like from inside and it has driven me quite wild at times.

As far as working between cultures, it is a very different experience today to what it was in the past. I think that one of the very important things is that I don't feel that I am becoming more Māori, yet I am now much clearer on what it means to be Pākehā. I really understand it on a much deeper level. A point I would want to make is that the language is vital to me, I see it as being very important because everywhere that I have been Māori people have just given me a little more support, a little more information through knowing the language. The deeper your language the deeper your understanding, and Māori people recognise that. Also too, if you are talking with kaumatua for instance, the Pākehā person only evaluates what they hear at their level, but with a deeper knowledge of the language you are able to evaluate things closer to their level. Just finally I want to say that in all the work I have done with Māori, they have never put me in a position where I was out of my depth, they never set me up to make a fool of myself. That is part of being in the whānau - they take care of you (Ted, 28/01/12).

Chapter Six: Encounters with te ao Māori

Introduction

The previous chapter presented edited versions of the participants' stories. From those stories, several themes have emerged. The purpose of this and the following chapter is to present and discuss those themes. There will be further analysis of the themes, with specific reference to aspects of Transculturalization Theory in Chapter Eight. In order to present the findings in a clear and logical manner, themes that emerged from the data have been condensed and organised into two categories: *Encounters with te ao Māori*, and *Identity*.

This chapter on encounters with te ao Māori has three subcategories: *Initial encounters*; *Participant experiences*; and *Challenges*. Each of these is a subcategory of the participants' experiences with te ao Māori. In the first, *initial encounters*, I will demonstrate the multiple ways in which the participants' first encounters with te ao Māori occurred. I was interested to explore any possible connections between the participants' first experiences with te ao Māori, and links to aspects of Transculturalization Theory. In particular, I was interested in Hallowell's idea that, in order for the Transculturalization process to be successful, the 'transculturites' had to have some sort of pre-disposition towards 'other cultures' (Hallowell, 1963) and I was seeking evidence of this in their narratives.

In the second subcategory, under the heading *Experiences of te ao Māori*, I have considered the way the participants experienced these first encounters and how their experiences of these and subsequent encounters impacted on them. The third subcategory, *Challenges*, investigates and compares the various ways in which the participants faced and dealt with challenges associated with their involvement in te ao Māori.

This and the subsequent chapters draw on the participants' own words to inform the discussion. The participants' words that are used are either from their individual stories presented in Chapter Five or direct quotes taken from data gathered but not presented as part of the participants' stories. In some cases, the data is presented in single quotes, but, generally, larger sections of the participants' narrative are included in order to provide both a background and a context for the comments and to give continuity to the discussion. The rationale for the inclusion of large sections of participant narrative has been discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. I have also drawn on my own personal reflections to make connections where relevant to the discussion, and have presented these, either as quotes from 'researcher journal' or as 'researcher comments'.

i. Initial encounters

When I was interviewing the participants for this study, I wanted see what factors could be identified as significant in their initial experiences of contact with te ao Māori, and how that initial contact had come about. In particular, I was interested to compare the circumstances of the initial involvement, with respect to the participants' upbringing, to explore the possibility of any pre-existing factors that could have influenced their engagement with te ao Māori. I also wanted to explore the possibility of commonalities in the participants' backgrounds that may have provided them with an ability to develop perception of an extended sense of self. Hallowell (1955) believed that early exposure to cultural differences allowed for the development of certain basic orientations that play a constitutive role in the ability to develop an extended self perception. Several theorists have suggested that there exists a notion of an extended self (Neisser, 1988; Schwartz et al., 2006b) that is directly connected to identity formation and personal positioning within social and cultural constructs. During analysis of the data gathered from participant stories, I was looking for evidence of these basic orientations defined by Hallowell and discussed in Chapter Three, under *Identity Theory*.

The participants' initial encounters with Māori took place through a variety of contexts, such as work-related incidences (Sally and George), education research and work (Ted), and childhood experiences (Zara and Peter). While the participants' descriptions of their involvements with te ao Māori are varied, it was through these initial encounters that participants developed an insight into te ao Māori. According to the participants, this insight changed over time, through subsequent engagements with Māori, and had a profound effect on the participants' views of the world and their cultural ideals. This reinforces the idea that people come to appropriate cultural ideals through participation in shared cultural practices (Gone et al., 1999) and suggests there is a relationship between the participants' experiences with te ao Māori and the level of cultural adoption that followed.

When comparing the situations in which the participants first encountered te ao Māori, it is evident that there is no one way this occurred, and the experience was different for each one. Two of the participants had significant exposure to Māori culture as they grew up. For example, Peter grew up in an area that had a high Māori presence and he interacted with Māori throughout his childhood:

I was brought up in a section of the community where there were a lot of Māori families, and so most of my friends were Māori. We all went to school together and played rugby together. When I got into my teens I guess, we used to visit each other's homes, and I had an interest in learning about their history.

For Peter, there was no clear single event that characterised his first encounter with te ao Māori. Similarly, Zara was also exposed to Māori culture in her early years, when she moved to a community with a high Māori presence:

For me, Māori started back in my childhood. I had no siblings, and my mum and dad separated at a very early age. I was living in a very Pākehā community, a South African community at the time. When my parents separated we moved to Onehunga and I found a love of cultures. I think my passion for things Māori started in intermediate school. At primary school there was very much nothing. I came over to Remeura intermediate and there was a strong Pacific influence,

and that may have been where the seeds were sown. However, it wasn't till I was at high school where I was immersed in things Māori as a part of everyday life. We weren't necessarily taught things Māori, it was just there, and I think that is where it started for me.

For Zara and Peter, it appears that both the community they lived in and the schools they attended played a big part in their early exposure to te ao Māori and may have provided the impetus for their later involvement. According to Sussman (2000), early contact can lead to later changes in cultural self-perceptions, thereby facilitating effective cross-cultural interaction, and this would appear to be the case for both Peter and Zara. Zara related that;

There were very strong Māori influences in the school, and I learned to look more towards whānau, and the idea of family not being necessarily your blood lines but what you make it and the people you have around you. I learned quickly that you can gain strength and power from those that sit around your friendship circles and your peers, and I learned a lot about te ao Māori within my schooling life.

While both Zara and Peter were influenced to some degree by their early exposure to te ao Māori, through the communities where they grew up, one of the participants (Sally) did not relate making any real connections with Māori in her school years, in spite of growing up in a strong Māori community:

I had a fairly 'normal' sort of upbringing. I went to the local high school which reflected the demographics of the place, one of a strong Māori presence, but if I think about it now, my initial interest in things Māori was probably more my experiences working as a youth worker when I was about 20.

From Sally's personal expression, it appears that the demographics of a community and early exposure is not necessarily a predetermining factor in a willingness to become involved in a second culture. In contrast to Peter, Zara, and Sally, George grew up in a very European dominant environment:

I had virtually no exposure to Māori culture as I grew up, not even at school. We only had one Māori boy at my school and everything in

the place I grew up and at the school I went to was very dominant Pākehā culture, everywhere.

From my own personal experiences, I was able to empathise with George and this enabled us to relate our shared experiences. I have recorded an entry in my personal journal, observing that I grew up with virtually no awareness of te ao Māori, and that both my school and the community I lived in was very 'European':

I had a very Eurocentric upbringing. The primary school I attended had a role constructed in the most part from farming families and the children from a small semi-rural settlement close to where the school was situated. From memory and after looking at old school photos I can recall only 2 children who were not of New Zealand born European ethnicity. Not only was the student base very mono cultural, so was the curriculum and the pedagogical approaches taken to the teaching (researcher journal).

There were other similarities between myself and George. One aspect that we both identified with was that our initial engagement with Māori had been somewhat circumstantial. Neither of us had felt any pre-existing connection, nor had we actively sought involvement with te ao Māori. For example, George related that his initial exposure to te ao Māori happened as a direct result of a situation that developed during the course of his work:

I got into learning Māori initially when I was working for a public relations consultancy. A big public relations consultancy in town and the resource management act had just come in. We were doing resource consent applications for big infrastructure companies wanting resource consent and a requirement of the act was to consult with tangata whenua. It was the first time that they had required that and they were the only group named. You had to consult with interested parties and named groups. Tangata whenua were a named group you had to consult with. This was the first time in my life I had anything to do with Māori.

One of the participants (Ted) had experiences of Māori involvement from an early age that were not related to either the community he grew up in or the schools he attended as a child. His situation was connected to family:

My background is that in the 1920s my father married a Māori lady from Ngati Porou, and they had a child, Jack. So he is my tuakana, but his mother died in childbirth. You can imagine then, in the 1920s, there is no way a Pākehā man would have been left to raise a Māori child. So the baby was taken away from him and whangai'd out. We didn't actually meet until the 1970s or 80s. We didn't know of each other prior to that so there has been a whole back story there in finding out what family were talking about and linking up and solving the connection. I can remember from my early childhood, my Father singing to me in Māori, which was perhaps strange, but as a kid you never question these things. Growing up I was also aware that a couple of times 'aunties' had come around to the house and asked my mother "how was Lou's child doing" and my mother would say "oh he's doing good, good things at school" and so on, and they would say, "no, no, we mean Lou's other child". I remember hearing that and not knowing what it meant and it was not until the 70s that I actually found out that I had this other brother.

Ted's first involvement with Māori through his family situation was different to that of the other participants and he related that he did not consider this to be an 'encounter', as such. While Ted's initial involvement with te ao Māori in adulthood was also slightly different to the other participants, most participants expressed the idea that, for them, 'it just sort of happened'. For Ted, his initial engagement was a conscious choice:

In my academic life I did a Doctorate in Toronto and while I was there they asked me if I could speak any Māori, which I couldn't, and I thought yea, I should really think about that. When I did get back I took a couple of preliminary papers at Auckland University and really enjoyed the language, really enjoyed the tutors I had, who are now quite well known and it just sort of grew as I went through Auckland. When I went to Otago as head of department I had the opportunity to enrol as a student in Māori studies.

Although other participants did speak of choices they had made since their initial engagement with Māori, Ted was the only participant who spoke of consciously deciding to enter into involvement with te ao Māori. While Ted was the sole participant in this study to consciously choose to engage with te ao Māori, Brown (2011) found that, based on the experiences of his participants, 'many Pākehā may be open to and/or make a choice to enter into te ao Māori'

(p. 189). What is clear from the participants' stories regarding initial encounters with te ao Māori is that there is no single influential factor in play, and there are no areas of commonality to all participants. Yet, although their initial encounters with te ao Māori were varied, all the participants stated that, regardless of the circumstances, they became aware they were entering into a 'different' world. Zara described this in the following way; 'I knew there was a different approach to things, a different way of looking at things if you like. I knew this from the first encounter,' and George related, 'At that very first meeting I was suddenly aware that there was this whole other world, whole other way of thinking and being that I knew nothing about'. The participants' awareness of the difference between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā allowed them to see Māori and Pākehā in a way that was outside previously held ideas of Māori and Pākehā categories (Butcher, 2003; King, 1999; McCreanor, 1995) and to realise that ignorance of cultural difference had kept them unaware of how societies privilege the dominant group (Sue & Sue, 2003). The participants' realization of social privilege is discussed further in the next section of this chapter.

ii. Experiences of te ao Māori

Just as the situational encounters with te ao Māori varied for the participants, with no consistent contributing factor, the participants' interpretations of their experiences of those first situational encounters were also varied. In relating these experiences, participants seemed to recall strong feelings that ranged from 'culture shock' to 'a sense of belonging'. The feeling of 'culture shock' was expressed by George when he discussed his initial exposure to Māori culture:

I remember going along my first time green as grass to meet with some people from Ngati Whatua, and saying, "oh hi, kiaora". "What do you think about this, you know, we want to build this great big gas pipeline across the north shore", and they were like, well you know we are kaitiaki for that rohe, and we are manu whenua and these areas are waewaetapu and I'm thinking 'oh my God, what are they talking about!' So it was quite embarrassing. I mean they were

speaking English but they were throwing in these words and contexts that I had no knowledge of what so ever.

Early exposure to Māori culture and growing up in a community with a strong Māori presence did not diminish this feeling of 'culture shock' for another participant. Although Peter had grown up alongside Māori and had married a woman with Māori whakapapa, he was still able to relate to a time when he had been surprised by a cultural experience:

When we married I thought I knew the Māori people pretty well. I had no knowledge of the reo at all but thought I was pretty aware of the culture. When our first son was born, my wife's father and one of her uncle's turned up at the door and introduced themselves and said your baby is our first mokopuna and we want you to know that we would like to take him back home with us. It made me angry that they wanted to steal my baby, but there was nothing like that in it. What they were saying was that you are young and you've got no money, and if it is too much of a struggle, we would be happy to take baby and help out. So that was my first introduction to them and we went up North to them soon after. That was like a culture shock to me. The depth of culture up there was like visiting a foreign country.

Peter expressed how recalling this event had led him to reflect that his early involvement had perhaps been somewhat superficial. He also thought that it was the enjoyment he had felt in his early experiences that had helped him understand the level of difference that existed, and still exists today, between the Māori and European cultures. He was aware of difference early on, but felt he had only seen it on a surface level, and related that he had enjoyed being in an environment of difference:

I used to enjoy the very relaxed, convivial atmosphere in their homes. I was from a very staunch Catholic family and it was a very controlled sort of home, and I would visit these Māori families and everything was so relaxed if that makes sense. There would always be a guitar and singing. There was a lot of humour, and when we would go along to their parties, the old folk would be sitting around in the background, and I would sidle up to them and ask about their oral histories. And they just loved to tell their stories.

Peter recalled that he had felt drawn, in some way, to Māori from an early age, and he reflected that this was perhaps not just from the enjoyment he felt in the company of Māori, but that he also began to see things a different way. Several

other recent studies have also found that there is a developing awareness of cultural difference that comes about as a result of engagement with te ao Māori (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Huygens, 2007; Jellie, 2001).

From discussions at the time of the interviews, all the participants noted that, early on in their engagement with Māori, they realised their perspectives were changing. Brown's (2011) findings were similar and he stated, in his study of Pākehā experiences engaging with te ao Māori, that during early encounters, participants begin to understand their view of te ao Māori as being different from other Pākehā. For Zara, early experiences with te ao Māori initiated a sense of belonging and acceptance:

I always felt like I was accepted within the realms of Māori and the people for who I was and what I was, and I guess due to my love of the arts, of singing and dancing, Māori culture once again made connections with me and what my life was all about. I really enjoyed learning through song and dance and I thought I was at a great school that had a way of integrating those things within the school culture. I went to Otago to go to University down there in a very 'white' city, and I found it strange to come from Onehunga where I was a minority to go where once again European culture was the majority. I also found that my Māori friends all lived together, they stayed together, and that sort of demonstrated to me that connection with family and being as one.

This feeling of belonging is, in many ways, somewhat paradoxical, in that, although several of the participants expressed a 'sense of one-ness' with Māori, all the participants were adamant that they strongly identified as Pākehā. The participants' sense of self identity is discussed further in Chapter Seven, but many of the participants made connections between their '*feeling of belonging*' and the spiritual aspects of Māori culture. Zara gave an indication of this in the following:

I think I had an initial sense of belonging when I was first immersed in Māori culture, but I can also recall a specific incident that I think instigated change in me. I can remember going on a visit to a marae and the lady did a karanga at the beginning, and to this day I still get goose bumps when I hear the karanga. It is something about that voice, calling the spirits that was just 'right'. I knew when we went

there that we come as a common group for a common reason, but the feeling of belong was instantaneous.

The spiritual connection will be explored in more depth in Chapter Nine, but one common aspect between all of the participants was that, through their experiences with Māori, they came to realise there was a deeper, more spiritual way of viewing the world. Although George's initial experiences came through work, he also related how he had come to view things differently:

They (Māori) were very generous and so they started to explain and give me all the background and it was fascinating to me seeing this whole other world view about the environment.

Ted also recalled an experience when he realised he was beginning to see a different side to how things might be perceived:

We had done a lot of work in the Māori guidance unit but it didn't hit me till I shifted to Mangare in '84 that I was actually on the wrong side. I was a positivist trained psychologist in training others and Māori kids were the ones with the greatest needs at the time, and nothing we were doing was of any relevance. That was quite hard.

Changed ways of viewing the world emerged as a common experience for all the participants and was also linked to their changed sense of self, which directly resulted from experiences they had in Māori cultural contexts. Berry (1990) refers to this as a natural part of cross cultural psychology and Kosmitzki (1996) concluded that exposure to new and different cultures influenced individuals' self perceptions. There is further discussion on the changed sense of self in the following chapter.

Although the participants' experiences of te ao Māori differ, there are some common factors that have emerged. All the participants stated clearly that they had generally been treated warmly and had felt welcomed and accepted. The participants also related that, the more involved they became with te ao Māori, the deeper their understanding became and the more they tended to look at things from a different perspective. In his study, Brown (2011, p. 94) also found that 'Pākehā learn to develop awareness, insights, and enriched understandings of Māori culture, as well as their own culture, through cultural

exchange'. Sally expressed this when she recalled on first arriving to take up her position as curator at the local museum she inherited the museum's very Eurocentric view. While all participants were aware they were able to see things differently, when asked, none were actually able to articulate how, or why. When discussing the museum, Sally felt it may have been her background of working with Māori oral histories that allowed her to recognise what was missing:

I am not sure how I came to recognise the Eurocentric way the museum was set up when I arrived. I think perhaps it happened because of those oral history recordings I mentioned earlier. The museum was completely ill equipped to manage those, even to understand them, to know what was recorded on them. So just in terms of those examples of heritage that were there, I recognised at the time that the museum was completely ill equipped to engage with the Māori people who represented half of the community at the time.

What was clear from all the participants was that they felt the knowledge they had gained through their experiences with Māori impacted on them personally and on their work. One of the participants (George) was offered a position specifically due to his ability to interact and consult with Māori, and he felt this, in turn, led him to see things differently:

I was teaching two nights a week and studying, and then I went and saw a recruitment consultancy. They said the Ministry of Health screening unit is desperate for someone with your sort of communication skills. So I ended up consulting, or contracting, there for 2 and a half years full time. Now that gave me another whole new insight into Māori and Māori health, the issues, the opportunities, and how the Māori world view effects their views of health. It also gave me an insight into Pākehā privilege and how health systems privilege the dominant culture, and it was a real eye opener for me. It all just built on my insights from living and working among Māori for those two years, and I was able to take that into the health sector and say "hey, this isn't how we speak to Māori and this isn't going to work" but it took a long time to break down that and I still struggle with it in the health sector.

