What is the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā? Negotiating the experience of the hybrid cultural object

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses the question: "What is the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā?" and has as its subtitle: "Negotiating the experience of the hybrid cultural object." The methodologies used are Kaupapa Research Theory and phenomenology, with the principle method Heuristic Research Method.

By 2051 Durie (2011) predicts that the Māori ethnic population will rise to 22 percent of the total population of Aotearoa New Zealand. Each one of the 22 percent will not have only Māori ancestry. Each one of the 22 percent will have ancestry that is also other than indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Currently Māori and Pākehā sit in binary positioning. This positioning has been essential for Māori who have needed strength of identity in order to counter the effects of colonisation. Pākehā have also benefited from maintaining Māori in the position of "other". It is common to name individuals as either Māori or Pākehā despite having ancestry that is both Māori and Pākeha.

Those who have both Māori and Pākehā ancestry, a hybrid cultural identification, may become invisible in the current discourse, their experience denied. Phenotype becomes a marker of cultural identification from both external and internal perspectives.

The researcher's personal experience of being both Māori and Pākeha, negotiating belonging and not belonging, is used as a base from which to explore and expand knowledge of hybrid cultural experience.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

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 institution of higher learning.

Signed_____

Niki Grennell   15th May 2014

Acknowledgements

Introduction

This dissertation addresses the question: "What is the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā?" and has as its subtitle: "Negotiating the experience of the hybrid cultural object."

The methodologies used are Kaupapa Research Theory and phenomenology, with the principle method Heuristic Research Method. This included a literature whakapapa, which is fitting with both the methodology and method under which this work is undertaken.

The hybrid cultural object is at the centre of this work. A psychotherapy theory most closely associated with Melanie Klein is called object relations (Brenner, 2006). This could be defined as the messages an individual receives from external sources becoming internalised as the subjective experience of and parts of the individual. The cultural object is therefore the external perception and portrayal of a particular culture, internalised as belief about and experience of self.

Derrida commented on cultural identity (or lack of identity) in relation to M2āori and Pākehā in New Zealand (Tilbury, 2001) and the account of this was a catalyst for my academic interest in this area. The premise of Derrida's work is that Māori are generally portrayed and, therefore, experienced by themselves as less than Pākehā. Alongside that, and given their relatively recent history of arrival in Aotearoa and diverse cultural origins, Pākehā in New Zealand find it difficult to find their tūrangawaewae or place to stand.

When Lowe (2008) looked at the internalised negative cultural object he used case studies to illustrate the impact a negative cultural object had on those who have mixed cultural identification. In a mixed race couple the white woman internalised the 'good' aspects of her black husband and he the 'bad' aspects of her, thus fitting their presentation and self-image with their respective internalised cultural object. My interest is in how these internalised cultural objects impact on a person within whom both Māori and Pākehā are present, and how they – and I – negotiate a hybrid cultural object?

As is congruent with the heuristic method there are times when I have included my reflections and diary entries (which are dated). These are identified throughout by indented italicised and bold text. Diary entries are as they were written, without correction for grammar or punctuation.

I Am Invisible

I am invisible
Do you see me?
Talk, talk, talk..
take, take, take
my mahi to make things
different.
Māori woman
Pākehā woman
Invisible hybrid woman
Stuck in the
No …
go …
zone
I am invisible
Do you see me?

Niki Hawke

Chapter 1 Methodology

Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses. Within an indigenous framework, methodological debates are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of indigenous research. It is at this level that researchers have to clarify and justify their intentions. Methods become the means and procedures through which the central problems of the research are addressed. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of indigenous researchers which continues to be within the academy, and the parameters and common sense understandings of research which govern how indigenous communities and researchers define their activities. (L. Smith, 1999, p. 143)

This study will work within the principles of Kaupapa Māori Research Theory (KMRT) and follow the six phases of Heuristic research method (as elaborated by Moustakas, 1990).

Making use of a western research methodology alongside KMRT parallels the content and dichotomy inherent in the question. I expected that there would be areas where the methodologies were not compatible – and, indeed, I found this to be the case. These areas of incompatibility and dis-ease are explored, named and included as a living example of the experience of belonging or not belonging in a dual cultural identity.

One of the first tasks is to address what Kaupapa Māori Research Theory is. Pihama (2011) states that:

> The term "kaupapa Māori theory" is exactly what it says it is. It's a theory that is underpinned by Māori philosophies of the world, that has Māori foundations, that has Māori understandings. It is a theory that is about working for our people. (p. 49)

My position is that Pihama's statement is accurate and yet there is much discussion as to the detail of what are Māori philosophies, foundations and understandings. Additionally who are those who hold legitimacy that allows them to work with KMRT?

> ***As I begin to search through KMRT data I feel like an intruder. I am not Māori enough to use KMRT. I am like the man who wrote 'what is a Pākehā fella to do?' (25/10/13)***

At this point I would like to tautoko the words of Pepetito (2011) when addressing the terms kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori:

> The word "kaupapa" has to be Māori, so "Māori" becomes redundant in the title … Perhaps we need to do the same thing with mātauranga Māori. After all, what are we talking about when we say the word mātauranga is Māori? What else could it be? (p. 38).

This re-languaging stance privileges mātauranga (Māori knowledge) as is congruent with the principles of KMRT. Therefore from this point in the project I preference the term Kaupapa Research Theory (KRT). When quoting or paraphrasing an author I use the term that they use in text.

Kaupapa Principle

KRT can be seen as being principle rather than process-driven. Drawing on the work of others (Cram, 2001; Hoskins, 2001; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1997) Woodard (2008) has consolidated these principles to the following seven:

1. The principle of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

2. The principle of collective philosophy

3. The principle of emancipation

4. The principle of socio-economic mediation

5. The principle of cultural aspiration

6. The principle of growing respectful relationships

7. The principle of extended family structure

These principles were my intended frame of KRT for this project. The process of looking deeply at KRT and contemporary interpretations has allowed me to expand or build upon these principles and encouraged me to add two other frameworks as those within which I am going to undertake this research.

Testing the Kaupapa

One of these frameworks is that of G. Smith (2012) where he states:

There are four tests that I think should be applied for a practice to be called an effective Kaupapa Māori-informed strategy. The first is the praxis test: Are both practical and theoretical elements present? Second, the positionality test: What is the record of the researcher/commentator that lends legitimacy to their work in this area? Third, the criticality test: Does the commentary or analysis adequately take account of culturalist and structuralist aspirations and political analysis? And fourth, the transformability test: What positively changes for

Māori as a result of your engagement or your application of Kaupapa Māori? (p. 20)

So, I asked myself, does this research project measure up to the tests as outlined by G. Smith?

Regarding the presence of both practical and theoretical elements, one outcome of this research is intended to be a better understanding of what it means to be both Māori and Pākehā. Penetito (2011) states: "research on the topic of multiple identities and cultural change is relatively negligible in New Zealand" (p. 41). The practical outcome of extending theory in this area is that the positive and negative aspects of "being both" and "not belonging to either", is able to become conscious, and thus available to negotiation by both individual and collective peoples.

The second of G. Smith's tests, legitimacy, can be translated as a cultural test with components of language, tikanga, or "browness". The challenge for me using KRT for this project is, where does "my right" or legitimacy as Māori sit. Pihama (2011) speaks of "being grounded in yourself" (p. 53) in order to work within kaupapa. Knowing who I am, where I come from, and building relationships with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations, to find the place that I can stand is intrinsic to both the process and the outcome of this research. Philip-Barbara (2011) suggests that one challenge to Māori researchers is to bring kaupapa into the personal as well as the professional, by way of a commitment to tikanga and te reo Māori. To accept that challenge is part of how the philosophy of KRT is addressed in this project. I engage more fully in the local Māori community, be in the kaupapa more deeply and more explicitly than I have been previously. A counterpoint to this position, with which I resonate, is the kōrero of Mitchell (2011) where she names that

"te reo me ona tikanga should be the comfort zone for all Māori" (p. 59) but that it is not, and that lack of comfort, is not necessarily the choice of the individual. Many factors contribute to this discomfort. Bishop (1996), citing G. Smith, describes kaupapa in the following way: "It assumes the taken for granted social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Māori people, in that it is a position where "Maori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right'." (p. 12)

What I question is: "Who is it that is taking kaupapa for granted?" For a number of individuals who identify as Māori there is a disconnect from knowledge of tikanga, reo, and mātauranga. Yet this is named as needing to be taken for granted. Does this mean that those who are not "connected enough" are excluded from participating in KRT? Are the disconnected Māori who have not been lucky and grown up in their whenua, with mātauranga taken for granted, marginalised by those who are embedded in te ao Māori?