This experience gave George an insight into what he termed Pākehā privilege. Other participants recalled similar occurrences. Several participants also related how this had disturbed them enormously and that they had then begun to rediscover New Zealand history. While many Pākehā do not question their

belief in taught versions of New Zealand history (Fish, 1980; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991), being exposed to situations of 'us/them' can result in members of a dominant group beginning to question notions of power imbalance (Brown, 2011). What was revealed for the participants was a realisation that ignorance of cultural difference had kept them unaware of how societies privilege the dominant group (Sue & Sue, 2003). While many Pākehā remain unaware of their potential position of privilege (Thomas & Nikora, 1996), the participants of this study were clear that, at some point, they had developed an awareness of what George referred to as Pākehā privilege and each attributed that developing awareness directly to their experiences of engaging with Māori. Research has shown that engagement with a second culture can lead to greater cultural sensitivity (Powick, 2002; Tolich, 2001). The participants all felt that they had developed deeper cultural awareness through their engagement with Māori, and that they had learned how to interact with Māori in a respectful and culturally appropriate way.

The major focus of this section has been on the participants' experiences of te ao Māori. However, these engagements with Māori are not limited to single events, and their other experiences are presented throughout this and the next two chapters. The significant aspects of what the participants have related, regarding their experiences, are that generally they felt comfortable and welcomed and that these feelings were reinforced by subsequent engagements. One of the things that all of the participants had in common was that, following their initial experiences, they became much more deeply involved with te ao Māori, and that often resulted in them being challenged in a variety of ways.

iii. Challenges

At some point since first becoming involved in te ao Māori, every participant in this study related instances where they had felt challenged in some way. These challenges took a variety of forms. The participants also all felt that one of the biggest challenges they had faced in the past, and continue to face, is one of a

personal nature. In this final section of the chapter, I provide examples of situations in which the participants have felt challenged by Māori and non-Māori, what those challenges have meant for them, how their involvement with Māori has often caused difficulties and hardships, and how the participants deal with the challenges they face. I also draw on my own experiences to inform the discussion on aspects of the personal challenges the participants have expressed feeling.

For some of the participants, the choice to become involved with te ao Māori included being part of campaigns and protest movements. Peter, who was and still is very involved in ecological issues in his community, has been at the forefront of many political protests at both a national and a local body level, and this has been seen negatively by many Pākehā in the area. Other participants also recounted instances where their involvement had been viewed with 'suspicion' by Pākehā, and this is consistent with the findings from Brown's study. Brown (2011) found:

Participants encountered situations, events and experiences where their support for te ao Māori was seen negatively by other Pākehā, as being biased toward Māori. One possible reason for this negativity is that for some Pākehā advocacy for Māori by another Pākehā might be seen as detrimental to Pākehā society in general (p. 181).

In agreement with the participants of Brown's study, Peter expressed that he felt many Pākehā were concerned about what they stood to lose. However, he felt it was not only important to stand up for issues you believe in, but that, for him, it was especially important to fight for the rights of the local iwi and to be loyal to those who had accepted him as one of them. This loyalty is consistent with Hallowell's (1963) findings, and he stated that successful transculturalization resulted in the transculturite demonstrating strong loyalties to the second culture.

Much of the protesting that has taken place in Peter's community has been around the local council and large corporations wanting to develop areas of the Marlborough Sounds. Some of the proposed development has been in areas that have special significance for the local iwi, and Peter recounted some of the

ways in which he has been involved in trying to halt that development, and how that involvement affected him:

We have had lots of campaigns, and we've led lots of big protests, on the water and on the land, marching. We organised a protest once and we had 100 boats blocking the ferry out there in the channel. And you might think you are doing alright because you might have 80% support, but there is always at least 20% of the community that are opposed to what you are doing. And they will hate you for it because you are threatening their vested interest in the status quo. You are threatening that, their lives, their families. They hate you for it and they are always bound on punishing you for what you do. Some of them bide their time but they are always going to get at you one way or another. There is always a price to be paid.

Peter has led many of the protests in the area and has become well known in his community for his stance on protecting Māori sovereign rights. He expressed a feeling of sadness that he and his family had felt ostracised by the community for his involvement and that they have paid heavily for the stance he has taken in support of Māori issues. Peter stated:

We have lived like paupers for the last ten years. I have been sacked from three jobs, because of my beliefs. I have been a target of entrapment by an American multinational company. I have been locked up. I have had my boat confiscated. They threatened to take my tickets off me and destroy my livelihood. I have been bailed up in toilets by high class lawyers threatening to destroy me if I didn't back off. I have had threats of losing my house, my wife, my family. But I am still here, still fighting for the things I believe to be right.

Hallowell (1993) also noted that many of the transculturites in his study on Indianization had been cast out of their communities.

All of the participants related experiences of facing difficulties and resistance. For some, like Sally, that resistance continued for a long time:

For me as a Pākehā, being involved in these sorts of things has had its issues. There was some resistance I guess. If I go to the first experiences here which is now almost 20 years ago, it just depended. There was resistance to my involvement in some quarters.

Zara is the lead teacher in Māori subjects in a central Auckland primary school and she related how she is often challenged for taking on that role. For the

most part, she felt the challenges were easy to overcome and benign in nature, but sometimes they were more difficult to overcome. I was able to empathise with Zara, as I too have often been challenged in this area.

When I began as a lecturer on the Māori papers I was challenged by some of the staff regarding my right to teach in these areas. This was an issue that required several meetings to resolve. Although my ability to teach the subject matter was confirmed, I continued to be challenged as to my 'right' to do so and this is something which I too am concerned about (Researcher Journal).

Zara and I felt that we had developed a sort of 'standard approach' to meeting these challenges, which mostly involved simply explaining how and why we came to our roles. However, sometimes the challenges are more direct and more difficult to deal with. Part of the difficulty both Zara and I felt when challenged by Māori about our roles was that we were wary of appearing disrespectful. Zara commented on this when she recalled how sometimes those challenges have been quite negative:

A couple of times in my life I have had very negative reactions to me being a Pākehā coming in and trying to do Māori things and that has been quite soul destroying to an extent, because in no way do I want to be disrespectful, in no way do I want to cause offence, and I have always said if there is help or things available to improve my knowledge then please throw them my way.

This negative reaction from Māori has also been noted in other studies (M. Campbell, 2005; Huygens, 2007; Jellie, 2001). Brown (2011) noted that 'entering into te ao Māori was not always a totally positive experience...because sometimes they received criticism from Māori' (p. 193). Jellie (2001) noted that, as a result of acquiring knowledge and developing empathy for te ao Māori, facing challenges from Māori becomes difficult and frustrating. While this is true, the participants felt that involvement with Māori and past positive experiences helped them to process the challenges they faced. All of the participants felt it had been much more difficult to face challenges from Māori than it was to face challenges from Pākehā. When asked how they dealt with this, two of the participants (George and Zara), said that they didn't do anything. With regard to the challenges faced in the te reo class, George stated, 'when I was in the te

reo class, I didn't respond at all and I sometimes look back and think how should I have responded'? Zara attributed her inability to respond to a respect of Māori tikanga:

I do find it difficult when I am challenged by Māori for my involvement in things Māori. My eyes lower, I just find I have no comeback. How do you comeback when you are challenged about this? I don't want to start an argument and I am so respectful of tikanga that I couldn't argue in a situation like that.

I can personally relate to what Zara is saying here. For me, it is the respect I hold for Māori and tikanga that makes it difficult to counter challenges from Māori. Jones (2007) talked of a struggle that exists when people are faced with irreconcilable realities and the participants all acknowledged having felt tensions regarding facing challenges from Māori. Hallowell (1963) considered that personal attributes, such as courage and psychological adjustment abilities were significant factors in how individuals dealt with challenges they faced during the process of transculturalization. He also suggested that each person would respond to the challenges in a way that was most comfortable for them. Not all of the participants in this study felt the same way Zara and I did. Sally had a much more pragmatic approach to dealing with challenges:

My experience with all of that has been and still is that talk's cheap when it comes to these kinds of things, but it is actually getting stuck in and rolling your sleeves up that is the way to go if you can. I think the longer you spend in a community and the more actively you are involved, you become a little bit known and it becomes easier on some levels.

While, for some of the participants, like Peter and Sally, the challenges were based around their community involvement, for others, like myself and Zara, they related to the roles we fill. For George, one of the biggest challenges faced was being accepted by Māori in a specific setting, a te reo Māori class:

When I went to te reo total immersion I was the only Pākehā in the class and I was the only one who had any depth of formal education. First of all they were quite patronising, saying kia ora as if I was deaf or something and I think they thought that being Māori would give them a natural advantage. But actually because I had certain skills and abilities I was able to apply those in a way that they weren't. Also having done those night classes I did have a small vocabulary

already. I think they were incensed that I was quicker or slightly more accomplished than them and I got a sense of deep resentment. People would talk about it in the class, saying things like 'oh that Pākehā...this and that...and I would be thinking hello I am in the room you know. It was quite distressing and I was always this emblematic Pākehā. I wasn't just Jen who they might get to know. One day I heard one woman in class say, oh that's Jen she's a Pākehā and she only cares about money, and that was how I was characterised. And that deeply hurt me. It hurt me to know that was what they thought.

George and I had a long discussion during the interview around this instance and I related how I too had similar experiences. We discussed how it felt and agreed that we saw it as racism and that we found it very difficult, having grown up within the dominant culture and never having been exposed to racism before. It was only through our involvement with te ao Māori that we first became aware of it. We also agreed that it can be difficult to clearly identify covert racism in society (G. McLennan et al., 2010). In discussions on racism, all of the participants stated that they are now much more aware of it than they were before. George and I both agreed that we found it difficult at first, but, due to our earlier, positive experiences with Māori, we felt we were now able to deal with it better. Some of the participants also related that they had occasionally been the brunt of racist remarks and had been othered by Māori, as in the following comment made by George: 'sometimes I heard things said that made me very uncomfortable, racist things about Pākehā'. Brown (2011) found that 'it was their knowledge of te ao Māori that helped participants through their experiences of being othered by Māori...The more knowledge participants gained from te ao Māori, the less likely 'Othering' experiences affected them' (p. 219). All of the participants in the study (myself included) have had firsthand experience with challenges we believe to be of a racist nature, but we feel more equipped to deal with these due to our involvement with te ao Māori.

All of the participants related that, while they have been challenged in racist ways by both Māori and Pākehā, the bulk of the racist challenges have come from Pākehā. Generally, these challenges have been through verbal comments. George related:

Over the years I have been challenged a lot. I get challenged by Māori saying oh who are you, telling us what to do, although I never tell them what to do. I have been in meetings where I have been busily writing on the board or something and heard abuse towards Pākehā yet they forget that I am Pākehā. Pākehā too say some awful things and seem to forget that I work with Māori, and there is a lot of racism out there, from both sides, very strong, and abuse too. Some Māori who don't speak Māori seem very threatened by me, but Māori people who do speak Māori have been very happy to engage and have been very welcoming. I do get challenged a lot by non Māori, things like 'oh she thinks she's a Māori or, 'what does she think she's doing siding with them, you know, that sort of thing.

This experience related by George highlights the ways in which Pākehā who have become involved with Māori are much more aware of racist comments and actions. Being exposed to racism was one of the issues all participants found difficult. Peter recalled how his initial experience with racism was frightening:

Back in the late 70s, and early 80s, there was a lot of talk about the fisheries here. This was pretty much a fishing village back then, and the treaty of Waitangi stuff was coming to the fore, and the amount of racism that that stirred up was scary. For me it was scary.

In general, the participants were reluctant to label these challenges as racist and preferred to refer to instances of othering. In his study on Indianization, Hallowell (1963) found that transculturites who made the full change from one culture to another were often ostracised from their original cultural group and were treated in racist ways. Bentley (1999) also referred to instances where Pākehā-Māori in the nineteen hundreds were treated as 'other' by the European communities. Instances of othering or references to us/them are aspects of racism (R. McLennan, Ryan, & Spoonley, 2000), and all the participants spoke openly about being in situations where they had felt part of an us/them scenario. Ted related an instance from when he was working in Otago:

Then I invited them, the Kai Tahu people who had shared a lot of stories with us, into the department, and certain individuals made it quite clear that they were not comfortable with them (Māori) in their staff room. This was in the 80's and it hit me like a brick because I had just assumed everyone would be delighted. Most were of course but there were these others who were not. So we had to work through that and what it meant.

The participants felt that experiences where they had seen Māori being 'othered' made them feel very uncomfortable, especially after they had spent a lot of time with Māori and had begun to form a changed sense of self through their connection to te ao Māori. Mitcalf (2008) found that 'having an identity that is strongly influenced by being amongst Māori can make being positioned as separate from Māori a painful dilemma to resolve' (p. 68). The participants also related that, through their engagement with Māori, they become more familiar with the ways in which Māori are othered and how Māori experiences are clearly different from those of Pākehā'. Ted related an example of where he was able to see an us/them scenario from the perspective of Māori youth:

One particularly strong occasion I remember I had was when we were researching at an intermediate in Mangare. As we approached the kids we heard them saying things like "here come the honkies" and it didn't throw me until I stopped and thought yes, that is indeed what it looks like to them.

Reflecting on their own experiences of being othered either by Māori or Pākehā, the participants felt they had learned from them and that perhaps it was the challenge of being othered that had instigated some of the changes in their sense of self that they had all experienced. Change in perceptions of self resulting from exposure to othering are common in cross-cultural encounters (Kosmitzki, 1996). The participants also felt it was through their personal experiences of being 'othered' that they had begun to stand firmly against any acts of racism they encountered. Peter recalled an instance where he heard a comment and how that had resulted in him becoming involved in anti-racist movements:

I heard this guy say... "Bloody Māori's, couldn't even organise a descent dog fight". All this venom just poured out of him. I was absolutely shocked. I remember coming home and I thought for the first time I can see things the way they really are. It made me feel really fearful for my children, because that guy, someone like him, he's the guy who's going to be their teacher at school, he's the guy who's going to be the judge and the jury, he's the guy who's going to be their employer, and that had quite an impact on me. So then I got involved with racial issues.

From the findings of his study Brown (2011) suggests that 'at the societal level...when Pākehā align themselves with anti-racism or anti-oppressive processes, these Pākehā choose to participate in a process of change with other like-minded people and thus, engage in their own change process' (p.82). Hallowell (1963) suggested that transculturites experiences made them more able to undergo significant change processes and Hoogvelt (1997) suggested they were also better able to negotiate differences between cultures.

The participants reacted in various ways to instances of 'othering', but all agreed that they were able to process instances of being othered differently due to their involvement with Māori. In relating his experience of being othered by Māori, George felt it was his insight into te ao Māori that had enabled him to overcome his feelings at the time. He reflected how it had felt confrontational but that it had allowed him to see things from a Māori perspective:

It was interesting being other for the first time, because we just take for granted the world and how it operates and our agency in it. To lose that agency and be in someone else's game was quite a confrontation. It gave me such a totally better understanding of what it means to be Māori.

Brown (2011) also found that 'it was their knowledge of te ao Māori that helped participants through their experiences of being othered by Māori...The more knowledge participants gained from te ao Māori, the less likely 'othering' experiences affected them' (p. 219). I was able to relate strongly to this:

The exercise on the Treaty that took place today it was very disturbing for me. The way it resulted in grouping us into us/them categories made me extremely uncomfortable. I understood it completely but still it felt wrong somehow. Upon reflection I think my Māori 'whānau' from down home would not have done that and I can draw on my experiences with them to help me deal with these feelings of being 'excluded' (Researcher journal).

Challenges faced by participants were not limited to those of a personal nature. All the participants were able to relate either having become aware of, or being personally exposed to instances of institutional racism (G. McLennan et al.,

2010). Ted talked about what he believed was institutional racism he had experienced shortly after his involvement at the school in Mangare:

This (the experience at a Mangare school) was just before I went down to Dunedin, and I was still fired up from that. Just to characterise Otago then, I had a Māori student from here, one of our head students, and he said I want to be able to write my answers in Māori. I want to be able to use Māori frames and concepts, and I said fine, that will be good. I didn't think any more of it and he was pleased and I was happy. Then I got challenged further up and they tried to stop it. They put all sorts of road blocks in my way, and as a new arrival as head of department I didn't know how far I could push it. At that time they held their senate meetings at 8pm and it was a very formal affair, you had to wear a suit and tie, and they said "well you are going to have to defend this at the senate". So I put my case and of course it was going to go to the vote and there was hardly anyone prepared to support it. In fact it wasn't even seconded. I thought oh well I have done all I can do. Then there was a Māori person from the phys Ed department who had been there for years and I think he had been forced to put his Māoritanga aside to fit in, and at the last minute he said "ok, I will second it". Today these are only trivial things, tokenistic things, but back then they were what needed to happen to get it all started.

Ted commented that, although he feels instances of institutional racism are not as prevalent or as blatant as they were, they still occur. Other participants related similar observations and stated that institutional racism, although often difficult to recognise, is present in many areas (G. McLennan et al., 2010). The participants also commented that they were willing to speak out whenever they were confronted with institutional racism, even if it put them in a difficult position. When Ted related the instance at Otago University, I asked him why he had taken a stand, which, at the time, could potentially have been counter-productive to his career development. He responded:

At the time this took place it was quite difficult to be outspoken and support of issues like this. If I had been asked at the time why I was doing this I am not sure my answer would have been the same then as it might be now. I know I had made a commitment to that student. As head of department he had come to me with a request which to me seemed quite reasonable, and I did think of the issues like who's going to mark this. I could read an essay in stage one Māori but there was still the issue that I am Pākehā, but I thought that's alright, I can go to my friend Hoatu. So although I hadn't planned it out fully I thought alright this can be done. Once I was in there I had to see it

through, I couldn't back out. I was driven by the fact that I liked this student and I appreciated how hard it was then for a Māori student to go and knock on the door of a head of department, so I wasn't going to let him down. I also thought this is interesting because it was the year the national language act was passed. So in my case to the senate I said won't this look good in the paper, Māori is recognised as an official language and Otago refuses to accept a student essay written in te reo. I think that helped. Since then I have learned a great deal about meeting challenges and ways of working with Māori and being 'safe'.