I choose to claim legitimacy as named by G. Smith (2012) by way of a whakapapa definition of being Māori. Penetito (2011) discusses the many definitions of what it means to be Māori and argues for a whakapapa definition: "The whakapapa 2view of being Māori is our legacy, it is our inheritance, it is our tāonga tuku iho. Who is going to argue with that? Nobody." (p. 41). Additionally I choose not to be made invisible or turn away from becoming solid in my identity through fear of not being Māori enough to address the questions that I believe face many. L. Smith (1999) states:

> As we have seen, the notion of 'authentic' is highly contested when applied to, or by, indigenous peoples. .. Questions of who is a 'real indigenous' person, what counts as a 'real indigenous leader', which person displays 'real cultural

values' and the criteria used to assess the characteristics of authenticity are frequently the topic of conversation and political debate. These debates are designed to fragment and marginalize those who speak for, or in support of, indigenous issues. They frequently have the effect also of silencing and making invisible the presence of other groups within the indigenous society like women, the urban non-status tribal person and those whose ancestry or 'blood quantam' is 'too white'. (p. 72)

Legitimacy, as a component, is also a question of action to date. G. Smith (2012) when addressing legitimacy states the following:

The prior question is, if you are going to write about Kaupapa Māori, what can you show you have done for Māori in the real world? Show me the blisters on your hands to gain a more authoritative right to talk or write authentically about Kaupapa Māori. (p. 13)

In terms of what I have done I claim my work as a drug and alcohol counselor within a Māori social services agency; my place promoting Māori educational goals as a high school board member and in tertiary training; my mothering of my whāngai daughter and my son; and my continued challenging and questioning in relationship with others as my "blisters". These blisters do not give me authority to write authentically about kaupapa, nevertheless I claim them as my authority to explore my identity and ask questions within the frame of kaupapa.

Regarding the third test of criticality, the question of negotiating the hybrid cultural object has at its core an analysis of culture and structure within the political context. My intention through this research was to hold a critical perspective, to critique my own perspective and experience, and critique the work and position of others.

As far as the fourth transformability test, and what positively changes for Māori as a result of my engagement or application of kaupapa is concerned, I believe there is a

transformational component to this project. There is an extensive body of work that has named disconnection from culture and identity as one of the outcomes of colonisation and contributors to Māori deficit. Additionally (or perhaps at the heart of this test with regard to identity), the disconnection from mātauranga (Royal, 2012, Durie, 2012, Bishop, 1996) contributes to diffuse identity. Adding new knowledge or making explicit that what is implicit for many, with hybrid cultural identification, may be fulfilling KRT philosophies as already outlined.

I am aware that I have spent a significant amount of time attending to legitimacy within KRT. This is because (as is intrinsic to the question) I am unsure of my legitimacy. I needed to ground myself as Māori 'enough' and parhaps as "good enough Māori" (like Winnicott's good enough mother) to be based in KRT for this project. My experience of exploring my legitimacy is that in my day to day living I have become less anxious to place myself as Māori via action and more able to place myself as Māori via just being.

Kaupapa Bravery

The second KRT frame that I am adding here is the bravery underpinning KRT that is outlined by Jackson (2011). The first component of bravery is to know who we are as defined by ourselves not by others. The second is to know where we are located in time and in our journey and ensuring our survival. The third is to ask questions, both easy and difficult, and to "know what we have to think about" (p. 75). The fourth is transformation or the knowing of what needs transformation, where we need to go.

This bravery can be seen as an individual and collective action. As an individual I am embarking on this project knowing (or learning to know) who I am, where I am located, the questions I need to ask, and what I need to transform. L. Smith (2012) states: "Our first task is to engage with ourselves first and foremost to critically challenge ourselves." (p. 18). This may be interpreted as the "we" being Māori and also as the individual who identifies as Māori.

My 10yr old daughter recently did her first bungy jump. She took six minutes to jump off the platform. The whole time the guy was encouraging her and also allowing that she may change her mind if she wished. I was on the sidelines shouting banal encouragement from a place of intense anxiety, as I knew that she would feel a real sense of failure if she didn't manage to get off that platform by jumping. I was also anxious, because if she didn't do it alone I knew that I would tandem jump with her so that she had an achieving experience. After she jumped my anxiety abated and I was so proud of her. She spoke of being disappointed that she took longer than her peers, who all jumped within seconds of being in position to do so. I immediately reminded her that in order to be brave, you first have to be scared. There is no bravery in doing something that doesn't frighten you in the first place. Being brave, as outlined by Jackson, first requires facing into what frightens and then engaging with the fear and the subject. Perhaps this is how I can be with my discomfort and fear in identity. Being brave while knowing that if I can't do it alone someone will hold me and we will jump together.

When discussing this story, my supervisor wondered if he was the person "holding" me in this instance. On reflection I am more drawn to the image of being held by my tipuna/ancestors and my family who are still on the earth. I also wonder about being held by a cultural supervisor but am scared of getting alongside the 'wrong' person. What I mean by the wrong person is someone for whom being Māori is held as a fixed and specific identity ... which I may not fit.

There are challenges and pitfalls that will have to be faced into as a part of this research.

There is a danger in addressing the hybrid cultural object that the fragmentation and objectification that has been part of mainstream research, is repeated under the

guise of KRT. Jackson (2011) discusses the fractioning of "blood" imposed as a tool for land confiscation (among other uses) by the colonisers as fragmenting identity. "In my view, the imposition of that whole discourse is one of the most damaging things that has been done to our people because it has altered the very notion of identity and worth." (p. 74). Jackson goes on to say:

> If kaupapa Māori theory can help us reclaim how we name ourselves, if it can help us reject the notion that we are only part something and instead respect and recognize all the bits that make us unique, then kaupapa Māori theory should be honoured and protected. (p. 75)

The challenge for me exploring my identity as both Māori and Pākehā, within the frame of KRT, is to recognise all the bits that make me unique without fragmenting. In fact the aim is quite the opposite to that of fragmenting, it is integrating.

L. Smith (1999) names the destructive nature of research in relation to Māori. Research has been used to pathologise Māori politically, socially and as a problem identity: "For many indigenous communities research itself is taken to mean 'problem'; the word research is believed to mean, quite literally, the continued construction of indigenous peoples as the problem." (p. 92)

This is a challenge which I have addressed in this project by working within KRT (as outlined above), conscious of the pitfalls inherent in mainstream research. Mikaere (2011) names that kaupapa demands Māori are participants in rather than the object of the research and also that the research findings are communicable to and therefore empowering of Māori peoples. Framing this research in KRT and heuristic methodology makes me, a Māori individual, a participant in rather than an object of research. Being both inside and outside the research and disseminating my findings to

Māori and the others, in ways that are respectful of both and inclusive of collective Māori, is one of the challenges faced in this project.

KRT is set in a context of reclaiming knowledge and history that has been fed to mainstream and Māori alike as the truth. Ways of knowing have been valid only if they come from the Western accepted world view (Royal, 2012; Durie, 2012; Cooper, 2012). KRT positions itself in a dynamic Māori world view, accepted as being valid in its own right without need for justification ... and as antidote to western knowing of the "Other". To decolonise my internal world, embrace all of my identity and relearn truth is one of the tasks I will undertake.

KRT requires bravery, action both political and social, personal engagement, transformational aspiration and action for Māori wellbeing. L. Smith (1999, 2011), Jackson (2011), and G. Smith (2012) all suggest that the challenge, question or rules of engagement require first an engagement with self around identity, kaupapa and grounding, perhaps in finding the place to stand. This project requires both in methodology and premise that I have this engagement as a starting point, a map for the journey and an aspirational arriving place. The engagement with self that is demanded by KRT is congruent with the self-reflection demanded by heuristic research method.

Royal (2012) and Durie (2012) specify difference in kaupapa vs mātauranga. Kaupapa is named as action focused and transformative in intention, whereas mātauranga is named as knowledge; that which is learned or known. Mātauranga may sit in the lap of kaupapa (or is it the other way around)? Mātauranga connects with the reflective nature of heuristic philosophy in that it responds to the three great questions of life; who am I, what is this world that I exist in and what am I to do (Royal, 2012).

Royal (2012) when speaking of Māori knowledge and research method states that historically (and perhaps today), "This process of learning and then research entailed much rote learning, experiential learning and finally whakatiki (fasting) and nohopuku (meditation)." (p. 36). There is a matching of similar methods contained in the phases of heuristic research regarding meditation and introspect.

Heuristic methodology is based in phenomenology. Douglass and Moustakas (1985) state that: "Phenomenological research is, properly, the study of ordinary, everyday phenomena (e.g., time, space, materiality, causality, interpersonal factors), the phenomenological investigation attempts to reveal the actual nature and meaning of an event, perception or occurrence, just as it appears." (p. 42-43)

They go on to discuss that heuristics has the same intent as phenomenology, to see a phenomenon as it is. Though heuristics differs from phenomenology in that the heuristic approach and outcome is subjective rather than objective: "in heuristics the research participants remain visible in the examination of the data and continue to be portrayed as whole persons." (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 43) In the next chapter I outline this method.

Chapter 2 Heuristic Method

Heuristic research is a search for the discovery of meaning and essence in significant human experience. It requires a subjective process of reflecting, exploring, sifting, and elucidating the nature of the phenomenon under investigation. Its ultimate purpose is to cast light on a focused problem, question or theme. (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 40)

Clark Moustakas, the founder of the heuristic method, identifies six phases in the method (Moustakas, 1990):

1. Initial Engagement

2. Immersion

3. Incubation

4. Illumination

5. Explication

6. Creative Synthesis

These phases are not linear and the researcher is likely to move both forward and backward during the process, returning to previous phases as required and leaping forward to others, perhaps forward to the illumination phase momentarily before returning to immersion. There is a congruence here with the question. When an individual has a hybrid identity, although all identifications are perpetually present, in each context, one is more to the front than another (Keddell, 2006).

Heuristic method has the researcher as the subject of the research. The process is reflective of that person's experience, and the experience of others, in relation to the question addressed. This micro focus is of great advantage to knowing, as the experience of one, although unique, is able to give information about the experience of many (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985).

The focus on the individual, found in heuristic method, may seem to be in direct opposition to the principle of the collective that is embedded in KRT (Woodard, 2008). Reid (1995) addresses this conflict:

> We tend to forget that the essential physical unit is the individual. It's true that collective units are our operational bases in many situations and cicumstances, but these groups are made up of individuals, not clones. From the pool of individuals come leaders, people with exceptional talents like weavers, childbearers and childrearers. The survivability of whānau, hapū and iwi ideally depends on the kaleidoscope of skills, strength, beauty and ambition that members individually contribute. (p. 29)

Heuristic method requires time and space to engage in each of the phases. One critique of this method is that regular life, with a job, family and community commitments, is not condusive to heuristic research. Similarly, the time confines inherent in producing a dissertation in a certain deadline are in conflict with the phases of heuristic research, which are intended to be spacious and attended to until naturally moving to the next phase.

Here I identify and expand the phases as they have been attended to in this work. The critiques as outlined above will be discussed more fully and a comparison of kaupapa method and hueristic method will be presented.

Initial Engagement

> Within each researcher exists a topic, theme, problem or question that represents a critical interest and area of research. The task of the initial engagement is to discover an intense interest, a passionate concern that calls out to the researcher, one that holds important social meanings and personal compelling implications. (Moustakas,1990, p. 27)

The initial engagement is embedded deeply and over a long period of time in this researcher. A process of identity construction, or uncovering, has been evident since I was a child. The not knowing whether I can identify as Māori and Pākehā, when my skin is white, is contrasted with unexplained feelings of connection and political action. Both positions are experienced as without beginning.

The process of arrival at the question "What is the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā?" has not been straight forward. I knew that I wanted to look at the experience of being Māori, however initial questions had their locus in others, rather than in myself. "What is the impact of colonisation on the internal cultural object?", was my initially proposed question, which I intended to explore via interveiwing others.

Moustakas (1990) states: "The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social – and perhaps universal – significance." (p. 15). This, in focusing on my own experience I am illuminating the social and perhaps universal significance of – and for – others negotiating the hybrid cultural object.

A characteristic of heuristic method is tacit knowing and going in a direction as it reveals itself as pertinant (Douglas & Moustakas, 1985). To engage externally with the heuristic experience of others, would have been less personally challenging and therefore held appeal. However, to engage with my own process and feelings is

congruent with my journey as a psychotherapist willing to face into myself. Over time the question became solidly connected to my subjectivity and reflection.

Immersion

> Once the question is discovered and its terms defined and clarified, the researcher lives the question in waking, sleeping and even dream states. (Moustakas, 1990, p. 28)

The ways in which I immersed in the question were in keeping with the methods described by Moustakas. I kept a record of my process in what I named as my "Dissertation Diary". In this I recorded:

- My dreams

- Instances where my hybrid identity was apparent to me

- Reflections on daily life in relation to hybrid identity

- Reflections on literature with which I was engaged

I engaged in ongoing discussion with others, particularly my husband, around what I was experiencing and reflecting on, in relation to hybrid identity. Much of this discussion had high levels of emotional energy and process.

In this phase my literature search focused on hybrid identity, Māori experience and history, New Zealand poetry and writing. It is outlined further on in this section with an example of the whakapapa nature of the search. Artistic activity and expression, related to identity, were also part of the immersion phase.

Looking back on the data, the immersion phase began in late October 2013. As I was collecting and creating the methodology section for this piece my focus was on

kaupapa research. The claiming of whakapapa and "scars" (Jackson, 2011) as my right

to engage in kaupapa research set my focus firmly on the experience of being Māori –

Pākehā. A dream I recorded highlights the early immersion phase.

> ***I went to a GP and at reception gave them an identity card that was not mine. We laughed and I gave it back to who it belonged to (a white woman). I was slightly confused as to why I had that identity card and also felt some ownership of it – part of me wanted it back from her. (24/10/13)***

As I continued with the methodology section my immersion was deep. I noticed

daily instances where my identity was negotiated. At the time I wondered if I was

"immersed enough", which brings me recollection of the parallel of whether I am

"Māori enough'.

> ***Reading 'Decolonizing Methodologies'. There is no mention of the hybrid which seems to be the majority of Māori. Does this meant to participate in KMRT (Kaupapa Māori Research Theory), that I have to position myself as Māori exclusively? With my lack of te reo, tikanga, mātauranga and colour, am I automatically excluded? (09/11/13)***

During the months of December and January my ability to stay immersed was

challenged by a significant change in employment status and the attending stress. There

was the added distraction of school holidays and familial responsibility. Heuristic

research method is difficult to adhere to in light of life. Perhaps reflection, indwelling,

etc. is more able to be present in a life with an abundance of disposable income and

time? However, I could describe this time of immersion as if being immersed in water:

at times being closer to the surface, and occasionally breaking the surface, rather than

being fully immersed; the question, and noticing my connection to the question, were

ongoing.

On the last day of January 2014 my immersion again became deeper with a focus on moving forward and engaging fully with the question. I ordered literature concerned with hybrid cultural experience from the library and discovered in databases. As is in keeping with hueristic research the literature discovery was not in the form of a formal literature reveiw. The relevant literature was found by following one article or book and the references within that to the next. Intuition and interest as to which article or book I would read were the guide. An example of what my supervisor and I came to refer to as "literature whakapapa" is given in Figure 1 (to be read, like a family tree, from the bottom up).

Figure 1. Literature Whakapapa

LITERATURE WHAKAPAPA
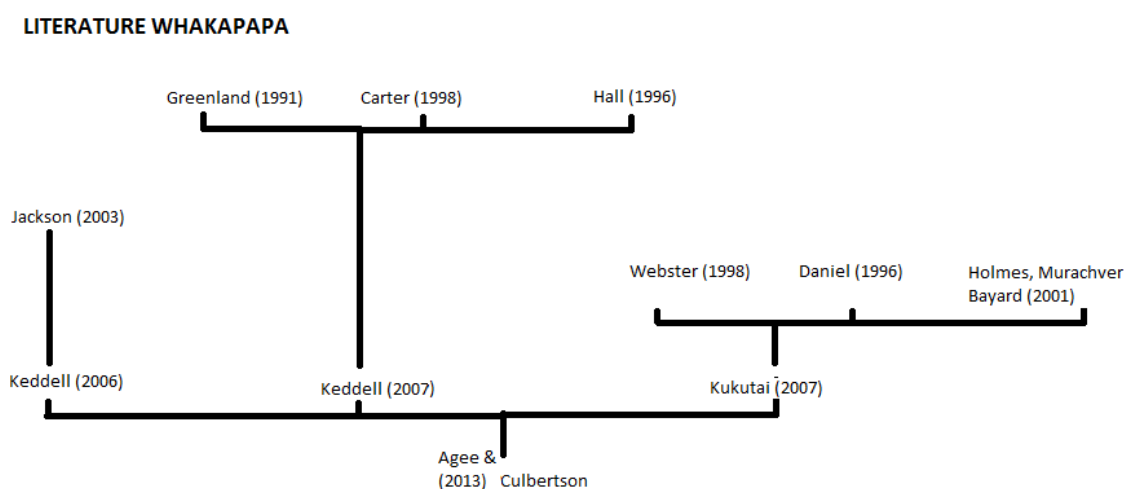
Early in February the immersion phase became painful and all consuming. I felt as if I was unable to escape from being in the question.

I feel lost in this process. It feels like there is nothing solid to hang on to. A lot of crying last night with Matthew. It's like no where is safe for me to be in terms of my identity and I am angry that this is how I chose to do this dissertation. Way too in my stuff. A straight literature review would be much easier.