For the participants in this study, the idea of being safe was something they found related directly to their level of involvement with te ao Māori. My own experience has been such that it is through my involvement, or, more specifically, close friendships and whānau inclusion, that I feel safe in Māori cultural settings. Ted expressed this by explaining:

The other big thing is cultural safety. Everyone is busy thinking cultural safety for Māori which is of course very important, but you also need it as a Pākehā person. So if you are in the whānau you have kuia who are your kuia because you are an active part of the whānau, and that then gives you your protection. It is very real protection and it is absolute trust.

Of all of the challenges the participants faced, the most significant was the way they challenged themselves. On one level, this was about feelings of inadequacy and personal desires to extend their knowledge, as in the following examples:

When I wake up I am always challenging myself to what is the next thing I can learn. Where is the next example I can be with Māori, be in the environment, where I can pick something up to further develop me (Zara).

The only thing from my own perspective is the disappointment in myself for not learning the reo. The disappointment that although I have been very supportive of everything Māori, and we have supported and encouraged our children ever since they were little, not one of my children have embraced the reo, and that makes me sad. I feel it is my fault because I haven't made the effort to learn, but it is a huge challenge for me, I am just not good at languages (Peter).

You can find yourself out of your depth and the language is an issue there at times. Sometimes I get away with understanding a bit

because my vocab's not too bad, but oh, I can't rely on that. I can't speak Māori and I have always considered it to be a weakness for me personally. A couple of times I have made pathetic attempts at learning but I've never managed it. I've always felt like it was a weakness (Sally).

On a deeper level, some of the personal challenges participants talked about concerned how they had to overcome a miss-match between what they believed and what was happening in some situations. Hallowell (1963) noted that it was common, in instances of Indianization, for the transculturites to struggle with the misalignment of their actions (habitual) and their new way of viewing things. Zara said that, for her, this miss-match came about because, through engaging with te ao Māori, not only had she changed her view of the world, she had also adopted Māori values and beliefs (values and beliefs are discussed fully in the following chapter). For example, Ted related an instance where his vocal support of things Māori was challenged, due to the fact that programs he was running did not include Māori perspectives:

Then we challenged ourselves. People said it is already well talked about and written about, but your department is running an Ed Psych training program and these are people who will be working with different kids of all kinds and a lot of those will be Māori, so where is the Māori content? We had to address that, and we had to do some treaty workshops with our own staff, and other staff in the university.

Although their descriptions of the challenges they faced were complex, there was a definite similarity in that all of the participants expressed feelings of being changed, in some way, from experiencing those challenges. Throughout the interviews, when discussing the variety of challenges participants faced, the common thread to emerge was that it was through positive experiences with Māori that the participants found ways of meeting or processing these challenges. Both Hallowell (1963) and Bentley (1999) found early positive experiences with the second cultural group to be a significant factor in successful transculturalization. Similarly, several recent studies have found that positive initial experiences are an important aspect in successful cross cultural engagement (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Huygens, 2007; Jellie, 2001).

Although the initial encounters, experiences, and challenges differ, central to all participants is the realisation that through engagement with te ao Māori personal change took place, that their view of the world changed and that they have somehow moved to a place that is different. In his thesis, Brown (2011) referred to this place as a 'third space' and he used this in explaining ways in which Pākehā deal with some of the issues they face when they become involved with te ao Māori. Brown found that, especially when confronted with instances of racism, Pākehā who have had positive experiences with Māori have a deeper realisation of the issues. He also found that, 'although participants were frequently exposed to negative opinions about te ao Māori, they did appear to employ a third space perspective toward these encounters because they also reflected on their positive past experiences with Māori' (p. 179). The participants of this study were able to relate to the concept of a third space, but they described it more as an in-between place.

Conclusion

The central theme to emerge from this chapter was that engagement with te ao Māori resulted in changed ways of being for the participants. Several other studies have revealed similar experiences for Pākehā engaged in Māori contexts. In research conducted to examine Pākehā learners of te reo and its effects on decolonisation processes, Jellie (2001) found that Pākehā ways of thinking and ways of being changed when they developed an understanding of te reo and tikanga Māori. Conclusions drawn from that study suggested there are three significant reasons why Pākehā choose to learn about Te ao Māori; an affinity with te ao Māori, advocacy for social equality, and influences that come about through family and friends (Jellie, 2001). From the participants' stories gathered to inform this research, it appears there is some alignment with the findings of Jellie's study, particularly the influences that come about through family and friends, and this aspect is discussed in Chapter Nine. Yet, although the findings in this study are similar to aspects of Jellie's findings, a deeper

analysis of the participants' stories indicates that Jessie's conclusions on the reasons Pākehā engage with Māori may be secondary, and that there are other, prior influences in play. Those prior influences are closely aligned with the factors that contribute to the successful process of transculturalization, as outlined by Hallowell (1963), such as length of engagement, attitudes, alignment of values and beliefs, and personal attributes.

One of the participants of this study (Peter) talked of his early encounters with Māori as being tokenistic and reflected that it was not until later, subsequent encounters, when he had felt an emotional connection, that he developed a much deeper understanding of te ao Māori. In a study exploring biculturalism in the context of a group of self-identified Pākehā bicultural practitioners of psychology, Campbell (2005) talks of fake or tokenistic biculturalism, as opposed to heart biculturalism, that is, approaching encounters with aroha and openness. Campbell concluded that it is through experiences of heart biculturalism that Pākehā have positive encounters with te ao Māori, and this finding was consistent with the participants in this study. All of the participants related that it was through emotionally connective experiences that they became involved with te ao Māori.

This chapter has presented and considered the participants' reflections on their initial involvement with te ao Māori, their experiences with Māori, and some of the challenges they faced. Central to all the participants was a feeling that it was early positive encounters that had the greatest effect on their developing involvement with te ao Māori. These early positive encounters also enabled the participants to meet the many challenges they faced. From these experiences, the participants felt their involvement with Māori had somehow enabled them to gain a better understanding of what it means to be Pākehā, and this is a significant finding, which is explored in depth in Chapter Nine. Overall analysis of the participants' initial engagement with te ao Māori revealed that positive first experiences were a significant aspect in their ability to face challenges and influenced their continued involvement with Māori.

Chapter Seven: Identity

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the participants' perceptions of self, with respect to how their engagement with Māori has impacted on their sense of identity and where they position themselves in the current contexts. The focus on identity in this chapter is divided into three subcategories: *sense of self*; *positioning*; and *roles*. In the subcategory *sense of self*, excerpts from the participant narratives are analysed to investigate ways in which the participants see themselves differently as a direct result of their involvement with te ao Māori. The chapter then considers how the participants see themselves in relation to their 'position' within the current socio-cultural context. Finally, the chapter reveals what role the participants believe they occupy in society. The findings of this chapter will be used to inform the critique in the following chapter on the application of aspects of Transculturalization Theory to this study.

i. Sense of self

Chapter Three of this thesis considered various theoretical perspectives on the formation of identity from an individual and a social perspective, particularly the notion of self perceptions as they relate to identity construction, Social and Cultural Identity Theory, and the psychological aspects of self perceptions in instances of cross-cultural encounters. Although identity theorists differ in definitions of the 'self', there tends to be a general agreement that the construction of 'self' is both a cognitive and an experiential phenomenon affected by the social interactions of the world the person is part of (Baldwin, 1987; Cooley, 1956; Mead, 1934a). The multiplicity of these self perceptions and their connection to a person's experiences are very significant to this study as the findings reveal the participants' perceptions of themselves are changed as a result of their engagement with te ao Māori.

Several studies have found that changes occur in an individual's perceptions of self due to cross-cultural experiences. For instance Kosmitzki (1996) found that self-perceptions were altered in individuals who were exposed to a new culture, suggesting that:

One conclusion drawn from these results is that living in a new culture for at least a few months influences the ways individuals perceive themselves and others in relation to both the native and non-native cultural group (p. 246).

In studies specific to the New Zealand context, Pākehā perceptions of self were shown to be transformed through exposure to Māori culture (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008), and in many instances this resulted in a deeper understanding of what it means to be Pākehā. Brown concluded that 'knowing something about te ao Māori, is knowing something about being Pākehā' (p. 19). This sense of a new and deeper understanding of what it means to be Pākehā through involvement with Māori is consistent with the findings of this study and is discussed further in the concluding chapters.

For many of the participants, their involvement with te ao Māori and their open displays of adhering to Māori cultural practices has at times resulted in assumptions that they have Māori identity. Peter said 'people often confuse me for being Māori, because I guess today a lot of Māori can be very fair. When people hear me speak they think that I am of Māori descent but it's not something that I ever portray. I never try and give the illusion of being Māori'. Two participants related that they have even been labelled as 'Māori wannabes' and they found that very offensive. The participants concerned related that remarks like this were offensive for many reasons but especially so because they carried with them certain derogatory connotations to being Māori. Both these participants stated that they have a very strong sense of self and are comfortable in their own identities. Indeed, all the participants of the study expressed a strong sense of their own personal identity and none of the participants of this study expressed any desire to be Māori.

For some of the participants, their sense of self was strong before their engagement with Māori and has since deepened. Ted related that 'one of the very important things is that I don't feel that I am becoming more Māori, yet I am now much clearer on what it means to be Pākehā'. Ted went on to reflect that 'I have engaged a lot with Māori and from that I have found out who I am. I have found that I am not Māori, but I have also found that what I am is a Pākehā New Zealander'. Ted also expressed that his sense of self had always been very strong, but that it was through his engagement with Māori that he now has a much deeper sense of who he is.

Some of the participants reflected that they had not previously considered their sense of self in any great depth. George said: 'With regard to my sense of identity, I suppose because I never had any counter point it never occurred to me before that I had any kind of identity. I think it is that whole thing where the dominant culture doesn't realise that it is a culture, it's just the norm'. Yet George felt very strongly that his involvement in te ao Māori had definitely given him a deeper sense of self. He went on to reflect that this deeper sense of self he had acquired as a result of engaging with Māori was in part due to his realisation that there are some fundamental differences that exist between Māori and Pākehā. In discussing the construction of identity Said (2003, p. 332) felt identity formation and identity change revolved around 'establishing opposites and others whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences'.

Through engagement with te ao Māori the participants began to see themselves as different to other Pākehā who had not engaged with te ao Māori. A study conducted by Mitcalfe on what it meant to be Pākehā, for Pākehā who had engaged with Māori cultural learning contexts (2008) found that 'involvement in the Māori cultural learning context brought participants greater awareness of contemporary Māori issues, an acute sense of Māori difference, and opportunities for reflection about their own identity as Pākehā' (p. 107). This was true for George and he expressed this in the following way:

Learning Māori gave me a heightened sense of self because for the first time I had the experience of being “other”. It had never before occurred to me that I was a member of the majority culture which membership conferred on me privilege and taken-for-granted “insider” status. It made me realise how much culture influences how we frame the world and consequently our place in it. It deepened my sense of what it meant to be Pākehā because even though I knew about cultural differences at an intellectual level I had not had the experience of being the ethnic minority.

Other participants also reflected that their deeper sense of self was in part a reflection on differences they had observed and one of the participants (Zara) felt that having first hand experiences of the link between Māori identity and whakapapa had helped her understand better what it means to be Pākehā. Zara felt that it was important as a Pākehā to acknowledge the things that were central aspects of Māori identity and to incorporate them into what she referred to as her way of being. She stated that:

I think an important aspect of being Pākehā is to know your own mihi and be able to pronounce it correctly, so you can show you are paying respect to Māori. It’s like acknowledging our differences but doing so in a Māori way, which for me is what being Pākehā is all about, Pākehā as opposed to European or something else.

One of the participant’s sense of self as a Pākehā was heightened by his reflection on what had first drawn him to te ao Māori. Peter related that early on there was ‘something about being Māori’ that he wished he could be part of:

From an early age I used to envy the fact that they, my mates and their parents, had a mana about them that I admired. Even though my family had been here just about as long, they, just the fact that they were Māori and they were tangata whenua, which was something that I acknowledged way back then, I felt that they really belonged. They had a sense of belonging. Even though society had marginalised them so much they still felt that they really belonged, they had a sense of belonging. And I envied that in them.

Peter felt that acknowledging this aspect of Māori identity helped him to see what it means to be non Māori and through his involvement with Māori he now understands what it means to be Pākehā. Peter, along with the other participants expressed that his sense of self was now more that of a Pākehā

than just that of a non Māori, and it was only through ongoing involvement with Māori that a sense of self as Pākehā been constructed.

The findings of this study demonstrate that involvement with Māori culture has had an impact on the self-perceptions of the participants. All the participants expressed an idea that they have a sense of self in relation to te ao Māori that is in some way disconnected from their own personal identity. This disconnected sense of self was expressed in two ways, one as a form of cultural or social identity, and one as an extended self. The participants felt that their personal identity was the same as that which they had before their engagement with Māori. Ted remarked that 'I don't think I am different to anyone else. My identity was pretty well formed in adolescence'. Yet, Ted also reflected that, especially through engaging with Māori and working in Māori cultural contexts, he now has an extended identity that is very much about being Pākehā. Sarbin (2000) believed that identity is both static and transformational and described this as constructions of the self. Sarbin explained this by suggesting that

The first construction of self is that of a continuous entity that is transcultural and persistent. The other construction is that the form and dimensions of self are products of participations in particular cultures, and allow for change and novelty (p. 253).

Zara considered there was an extra dimension to her cultural self that was directly related to her exposure to te ao Māori and spoke of this in terms of ethnicity and culture:

I have always looked at this thing, ethnicity versus culture. Ethnically I am a white South African, but is that culturally who I am? I don't think so! It is very much not that, and I think that idea of cultural capital and what you gain from those around you is very true. So for me there is my identity that is connected to my ethnicity, and then there is my identity that is to do with my cultural capital. My sense of self 'culturally' is not that of a white South African, it is one of a Pākehā.

Zara felt that her sense of self as a Pākehā was not necessarily a separate identity but was more an 'extension' of who she is. Neisser (1988) observed that people often experience an 'extended self' through exposure to different cultural contexts. The extended self referred to by Neisser is described as people's

sense of continuity, and their understanding of themselves as human beings who have existed over time, which allows for the incorporation of the many aspects of identity formation and personal positioning within social and cultural constructs. Ted expressed this aspect of a sense of self that is directly connected to personal positioning within social and cultural constructs through the following:

I believe you find out who you are by what you do and who you engage with. There's the term treaty partner. The idea of a treaty partner is an identity that you can invite people in who are not Māori. What we have in common to Māori is that we are both partners to a treaty. Doing that allows me to understand Māori better and to understand my own sense of self as a Pākehā.

For all the participants of this study, relating their sense of self was in many ways connected to how they saw themselves situated within various contexts. Hallowell (1963) stated that a reconstruction of the self with relation to varying contexts was a factor in the process of transculturalization, and several theorists have acknowledged that one's sense of self is connected to social interactions and different social dynamics (Baldwin, 1987; Cooley, 1956; Harre, 1998; Mead, 1934b).

ii. Positioning

Through the analysis of the data in respect to the participants' sense of self, a common theme to emerge was one of socio-cultural positioning. The participants defined this as being where they saw themselves positioned culturally in respect to New Zealand society. Many of the participants reflected that through their involvement with te ao Māori, although they now had a much deeper sense of self, they felt they had somehow moved to a different place in society than where they were. When asked to expand on what they meant by a different place the participants spoke of being in-between two cultures, reflecting that their engagement with Māori had in some way changed how they fit into society's cultural categories. Webber (2008) comments that through 'this

inability to fit into society's racial categorizations... [They are] forced to occupy an in-between position or negotiate many border crossings' (p. 23). George spoke of being able to readily switch from te ao Māori to te ao Pākehā, yet not feeling any true sense of belonging to either: 'I still feel caught right in between, in this no man's land. I can swap from one to the other, but neither quite fit anymore. So I think I am somewhere in the middle'. This notion of 'in-betweenness' was described by Zara as a recognition that although she no longer adhered to the ideological practices of the dominant group, te ao Pākehā, and even though she had adopted many of the cultural beliefs and practices of te ao Māori, she was not and could not 'exist in society as a Māori' and therefore was left somewhere in-between. To explain this as a socio-cultural position, Zara was very clear that it was not about her own sense of self:

I have a very strong sense of being somewhere in between. It doesn't affect my sense of my own personal identity, but it makes me realize other people's lack of understanding. It also makes me see that because I do understand I am somehow 'sitting' in a different position to most people.

Both Zara and Jenny indicated that they realised they were positioned somewhere between the dominant and the minority cultural groups i.e. te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori, when they were faced with instances of lack of understanding. When discussing this in-between place that the participants felt they occupy, some reflected that it is not always a comfortable and safe place to be. Zara stated this by saying; 'I have come to realise though that being in this in between place can be quite tenuous at times and requires a lot of courage'. Bentley (2007) considered courage as one of the attributes necessary for the successful cultural transition of Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century, and Hallowell (1963) also talked of courage in respect to personal attributes required for successful transculturalization.

Several of the participants spoke of feeling isolated in this in-between place, and again related it to the realization that they felt they understood things

differently to the majority of people from the dominant cultural group in society. George stated:

I remember when I was studying I felt very isolated. Sometimes when you hear certain comments you try and explain but you are frustrated when others don't understand. I think you kind of forget that you have been on a long journey yourself to reach that level of understanding.

The notion of being somewhere in-between is a common theme that has emerged in other studies of Pākehā engagement with Māori (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Mitcalfe, 2008). Often this has been expressed in terms of a third space, and in all these studies, the participants were able to express themselves with connection to this third space. Brown (2011. p. 196) stated that 'because these participants chose to experience te ao Māori they began to explore a third space perspective'. Two of the participants of this study (Sally and Ted) expressed that their perspectives were different in different situations. Although Sally expressed initial discomfort with her inability to fit in she clearly displays a third space perspective in the following statement: 'For a long time I was really not completely comfortable about where I sat and where I fitted in. And now one of the things that really interests me is this notion of common ground between'. I was able to relate fully to Sally's idea of common ground as it is an area I have given a great deal of consideration to in respect to my own sense of being somewhere in-between te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori. I recall a specific instance where I had made a journal entry following my involvement in the development of some new Māori papers for a degree course:

Following the latest developments I am once again aware of sitting somewhere in between the two groups. I can see both points of view and both are valid. Interestingly I can also see that there is a common ground here and there is a way that we can move forward. The difficulty is that I feel I am the only one who sees this and it is very frustrating.