Keith is being kind. I am doing what I am supposed to be doing is the message I am getting from him, Matthew and Margot. I named my concern over the narcissistic extension of my kids out loud. I feel like such a bitch. I said to Margot that I had some romantic idea of art and music as a means of immersion and what I am ending up with is being in places where I do not like what I find.

I have had dreams over the past couple of nights that feel like they are relevant, but I have not written them down. I find myself feeling sick when I think about thinking about my question. I do not want to talk to anyone, just go inside myself, not to look just to be safe. In fact not to look at all. To bury my head in my belly with my eyes closed and my ears blocked so that I do not have to see, hear or feel…or give of myself to anyone else. I don't want to have to have all the answers for my kids, husband, clients, and parents. I don't want to have to tell people how I feel.

I want to create clothing. Make things. I wonder about that. Is my making of things for the outside to do with who I am? That would work, then I could just make things and not have to think too hard.

I don't belong at work. I am not Māori enough. If I were all the shit wouldn't have happened. I could just … what? What could I just do? I am more comfortable being Pākehā … to be the mainstream would take away any drama. I could ignore the problem.

I heard a man speaking about meritorious system. 'Too many Māori, disabled, women on boards in relation to that aspect of themselves rather than the skills and experience they bring to a board' If you want to be racist, disable a whole race, by their race, and privilege them accordingly. If I was just mainstream I would not HAVE to have a response to such stupid thinking … I may not even hear it. If I was just Māori? I don't know what that would mean. I have the luxury of being difficult to place. It is a luxury on some levels but if it were clear, then there would not have to be a constant negotiation of identity. Well at least not in relationship to race. If I only am one thing I don't have to guess who I am. (11/02/14)

In response to feeling overwhelmed I decided to engage with the literature I had gathered: moving into intellect, rather than feeling, as it seemed my only option if I were to keep moving forward. The result of that shift was that I became more and more curious, less and less overwhelmed. I found others who were addressing their own feelings around belonging and not belonging. The tone of my dissertation diary began to shift.

So she speaks of opening up the third space, a liberating space where I can be who I am without having to fit into the colonized, assimilated or traditional prescribed image of Māori woman. It sounds great in theory and I wonder about how easy that is to do. The negotiation of hybridity is ongoing and daily and tiring. There is some hope in the way she speaks of being connected to

the land the tūrangawaewae as a place just to be. Being in nature as a means
of connecting to the self. (15/02/14)
Found it difficult to engage with the work on Sunday. I am really not
interested in talking with anyone else about what I am doing. When mum
asked me how it was going I asked her not to talk to me about it at all. Same
with Matthew.
I have moved on from worrying about my motives with my kids. I imagine
their presentation does lubricate for me … and that is not why I have my
children. (17/02/14)
Noticing the loneliness of self reflection and how perhaps it is intrinsic to the
method that the individual become alone. It highlights that although we on
one level are all connected, at another we are very much alone. My
experience is unique to me and therefore no one else can ever know it. The
universal takes place where others have experience that is similar to mine.
(19/02/14)

Kaupapa research sitting within a Māori paradigm joins with hueristic research

in that there is a focus on doing the work until it is done, rather than sacrificing the

result to the timeframe. In early March it was decided in supervision that in order to

meet the deadline the immersion phase needed to tail off. Again the critique of hueristic

research as a method within the confines of academic delivery arose. To extend the

time frame was estimated to cost $400 per month; disposable time and money are

perhaps a pre requisite for this method.

The difficulty in moving away from the immersion phase was that the question
blankets all areas of my life. In my family, work, school, board, community,
social contacts, media and social media; I am a Māori Pākehā woman
negotiating my place. Given the immersion and awareness that has come
from that, I cannot unknow what I now know. Also, I now am very motivated
to know more about the theory intrinsic to hybrid cultural identity. The
immersion is no longer painful, it is exciting and I want to stay in this place.

Incubation

Incubation is the process in which the researcher retreats from the intense
concentrated focus on the question ... During this process the researcher is no
longer absorbed in the topic in any direct way or alert to things, situations,
events or people that will contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon.
(Moustakas, 1990, p. 28)

Incubation takes place as the researcher lets go of the question and the many forms that have been involved in immersion. This is an ongoing state not dissimilar to reverie (Ogden, 1998) where implicit or tacit knowing emerges without conscious effort.

As has already been discussed the move away from immersion was not an easy move to make.

Given the nature of the question and time limitations as have already been discussed, the ability to step away from the question currently seems impossible. I am Māori/Pākehā daily negotiating this hybrid journey. My political being cannot put action connected to the question on hold in order to incubate. Opportunity for positive change will be lost if I stop. To stop reading and actively seeking new knowledge is achieveable. But to step outside of the experience and daily noticing is perhaps not achievable. To continue with the academic action and process is perhaps as close as I can come to "retreat". (10/03/14)

From 12/03/14 I stopped work completely. The shift to this space came about in a forced manner as is recorded in my dissertation diary.

It was my birthday, 48 years old. My uncle had died on the Friday and I traveled to Timaru with my mum and dad to attend the funeral, Monday, my birthday. A couple of things happened for me.
On the way over I had a huge discussion with my mum about what pākehā are supposed to do in relation the current state of race relations in NZ. We then spoke about my Ruby and how her journey as whāngai was going to play out for her. It was a tough trip over … every emotional soft spot was given attention.
We arrived in Timaru and I began to learn about my family … more than I had previously known … family splits, children with varying parentage, what we don't talk about and cousins who are in helping professions.
Funeral, taken by my dad, highlighting to me his age and fragility and proximity to being the main event rather than the facilitator. I found that very hard.
My Auntie Phyllis came to me and thanked me for taking Ruby. She said that she was so grateful, as a baby from our family could not go out of the family. I felt like all the tipuna were giving me their blessing, I could actually physically feel them there in me. I had never considered the wider family in

my decision and I had always felt alone in my journey. This
acknowledgement connected me to my ancestors.
So we left Timaru and I was emotionally exhausted. I could not think any
more about my dissertation, identity, any of the big questions were too big to
be with. I realized that my life had given me an opportunity for incubation
where previously I had felt unable to stop collecting data. Immersion had to
stop or I would drown. (19/03/14)

A week of complete abscence from the question began. Initially I was unable to function at all. It only lasted a day but I was unable to engage with anyone or anything, a feeling of complete exhaustion took over. As the week progressed I gardened, cleaned my house, walked with my husband, cooked and engaged with my children in a way that had been lacking over the previous weeks. Becoming unconcious to that which I had been so concious happened.

Illumination

The process of illumination is one that occurs naturally when the researcher is open to tacit knowledge and intuition. The illumination is a break through into conscious awareness of qualities and a clustering of qualities into themes inherent in the question. (Moustakas, 1990, p. 29)

Once a full immersion in the question had taken place, incubation and illumination required me to step away from conscious effort toward understanding. I anticipated there would be a period of time where other activities would be at the forefront of my experience. I expected engaging with the natural world and physical activity, allowing underlying understanding and discovery to emerge. My expectation and actuality differed to some degree. I had imagined weeks of luxurious suspension of focus, where I allowed what needed to emerge, space to do so.

What I discovered was that illumination was not 'the next stage'. Illumination had taken place throughout the process to date (and would continue to take place). The week in which I had been unable to work had given time for incubation in the

ways in which I had imagined, the long and luxurious timeframe was the missing

piece.

Table 1. The Timing and Content of Illuminations

DATE	ILLUMINATION
24/10/13	Excluding others who don't fit the essentialised cultural object may be a way of mitigating ones own negative cultural object.
09/11/13	My journey here around hybrid identity has potential to help make visible, that which is predominately invisible.
05/12/13	Although I would like to deny it, I relegate negative characteristics to Māori. The negative cultural object speaking something into being.
31/01/14	I am Māori by my whakapapa. I am Pākehā by my ancestry. Both of these things are true and not exclusive of each other.
09/02/14	I use others as symbols/objects to soothe my hybrid angst. I don't like that I do this.
11/03/14	I am held by my tipuna.
06/04/14	To be culturally well, accepting and integrating all cultural aspects is important. Being invisible as Māori, Pākehā, or hybrid impacts on individuals and on Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole.

Explication

> The purpose of the explication phase is to fully examine what has awakened in consciousness, in order to understand it's various layers of meaning.
> (Moustakas, 1990, p. 31)

Explication is a further, more in depth reflection of what has now become

conscious, a capturing and organising of essence and theme and findings is required.

During this phase a shift to making meaning of what has been gathered to date is

anticipated, grouping of themes and description of essence, along with linking between

literature, personal reflection and art. Focusing and indwelling are tools at the forefront

in heuristic research during this phase. Regular meditation and space in which to focus

and indwell were intended to take place. However this part of the method was difficult

for me:

I notice that I find it difficult to settle to being in a reflective mode and that the discipline required to do that is hard to grasp. It reminds me of meditating in a class years ago and how I was massively resistant as being in my body was too scary given having been raped. I still find resistance to that level of quiet and am much more comfortable in my intellect and intuition. Interesting that the method chosen for the ease it may bring is one where I am required to face in to not only my cultural identity and how that sits … but also into being quiet, allowing space and time, rather than busying myself into life. (23/01/14)

The focusing and indwelling took place outside of meditation. I was able to think in the shower, in breaks at work and while I was in the process of putting together the concepts, thoughts and feelings that make up this piece of work. The stretching of illuminations, to come to new meaning, happened as part of the academic process. This is congruent with heuristic method where, although there may be a frame in which the research takes place, it is flexible and open to a shift in direction or action. (Moustakas, 1990)

Creative Synthesis

> The final phase of heuristic research is the process of creative synthesis. The researcher in entering this process is thoroughly familiar with all the data in its major constituents, qualities, and themes and in the explication of the meanings and details of the experience as a whole. The creative synthesis can only be achieved through tacit and intuitive powers. Once the researcher has mastered knowledge of the material that illuminates and explicates the question, the researcher is challenged to put the components and core themes into a creative synthesis. (Moustakas, 1990, p. 30-31)

Creative synthesis is the bringing together of what has been discovered, and the process of discovery, in a way that is held together. Being excited and challenged by the initial engagement, and arriving at a question that has relevance to the researcher means that in this context the creative synthesis is embedded in the narrative. Discovery of kaupapa Māori methodology, and my legitimacy to claim it as a methodology, has within it the negotiating of hybrid cultural experience. Defining

through the literature of others, and my own experience, what hybrid cultural

identification means is creative synthesis at work.

There was an intention of including a timeline inclusive of the six heuristic phases to illustrate the journey. I discovered the difficulty (or perhaps reality) is that the initial engagement is without beginning and the creative synthesis is without ending. What happened in between is this work as it is presented. (27/04/14)

Chapter 3 The Experience of Negotiating the Hybrid Cultural Object

This chapter address the question of what this researcher's experience of negotiating being both Māori and Pākehā is, in other words, negotiating the hybrid cultural object. The experience began far in advance of undertaking this piece of work. It has intergenerational roots of belonging, and not belonging according to cultural identity.

My great uncle was Sir Maui Pomare, who was convinced that assimilation was the way for Māori to do well and survive in colonised Aotearoa New Zealand. My grandmother Wikitoria Pomare was his protégé for bringing this theory into action. My mother's family origins are in the UK via Australia. My father's family origins are in Taranaki, the Chatham Islands and aspirational colonists of varying origin. These ancestries and their accompanying cultures join together in me. My experience of negotiating the hybrid cultural object is often not easy:

> *So the words were stuck and fuck it. I have been through one stuck place and now am in a fuck it kind of place. Why, when I am a woman, mother, wife (hehe) daughter, curly head, fat arse, hybrid … is the hybrid the bit that is so painful. Granted at times all of my identifiers have caused some pain…but being Māori/pākehā has been the most ongoing and difficult to articulate, integrate. So why bother … Fuck it, just be who I am without the ongoing angst. Go to kapahaka if I feel like it, not if I don't. Also the confusion gets bigger when I read that the constructed positions are not useful … does that mean that the work I am doing to get Māori as privileged as mainstream in the school is in fact facilitating the trapping of Māori kids in a certain way of being Māori that is constrained by tradition. Take it back from Māori kids … my kids … especially Ruby. I don't know if I am doing Mika a dis-service by not focusing on his being Māori in the same way as I do with Ruby. Perhaps it is the ease in which he seems to fit in a way she doesn't. What if I am leaving him to be alone in his discomfort, when he actually needs someone beside him.*
> *Fuck it doesn't work … I go to a meeting and look around at these white, middle class women (all bar one) blithering, I think to myself … I do not belong in a room with these people … I do not belong. I am in my office with*

two, first language reo, young people. They run the kapa haka group and J is asking me when I will join … telling me that it doesn't matter about my lack of reo or my time availability … he is soo welcoming. And yet, I walk away thinking, nice … but I don't belong. I see Matua N in the supermarket parking lot and talk about guitar lessons for Mika … I name that as I am giving him my number that he needs to actually put it in his phone. We laugh … but I feel that, in fact he won't put it in because … I don't belong.

The meeting notes have a theme of Māori and cross cultural requirements not being met, the not meeting is not even spoken to in the report. I feel like it is that disappearing of things Māori and do I have to make it visible <u>and</u> who am I to make it visible.. I can't go fuck it because my life won't let me … Fuck it!!!!

Dream

I had this dream a couple of nights ago and it has stuck and feels important. I was biking with Libby. We arrived at this stone building. Large, Italian (connection with Tess work … where a woman left behind being Māori to go to Italy with her Italian husband). We got off our bikes and entered a large and amazing part of the building. The ceiling was blue and green (other dream) and was the most beautiful building I had ever seen. It was like a restaurant/market inside the building. A woman came to us and hurried us through the area we were in. We were not meant to have our bikes in the building. She was kind and trying not to embarrass us and yet it was clear we had made a big mistake. She took us to a table where we were able to order coffee, and did. I wanted to look around and so left Libby at the table. As I walked I realized that this market had a huge fashion/fabric area. I had seen some people with a sample bag of fabric sitting at a table near to us. I wanted that bag too. I knew that I probably didn't have the right to get it as I had only stumbled across the whole place … but I wanted to get it none the less. As I was walking around I became aware that I was dressed for a bike ride in the country and everyone else was thoughtfully and beautifully dressed. I was in my jandals and khaki shorts. I wondered how I would convince them that I was entitled to the bag of beautiful fabric I had seen. I was overwhelmed with the variety and beauty in the room. I wasn't sure where to look, I saw what appeared to be furnishing fabric and that didn't hold my interest. I was looking for sheer fabric, or floral fabric for clothing. I got to one stall that sold fabric to be made into little dresses for young women. Someone explained to me that the person selling was unable to wear this particular fabric as it was unsuitable for someone of her age. She was in a long blue shiny beautiful but uncomfortable looking outfit. I wondered if she could see past my shorts and jandals and let me have some fabric samples too. I thought that she may be my best bet as she didn't truly fit where she was either and she may be kind to me. I woke up without getting the bag of fabric. (17/02/14)

The experience of not feeling good enough in a situation is apparent in this dream. My outside does not allow me to fit in or blend in with all the well dressed people located in the market. I want the sample bag of fabric and hope that the woman who also appears not to fit in, will see me and know what good use I would make of the fabric; if I were allowed to have it too.

In order to illustrate my hybrid cultural identification I have included a family tree in Figure 2. The shading is indicative of the process of becoming invisible, as Māori phenotype, which has taken place throughout the generations in my family. This is the subject of the following poem by Carter (1998, p. 267):

Colour

I'm not a white woman
wishing I was brown
I'm not a white woman
pretending to be brown
I'm a white woman
who descends
From men and women
who were brown
Who unlike others
married white
And made that the colour
they handed down

Figure 2. Family Tree

Margaret Buchanan — Alexander Miller

Jessie · Margaret · Dave · Alex · Nellie · Winnie · Emily Edith Miller · Ida

Mary Jane Smith — Michael O'Sullivan

Alfred Henry O' Sullivan · Annie · Jessie

Doody Flutey — Piri Pomare · Maui Pomare

Nell Titiaukura Hough — Henry Te Manuhiri Grennell

* Wikitoria Pomare · # Phillip TeMahia Grennell

Noelene O'Sullivan · Margaret

Nell · Phyliss · Milly · Ret · Kevin · Edgar · Dennis Grennell · Maui · Jack · Malcom

Dianne · Peter · **Niki Grennell**

* Wikitoria · William · Tehira · Retimara · Alice · Maui · Elizabeth · Cassie · Charles · James · Nga Hira · Eke · John · Ginnie · May Ngamaemae · Arthur · William · Roger · Robert · Gladys · Cissie · Manu · May

Phillip TeMahia · Richard Takiroa · William Albert · Manuhiri · Edgar Takerangi · Harriet · Mollie · Elisabeth · Epiha Jack

Where do I fit as a Māori woman based in the south? My iwi connections are Tuahiwi in the south. Is that/am I acceptable to other Māori in that context. A group is run by the Māori representative. She does present as Māori by colour, language or connection. I do not in the area of colour or language. Is swallowing whole - Wanting to be identified by others who strongly identify/from the outside (external perception) and internal perception – the way to belong and sit in being Māori in this context.
The other side is that her behavior is all the negatives I feel around 'being' Māori. I see her as being uneducated, pushy, brash and self serving. This is contrasted by L who appears gracious and open to all Māori (and others) despite their (my) lack of language or tikanga. L honours me for being from this part of the land. There doesn't seem to be any judgement of my 'lack of being Māori'. I just am. It is easy for me to attribute the 'bad characteristics' to Māori as being how Māori are as a matter of race. I feel very guilty writing and feeling what I have just done. What does that mean for my children (particularly R)? Logically I know that these judgments are based in the internalised stereotyped cultural object and yet they influence my experience of self and others. (24/10/2013)

When Lowe (2008) looks at the internalised negative cultural object he uses case studies to illustrate the impact such an object has on those who have mixed cultural identification. For instance, in a mixed race couple the white woman internalised the "good" aspects of her black husband and he the "bad" aspects of her, thus fitting their presentation and self image with their respective internalised cultural object. The work of Durie (1998, 2001, 2003) speaks to the question of the experience of being Māori in a context where Māori are held as a negative cultural object for both Māori and Pākehā.