Reflecting on this instance, I feel my frustration was more to do with my in-between position and how that impacted on my sense of self in my professional capacity. Ted also spoke of being in similar situations and commented that he found it difficult to keep strong boundaries in place:

So I looked at what was happening to me. I looked at what people were doing and not doing, and I thought one of the things you do is you blur the boundaries between your personal self and your professional self and I thought yes that is what I am doing.

All the participants were able to relate in some way to this blurring of boundaries and not just between the personal and professional self. Most of the participants spoke on the idea of cultural boundaries and how for them, at some point or other they had realised they existed in a place between these boundaries. Pile and Thrift (2005) stated that because there are more and more people who are not able to fit clearly into one cultural group or another, these boundaries are becoming less defined. George felt that being in this in-between place left him feeling as if he was part of a culture that was neither Māori nor European. Bhabha (1994) believed that the impossibility of containing cultural boundaries resulted in new and different cultures. Zara related that she felt it was impossible for her to separate herself from te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā and that her sense of self was strongly connected to both cultures.

One aspect all the participants felt very strongly about was that their experience of existing in what they described as an 'in-between' place had the potential to offer something significant in respect to race relations. Webber (2008, p. 31) believed this in-between space opened the possibility of new ways of thinking about culture, and Brown suggested that it is the 'movement between groups that has the potential to either advance or hinder progress between groups...' (p. 51), and Hoogvelt (1997, p. 158) considered there is an 'advantage of inbetweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference that results in a higher cultural intelligence'.

iii. Roles

For the participants of this study, reflection on their sense of existing in-between raised the question of whether they see themselves in any specific role in society. There were several different ways in which the participants of this study expressed their ideas of what role they saw themselves filling. Houkamau

(2006) suggested that 'because the self is an entity among others with whom they are similar or different people have self-understandings which relate specifically to their social position and relative social standing' (p.10). When considering their self-understanding of the role they fill in the current socio-cultural context, all the participants spoke of themselves in terms of intermediaries and facilitators. For most of the participants, this was directly connected to their feelings of being in an in-between position. George expressed this by saying 'I think people like me, other in-betweeners if you like, do have some sort of role. We certainly advocate I think. We have an intermediary role'. Other participants made similar statements:

If I think about myself and my role now, I guess the first word that springs to mind is one of facilitation. One way and another I am involved in an array of heritage projects and my role is often quite a strategic one around facilitation (Sally).

I guess first and foremost I see myself as an activist in some ways. But only in so far as I want to facilitate change. I guess having knowledge and understanding of both cultures puts people like me in a unique role. We have the opportunity to make a difference. In my own context I do that actively (Peter).

Both Sally and Peter talked of how the socio-cultural context has changed from when Pākehā-Māori were present in nineteenth century New Zealand times, and Sally reflected that she works towards unravelling some of the complexities that exist through lack of understanding.

Historically we have a very simplistic, patronising perspective of the past prior to European arrival. Subsequent to that (1769) that ceased to exist and we just had this Pākehā view of our history. It goes from one to the other, whereas it just isn't like that. So a lot of my efforts are around trying to unravel the complexity that existed, and still exists today, to facilitating that understanding (Sally).

When discussing their role as facilitators or intermediaries the participants felt that they were acting more on behalf of Māori and saw their role as one of educating Pākehā. In all instances the participants spoke of feeling a responsibility to pass on knowledge they had gained through their engagement with Māori in order to help facilitate understanding and to do so in a respectful

manner. George said he felt that way 'because it is a privilege that has been bestowed upon me and I feel an obligation to honour it'.

Participants spoke of their role as facilitators in terms of education, and they felt other non-Māori were more receptive to them in this situation than they were to Māori. Peter said 'I started going around giving talks on the Treaty of Waitangi to different groups. A lot of these groups wouldn't talk to Māori people because they weren't comfortable, but they would talk to me because I was Pākehā'. In his study on Pākehā educating other Pākehā, Brown (2011) also found that non-Māori were more receptive to learning Māori knowledge from other non-Māori and attributed this in part to the in-between position of his participants. He suggested that when education about te ao Māori comes from a third space perspective it 'may appear more appealing to other Pākehā, especially those Pākehā who question the relevance of te ao Māori for Pākehā' (p. 237). Brown went on to conclude that Pākehā working from this third space perspective were filling a significant role in the current socio-cultural context. Participants of this study expressed a desire that the role they fill will help to instigate social change in some form. One participant (Peter) felt he could already see changes taking place:

I am encouraged to a degree by the change in mindsets of the likes of the local council. I think I am a very impatient person. I am a visionary in lots of ways. I plant a lot of seeds in people's minds. I see that change is happening. It doesn't happen as fast as I would like, but it is happening.

Participants also indicated their belief that it is Pākehā who are existing in the in-between place, or the third space who will have a strong impact on future socio-cultural relations in this country. Webber (2008) comments that 'the concept of a third space is liberating, in that it opens a new way of thinking about New Zealand culture' (p. 31). All the participants of this study said they were excited about the potential future of New Zealand, and some felt they had an important role to play in shaping that future. Zara stated:

I think people like me; those of us who are committed to Māori culture though not born into it are the drivers to the future. Being in an in between position we have a responsibility to both, not only to

our own ethnic group but to the Māori of the future. I think those in between are in a potentially very powerful place. We could do amazing or drastic things. I think those that are leading are the in betweeners, those with the passion who will stand up and have that courage to be willing to immerse themselves in things Māori to take on the knowledge, to learn the Māori cultural ways so they can share it with other non Māori, and I believe they are among the drivers of the future.

One aspect of both positioning and roles that all the participants felt strongly about was that they believed both their cultural safety and comfort in the in-between place was maintained through positive and ongoing engagement with te ao Māori.

Conclusion

In considering aspects of identity with relevance to this study, the data has revealed that the participants' sense of self has been deepened through their engagement with te ao Māori, and that they have a better understanding of what it means to them to be Pākehā in the current socio-cultural context. In terms of their self perceptions, many of the participants felt they had a deeper understanding or sense of self as a direct result of their engagement with Māori. Zara stated:

I do have a very strong sense of my own identity and I think that has happened through my involvement in things Māori. I think it has helped me to determine who I am and to recognise my identity. It is like that missing piece of the jigsaw.

This finding is consistent with similar studies conducted in New Zealand (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Mitcalfe, 2008; Webber, 2008), and is supported by Tajfel's (1981) definition of social identity as '... that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership in a social group (or groups), together with the values and emotional significance attached to that group membership' (p. 255). In the context of this thesis, a person's self-concept derived from the value and significance attached to group membership is an important aspect to consider, given that the participants

stated clear links between their experiences engaging with Māori and their sense of self as Pākehā.

Also significant is the participants' reflections that although aspects of themselves are transformative and situational, they do maintain a core 'self' that is static. Krebs (1999) considered this in his work on people who move back and forward between cultures, whom he called Edgewalkers. He believed that these people 'do not shed one skin when they move from their cultures of origin to the mainstream and back. Edgewalkers maintain continuity where ever they go, walking the edge between cultures in the same persona' (p. 75). However, Krebs was primarily discussing people who move between cultures, and one of the significant aspects to emerge from the analysis of the data connected to identity is that the participants of this study did not see themselves as moving between cultures so much as actually existing in a position of in-betweeness. In his study on Pākehā educating Pākehā, Brown used Bhabha's (1993) view that the third space provides a location for the critiquing and expanding of truth, and he felt that 'the third space represents a hybrid, changing space' (2011, p. 53). The participants of this study see their position in-between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā as interconnected with their extended sense of self and the roles they play in socio-cultural contexts. Several of the participants saw being in this in-between place, and their self perceived roles as intermediaries as having the potential to facilitate social change. All the participants saw a direct link between their position in-between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā as contributing to their deeper understanding of being Pākehā. Bhabha (1994, p. 35) states that:

We should remember that it is the inter – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, anti-nationalist histories of the people. And by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves.

In the context of this study the others of ourselves that Bhabha is suggesting is the identity the participants now understand as being their identity as Pākehā. This expression of a new form of Pākehā identity is discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Eight: Aspects of Transculturalization Theory

Introduction

This chapter examines the alignment of the factors identified by Hallowell in Transculturalization Theory to the findings that have emerged from this study. Chapter Three introduced Hallowell's theory of Transculturalization. In his initial work with Transculturalization Theory (1963), Hallowell provided a new way of looking at cross-cultural studies from an individual perspective. However, developing a human science theory based on the analysis of historical texts is problematic in that the data available is limited to recorded evidence, and the voice of the people, although present in the text, relies on layers of interpretation across time and space. While it is possible in historical studies to form opinions and offer conjecture soundly based on the historical evidence, the voice of the people is still missing. In this study, it is the voices of those who might be named Pākehā-Māori that have been used to inform the findings, and in this chapter the themes that have emerged from the participant narratives are considered with relevance to the application of Transculturalization Theory in current contexts.

Hallowell (1963) identified several factors he believed were instrumental in making a successful transition to a second culture, and these were introduced and discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis. The factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of cultural adoption were: attitudes toward the second culture; length of exposure; adopting values and beliefs; roles; motivation; and language acquisition. This chapter will address each of these and consider their relevance as factors in applying Transculturalization Theory in current contexts.

i. Attitudes toward second culture

One of the factors identified by Hallowell as an important aspect of the process of transculturalization was attitudes towards the second culture. This section will consider of the role of attitudes in the process of transculturalization presented by Hallowell, with specific relation to Pākehā-Māori in both the nineteenth century and in current contexts. The purpose is to examine the role of attitudes as a relevant factor in the process of transculturalization for Pākehā-Māori in the 1900s, and then investigate attitudes as a factor in current contexts in order to consider the continued relevance of attitudes as a factor in the theory of Transculturalization.

Through his study of the phenomenon of Indianization, Hallowell (1963) suggested that attitudes toward the second culture strongly influenced an individual's decision to engage with the new cultural group. Hallowell noted that cases of what he termed voluntary Indianization only became common with the less constricted cultural outlook of the eighteenth century. Prior to that, 'to the Puritan mind...to Indianize voluntarily was tantamount to a crime' (Hallowell, 1963, p. 525). However, Hallowell believed that even as cultural outlooks began to change in society, in general the predominant attitude still remained that 'the Indians were an uncivilized and Godless group of people' (p. 525). During the period of revolution in America, when there was pressure to be loyal either to the English or the Rebel government, many settlers found themselves stripped of their land and were forced to seek refuge with the native peoples. Pioneers in the American West who had contact with local Indian tribes and learned aspects of their culture began to develop attitudes different to those commonly held by the rest of society, and instances of culture crossing increased (Hallowell, 1963).

In nineteenth century New Zealand there was a similar attitude in that the natives were seen as uncivilized (Belich, 1986; Marshall, 1984; Thomson,

1974). Many of the first Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand were escaped convicts who society had often labeled as godless themselves, and perhaps these men did not hold the same attitudes toward Native peoples as did the society they were part of, and therefore found it easier to reject their European ideals and adopt the cultural ways of the Māori (I. Campbell, 1998b; Thorp, 2003). Like some of the pioneers in the American West who became absorbed into Native tribes, many early Pākehā-Māori were actually seeking an escape from the constricting societal attitudes of the day (Bentley, 2007).

While a desire to escape societal conventions and attitudes about the nature of the second culture may have been a strong factor with Pākehā-Māori in the first decade of the nineteenth century New Zealand, attitudes towards the second culture play a different part in the current context. There are issues with attempting to consider attitudes as a factor in the process of transculturalization in historical studies compared to those in current contexts, because it is not possible to interview the people of the historical studies directly. However, it is possible to consider attitudes in respect to the current study. Chapter Six provided evidence of participants' first encounters with te ao Māori in which the participants referred to their attitudes towards te ao Māori. Peter related the following:

They (my family) really had no interest. I suppose in a way it was a conditioning thing where they felt that their culture was superior I guess. Whatever it was, our family had no interest in learning Māori or had no interest in the Māori culture or history. It was not seen as important in any way.

Other participants have related similar stories regarding their attitudes toward the Māori culture and, in general, most participants had very little prior knowledge of Māori culture.

One aspect that all the participants commented on relates to a growing awareness of societal attitudes they had not previously considered. Through their engagement with and subsequent affinity toward te ao Māori, many of the participants of this study were confronted with societal attitudes such as racism,

or expressions of superiority. In these instances, the participants related that it was a growing awareness of these attitudes which had in some way contributed to their deepening involvement with te ao Māori.

Overall, attitudes toward the second culture, both societal and individual, were not identified in this study as being predisposers to successful cultural transition to the same extent as Hallowell indicated they were in his work with Transculturalization Theory. In the historical study carried out by Hallowell (1963), and even in Bentley's (2007) examination of the representation of Pākehā-Māori in the historical literature, the attitudes of society and those of the individuals may have had greater importance in the process of cultural transition than they appear to in the current study, due in part to the socio-historical context in which they occurred. In this study, although many of the participants expressed a lack of knowledge of Māori culture prior to their exposure to te ao Māori, they all acknowledged they grew up in a world which allowed for wider cultural awareness and inter-cultural experience. This is in stark contrast to the socio-historical context of Hallowell's study on Indianization, and studies on Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand.

The historical context of Pākehā-Māori that was presented in Chapter Two was similar to that of Hallowell's study in so far as both the Indian and Māori cultures were seen as being savage, uncivilized, and of little value, and according to Hallowell, (1963. p. 525) 'for a white person to become Indianized was necessarily a retrograde step'. In nineteenth century New Zealand, as well as in the American West, those who made the cultural transition were considered rebellious fugitives from society (Thorp, 2003). Many of the first Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand were quite literally fugitives from society in the form of escaped convicts. Even the early settlers who did not become Pākehā-Māori were in many ways fugitives from the society of the time, in that they came to the newly formed colony to escape poverty and oppression in Britain (Bentley, 2007).

For Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century in New Zealand, perhaps the most significant aspect in regard to attitudes was more to do with individual adaptation. Evidence of this is found in Bentley's (2007) observation that:

The basis of being Pākehā-Māori, then, does seem to have been the mental attitude of the culture-crossers. It was their acceptance of Māori protocols and the subordination of their own interests to the tribe that made their identity transformations recognisable and durable (p. 16).

Some recent studies on cross-cultural encounters and cultural adaptation from a psychological perspective have revealed that individual attitudes are significant in the successful transition from one cultural group to another (Anderson, 1994; Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Berry, 1990). Brown (2011) considers that his participants' openness to taking hold of significant experiences with te ao Māori were because the participants were receptive to te ao Māori. He concluded that this receptiveness to the second culture was an important factor with regard to his participants' perspective of their engagement with te ao Māori.

Considering individual attitudes from a psychological perspective, Hallowell stated that there were degrees of transculturalization which were directly dependent on the level of 'psychological transformation' that took place (p.523). Hallowell suggested that in order for transculturalization to be successful, the transculturalite had to have an attitude that was favorable to the adoption of a second culture. Hallowell thought that the existence of this favorable attitude could have been linked to the amount of prior knowledge the transculturites had of the second culture, and Berry (1999. p. 21) suggests that 'sociocultural adaptation is predicated by cultural knowledge, degree of contact, and intergroup attitudes'. Brown (2011) referred to favorable attitudes as a willingness to engage. The participants of this study demonstrated a willingness to engage respectfully from the time of initial involvement with te ao Māori. However, while cultural knowledge, degree of contact, and attitudes are all factors mentioned by Hallowell, there is no empirical evidence to support his idea that they were strong predictors of successful cultural transition.

ii. Length of exposure

Along with attitudes, Hallowell considered the length of time the transculturalite spent immersed in the second culture to be extremely important in contributing to successful transculturalization. In his historical study on Indianization, Hallowell found that individuals were only fully accepted into Indian society after they had been living within that society for a length of time, and had fully adopted the language, values, and beliefs of the group. In nineteenth century New Zealand there were similar requirements for Pākehā to become fully accepted into Māori society. In the historical context of Hallowell's study, and Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century, the durability of the cultural transition appears dependent on the amount of time spent immersed in the second culture. In line with Transculturalization Theory, the length of exposure to the second culture being an important factor in the ability of the individual to 'transition' into the second culture was also found to be the case in this study. The participants related instances where they felt that the more contact they had with te ao Māori, the deeper their engagement became. For example, Ted stated that as Head of Department he was required to attend many local events, and through these he became more and more engaged, and started understanding more aspects of Māori culture, such as tikanga.

A point of difference between the findings in this thesis and Hallowell's study is that, in current contexts, the length of exposure is seen as significant for the individuals making the cultural transition, where as in Hallowell's study, the length of exposure was significant to the second cultural group. Hallowell found that the second culture did not fully accept the outsiders until they had lived among them for a period of time (Hallowell, 1963). The findings of this study are in contrast to this, showing that the participants did not consider their acceptance by Māori to be at all dependent on the length of time they had, or had not been engaged with te ao Māori. Several of the participants related feelings of instant acceptance, and that what changed with continued exposure was not how they were accepted, but how they personally felt about being part of te ao Māori. Zara commented that:

I guess for me I always felt like I was accepted with-in the realms of Māori and the people for who I was. It was like that right from the start. The way I was accepted did not change but how I felt about being part of it all changed the longer I spent around Māori people.

The differences between historical and current aspects, with regard to length of exposure, are, for the most part, due to different social contexts. In the early nineteenth century, in New Zealand, Māori were the dominant group in society, and lived very much according to their traditional beliefs and structures. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, there were no cross cultural encounters, and intergroup encounters which did take place were between Māori who understood and followed the same or very similar ways of being. When non-Māori first attempted to integrate into Māori society, they were required to demonstrate an affiliation and a loyalty to the iwi which could only be achieved through prolonged exposure (F Maning, 2001). Without this demonstration, full acceptance by the iwi could not be gained. Demonstrated loyalty was also a requirement in instances of 'Indianization', and Hallowell identified this as a significant factor with relation to Transculturalization Theory. For the participants of this study, acceptance by Māori was more dependent on the actions of the participants than on the length of time they were engaged with te ao Māori. However, the findings do demonstrate that the longer the participants were engaged with te ao Māori, the deeper they developed their understanding of, and respect for te ao Māori.

iii. Adopting values and beliefs

Hallowell (1963) considered that the longer an individual spent immersed in a second culture, the more opportunity they had to take on the values, beliefs, and behaviors of the second cultural group, and he considered this to be one of the most significant factors in successful transition from one culture to another. The findings of this study reveal that the participants' extended exposure to Māori culture resulted in the adoption of Māori cultural practices. Through their involvement with te ao Māori, the participants of this study not only became

familiar with Māori values and beliefs. For some these values and beliefs were adopted into their own daily lives. When the participants spoke of adopting Māori cultural values and beliefs, they did so most commonly using the word tikanga. Many said that tikanga had now become a part of their way of being. Other current studies have also found that a willingness to engage respectfully, learn about, and follow tikanga is a highly significant element in experiences of engaging with te ao Māori (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Huygens, 2007; Jellie, 2001).

When considering the adoption of the values and beliefs of the second culture, many of the participants related having made changes in their behaviours that reflected adoption of Māori values and beliefs. Ted said that 'along with a deeper understanding of te ao Māori comes change for example, tikanga. There are some tikanga practices that we have adopted into our daily lives to an extent', and Zara stated: 'I have found that through my involvement and my passion, aspects of Māori cultural practices have become a part of me now'. As well as being a part of the participants' way of being, for some, their adoption of Māori cultural values and beliefs has caused them to have uncomfortable feelings when tikanga is breached. George related: 'As for tikanga, well yes, like if someone sits on a table I am just beside myself, it's like a clanging bell'. The participants also felt that adopting Māori cultural values and beliefs was an inevitable part of continued exposure to, and involvement with te ao Māori.

Hallowell believed that an ability to adopt the values and beliefs of the second culture was an essential component of the process of transculturalization. Cultural studies theorists have considered the role of values and beliefs in cross cultural encounters (Kluckhohn, 1951). Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones (2006. p. 10) state 'given our thesis that acculturation represents changes in cultural identity, acculturation may involve exploring and committing to a potentially expanded set of cultural ideals values and practices'. Both Hallowell (1963) and Thorp (2003) suggested that continued exposure to a second culture directly results in adoption of the beliefs and values of that culture. In the

previous chapter several of the narratives give an indication of this, where the participants expressed a deeper understanding of things Māori through ongoing engagement. Zara felt it was a natural transition, and that tikanga had just become automatic to her. She considered that her natural observance of tikanga came from her drive and passion for all things Māori, and that it had a flow-on effect in many ways. She gave the following example:

As I got older I realised that this is a big part of my life, so then I started to create my own living style that is tikanga based. I think I naturally do a lot of tikanga things automatically, and I think that when your passion has become part of your life it is inevitable it will be there. I suppose my passion and enthusiasm for it being just a part of everyday life and part of school has now transcended into 4 years later my children at the senior level are displaying tikanga.

George also related several instances where following tikanga practices had influenced him, not only in his home life, but also in work environments. He felt that his adoption of Māori values and beliefs allowed him to approach work situations differently. George said; 'I think sometimes about what I am doing, and I find it difficult to explain. I mean there is no question that I bring that sort of Ma Māori Ora way of looking at things to work places'. All the participants agreed that even in non-Māori environments they always made sure that protocols were followed. When talking about occasions at the museum where protocol was required, Sally stated; 'I always made sure in that setting when we were hosting anyone that I was able to deliver a mihi and that we addressed the protocols adequately at least'.

In his study Brown (2011) also found that his participants displayed a growing empathy with the motivations behind tikanga practices through their continued exposure to te ao Māori. Hallowell (1963) believed that empathy towards the values and cultural practices of the second culture had to be present in order for transculturalization to take place. An ability to feel empathy implies there is more taking place than simply following protocols, or observing required cultural practices. The findings of this current study revealed that adopting the values and beliefs of te ao Māori went further than just following tikanga. For some of the participants, their adoption of Māori cultural values and beliefs extended to

levels of trust that accorded them cultural safety in certain situations. This level of trust was most evident in the following excerpt from Ted's narrative:

The big thing about tikanga is that at some point you come to trust tikanga, you know that there is always a way of doing things according to tikanga. I remember once when we were overseas presenting I was challenged by an aboriginal who said you are just a white person you shouldn't be speaking. I didn't quite know how to handle that, and I knew I should say something. Then the kaumatua who was with us said to me, you don't reply, and he stood up and replied to the aboriginal person. He said we follow tikanga strictly, and if he is part of the whānau he follows tikanga and is following it now which is why I am replying to you.

During the interview, Ted related many similar instances where he found following tikanga had accorded him a sense of cultural safety, and that the respect he displayed for tikanga had allowed him deeper insights into te ao Māori, and a developing empathy towards the reasons for following certain practices. This is similar to Brown's (2011. p. 201) findings that through their continued involvement with Māori, his participants developed 'a growing empathy with the relevance of tikanga in various contexts'. Not only were the participants of this current study all able to relate to this growing empathy mentioned in Brown's (2011) study, many of them spoke of being able to clearly identify the more subtle intricacies of tikanga in practice. In line with Transculturalization Theory, the ability of the individual to be aware of, understand, and demonstrate knowledge of cultural practices that outsiders could not grasp, demonstrates the extent to which the values and beliefs of the second culture have been adopted (Hallowell, 1963). Participants in this study's continued engagement with te ao Māori consistently resulted in a deeper understanding of Māori cultural practices. Ted explained this when he described an instance where tikanga had been breached, when he was a member of a group visiting a marae. One of the members of his group had spoken out of turn, and in English, causing offence to the kaumatua who was present. Ted explained that the issue was resolved through applying the correct tikanga process to the situation:

So you see that was tikanga in practice. We couldn't stand on the old kaumatua's mana so they took him away and brought another who

was comfortable with English being spoken in the house. They had taken us out of the house for food to make things whakanoa, and tikanga had resolved the issue. And this is what people outside don't realise. If you really believe what you are saying, there will be a way through by following tikanga processes.

Other participants expressed that not only did they come to realise and appreciate the importance of tikanga in a variety of situations they were also able to extend this to a wider context. This is in keeping with Transculturalization Theory, in so far as the individual takes on the values and beliefs of the second culture, to the extent that they apply them in all situations. This application was demonstrated by Peter, when he spoke of how he 'realised that in Māori culture or tikanga, they had developed various methods for protecting resources, kaitiakitanga', and that adopting tikanga had not only impacted on his views regarding ecological sustainability, but also offered him a different way of approaching the issues he faced. For all the participants of this study, adopting the values and beliefs of Māori had strongly influenced their approach in many instances. As part of the overall findings of his study, Brown (2011. p. 199) identified a similar theme, and stated that 'when the participants learned about values of te ao Māori, they began to see that a Māori way of doing things may be a better way forward for Pākehā society'.

While the participants in this current study expressed a deeper understanding of Māori values and beliefs, and many had adopted these into their own lives, they all felt they did so based around the notion of respect. Hallowell (1963) considered that respect for the second culture was paramount to an ability to adopt cultural practices and beliefs. Several of the participants spoke of the level of deep respect they held for Māori cultural practices, and how due to this level of respect there were areas of te ao Māori that they were not prepared to become involved in. Peter was very clear that it was this respect that guided him in what he did, or even areas where he would not become involved:

Whakapapa is something that I have deliberately not become involved in. I feel uncomfortable with it; I don't feel it's my place to talk whakapapa. It is something that I perhaps could do because of the knowledge I have, but I deliberately don't go there.

Along with the other participants, Peter also spoke of his respect for Māori cultural practices, in terms of the depth of knowledge contained in it:

When you get to have a level of understanding like I have of Māori culture and you respect it for what it is, when you start to appreciate the spirituality of it and you look at the oral histories. Then you find that there's a lot of knowledge that can be gained from it. The more we learn about the environment, the more we come to appreciate just how much the old people knew. I think it makes us appreciate that there is a tremendous amount we can learn from tikanga Māori. It's about getting to understand the spirituality and the fact that a thousand years of habitation has given those people a level of understanding that until we have lived here for a thousand years we are not going to have.

All the participants felt that it was through their involvement with te ao Māori that this deeper level of understanding and respect had occurred. This is consistent with Hallowell's theory that continued exposure to a second culture results in a deepening respect for the values and beliefs of that culture. Several current studies on Pākehā interrelating with te ao Māori (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Jellie, 2001) have also found a direct correlation between the adoption of values and respect for cultural practices to initial positive experiences in te ao Māori. In line with Transculturalization Theory, the findings of this study support the supposition that deep involvement in a second culture impacts on the adoption of the values and beliefs of the second culture. For the participants of this study, along with a deeper understanding and respect of te ao Māori, came an ability to feel things from a Māori perspective. The participants expressed this as a sense of empathy that they had not had prior to their engagement with te ao Māori. Ted related:

I know what it feels like to a Māori to be disrespected, that the person didn't even bother to check the name of the marae they have arrived at let alone pronounce it properly.

Other participants also expressed that through their adoption of Māori values and beliefs they were more able to feel connected with Māori. In Chapter Six of this thesis, many of the participants' narratives related that in their encounters with te ao Māori, when they were exposed to Māori cultural practices for the first time, they felt a kind of resonance with Māori values and beliefs. Hallowell

(1963) commented that the degree of transculturalization that took place depended on the extent to which the individual discarded their cultural beliefs, and adopted the new beliefs of the second culture. The findings of this current study show that several of the participants believed they had some inner set of personal values that aligned well with the cultural values and beliefs of Māori, and that made it easy for them to accept and embrace the values and beliefs associated with te ao Māori.

iv. Roles

In the previous chapter there was discussion on the roles the participants of this study feel they fill in society, today. In the historical context in which Hallowell undertook his study of the phenomenon of 'Indianization' and the development of Transculturalization Theory, the roles occupied by 'transculturites' were seen as extremely significant. Hallowell (1963) considered that the roles individuals filled within the society of the second culture had an influence on both their acceptance by the second cultural group, and the extent to which they immersed themselves in the new culture. This is consistent with Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand, and often the more prestigious or necessary the role was, the more the individual was seen as part of the Iwi.

The roles occupied by transculturites in the society of the second culture are one aspect of Transculturalization Theory that has a different application in the context of the current study. Many of the roles that Pākehā-Māori filled in Māori society in nineteenth century New Zealand no longer exist in their traditional form. However, some of those roles do still exist in different forms. An example of this would be the role of warrior chief that some Pākehā-Māori took on in nineteenth century New Zealand. Peter is fulfilling a transformed type of this role today, as an advocate and an activist, and stated that 'I often feel as if I am leading the local people in to battle, especially when it comes to standing up against council'. The participants recognized that some roles which might appear unimportant to outsiders hold great significance for them. For example,

Ted's description of being part of a whānau group. The importance attached to Ted's role as a member of this group is clearly reflected in the following: 'once you are part of the whānau you must accept all the responsibilities that go along with being accepted as a whānau group member, it is an honor and a privilege to be in that role'. In line with Transculturalization Theory, being aware of and accepting responsibilities attached to occupying a role in the second culture is another factor identified by Hallowell as necessary for successful transculturalization.

One facet of roles considered by Hallowell that is of strong interest to this thesis is the role of transculturites in the promotion of cultural change. Although Hallowell considered the possibility of transculturites as agents in the acculturation process, he suggested that in the American West they did not appear to have played an active role in promoting social change. In direct contrast to Hallowell's findings, Bentley (2007) strongly believed that Pākehā-Māori played a significant role in the acculturation process; that historically they were instrumental in bridging the gap between cultures. While Hallowell (1963) did not consider transculturites in the American West were in any way agents for change, he did consider that:

the role of transculturites in the promotion of culture change in the group with which they become affiliated is another question that might be investigated...hypothetically, the role of transculturites as agents in the acculturation process may be a function of the degree to which they explicitly reject the culture of their natural group and become identified with the central values of their adopted culture (p. 529).

This idea that transculturites (Pākehā-Māori in this instance) are not only an integral part of both historical and current contexts, but that they were, and are active agents in social change is examined in depth in Chapter Nine, with relation to the overall conclusions drawn from this study. In the previous chapter, when considering their self-understanding of the role they fill in the current socio-cultural context, all the participants spoke of themselves in terms

of intermediaries and facilitators and again, this will be discussed fully in the concluding chapters.

v. *Motivational factors*

When examining motivation as a factor in the process of transculturalization, Hallowell believed there were two aspects to consider: the motives of the individuals, and the motives of the leaders of the second cultural group. In his study on Indianization, Hallowell observed that there were often very strong social conventions that encouraged the adoption of outsiders such as the replacement of a deceased child or close relative. Also present in the motivation of the Indian chief was the prospect of financial gain which often occurred when 'captives' were returned, and most particularly the increased ability of the tribe to engage in, and profit from trade. With Europeans living amongst their tribe, many chiefs were able to engage in areas of trade that they previously did not have access to, such as weaponry (Hallowell, 1963). The motives of Māori chiefs in the early nineteenth century appear to have been very similar to the Indian chiefs in Hallowell's study.

As well as motives of the chiefs to accept outsiders, Hallowell also considered the motivation of the individual to be a significant factor in the process of transculturalization. He suggested personal gain, and basic survival needs as being the two most predominant motivators of individual transculturites. This was also consistent with Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century. Discussion on this in Chapter Two demonstrated that in the very earliest instances of Pākehā-Māori in New Zealand, survival was the biggest motivation for engaging with Māori. Bentley (1999) concluded that, generally, Pākehā-Māori have been depicted in the historical literature as having rather dubious and self serving motives for their engagement with Māori. Many were seen as seeking fame and fortune as a result of their involvement with Māori.

The motivation of the participants of this study to engage with Māori in current contexts are in direct contrast to the motivations of the individuals in both Hallowell's study on Indianization, and the evidence available on Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand. Two of the most significant motivators identified in the historical studies: survival and personal gain were not present in this study. With regard to personal gain as a motivating factor, in this study the opposite was most often the case. Many of the participants had made considerable sacrifice in order to continue their engagement with Māori, and faced many challenges (these have been discussed in Chapter Six).

All the participants of the current study were asked specifically if they could identify what motivated their engagement with te ao Māori, and most found it difficult to articulate this, indicating that it is more complex in current contexts than it was in historical contexts. Some did not know what motivated them. George said 'I don't know what drives me. There is something there that makes me just tough it out. I don't know what it is'. However, George and others also talked of 'passion' for things Māori as a driving influence, and spoke of feeling an obligation.

If I had to explain why I am so passionate about taha Māori, I guess I would have to say because it is a privilege that has been bestowed upon me and I feel an obligation to honour it I suppose. That's the only way I can describe it.

Passion and respect have been identified as motivators, but the findings of this study reveal a sense of social conscience as one of the greatest motivating factors. Peter gave an example of this in the following:

I am not sure exactly how or why I first started on this journey, but I think the strongest driving motivation for all of us is to protect your families. I used to say to people when they would say racist things that they were putting oil on a fire that the rest of us were trying to put out (Peter).

Recognising social inequalities was consistent across all participants, and they all reported that a very strong sense of social justice was a potential motivating factor. Zara expressed this in the following:

The gaps are what drive me, and the history of what has happened to Māori people through education. I am appalled by what has happened and is continuing to happen to Māori. Thinking about what the next generation of children will be like and their attitudes to things Māori and an opportunity to put things right is what encourages me to continue the journey I am on.

This strong sense of social justice was a clear theme to emerge from the data, and is examined further in the following chapter, with respect to the overall findings.

vi. Language acquisition

Hallowell considered language acquisition to be a central factor in the degree of transculturalization that took place. He saw the ability to speak the language of the second culture as impacting on both the roles the transculturites filled, and the level to which they were accepted into the second culture:

...and the acquisition of an Indian tongue mediated the social roles of these individuals in such a manner that they inevitably were drawn into the web of interrelations of the society (Hallowell, 1963. p. 527).

Other historical studies on instances of culture crossing support Hallowell's idea that language acquisition is a significant factor in the degree to which an individual is able to accept, and be accepted into a second culture (Bentley, 1999; I. Campbell, 1998a; Hogg, 1963; Thorp, 2003). In examining the phenomenon of Pākehā -Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand, an ability to speak te reo was essential for successful transition into Māori culture and society. In line with Transculturalization Theory, the roles filled by Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand were also dependent on an ability to speak te reo, just as they were in Hallowell's study on Indianization. Theorists of cultural adaptation processes agree that language acquisition is an essential

component of successful cross cultural transformations (Berry, 2005; Tadmor et al., 2009), therefore, language acquisition with relevance to Transculturalization Theory in the current context was expected to be a significant factor in this study.

The findings revealed that there were varying levels of Māori language ability in the participants ranging from very minimal ability to high levels of fluency and all the participants stated that they felt an ability to speak te reo was extremely important. Those participants who were not fluent expressed regret at not having learned the language. Peter related;

It's something that I am ashamed of really, that I never learnt. The only thing from my own perspective is the disappointment in myself for not learning the reo. The disappointment that although I have been very supportive of everything Māori and we have supported and encouraged our children ever since they were little, not one of my children has embraced the reo, and that makes me sad. I feel it is my fault because I haven't made the effort to learn. I think that if I had, they would have.

Sally expressed disappointment at not having learned to speak Māori, and stated that she felt it was a personal weakness, and she regretted not having been able to learn. Both Sally and Peter spoke of feeling a personal weakness in ability as reasons for not learning te reo. During the interviews all the participants spoke extensively about the importance of ability to korero Māori, and all stated a deep respect for the language. Peter considered there were reasons other than personal ones as to why he had not learned the language. He talked about growing up in a climate where te reo Māori was seen as 'a relic of the past', and a hindrance to progress. He spoke of shame being attached to traditional Māori ways of being, and also of the fact that many Māori in his area were not fluent, or if they were, they did not speak their language openly. Peter also considered that he would not feel comfortable speaking te reo, particularly if he is seen to be speaking on behalf of Māori. He explained this by saying 'I think it is one reason that I haven't learnt the reo, because I don't want to be speaking Māori for Māori. It is their role, not mine, and I feel really uncomfortable about it'. I can empathise with Peter here, as although I am

reasonably fluent, I vary rarely speak te reo and would certainly not do so 'on behalf' of Māori who could not speak te reo.

Participants who did not feel they had any fluency with the language, but were able to understand parts of it, spoke of an intention to improve this aspect of their engagement with te ao Māori. Peter stated; 'what I have done over the years, I listen to a lot of the korero, I do understand a bit of it. I guess I've learnt the pronunciation of Māori pretty well, maybe in time I will learn. I want to learn, it is my intention to do that one day'. Zara was very focused on learning more, and when we talked about the language she related the following:

I have got parts. I am definitely not fluent. That is one thing in my education that I am determined to improve. I think that is the next step. I do a lot in class in phrases, directions etc but I think in order to develop the top level children especially in the kapa haka group, the more bi-lingual I am all the time, the more immersed they will be in the reo. I think that's an important thing. I believe that it is an important part of Māori culture, the oral traditions and it is the language that holds these things together.