Durie's theory on Māori mental health is inclusive of a Māori worldview and the need to privilege this view in order to raise Māori health outcomes. A strong cultural identification based in language, and connection to land and tikanga, is held up as an influence on positive mental health outcomes for Māori. Alongside this is, as Collins (2012) states: "The stresses of identification with a disadvantaged, oppressed minority ethnic group may need to be considered alongside the apparent mental/emotional/spiritual health benefits of a more secure identity as Maori" (p. 220).

The dream that follows is almost prophetic in nature. I had this dream before I attended a fashion/art course with Lindah Lepou, who identifies as Fa'afafini. She dresses in traditionally masculine and also feminine clothing, as the mood takes her. We were tasked in the class with creating a fashion art piece from only butcher's brown paper and black plastic bags. The class was very meaningful for me and my identity journey.

Dream
Try to buy a run down second hand chaise. It was falling apart to the point that one of the two women I was buying from, was trying to screw it back together. I offered them $15. They said that it was not enough and I was surprised as I felt I could buy similar in a second hand shop for that. They were both white.
I am in a car traveling down K'rd extension toward Newton. Heading for K'rd slowly. Out the window I see what I think are a group of women on a hen's night. All Māori dressed in paper clothes – butchers paper. As I look more closely. I realise they are men. Māori, military men in drag, and it seems they are on a stag do. They are beautiful…stunning. I am then in the Art gallery in Upper Queen St. There is furniture there. Two pieces, both art deco dark wood style. One a set of draws. Another is a cabinet. I am pleased to find them as even tho' they belong to the men, they are with me, and way better than the chaise I had been trying to buy. The cabinet had native birds etched into the wood. Janey comes thru' the door dressed for Mardis Gras. I am excited to show her the furniture but realize she is really upset. Buzz asked her to marry him if she could say she loved him and to leave (divorce) if she could not. At this point she had not responded, but it seemed there was something in the way of her saying it. We went to a room near the back of the gallery. Matthew was there with a few others. We were beginning to talk about what Janey might do and Mika arrived. I noticed he had blood on his knee. I was pleased he was there and I wanted to spend time with him. He used my scarf to wipe up the blood and wanted to show me his bird (koromiko) on the furniture. Janey then asked me to come with her to keep discussing her dilemma. I was torn and wanted to stay with Mika but went with Janey. We were outside in a field and I was trying to help her unpack consequence and need. What would it mean for her family if they split? I then spoke about how altho' Matthews clarity moment was extremely painful; it gave us a stronger sense of our relationship being right. Maybe she just needed to decide what she really wanted in the relationship too. I woke up. (10/02/14)

Reflecting on this dream I wonder about not being able to afford the white women's chaise and then loving the brown men's furniture. Within the dream are themes of clarifying belonging and what direction to go in. Making choices or defining

oneself is painful. This is my experience in focusing intensely on my cultural

definition, it is painful. This dream connects me to a later experience.

> *So a number of things have happened. I have been reading a little but I put it off again to do an ART FASHION course with Lindah Lepou. I went to the course thinking that I should be dissertating and that if it wasn't really good I would only attend the first day.*
>
> *First conversation in the class was that the art process was about identity. Where do you come from, who are you. These things were built upon to proceed with the artistic process; they were intrinsic to the process. Lindah is an internationally known artist/designer. Her work and words were inspiring to me. One of the things she said was that her solid ground came when she realised that even if her family chooses to disown her that they could never take away who she is. She comes genetically from her mother and father and those that go before her and that can never change. Similar to the guy who spoke of a whakapapa claim to being Māori. Really touched me and re enforced where my thinking is at currently. We were only able to use brown paper, glue gun and black plastic sacks.*
>
> *My art work and how the upcycle element is about the old life/identity being transformed and still useful in the now. (31/01/14)*

At this stage there is a lost and finding aspect to my journey which is accurately

described by Douglas & Moustakas (1985):

> A feeling of lostness and letting go pervades, a kind of being wide open in surrender to the thing itself, a recognition that one must relinquish control and be tumbled about with the newness and drama of a searching focus that is taking over life. (p. 47)

> *This happened with the frock I made in art class. Lindah challenged me about having a base at the front. To me it was keeping control of what was allowed in from external. Also working from a solid base. The mesh was too spacious and allowed too much in. Both a base and a protection were what I wanted. I surrendered to the process and came to a place where something over my heart was what was required, transparency was okay and placing 'things' to protect my heart allowed both the transparency and protection. (31/01/14)*

2

Figure 3. The Frock

The openness I was invited to allow is explained as a useful part of heuristic

process by Douglass and Moustakas (1985): "At the heart of heuristics lies an emphasis

on disclosing the self as a way of facilitating disclosure from others" (p. 50)

Moeke-Maxwell (2005) discusses four constructs that Māori women may fit into either by their own definition or by the definition of others: traditional, assimilated, pathologised, and hybrid. My experience is that I have moments of resonance with each of these constructed identities. I will give examples of all four throughout this chapter. In this instance I identified with being assimilated.

> ***How I felt when W talked about Māori only able to get work as movers ie labouring in Australia. He spoke as if "of course" this is the only work Māori men are capable of. I found myself feeling angry and also not wanting to challenge my friend. He is speaking from his understanding. Am I 'hiding' or denying being Māori in this context. Is it okay? (30/10/13)***

> Maori become subjectivated with an assimilated identity when they acquiesce to the cultural norms of the dominant Pakeha majority. An assimilated identity is also a colonized identity, but escapes being viewed as pathological because assimilated individuals are perceived to be privileged with Pakeha beliefs, values, practices, and norms and are aligned with whiteness/racial superiority and privilege. (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 502)

Perhaps actions that could be attributed to an assimilated identity are in fact a coping mechanism of 'switching off'. Engaging in daily challenging is exhausting. The choosing to engage or not may be a case of "choosing your battles": assimilation being the extreme example of a particular defence mechanism. Another example of this is seen in the next diary entries:

> ***I find myself feeling heavy emotionally in relation to mainstream understanding and Māori aspiration. Without having full information how can the conversation eventually take place. When the opportunity for discussion around my topic came up with M I found myself protecting with a statement ' I am too tired to get into a philosophical or political debate around this' Daily hard work is required to engage with others and my own struggle. (9/11/13)***
> ***I stopped being able to remember my dreams for about 3 weeks. Once I started remembering I feel real resistance to writing them down. Is this because I struggle to face into questions of identity? Did I 'switch off' because it became too hard? OR is the job thing just covering over everything else in my life? (05/12/13)***

Dream
***Crossing a river dropped my small black backpack into the river (down a
drain) I almost caught it but unable to. It was a river of shit. I went and
spoke to someone close by who suggested there was a man who would be able
to find it. I was cynical as the river was deep and wide. How would he find
my bag in all of that shit. Also … if he did, did I want it back? I was
concerned as it had all my cards, lipstick, phone. How would I manage
without them and did Matthew have enough money to last us until I got to a
bank. (23/11/14)***

This dream feels really important. I dropped my small black backpack into the
river and was nearly, but not quite, able to catch it. Is this my identity? Is this being
Māori? How can anyone help me find it in the river of shit that it is lost in? How can
my identity/essence be uncovered and clean given where it has been? I look at what
was in the bag: my cards, access to funds, to things, to food and survival; my lipstick, I
never leave home without a lipstick, my lips are conditioned to needing it and I am not
comfortable without the colour; and my phone, my means of communicating,
connecting and being with those I care about. I went through a time where I felt very
anxious away from my children without my phone. What if something happened to
them without me being available? That anxiety has diminished as they have aged, yet
my phone as a means of connection to them is important to me. All the items in the bag
connect to my identity. How would I manage without them?

Another constructed identity as described by Moeke-Maxwell (2005) is the
traditional construct. My experience of this definition of Māori woman is that I will
never measure up in regard to tikanga, language and phenotype. Moeke-Maxwell
describes this traditional woman in the following way:

> Dominant discourses identify women with Maori ancestry and invite them to take
> up a Maori ethnicity. She becomes subjectivated with the accompanying
> ideologies, philosophies, and cultural obligations that give this identity its current
> meaning and value…A traditional/spiritual Maori women's subjectivity is

promoted as the only desirable and authentic Maori identity available to Maori women. (p. 502)

The following diary entries highlight instances where I am very conscious of my inability to take up an identity of the traditional Māori woman. Throughout my life I have struggled with this distance from what is often presented as the only way in which to be/claim Māori:

Family violence meeting. Found I was nervous about being with Matua N and the Kapa Haka group … not Māori enough. Potential to join Kapa Haka group to go to Matatini. I feel, less than as Māori. (5/12/14)
Keith spoke to me today about the possibility of a cultural supervisor. I frankly told him that I am reticent to engage with anyone from Waka Oranga as my experience of them has been that I am not a good enough Māori for them. He stated that he was saddened by my perspective as he found them to be open. (26/01/14)
Waitangi day tomorrow. We were asked as an agency to man a stall on the day. My first response was no because what have they done for me lately. I then began to feel that I was not putting in enough effort as a Māori to promote the cause. I had decided not to go at all because then I would not be faced with being one or the other. Not in the seniors Kapa Haka and therefore not doing enough, not weaving, not doing any of the things that are expected on the day from Māori. So although my illumination of whakapapa claim to Māori is great in theory. In practice I feel that I have to action being Māori to be accepted as being Māori by Māori. So do I go or not? (05/02/14)
I went to Waitangi Day celebrations yesterday. Intentionally to see the Seniors Kapa Haka group perform. I have been toying with being in but don't have the time commitment available. I also feel relieved that I don't because what if I am exposed as the not good enough? I watched them and felt very emotional. On my way in I spoke with Māori I know through my work, hugs kisses and a wondering if I am just tolerated. Didn't know whether to introduce to L my mum and dad, didn't know how it works. Notice Ruby being brown allows me to identify. If she was a blonde baby would I feel as accepted as I do? Am I turning her into my narcissistic extension? Whāngai, brown, belonging child. Shit I hope not … another thing to negotiate around my identity. So I felt at home and outside. Bumped into K and A also and felt uncomfortable there too. The hour I was at the gardens was a micro look at my experience. I boldly say that I claim legitimacy via whakapapa but it is a lie. I still feel the non belonging. (07/02/14)
I heard one of my clients talking yesterday and she was talking about someone else. Not sure of context as it was just in passing and not my conversation. She said that they were 'white Māori'. Although I am relatively sure she was not speaking of me, in the moment I wondered and wondered what that meant. (09/02/14)

Not belonging to a traditional construct of identification has origins within me, my negative cultural object, as the "not good enough Māori". Anzaldua (cited in Keddell, 2006) would suggest that the individual may be subjectivised by external pressures also, "The ultimate result of this is that some people are rejected by a minority group because they are not seen to have a legitimate claim to membership if they do not conform to rigid cultural values." (p. 49)

The hybrid cultural object is by name, the blending of two. I wonder about the reasons behind engaging so fully with the Māori aspect of the hybrid and just accepting the Pākehā aspect as a given. There have been times within this process where I have consciously engaged with the Pākehā aspect of my identity and noticed a dislocation from Pākehā identification in myself and others.

> *I accept that my being Māori just is. As my being Pākehā just is also. It strikes me that I need to investigate my Mums side as a part of this dissertation. The question is around negotiating the hybrid cultural object … NOT negotiating one side of the hybrid cultural object. (5/02/14)*
> *Driving home from the board meeting, listening to radio. Drama about exchange students in Germany. Young man talking about how colonials left their country of origin with a view to forgetting where they came from, purposefully forgetting. He was angry that they did that because it meant for him that white New Zealander has no identity other than buzzy bee and other borrowed icons. Nobodies from nowhere … interesting take on being Pākehā. (19/02/14)*

The reading I did at times rose up a notion of the invisible Pākehā. Blank (1998) talks about his identification as Māori; he also has Swiss ancestry.

> My whakapapa means that I am Māori and from there I determine what it means for me. It is an intellectual and political exercise, and I am informed by values and beliefs that circulate outside Te Ao Māori as well as within it. I feel powerful and free because my definitions are not finite. Māori have made, and continue to make, conscious and considered choices about who we are in this post-modern context. We have resisted and adopted other cultures and that

means our Māori-ness has become more enigmatic, more confusing in a way – a blend of authentic and inauthentic representations. I don't believe that our identity is innate: rather, we construct it. There is no truth about Māori any more. There is only discourse. (p. 225)

So does his whakapapa mean he is Swiss? I get angry that he is choosing only one. Some things I read, like this, make me feel relaxed, to be who I am, whatever that looks like. However at the back of me is a voice that says "careful, he's brown, he gets to choose because of his brownness, and you don't". (22/03/14)

I became active in searching out my mother's history and read her recently completed memoir. I was/am able to bring this aspect of myself into more conscious knowing.

Perhaps an explanation for the particular focus on things Māori, in this discourse of Māori – Pākehā identity, is related to white privilege. McIntosh (1992) discusses white privilege as a set of assets that are available to white people without their knowledge and without them having to do anything particular to earn them. These advantages are unseen as they are "normal" for those to which they are available. For those who do not have access to the privilege, non-white, the lack is apparent in everyday life. My white skin has allowed me to be "normal" and not the "Other" in many contexts. The Pākehā aspect of me has been given space and validation whereas my Māori aspect has been unseen. This work is an opportunity for me to make all of me visible.

Moeke-Maxwell (2005) names another constructed identification as pathologised:

Maori who do not fit either a traditional or assimilated articulation of identity are viewed as identityless/rootless and are pathologized as colonized (Awatere, 1984). A colonized identity narrative epitomizes Maori who are clustered with

negative statistics in the areas of health, poverty, crime, domestic violence, and so forth. These individuals are viewed as disenfranchised and alienated from their past and separated from their traditional roots. (p. 502)

My resonance with this construct is in the area of being separated from traditional roots. I have struggled over time with poverty and being a single parent. This has not been consciously connected to being Māori, however the connection is there in my dreams.

Dream
I was with a number of the women from 'wāhine ora' group. One woman was looking at me as if I didn't belong. One of the other women there said something about how I had been a single DPB mother for a number of years to my two children, one of which is whāngai. I waited for her response. Was I allowed to belong because of my past poverty and my browning up in a whānau sense through my son and daughter? (19/02/14)

Although I do not have a strong personal resonance with being the pathologised Māori woman, I do encounter this identification in others, and in my interpretation of others.

I find myself being angry at my work place for confirming negative stereotypes of Māori. My clients that I have the biggest heart for are Māori. Both have fallen off the wagon badly and are living in a way that is harmful to them and their children. I can see the historical context for that and very much how that fits with a negative cultural object … yet I find myself feeling hopeless for their situations and attaching the behaviours to culture. (23/01/14)
Noticed that my clients are connected not only by their addictions but by culture. Many of them are struggling with substance and it is difficult to find anyone who can support abstinence as everyone drinks or smokes pot. What is that about? Why are Māori so quick to embrace the stereotype? I understand the cultural object and I feel angry that they are not strong enough to rise above it. Do I want to identify with a culture that has so many negative aspects attributed? Do I want to fight for things to be different and do I have the energy to do so? (07/03/14)

Reid (1995) highlights the difficulty in identifying Māori as pathologised when she says, "With all the focus on our identity, perhaps we confuse what makes a real Māori with what are common Māori realities." (p. 29)

Maori Pakeha/Other hybrids live with the daily contradiction of being positioned as indigenous as well as a variant of the Pakeha/Other. These women vacillate across cultures to effect positive life opportunities for themselves and their families…Resilient at making sense of her difference, the bi/multiracial woman has an ability to act beyond her subjectifications to create a third space that serves her own interests and those of her whānau (family) and local and national communties. (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 503)

Although much of my experience of being the hybrid of both Māori and Pākeha is painful, at times I am able to make changes, shift positions and create opportunities from the third space:

As I read about KRT, especially the article by Smith G. I realize perhaps that KRT is fitting with me in my push for change with the school and the AOD work. I do 'show me the blisters' I have blisters from whāngai, aod and trying to effect change @ a structural level. Doing Kapa Haka has value but stories of the lakes and rivers included with geography, using Māori knowledge as valuable external to 'culture' is perhaps where my contribution lies. When I frame up my being Māori in these terms it allow me to belong with out cultural indicators ie language or colour.