The two participants who are very fluent were able to speak openly of how their language ability helped them to better understand aspects of Māori culture. George said he was able to see that Māori concepts are caught up in the language and that the more fluent he became, the harder it was to explain Māori cultural concepts without doing so through the language. Yet, both these participants did not feel that the language was essential for meaningful engagement with Māori to occur. One reason offered to explain this, was that many Māori do not speak their own language, and English is the common language used in New Zealand today. This suggests that language acquisition is not as significant a factor in the process of transculturalization in current contexts as it was in Hallowell's historical study. Yet, the findings of this study contribute strong evidence in favour of Hallowell's hypothesis, that the level of transculturalization that takes place is strongly influenced by the level of language acquisition. Other current studies have had similar findings (Brown, 2011; Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008), and one of the participants, (Ted) described this when he related his feelings on the language:

A point I would want to make is that the language is vital to me, I see it as being very important because everywhere that I have been Māori people have just given me a little more support, a little more information through knowing the language. And the more language you get, the more you are able to see into the Māori world because if you speak a little you see and hear a little and if you speak a lot, you see and hear a lot. The deeper your language the deeper your understanding, and Māori people recognise that. Also too, if you are talking with kaumatua for instance, the Pākehā person only evaluates what they hear at their level, but with a deeper knowledge of the language you are able to evaluate things closer to their level.

Hallowell (1963) considered the acquisition of language to be imperative to what he called 'successful full cultural transition'. An examination of Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century would strongly support this hypothesis. While the findings of this study show that it is possible for individuals to become immersed in, and develop an affinity towards a second culture without language acquisition, in line with Transculturalization Theory, the findings also revealed that the level of understanding of the second culture are influenced by the level of language ability.

Conclusion

This chapter considered the findings of this study alongside Transculturalization Theory with specific relevance to the factors outlined by Hallowell as contributing to the process of transculturalization. Many of the factors that were present in both Hallowell's historical study, and examination of the phenomenon of Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand have also been found to be present in the current contexts in some form or other.

Many of the differences in the factors equate to the differences in the contexts. For example, attitudes towards the second culture, as outlined in Hallowell's study, were considered from the perspective of the dominant society of the time, the society of the second culture, and the individuals, and were focused on pre-cultural engagement. The findings of this current study did reveal attitudes as a factor, but in a post engagement context. Roles, values, and beliefs were very

significant factors identified by Hallowell, and the findings of this study have shown that these are still significant factors in the current context. Again, there were some subtle differences that were the result of the different contexts.

There were several factors outlined by Hallowell as being important that were still present in this study, but took very different forms in the current context. The first was language acquisition. For Hallowell, language acquisition was paramount to successful transition into a second culture, and this was also found to be the case for Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century in New Zealand. While language acquisition was seen as important in the current study, with regard to the depth of cultural understanding, and other similar studies have also revealed that language acquisition is significant in cross cultural adaptation, the findings of this study have additionally revealed that cross cultural engagement can take place without language. All the participants of this study agreed that language was important to them, and the participants who are fluent in the language believed that their level of understanding was dependent on their level of language ability. Yet, even the participants who have not developed an ability to speak te reo still stated that they felt a connection to te ao Māori, and had been able to engage fully with Māori. Therefore, although there is a general recognition of the importance of language acquisition, the findings of this study do not support it as being an essential contributing factor in the process of transculturalization.

Other factors outlined by Hallowell that took very different forms in the context of this current study were length of exposure, and motivation factors. The reason these took such different forms is most likely due to the differences in the contexts. The two strongest motivators in the historical studies were personal gain and survival. In the context of Hallowell's study on Indianization, the individuals were in many instances totally dependent on the second cultural group for their very survival. This was also the case for many early Pākehā-Māori. Likewise, the socio-political context in the historical studies was such that individuals who crossed cultures could often find themselves in a position of

personal gain. Neither of those appeared as factors in the current study. While one of the participants did link his motivation to a desire to protect his family, in general, the participants' motives did not in any way reflect those of the individuals in the historical studies. In fact, most of the participants had difficulty clearly expressing their motivation for engaging with te ao Māori.

Length of engagement was also a factor which took a different form in the current study. In the historical contexts, to become part of a second culture as in the case of Indianization in Hallowell's study, or a Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand, meant living with a cultural group who lived in isolation, lived completely differently to the individual's original cultural group, spoke a different language, and had very little contact with other cultural groups. In current contexts, Māori are now a minority group, and through colonization processes, have become aware of, and educated in European culture (Jones, 2007). Very few Māori today are living solely according to traditional ways of being, and through intermarriage, work, and educational encounters, Māori today are engaging with non-Māori on a regular basis. Therefore, total immersion in Māori society, void of outside influences and contacts, would not be possible in current contexts.

In historical contexts, length of exposure, as considered by Hallowell, meant the amount of time the individuals spent immersed in the second culture away from their original cultural group. Although, in the context of the current study total immersion in the second culture, devoid of contact with the original culture, is virtually an impossibility, the findings have revealed that along with levels of language acquisition, the greater the amount of engagement that takes place with te ao Māori, the more the participants felt connected to Māori. This was also found to be the case in other current studies (Berry, 1990; Brown, 2011; Jellie, 2001). One aspect of length of exposure that could be explored further is the factor that everyone living in New Zealand is exposed to Māori culture to some extent or other, therefore the participants of this study had all had a lifetime of exposure, whether they realized it or not. This may also be a factor

with regard to attitudes towards the second culture, and both of these warrant further study in the future.

Overall the findings of this study align with the theory of Transculturalization. The factors identified by Hallowell as significant to the process of transculturalization have been shown to be present in the current study, in some form or other. However, the findings of this study have also revealed some significant factors that Hallowell did not consider as part of the theory of Transculturalization. These are; the impact of individuals who have influenced the participants of this study, the motivation required to keep transculturites engaging with the second culture when faced with strong challenges, and participants' feelings of a spiritual connection to te ao Māori. These will be discussed in the following chapter as part of the overall discussion on the findings of this study along with participant's sense of social justice, the participants' deepened sense of self, and the role of the participants as potential agents for social change.

Chapter Nine: Discussion on the overall findings

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the overall findings of this study, beginning by considering several significant themes that emerged from the data, which were not outlined by Hallowell (1963) in his initial work with Transculturalization Theory. This is important, as these findings have contributed to the application of the theory of Transculturalization in current contexts. Drawing on the information presented in the previous chapter which considered how the findings of this study aligned with the factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization, this chapter will also discuss where Transculturalization Theory is lacking, and why, and what the findings offer that is new.

The overall aim of this study was to understand Pākehā-Māori, and the potential roles they play in the current New Zealand socio-cultural context, through the application of the theory of Transculturalization. Therefore, this chapter must also revisit the term Pākehā-Māori, and consider the application of the term with relevance to the findings of the study. Finally, the chapter will draw together the overall findings of this study, with regard to applying Transculturalization Theory in current contexts.

i. Significant emergent themes

The previous chapter examined how the findings of this study line up with the factors set out by Hallowell as contributors to the process of transculturalization, and found these were all present in some form or other, in this study. However, there are several themes that emerged from this study which were not identified by Hallowell in his initial work with Transculturalization Theory. One of these was encounters with individuals who had a strong influence on the participant's initial engagement with te ao Māori. Peter described how meeting and talking

with a local Māori woman had impacted on him a great deal, and had played a big part in his desire to get involved in some of the issues of the local Māori. Both Sally and Zara spoke of individuals who had inspired them when they were first involved with te ao Māori. George had formed a strong friendship that helped him adjust to new cultural practices, and Ted spoke extensively of two women who had enormous influence on him and his journey into te ao Māori.

When discussing initial engagements with Māori, the participants all commented it was through friendships forged with Māori people that they were able to enter into te ao Māori with a positive approach. Several other studies into Pākehā interactions with te ao Māori have also found that friendships play an important role in cross cultural encounters (Brown, 2011; M. Campbell, 2005; Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008). Jellie stated that the influence of family or friends was one of three significant reasons why Pākehā chose to learn about te ao Māori, and Brown (2011, p. 192) commented that 'participants' friendships with Māori emerge as reciprocal relationships because they have a focus on trust and loyalty'. This focus on trust and loyalty as a factor in forging close relationships with individuals also emerged from the findings in this study. Peter remarked that his involvement with Nancy had been 'reciprocally respectful', and that a level of trust had developed between them. I was able to relate closely to my participants in this, as my own initial engagement had been forged through a deep and respectful relationship with a trusted Māori friend. For myself, and for the participants of this study, not only were these friendships an important factor in our initial engagement with te ao Māori, it was through the respect and trust that was expressed in these relationships that an ongoing sense of respect for te ao Māori had first developed. The findings of this and other similar studies (Brown, 2011; Campbell, 2005; Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008) suggest that with regard to initial engagement with Māori, the influence of friends, family, and individuals is significant.

The influence of individuals is an aspect of the process of transculturalization that Hallowell did not consider, perhaps because the context was different, or

perhaps because his study did not reveal any evidence of this as a factor. However, a relationship with individuals was seen to be significant in studies of Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand, and in similar studies in the South Pacific. Both Bentley (1999) and Thorp (2003) commented that friendships forged with the natives helped in the successful transition from one culture to the other. The strong presence of the influence of individuals as a factor in this study, and other studies, both current and historical, demonstrates that it must be considered as a contributing factor in the process of transculturalization.

Another significant theme that emerged from this study which was also not considered by Hallowell is the participants' expression of having feelings of a spiritual connection. Although Hallowell felt that adopting the values and beliefs of the second culture was an essential factor in the process of transculturalization, and mentioned spiritual beliefs as being important, he did not examine any real evidence of feelings of spiritual connectedness. In other studies on culture-crossing experiences (Anderson, 1994; Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Berry, 1990), values and beliefs are discussed extensively, yet there is seldom any reference to feelings of a spiritual connection.

Values and beliefs as contributing factors have been discussed in Chapter Seven of this thesis, but not with connection to spirituality. While all participants of this study expressed feeling an affinity with the values and beliefs of the Māori culture, and an ability to align these with their own values and beliefs, several expressed very clear spiritual connections, and others felt there was something spiritual in the way they had been drawn to the Māori culture, or that the spirituality of Māori culture was a contributing factor in why they continued to engage with te ao Māori. For most of the participants, a growing respect for Māori values and beliefs centred on an awareness of a spiritual connection they felt with te ao Māori. In general, the participants described this spiritual aspect as an intangible sense of some form of higher reality. Many spoke of a Māori spirituality but were unable to clearly define what they meant by this. It is not

intended here to define or elaborate extensively on spirituality as a topic. However, the significance that the participants placed on this aspect demonstrates the importance of including feelings of spiritual connectedness as a factor in transculturalization processes. Spirituality, as it is applied in the findings of this study, will be defined simply as a meaning, or power that exists outside of the visible world (Hogan, 2010). The appearance of a spiritual aspect in the findings of this study was not unexpected, given that there is a recognized connection between spirituality, and values and beliefs. According to Sheldrake (2007. p. 1), spirituality can be expressed as the 'deepest values and meanings by which people live.' For most of the participants in this study, their encounters with te ao Māori resulted in a heightened awareness of a spiritual aspect of te ao Māori, and a feeling of having some form of connection to that spirituality. Several of the participants related that it was the spiritual aspect that first drew them to te ao Māori. One participant (Peter) talked extensively at the initial interview of a strong spiritual connection that he felt had united him and his wife;

I had a vision in my mind right from when I was a teenager of the woman I wanted to marry. One day I was going along the foreshore and I saw this girl on the foreshore and I thought that's her, that's my girl. So I went and introduced myself and there you have it. We are still together today. The interesting thing in it all was that my grandmother had a painting of this old Māori Kuia and when I was little, four or five years old, and every time I would go to her place I would stand a look at this picture. There was something about her, maybe because she was smoking a pipe, I don't know, but she had this lovely grin. And every time I would go there I would go and acknowledge her sort of. My grandmother died when I was about 12 and she left me that painting, which was strange in itself, and I have always kept it. One day my wife had a great Uncle come to visit and he walked into the house and saw the painting and asked whose it was. He recognised it and said my wife was a direct descendant of the Kuia in the painting. It was all very spiritual and that might all sound pretty silly but there it is.

Peter's description of the events surrounding his wife and the painting are expressed as a spiritual connection, and he went on to relate that since then he has grown to not only accept, but also to appreciate the strong spiritual connection he believes is an intrinsic part of Māori culture:

There is spirituality to being Māori that is holistic. It encompasses so many things from family to religion to environment that it is sort of all encompassing. Because of the depth of culture, depth of history, it becomes holistic and it becomes spiritual.

Two other participants (Zara and George) also expressed an awareness of a strong initial spiritual attraction:

There was definitely a very strong spiritual connection right from the start. I wasn't brought up with any real strong religious background. My parents had church connections but I never went to church, except perhaps at Christmas time, so I have never been schooled in or had a strong home presence of religion. Yet there was a very real spiritual pull towards the Māori culture (Zara).

I remember hearing them talk about sacred space and guardianship and all these things, the spiritual side of things, and it completely captivated me. I am drawn to Māori cultural practices and the spiritual aspects (George).

Zara and George related that they felt it was this strong spiritual connection that had not only drawn them to te ao Māori, but had also reinforced their respect for the culture. Both had been involved in experiences where they could clearly identify a different spiritual approach, one which they felt much more comfortable with. During discussions at the time of interview, Zara and George reflected that they had somehow found a personal sense of spirituality in te ao Māori, that had not been present in their Eurocentric upbringing.

Zara spoke of a spiritual peace she finds with Māori, and how she recognised that Māori spirituality had filled some sort of a gap in her life; 'That spiritual connection, that gap I guess which had been being filled back at home with my Māori 'whānau' was quite obviously missing down at Otago'. George said that he didn't think of himself as a spiritual person, although he was raised as a Catholic, and stated 'I never believed all that stuff but since my emersion in Māori culture I have definitely become much more aware of my spirit'. George and I spoke extensively of the spiritual pull te ao Māori had on us, and I was able to recall feeling a similar spiritual awakening through my involvement with te ao Māori:

Today I was asked to perform the karanga for the first time in a 'genuine' environment rather than as part of in class learning. I was overcome by the spiritual dimension involved and was suddenly aware that I am a spiritual being, connected to my ancestors and the spirits of those who have gone before us. Although I had been raised in the Anglican Church, for me that was about religion and religious beliefs, yet today I felt spirituality exists in me that I have not previously been aware of (Researchers journal entry).

George offered his own insight into why he believes some of us are so strongly drawn to the spiritual aspect of Māori culture:

I think Pākehā have lost our way in that connection to the land and nature and spiritual things, and I think we are yearning to find that again, to reconnect with our true spiritual selves.

All the participants of this study recalled significant instances where they felt a spiritual aspect had impacted on their engagement with te ao Māori. The emergence of a spiritual aspect as being strongly evident in this study indicates that it should also be considered as a further contributing factor in the process of transculturalization.

ii. Development and application of Transculturalization Theory

Transculturalization Theory was developed by Hallowell (1963) during an historical study attempting to explain the phenomenon of Indianization, and since then the theory has not been further developed. As the underpinning theoretical approach to this study, the theory of Transculturalization has been applied in the analysis of the data, through examining how factors that Hallowell suggested influence the process of transculturalization line up with the findings of this study. However, although most of the factors outlined by Hallowell were found to be present in this study, in some form or another, there were also some factors outlined by Hallowell which were found to be significantly different in current contexts. The two most noteworthy of these are language acquisition, and abandonment of the primary culture.

Hallowell considered language acquisition to be a central factor in the degree of transculturalization that took place. The role of language acquisition was

discussed in the previous chapter, and it was concluded that although language acquisition was seen by Hallowell as a central contributing factor, the findings of this study indicate this is no longer the case in current contexts. While language acquisition was seen by two of the participants as contributing to a deeper understanding of te ao Māori, it was demonstrated that it is not essential to have an ability to speak te reo Māori in order to interact with Māori. Indeed, for many Māori, English is their only language. In the historical context of Hallowell's study of Indianization, which prompted the development of Transculturalization Theory, those crossing over into a second culture had to acquire the language to survive, to interact, and to understand the second culture. This does not apply in current contexts, and many people have an understanding of aspects of Māori culture without having an ability to speak te reo Māori. Therefore, an ability to acquire the language of the second culture is no longer a requirement in the initial process of transculturalization, and does not apply as a central factor in application of the theory in current contexts.

The other factor suggested by Hallowell as of importance in the process of transculturalization, that no longer applies, is the total abandonment of the primary culture. In his study on the phenomenon of Indianization, Hallowell's (1963, p. 522) findings indicated that 'full and successful cultural transition' required the individual to abandon all aspects of their primary culture. An investigation into Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand indicates a similar requirement. From Bentley's (2007) analysis of the representation of Pākehā-Māori in the historical literature, it appears those individuals who made a complete transition into Māori culture were those who totally abandoned their European ways.

Although abandonment of the primary culture was an important part of cultural transition in historical contexts (Hallowell, 1963), it was not found to be a necessary aspect in current contexts. This is not surprising, given the differences between the historical and the current contexts. In Hallowell's study, individuals who became Indianized were in a situation where the second cultural group were the dominant cultural group of the place and time. Likewise

for Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century, Māori were the dominant group in New Zealand. However in current contexts, Māori are now a minority group, and the primary culture of the participants of this study is very much that of the dominant cultural group in society. In the historical contexts it was possible for transculturites to become completely absorbed into the second cultural group, and have little, if any, further interaction with their primary culture, where as in current contexts that would be virtually impossible. Therefore, total abandonment of the primary culture can no longer be considered as a necessary factor of Transculturalization Theory when applied in current contexts. A significant finding connected to abandonment of primary culture is that none of the participants of this study felt they had let go of any aspect of their primary culture, yet all felt they had added to it by adopting aspects of Māori culture.

The theory of Transculturalization has been used as a lens through which to examine the data gathered to inform this study, and to provide order to the initial analysis of the emergent themes. Chapter Eight of this thesis explored how aspects of this study align with the theory of Transculturalization, and found that many of the factors outlined by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization were also present in this study, in some form or another. However, some of the factors that Hallowell considered to be very significant in the study where he first applied Transculturalization Theory, such as second culture language ability, abandonment of primary culture, and societal roles within the second culture, were shown to be of limited significance in this study. There were also several significant themes that emerged from this study that had previously not been seen as factors on the process of transculturalization, and therefore were not included as part of Transculturalization Theory. For Transculturalization Theory to be applicable in current contexts, these additional factors need further investigation to consider their significance as part of the theory.

iii. Changing views

The central aim of this thesis was to examine Pākehā-Māori, and the role they fill in current contexts. In order to do that, this study has concentrated on analysing the stories of the participants, people who might be named Pākehā-Māori and how they perceive themselves and their roles. One of the most important aspects that emerged from the study was that through engagement with te ao Māori, the participants all expressed a changed way of viewing the world, and a changed sense of self. These changes centred on a shift in values and beliefs, and a deepened sense of identity.

The values and beliefs a person holds has been shown to play a significant part in the way the world is perceived. Sarbin (2000. p. 254) stated that there is a 'widely accepted premise that a person's ontological beliefs influence his or her constructions of the world'. During the initial interviews the participants reflected on ways in which their involvement with te ao Māori had impacted on their world view. All the participants related that their approach to things, the way they see things and specifically the way they think, has changed as a direct result of their engagement with Māori. While some expressed this directly as a changed world view, others saw it more in terms of individual contextually-related shifts in their thinking. For Peter, this different way of seeing was most obvious with regard to his environment:

Because I have always had a deep affinity for the sounds, I started to see the sounds in a spiritual way. These stories that the old folk used to talk about, that the sounds are our mother, and they used to talk about Waikawa bay, the sour water referring to a woman's water breaking before giving birth, with reference to the whenua, and I started to see the sounds in a different light. I started to see it as my mother. So I started thinking like that. I think that was a big shift in my life.

For many of the participants, although they expressed an awareness of a changing world view, they also felt there were limitations as to the extent of change taking place, and attributed this to their level of knowledge of te ao Māori. Zara felt this to be the case, and she related 'I do look at things from a Māori perspective most of the time, but I also recognise that my own gaps in

knowledge, in understanding, limit the amount to which I can do that'. At the time of the interview Zara expressed a strong desire to extend her knowledge of te ao Māori, and felt that the more time she spent involved with Māori, the more her view of the world changed. While some participants talked of how embracing Māori values and beliefs had resulted in a significant change in their world view, others like Sally felt it was more about personal changes that had taken place in relation to how she approached situations:

For me personally, my involvement with Māori has certainly bought about personal changes to some extent. I think for me what's probably changed most is that I have become a bit more comfortable, and a bit more clear about the approach that I take and about the role that I have in it.

However, while reflecting on these personal changes, Sally did indicate that her overall view of things had evolved:

For me, probably 20 years ago, there was a Māori perspective and there was a Pākehā perspective, you know, Tangata Whenua and Colonial sort of thing. I don't see things like that anymore. Now I think that different views should be able to be comfortably accepted, depending on how you do things. It's ok to have more than one perspective on the same thing. I think I see things less simplistically now.

The idea of different views being accepted was something all the participants felt very strongly about, and they felt that it was their involvement with te ao Māori, and accepting Māori values and beliefs that had reinforced that view. Several studies have indicated that a connection between Pākehā and Māori values and beliefs can somehow facilitate a changing world view, and help Pākehā to become more connected with te ao Māori. In his findings, Brown (2011. p. 207) stated that 'the interrelationship between Māori and Pākehā values emerges as a significant element that helps Pākehā become more connected to te ao Māori', suggesting that connection comes from identifying similarities in belief systems.

In direct contrast to Brown's findings, the participants of this study felt that a deepening awareness of a Māori world view reinforced in them a realisation of

the differences that exist between Pākehā and Māori ways of seeing things. For some, this realisation and the subsequent changes in view were significant. Peter stated openly that 'this holistic thing sort of took place for me, where the two worlds collided and that caused a huge shift in my thinking, it completely changed my world view'. Hallowell (1963) noted that this change in world view was significant when considering the psychological aspects of changes in self perception and identity. Peter reflected at length on the psychological impact of this collision of world views, and felt this had a huge impact on his perceived sense of self. Indeed, for most of the participants of this study, a changing view of the world was directly connected to their changing sense of identity. Zara related that:

I am not sure if my view of the world has changed as such because I don't know if I ever had one. I probably came to my world view when I found out who I was and that was around my identity which had become more secure through my exposure to Māori.

This statement from Zara indicates a strong link between her sense of identity and her involvement with te ao Māori. This is one of the most significant aspects to emerge from this study: the participants deepening sense of being Pākehā. Bentley's (2007) study on the representation of Pākehā-Māori in the historical literature suggested that there was no clear definition of a Pākehā-Māori, and that although they were considered a singular class of people in New Zealand society, they were perhaps better viewed as part of a continuum. At the one end were those who crossed cultures briefly and without any true identity shift, and at the other, those who completely renounced their ethnic identity and became Māori.

In applying Transculturalization Theory to his study on Indianization, Hallowell (1963) also suggested there were degrees of transculturalization. The participants of this study all had various degrees of involvement with te ao Māori and all saw the level of engagement they had with Māori as being ongoing and constantly developing. Overall, the findings of this study were consistent with Hallowell's idea of degrees of transculturalization, and with the evidence from

the historical literature, this was also the case with Pākehā-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand.

The most significant aspect to emerge from the overall findings is that although the participants were chosen because they were considered to be candidates who might be named Pākehā-Māori in current contexts each participant stated that they did not see themselves as Pākehā-Māori. However, all the participants related that through their engagement with te ao Māori, they had a much greater sense of self, and that they much more strongly identified with the term Pākehā. For each of the participants, defining themselves in relation to the term Pākehā was significant, and they all expressed a sense of somehow having a deeper understanding of what it means to be Pākehā. Ted explained this in terms of treaty partnership, and stated that 'through involvement with Māori there is a greater knowledge of my identity as a Pākehā'. He went on to explain that for him, being Pākehā meant an acceptance of his responsibility as a treaty partner, and acknowledging the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua. From the findings of his study, Brown (2011, p. 74) concluded that:

Pākehā who enter into experiences with te ao Māori...learn to develop a new and enriched third space perspective on New Zealand society. It is this postcolonial way of thinking that offers a powerful starting point for Pākehā to learn from and to develop a different view of their Pākehāness and the ongoing relationship Pākehā and Māori share.

Mitcalfe (2008, p. 107) also found that 'involvement in the Māori cultural learning context brought participants greater awareness of contemporary Māori issues, an acute sense of Māori difference, and opportunities for reflection about their own identity as Pākehā'. The participants of this study very clearly articulated that they feel they are now much more aware of the difference that exists between being Māori, and being Pākehā. Likewise, Jellie (2001) states that many of her participants felt comfortable with their identity as Pākehā New Zealanders because of an understanding they had of both Pākehā, and Māori cultures. She went on to conclude that for the participants in her study, 'being Pākehā was about the relationship between European New Zealanders and Māori and part of that relationship was the respect for the other culture' (p.158).

The participants of this study also stated that they felt their sense of themselves as Pākehā was heightened through the respect they had for Māori culture and Māori cultural practices, and all the participants related this respect to initial positive experiences when engaging with Māori.

Conclusion

The most significant finding to emerge from this study is the participants' deeper sense of self as Pākehā, and defining what being Pākehā means to them. During discussions with the participants regarding their own sense of self, and how they would define what being Pākehā meant, they all agreed that only someone who has engaged to a certain extent with Māori, and has experienced a shift in their way of viewing the world, can truly understand what it means to be Pākehā, to be able to confidently claim a Pākehā identity. When asked to explain this further, the participants who were fluent in te reo Māori said that it is like trying to translate a phrase from one language to another when there is no direct translation available. In other words, only someone who knows both languages will be able to understand the conceptual meaning behind the phrase. Likewise, only someone who has had in-depth engagement with te ao Māori can understand what being Pākehā means in the current socio-cultural context.

For the participants of this study, being Pākehā was not only seen as being inter-related with engagement in te ao Māori, but understanding what being Pākehā means, was seen as dependent upon being part of a reciprocally respectful relationship with Māori. Frello (2006, p.7) stated that 'identity in general is conceptualized as being constituted through – rather than being simply an expression of – difference', and the participants of this study felt that their developing identity as Pākehā was directly related to being aware of the differences between te ao Māori, and te ao Pākehā. The participants were also certain that they saw their Pākehā identity as different to their previous ideas about their identity as a New Zealand European.

All the participants spoke of their sense of their identity as now being connected to acknowledging the unique place of Māori in New Zealand. Some of the participants felt they had a kind of separate identity which was directly related to their engagement with te ao Māori. Zara suggested that her identity as Pākehā is more about being a bicultural member of society. While George said that his existence in-between cultures sometimes portrayed him as having multiple identities according to the setting. Roccas and Brewer (2002, p. 92) suggest 'ways in which individuals solve conflict of alternative cultural identities is like a cultural ambidextrousness, where they adopt different cultural identities subject to the context or settings'. Some theorists refer to this as a kind of 'alternating biculturalism' (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993a; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Yet, George felt very strongly that any portrayed multiple identities were only social constructions, and did not alter his personal sense of self. In his study Brown (2011, p. 54) considered identity from a third space perspective, and found that 'third space experiences provide a discourse for talking about inbetweenness that can be discussed, offered and given, without fear that one's own identity is put at risk, because third space experiences are just that; an experience not an identity'. However, the findings of this study have shown that it is through third space experience that the participants have developed their sense of identity as Pākehā.

The participants also felt that their identity as Pākehā was inter-connected with the role they see themselves filling in current contexts. The connection between roles and the participants' sense of Pākehā identity is significant to the overall findings of this study. With regard to Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century, Bentley (1999) considered them to be instruments for change, and suggested that although they filled many roles, their central role was as cultural intermediaries, helping educate Māori in the European ways, and facilitating interaction between the two cultures, where as when discussing their role as facilitators or intermediaries, the participants of this study felt that they were acting more on behalf of Māori, and saw their role as one of educating Pākehā. All participants indicated that they feel they are in some way

making a contribution to change (social, cultural, attitudes etc), and most of the participants of this study expressed a desire that the role they fill will in some way help to instigate social change in some form.

The participants of the study all expressed a deepened sense of themselves as 'Pākehā' through their engagement with te ao Māori. They spoke of this in terms of an in-between place. This space between cultures has been described as liberating, and understanding those who occupy this space provides us with a new way of understanding the New Zealand socio-cultural context (Webber, 2008). According to Webber (2008, p. 26):

The third space is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a productive, and not merely reflective, space that brings about new possibility. It is a space of negotiation, interrogation, and self determination: that is, it produces new forms of cultural meaning that blur the limitations of existing boundaries and call into question established categories of culture and ethnic identity.

This study of Pākehā-Māori in current contexts has allowed us to enter that space through the stories of the participants, and to begin to understand new and exciting ways of defining cultural identities in this country.

While none of the participants would self identify as Pākehā-Māori, and all chose to express their sense of self in terms of a Pākehā identity, perhaps in current contexts to express a self perception as being Pākehā means the same as it did to be Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century. The participants of this study and those of other similar studies are helping to bridge the gap between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, just as Pākehā-Māori did in the nineteenth century. The name and the context may have changed, but the findings of this study show that those who understand what it means to be Pākehā are the face of Pākehā-Māori today. This is clearly reflected in the participants' own words:

From what I understand of Pākehā-Māori, in a sense they were more treaty partners than not. In other words they recognised that Māori had knowledge, had language and in the position that each of them had they were very respectful towards Māori. They were providing

knowledge, providing information, working as interpreters, acting as a go between, and I think those are all very respectable roles (Ted).

I believe that being Pākehā is about being a treaty partner and recognising that Māori knowledge, language, and culture have value and respecting that. I think it is about working between the cultures to promote that understanding and respect (Sally).

I am sure that what I and people like me are doing today is as important as what the first cultural intermediaries did in this country, although now I think we are trying to help other Pākehā understand Māori rather than the other way around (George).

I think those that the in betweeners are the leaders. Those with passion who will stand up and have that courage to be willing to immerse themselves in things Māori to take on the knowledge, to learn their cultural ways so they can share it with other non-Māori, they are the drivers of the future. They are the real Pākehā-Māori today and I think that with-out people like that, who are passionate, who will stand up for what is right, who know what it means to be Pākehā in today's society, we are in trouble (Zara).

This thesis set out to examine Pākehā-Māori, and the roles they potentially fill in New Zealand today. The struggle throughout has been to examine these people as a group, but to do so by considering their stories as individuals. The title of the thesis, '*Between the margin and the text*', epitomises these people and their position in society, and the question, he kanohi kē to te Pākehā-Māori (What is the face of Pākehā-Māori), has been answered through the findings of the study. The participants of this study are the face of Pākehā-Māori today, perhaps better understood simply as true Pākehā, and the role they fill is as significant as the role early nineteenth century Pākehā-Māori played in the development of this country. They are a group of individuals who have crossed cultures, and use the knowledge and experience they have gained through engagement with te ao Māori to help others better understand how to be a bi-cultural New Zealander.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Introduction

The title of this thesis, '*Between the margin and the text: He kanohi kē tō te Pākehā-Māori*', suggests that in the current socio-cultural context in New Zealand, somewhere between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, there exists a group of people who can be named Pākehā-Māori. The study set out to examine these people in current contexts in New Zealand through the application of the theory of Transculturalization. The findings of the study undertaken reveal that, although the term Pākehā-Māori is seldom used in respect to current contexts, there are people in New Zealand today who the term could be applied to. This final chapter will summarise the thesis, and then present a concluding discussion based on the overall findings of the study, along with suggestions for future research possibilities, and the significance of the study.

Conclusions

The first chapter provided background information on the development of the topic of the thesis. The conventional approach would have been to present an introductory chapter, but Chapters One and Two have been used here as an alternative, to give the reader the necessary background information required to understand the topic of the study. Chapter One introduces the reader to the topic, and describes where the initial idea of the study emerged from, how that idea was developed and refined, and why the topic was seen as relevant. This chapter also introduced the reader to myself, the researcher, and situated me within the research.

Chapter One also introduces Transculturalization Theory. This is a theory that was developed by Irving Hallowell in the 1960s to investigate the phenomenon of individuals who voluntarily adopt a culture that is not that of their ethnic origin.

The main tenants of the theory are a set of contributing factors that influence the process of transculturalization.

The purpose of presenting Chapters One and Two as an alternative to an introductory chapter also included the opportunity to present my own story as part of the background to the study. Initially, it was difficult to decide where in the thesis was the best place to include my story, but as the development of the topic and the overall impetus for the study was closely connected to my own personal experiences, I felt that the first chapter was where it sat best.

One of the issues that surrounded presenting my own story, regardless of where in the thesis it was positioned, was how much of my story to include. This was an issue that was repeated with regard to the participants' stories, but that is discussed later in this conclusion. Including an edited version of my own story was essential to demonstrating knowledge of the topic, and it was important to state my position in the research. Although this was expanded on in Chapter Four, including my story at the very beginning of the thesis provided a reference point for later discussions.

Chapter Two formed the second part of the introduction to the topic of the study. This chapter provided information on Pākehā-Māori, and their place in an historical context. Although Pākehā-Māori were present in New Zealand society historically, their existence is not widely known of in general terms. Therefore, it was important to supply the reader with knowledge of Pākehā-Māori in historical context in order to contextualise them in current contexts.

Chapter Two began with an overview of Māori society prior to European contact, in order to provide a basic understanding of social ordering and identity formation in a traditional context. It was necessary to present this information to demonstrate the context under which Pakeha-Māori were accepted into pre-European Māori society. The literature reviewed in the course of presenting this chapter was increasingly refined with regard to its relevance and it is acknowledged that there is a range of literature that has not been included. The rationale for this is that much of that literature is not specific to the subject of the

study and as the thesis crosses many disciplines maintaining the central tenant of the study was imperative in order to maintain the focus on the lived experiences of the participants that revealed narratives of identity within social and cultural worlds. In this chapter the whakapapa of Pākehā-Māori was traced back through historical accounts, along with discussion as to how they were defined. The historical context was introduced and discussed, along with the roles Pākehā-Māori occupied. As part of the discussion on how Pākehā-Māori were defined in an historical context, the chapter also introduces the factors outlined by Hallowell as contributors to the process of transculturalization. These factors are employed later in the thesis, in the analysis chapters. Chapter Two concluded with a definition and discussion on the current socio-cultural context with relevance to the thesis.

Chapter Three provided the philosophical framework for the application and development of Transculturalization Theory in examining Pākehā-Māori within the current New Zealand socio-cultural context. The chapter explored some of the ideas relating to processes of transculturalization, and the use of the theory as a lens through which to interpret understandings of Pākehā-Māori. The chapter focused on specific areas such as: the theory of Transculturalization, theoretical approaches related to Transculturalization Theory, and culture-crossing in order to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts.

Transculturalization Theory is a relatively unknown theory, which has resulted in an absence of any significant amount of literature. This was addressed in part by providing information on the origin of the theory of Transculturalization by Irving Hallowell in 1963, along with an investigation into ways in which Transculturalization Theory has been applied in the past. Other theories that are related to Transculturalization Theory, and theories that provided aspects which were incorporated into this study were also introduced, and their relevance to the study was examined to demonstrate how the theoretical framework for this study emerged.

Along with providing information on the body of theory that underpinned the study, Chapter Two also examined aspects of Transculturalization Theory in the form of contributing factors which Hallowell (1963) identified as necessary for the process of transculturalization. These factors were linked to various other theoretical approaches such as Identity Theory, Border Crossing Theory and Acculturation Theory, and act as the basis for later discussion in the analysis and findings sections of the thesis. Chapter Three also included discussion on the relevance of Transculturalization Theory, and justification for choosing it as the theoretical framework for the research.

Chapter Four provided a description of the data collection processes, the methods chosen and the rationale for those choices, and presented a discussion on various potential methodologies that could have been used, along with a justification for the methodological approach that was selected. The method undertaken to collect the data for the study was described along with participant selection processes.

The purpose of Chapter Four was to demonstrate how the methodological approach fitted with the study, and to show how the data would be collected, analysed, and presented. This chapter also gave me an opportunity to explain the rationale behind decisions made regarding the overall structure of the thesis, and specifically the reasons for presenting the participant stories, and how these were used to inform the analysis.