The other side is that just being 'identifiable' as Māori does not mean the best interests of Māori are to the fore. J is perhaps an example of this. Accepting cultural input as 'enough' over input of knowledge is not necessarily the way to go. (28/01/14)

I have been trying to make relationship with the schools of Queenstown and Te Rau Aroha Marae in Bluff. One of the teachers from Remarkables was able to give me the names of those at each school that may be interested. Also discussion around a kapa haka group that spans the schools. (23/02/14)

Dream

I was in Ruby's school assembly. I was a student. They sung the national anthem in English and then a random verse also in English. No Māori. I stood up in the room and questioned why. They were not impressed and asked me to sit down that this is the way they do things here. I continued to argue and then began to sing. A number of people joined me. Later I was aware that some people were very supportive but that I was being shunned by a large number also. (25/02/14)

Whaitiri (1998) recounts her experience of her fathers life, death and tangi. She was from Bluff which is the Marae (Te Rau Aroha) that I have been to most recently and where I have been actively building relationship. I felt a

real connection to her story, thinking of my own parents, my journey, my belonging as Kai Tahu. It reminded me also of how my belonging felt authenticated here in Wakatipu when I was asked, as Ngai Tahu, to sponsor a funding application in order that the seniors Kapa Haka group could go to the regional competition. (21/03/14)

Dream

This is an old dream but one that seems to be connected. I walk up the routeburn track and come to what is like a temple at the top of a mountain. It is cream on the outside and made of perhaps rammed earth. I go inside and the dome shaped room is mosaic tiled in paua colours. I am sitting on a cream pillar like stone seat. My feet are also above the level of the floor but on a solid foot rest. I have a basin I am holding which is mosaic in the same way as the room. It is filled with water which I pour over my head. This is the most peaceful place, most belonging place and feeling I have ever had. (03/03/14)

This dream feels like it describes my hybrid experience at its best. I am cream on the outside, solid and strong. The curved coloured interior represents the Māori within. I am on solid ground, rested and seated, feet firmly on the ground, pouring essence over me, from a cream and mosaic basin. Moeke-Maxwell (2005) names spiritual connectedness as healing and a facilitator of belonging:

> However, a healing and enabling spiritual narrative (albeit hybridized) was obvious in each woman's story. I concluded that this was the ingredient which bound hybrid women to Aotearoa, their real and imagined whānau, their real and imagined landscapes, their real and imagined whakapapa, their real and imagined tupuna, their real and imagined corporeality, their real and imagined possibilities. Through utilizing a narrative of wairuatanga, bi/multiracial women were resilient in retaining a strong sense of Maori identity despite their dual/multiple racial genealogies and plural cultural positionings. (p. 507)

Go to the Mountains

Go to the mountains
so that you may be cleansed
by the winds of Tāwhirimātea
and be free.

Go to the sea
so that you may feel the peace
of Hinemoana's song,
and be inspired.

Go to the ngahere
so that you may be revitalized
by the energy of Tane Mahuta,
And be transformed.

Go to the inner source
so that you may listen to the power,
of your inner essence,
and be enlightened.

For **I am** the Godforce within you.
TE AO MARAMA.

McClutchie in Wendt, Whaitiri and Sullivan (2003, p. 121)

Chapter 4 Hybrid Identity

Hybrid identity is discussed as the identity of an individual who identifies with more than one culture. Bolatagici (2004) names hybridity as:

> the fundamental concept of a location that moves beyond reduced definitions such as black and white and opens the possibility to consider the biracial: not as half of two things, but a whole 'new' entity that is not reducible to its components (p. 78)

Her work has roots in the work of Bhabha (1994) who names the hybrid cultural experience as being the third: not a blending of the two originals but a third that is created by the action of blending. The third space gives opportunity for individuals to move from the binary position of Māori or Pākehā, with the positioning of each in an essentialised culture, to a place of continuum and flexibility (Keddell, 2006; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005).

It is interesting at this point to notice the range of punctuation I have used when describing being Māori and Pākehā throughout drafting this work.

- Māori/Pākehā, indicating being either Māori or Pākehā

- Māori – Pākehā, indicating a continuum of identification

- Māori, indicating a primary identification which excludes additional cultural connections

- At one point I used no punctuation at all and named myself as Māori Pākehā.

These variances are symbolic of the difficulty of placing oneself when one identifies with more than one culture. I have chosen to name Māori – Pākehā as my descriptor in this finished work. This symbolically fits with where I have arrived in my self.

The third space hybridity concept may be in conflict with recent teaching within Aotearoa New Zealand that indicates having a strong cultural identity as Māori is essential for health and well being (Durie, 1998). The work of Durie and others potentially homogonises those with Māori ancestry, by identifying individuals only as Māori, without mention of hybrid identity. Given the multiple configurations of ancestry, and multiple ways in which individuals identify with that ancestry, singular Māori identification relegates the hybrid identity individual to being unseen.

> It is important to recognise once again that just because of a child's ancestry, they do not necessarily have to adopt an identity that is congruent with that. Who decides what is congruent (?)….a kind of minority-ancestry-as-therapy paradigm has been applied as a way of reclaiming threatened cultures, resolving personal struggles and resisting assimilation…while discourses are presented as either/or options, people are forced to choose an identity that may not coincide with their personal lived experience. (Keddell, 2006, p. 55)

The hybrid identification paradigm highlights how the "connection to culture" paradigm is flawed, pushing individuals into an essentialised cultural identification, rather than allowing them to choose identification with particular culture/s (or not) in their own way. Kukutai (2007) illuminates the numbers of those with Māori ancestry who also have Pākehā/other ancestry and therefore perhaps multiple cultural identifications.

For me…the struggle of bringing one or other to the foreground seems to be the crux of my angst. If I could just relax into just being and not having to name myself as a Māori woman, a Pākehā woman or a Māori/Pākehā woman

it would be much easier. Keddell (2006) talks about identifying as being only Pākehā or both Māori? Pākehā as pathologised. Acknowledging that Pākehā part as being perceived as a denial of other parts. I need to learn the dance better. The dance between, across, around, through, under, over, with, being both/and…perhaps neither … Bhabhas 'third'. The what? that is in the between. (22/02/14)

The not named, invisible nature of hybrid identity from both a Māori and Pākeha perspective may be explained in the following ways. Māori reclaiming language, history, tikanga and land has required a positioning in opposition to Pākehā. In order to push back against assimilation into colonial culture, a strong identification and position as Māori has been requisite and will continue to be so (Ramsden, 1995; Walker, 2004).

Colonial discourse identifies Māori as less than white mainstream. Holmes, Murachver & Bayard (2001) state that:

Perhaps the most telling finding to emerge from the present study is that negative attitudes toward Māori appear to be very much alive in New Zealand. These attitudes have let to discrimination against Māori and most certainly can do so in the future. (p. 84)

Brown or black as inferior to colonising white is universal history (Bolatagici, 2004). In this context to be Pākehā, positioned in opposition to the diminished essentialised Māori is perhaps a preferable position. Rutherford (1990) addresses the origins of "otherness" and then goes on to highlight hope for moving forward:

In the hierarchical language of the West, what is alien represents otherness, the site of difference and the repository of our fears and anxieties…Difference in this context is always perceived as the effect of the other. But a cultural politics that can address difference offers a way of breaking these hierarchies and dismantling this language of polarity and its material, structures of inequality and discrimination. (p. 10)

The Treaty of Waitangi, while it demands partnership, also requires individuals to position themselves as one or other of the Treaty partners. Moeke-Maxwell (2008) discusses the attending anxiety for the bi/multiracial woman.

> This led me to think about how the subject becomes inscribed with identity through the nations call to inclusivity in the bicultural nation. The bicultural nation discursively calls its subjects into being as either Maori or Pakeha via the corporeal presence of individual white or brown bodies. Through their respective *whanaugnatanga* (family ties, connections and relationships) and historically specific life experiences, the call to "being" is either sanctioned or disavowed. This "difference" produces an anxiety that is constantly in flux, mediated or repressed. The anxiety is produced through the tensions that emerge as a result of the bi/multiracial woman's presence on the cultural margins. As the subject of difference, she is both familiar and feared; neither brown nor white, she is the excess of the Maori/Pakeha colonial relationship. (p. 236)

Phenotype as a marker of cultural identity is relevant to hybrid cultural identity. What is seen, by an observer, by way of hair type, skin colour, eye colour, speech pattern; can relegate the individual to a particular cultural identity which may not be their own cultural identification, or only one aspect of their cultural identification. (Webber, 2008; Botagici, 2004; Ramsden, 1998; Moeke-Maxwell 2008). Questions around belonging or not, in relation to phenotype, can be generated both externally and internally.

> ***Had a haircut. Found myself wondering if legitimate Māori woman should have short hair … weird where the mind takes you. Phenotype as important identifier. (07/02/14)***

In being identified by phenotype the individual is subject to belonging or not belonging to a cultural group. Webber (2008) illustrates this difficulty from two perspectives:

Some participants felt marginalised by non-Māori for claiming Māori descent. In these contexts, they felt that non-Māori were making judgements about their claim to Māori ethnicity, based on presumptions about markers of authenticity. (p. 72)

All the participants experienced