The quantity of participant narrative that was utilized in the analysis chapters needed to be justified as part of the discussion on the methodological approach taken. As in many other aspects of the study, my insider perspective places me in the position where, although at times it enables me to see parts of the study with a clarity those outside the study may not have, it has also presented its own challenges. The approaches I have used, such as the way in which I present the analysis of the data, and the amount of narrative I chose to include,

have been explained in Chapter Four, to provide the rationale of how the study was approached, and how the thesis presents the information gathered.

Chapter Five presented the edited stories of the participants of the study. The focus of this chapter was on introducing the participants and their stories. The initial intent was to present the participants' stories in full, as they were transcribed from the audio tapes of the interviews. The sheer volume of the transcribed narratives was such that presenting them in full was not feasible. There was then the option of either attaching the narratives as appendices, or editing them to a manageable size. I chose to edit them and present them in Chapter Five, in order to provide the reader with an overview of the participants and their stories. I placed the participant stories directly before the analysis and discussion chapters to allow transparency to the conclusions drawn. However, the process of editing the participants' stories to a manageable size presented the issue of what to take out, and what to leave in. There were several parts of the participants' narratives that did not appear related to the study, but as an insider, I knew they were valuable aspects of the participants' experiences, so these were used to inform the discussions in the analysis chapters.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight were, in essence, analysis chapters where the data was organised into emergent themes, and discussed with reference to participant narratives, and connections to Transculturalization Theory. Chapter Six examined the first of the emergent themes with relevance to Transculturalization Theory. The participants' initial engagements with te ao Māori were analysed, and it was revealed that although the experiences differed amongst the participants, there were several commonalities. The first of these was that all the participants related that they had been challenged in some way as a result of their engagement with te ao Māori. Some of these challenges had come from being faced with instances of racism and othering, and the analysis revealed that through these experiences the participants developed an understanding of what it felt like to be part of a minority group. The other commonalities in the participants' experiences were all connected to the

influence that positive first encounters with Māori had on deepening engagements, challenges faced, and the participants' changing views of the world. Central to the themes analysed in this chapter was the finding that: through positive initial engagements, the participants all felt personal changes had taken place as a direct result of their ongoing engagement with te ao Māori. The findings in Chapter Six were all found to be consistent with Transculturalization Theory.

Chapter Seven also applied Transculturalization Theory to examine aspects of identity changes that took place for the participants. Analysis of the data presented in Chapter Seven revealed that all the participants had a strong sense of self in relation to their cultural positioning. The findings demonstrated that although initially the participants felt as if they were swapping back and forth between Māori and Pākehā cultures, depending on the context they were in, they felt they no longer did that, and now saw themselves as existing in a place that was between the two cultures. The most significant finding to emerge from this chapter was the participants' strong sense of self as Pākehā.

Chapter Eight extended the emergent themes from Chapters Six and Seven with direct relevance to Transculturalization Theory, and examined the alignment of the factors identified by Hallowell as significant in the process of transculturalization. The findings demonstrated that many of the factors identified by Hallowell were present in this study, although some took different forms. Transculturalization Theory was applied to examine similarities between contributing factors for Pākehā-Māori in the historical context, and those which influenced Pākehā-Māori in the current context. A significant finding to emerge from this chapter was that application of the theory of Transculturalization in current contexts produced two new factors not previously identified by Hallowell. The influence of friends and/or family was seen as an influential aspect in the participant's initial engagement with te ao Māori, and a sense of a spiritual connection to Māori culture was also revealed as being significant to the participants' ongoing involvement with Māori cultural practices.

Chapter Nine presented the overall findings of this study. The chapter began by considering the two significant themes that emerged from the data analysis which were not outlined by Hallowell (1964) in his initial work with Transculturalization Theory. As part of the overall discussion, Chapter Nine also considered where Transculturalization Theory, as it was introduced by Hallowell, is lacking and why, and what the findings of this study offer that is new. The term Pākehā-Māori was revisited and application of the term was considered with relevance to the findings of the study. Finally, the chapter drew together the overall findings of this study with regard to applying Transculturalization Theory in current context.

Discussion

This thesis set out to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts and found that like their counterparts in the nineteenth century, they are a varied group of people with differing experiences of engagement with te ao Māori. While all the participants could be named Pākehā-Māori, they preferred to see themselves as Pākehā, although they felt that the way they defined being Pākehā suggested a strong similarity between the two terms. Significantly, the participants expressed a belief that the term Pākehā was an expression of themselves as different from other European New Zealanders, and they all directly attributed that difference to their experiences of engaging with te ao Māori.

What has emerged from the participants' stories in relation to the meaning and value of the term Pākehā, in the current socio-cultural context, is that all the participants felt their identity as Pākehā, rather than as European New Zealanders, placed them in a unique position in society. They believed that through their engagement with te ao Māori they had gained a deeper understanding of the relationship between European New Zealanders and Māori, and had gained insights into ways of ensuring the relationship was respectful.

The participants felt that while their identity as Pākehā who engage with Māori sometimes placed them in a marginalised position, which was at times uncomfortable and difficult, it was a position they embraced as having helped shape them and their views. What is evident from this, is that the participants credit their experiences in the in-between space as valuable and transformative. All the participants said that their sense of themselves as Pākehā afforded them with a new way of looking at things. To them, being Pākehā meant that they were able to see both world views, to understand the differences, and often see solutions to problems that others could not. The findings revealed that due to their engagement with Māori the participants believe they found their perspective to be different to that of Māori, and other New Zealanders, and see themselves as having a third space perspective, which reflects a decolonised attitude towards race relations. One of the participants (Ted) referred to this in terms of what it means to be a Treaty partner and stated 'it is about being able to see and understand what it means to be Pākehā , to be a partner in the Treaty, and how to view things from a new perspective that moves us towards decolonisation'. This perspective is significant, in that the participants' sense of identity as Pākehā is directly formed through their individual, lived experiences of engaging with te ao Māori; therefore it is a sense of a Pākehā identity as a partner, in contrast to an identity created by a separateness of Māori and Pākehā.

Although the participants of this study were reluctant to self identify as Pākehā-Māori, the findings suggest that, with respect to the current socio-cultural context, the role they occupy in society today has direct similarities with the role filled by Pākehā-Māori in the early nineteenth century. Historically, Pākehā-Māori have been described as cultural intermediaries (Bentley, 1997; Thorp, 2003), and credited with assisting in the development of intercultural relationships. The participants of this study all perceived themselves as intermediaries, and spoke of their roles as advocates and facilitators of intercultural relationships. The significance in this is that, although the terms may have changed, the roles have not, and in seeking ways to engage respectfully

in intercultural relationships in New Zealand, it is Pākehā like the participants of this study who may be in a position to offer the best way forward.

For participants having a strong cultural identity as Pākehā was seen as important and they all felt it made them better able to relate to both Māori and other European New Zealanders. The findings demonstrate that the participants' cultural identity as Pākehā has been formed through engagement with te ao Māori, and all the participants felt that it was important to distinguish between what they believe being Pākehā means, as opposed to how the term is commonly used. They all felt that being Pākehā was about having a certain level of engagement with te ao Māori. None of the participants were able to quantify what that level might equate to, but all agreed that it was in some way connected to understanding, acknowledging, and in some cases adopting Māori cultural values and beliefs. Given the participants sense of what being Pākehā means, not just in terms of defining the word, but also the role they occupy in the society, the participants all felt that a cultural identity as Pākehā can be a valuable contributor to the current socio-cultural context.

Along with revealing how the participants experiences of engaging with te ao Māori have helped them form a cultural identity as Pākehā, the study has also resulted in further development of the theory of Transculturalization. The application of Transculturalization Theory in this study has contributed to understanding the varied experiences of the participants, and it has demonstrated how the theory can be used in current contexts. One implication from this is that a twenty-first century revision of Hallowell's theory can be used to help the social sciences to explore ways in which contemporary individuals are helping, and can continue to help to generate a strong cultural identity, through their involvement in educational, health, and civic responsibilities.

This study has demonstrated how Transculturalization Theory can be applied in current contexts to help understand these new social dynamics. The findings have indicated ways in which the theory can be refined and adapted, and demonstrated the relevance of using Transculturalization Theory to analyse current factors involved in the process of transculturalization. Revising the

theory for use in the twenty-first century has provided a theoretical base for investigations into individuals' cross-cultural experiences, as opposed to previously employed theories which predominantly focus on group experiences. With globalization, immigration, and extensive inter-cultural occurrences now becoming more common, the revision of Transculturalization Theory is both timely and valuable.

Future research possibilities

While the findings of this study have revealed new and valuable information on cross-cultural experiences, and have provided insight into Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, they have also indicated the need for further research in several areas. Transculturalization Theory, previously only employed in historical studies, has been developed for use in current contexts, and could be a valuable theoretical basis for future investigations into cross-cultural engagements. While this study used Transculturalization Theory to examine Pākehā-Māori in current contexts, the development of the theory now allows for a broader application, both nationally and internationally in areas such as cultural adaptation in migrants, cultural transformation in indigenous communities, and cross-cultural relations.

Based on the analysis provided there is an indication that much of the change that took place in the participants' sense of self as a result of their engagement with te ao Māori had a psychological impact, and this is one area that needs further research. While several studies have considered psychological aspects of culture crossing, there are still a lot of under-researched areas (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Berry, 1990; Berry et al., 1987; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006a), and the findings of this study indicate a need for further research into the psychological effects of adopting the values and beliefs of a second culture.

The findings of this study also indicate the need for further research into identity formation related to new cultural identities, with specific focus on the value

individuals place on a newly acquired cultural identity. The participants of this study felt very strongly about their cultural identity as Pākehā and the contribution they perceived themselves as making to society, and this is an aspect of the study that requires further research.

For me, the predominant indicator from the study is a desire to continue researching the term Pākehā, with specific emphasis on use of the term as it has been defined by the participants. As I occupy an insider position in the research, I have been able to identify directly with how the participants see being Pākehā differently through their engagement with te ao Māori. I see the idea of redefining the term Pākehā from a third space perspective as a natural extension of this study, and feel there is opportunity to add to our knowledge of intercultural relationships through such research.

I believe this study has contributed to the development of Transculturalization Theory for use in the twenty first century, and to our understanding of culture crossing experiences. I also believe that the greatest contribution of this study is that examination of Pākehā-Māori has added to our understanding of what is currently happening at the interface between European and Māori cultures, through providing a place for the voice of some of the people who exist in this in-between place. The study has demonstrated how intercultural engagement has impacted on the participants' sense of self, resulting in a deeper understanding of what it means to be Pākehā. By examining Pākehā-Māori in current contexts through the application of Transculturalization Theory, the study has not only further developed the theory, it has also added to the research on intercultural experiences, and contributed to the wider body of knowledge regarding the experiences of Pākehā New Zealanders who engage with te ao Māori.

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- M. Taylor. Picton, 2/1/11
- Zara. Auckland, 2/11/11
- M. Watson. Picton, 3/1/11
- Peter. Blenheim, 3/1/11
- H. Ryan. Auckland, 4/1/11
- K. Martin. Blenheim, 4/1/11

Sally. Napier, 3/6/11

George. Auckland, 7/11/11

Ted. Raglan, 28/1/2012

Glossary of terms

Atua	Noun; ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being
Hapū	Noun; kinship group, clan, tribe, sub tribe - section of a large kinship group
Iwi	Noun: extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Stative; face to face, in person, in the flesh
Mana	Noun; inherited status, mana through descent - mana that originates from the atua and is handed down through the senior male line from the atua
Mōkai	Noun; servant, captive, slave, pet
Pākehā	Noun : New Zealander of European descent
Pākehā Toa	Noun; warrior Stative; brave, bold, victorious, experienced, accomplished, adept, competent, skilful, capable
Rangatira	Noun; sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the <i>rangatira</i> , noble birth
Tapu	Stative; be sacred, prohibited, restricted,

	set apart, forbidden, under atua protection
Tauīwi	Noun; foreign people, non-Māori, foreigners, immigrants
Taurekareka	Noun; captive taken in war, slave, scoundrel, idiot, rascal, rogue
Te ao Māori	The Māori World, a specific view of how the world is that is directly associated with Māori values and beliefs
Te reo Māori	The Māori language in general as opposed to language that is specific to individual iwi
Tohunga	Noun; skilled person, chosen expert, priest - a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation
Wahine	Noun; woman, female, lady, wife
Whakapapa	Noun: genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
Whānau	Noun; extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members

Appendix A: Participant information sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

14/10/2010

Project Title

Between the margin and the text. *He kanohi ke to te Pākeha-Māori*

An Invitation

Dear participant. I would like to invite you to take part in my Doctoral research project. My name is Huhana Forsyth and I am a senior lecturer at the School of Education te Kura Matauranga AUT University.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you will be free to withdraw from the research at any time prior to the completion of the data collection without any adverse consequences. Your contribution to the data collected will be available for you to review and amend and you will maintain the right to remove any information you do not wish to be part of the final findings.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of the research is to investigate the term Pākeha-Māori and to understand and interpret the role of Pākeha-Māori in the current socio-cultural context in New Zealand. The resultant qualification will be a PHD. Possible publications may include a doctoral thesis, peer reviewed articles and books.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been chosen to participate in this research because the researcher believes you meet the criteria for what might be considered a current definition of Pākeha-Māori as revealed through the study. Some of the criteria established to date are:

Participants will be people who do not have Māori whakapapa.

Participants will be recognised for their contribution to their field.

Participants will be acknowledged by both Māori and non- Māori as having worked in cross cultural fields.

Participants may have expressed or demonstrated an affinity to Maori cultural values and beliefs.

I have obtained your contact details by referral from a mutual contact.

The recruitment process has been strictly limited in so far as I am only seeking a small number of participants and only those who are recognised in their respective field. I believe your contribution to this research will provide invaluable data for the purpose of understanding and interpreting the role of Pākeha-Māori in current socio-cultural contexts.

What will happen in this research?

The research process will have two stages. The initial stage will involve an in depth examination of the historical literature pertaining to Pākeha-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand society in order to establish a clear definition of their role in the society of that time. The initial stage of investigation will also include a series of interviews with selected kaumatua to record their historical knowledge of Pākeha-Māori in nineteenth century New Zealand society, and to discuss their views on the role of Pākeha-Māori in the current socio-cultural context.

The second stage of the research will involve participants like yourself. There will be a series of meetings at which you will be asked to relate your own personal 'stories'. These meetings will be recorded and a transcript will be provided for you to approve. From that transcript your story will be presented in the form of a written auto-biographical narrative which will be presented as part of the overall findings. You will be given a copy of the final transcript and will have the opportunity to add, change or remove any parts you are not comfortable with. Please note that although the research is aiming to understand and interpret the role of Pākeha-Māori in current socio-cultural contexts, it is not intended to 'list' personal attributes, but is designed as an investigation through stories.

What are the discomforts and risks?

As your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you will have the opportunity to view and edit any information that may be used I believe the discomforts and risks involved to be minimal, however there may be issues surrounding privacy and anonymity. Please see the following section for details.

How will my privacy be protected?

I believe that as your contribution to the research will be in the form of an auto-biographical narrative, it is important that you do not remain anonymous. I also believe that by agreeing to be a named participant your

contribution will add validity and authenticity to the research. You will be asked to agree to waive your anonymity as part of your consent to participate, however if you wish to take part in the research and still remain anonymous you will be given the opportunity to do so. There is a section to indicate this on the consent form which you will be given.

Should you agree to waive your right to anonymity there may be possible issues arise regarding identification of others through your narrative. All instances where this may occur will be removed from the final presentation of findings where ever possible. Any instance where the information is deemed to be of extreme importance to the final findings, those identified will be approached and asked to sign a consent to disclose form and the information will only be included where this form has been signed.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be asked to give up some time in order to participate in this research. It is envisioned that will be in the form of an initial 1-2 hour meeting in order to collect your story. You will then be required to review a transcript of that meeting and from there to review the narrative produced from the information you have given. A final 1-2 hour meeting will then be arranged to discuss the narrative and to finalise your contribution to the research.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You will have 3 weeks to decide if you are interested in taking part in this research. During that time you may contact me personally for any questions you may have regarding your involvement.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You will be asked to sign the consent form which has been sent to you along with this information sheet. You may sign this and return it to me in the pre-paid envelope provided, or you may respond to me at the above contacts and I will collect the consent form at our first meeting.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. I intend to provide all participants with a written report of the findings of the research.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Paul Moon, at the contact address provided below. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz*, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Researcher Contact Details:

Huhana Forsyth

School of Education te Kura Matauranga

AUT University

Auckland.

E Mail huhana.forsyth@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 921 9999 ext 7928

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Paul Moon, Pmoon @aut.ac.nz

Ph (09)921 9999 ext 6838

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
on 2/11/2010, AUTEK Reference number 10/231.**

Appendix B: Consent form

Consent Form



Project title: Between the margin and the text. *He kanohi ke to te Pākehā-Māori*

Project Supervisor: Professor Paul Moon, E mail: Pmoon @aut.ac.nz Ph (09)921 9999 ext 6838

Researcher: Huhana Forsyth

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 14/08/2010
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):
Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ I give my permission to be named in the research (please tick one):
Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's Signature:

Participant's Name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTECH Reference
number type the AUTECH reference number***

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.
Appendix (b)

Appendix C: Indicative questions

Indicative questions for interview informants

Project Title

Between the margin and the text: *He kano hi ke to te Pākehā-Māori*

- 1) Would you relate your story to me, how you first became engaged with te ao Māori.
- 2) Can you recall what first drew you to engage with te ao Māori?
- 3) Would you consider yourself fluent in te reo Māori? And do you feel it is important to speak te reo in order to fully engage with te ao Māori?
- 4) What challenges have you faced as a result of engaging with te ao Māori and how have you overcome these?
- 5) What changes (if any) have taken place in you as a result of engaging with te ao Māori?
- 6) Is there anything else you can think of that might be significant for this research?

Appendix D: Consent to release information

Project title: **Between the margin and the text. He kano hi ke to te Pākehā-Māori**

Project Supervisor: **Professor Paul Moon**

Researcher: **Huhana Forsyth**

I understand that some information gathered as part of a research project may allow others to identify me, and that there may be publications resulting from this research. I have seen this information and the context in which it is being presented. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and understand I have the right to ask that this information not be used.

I give my permission for this information to be released. (Please tick one):

Yes ☐

No ☐

Signature:

Name:

Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....

Date:

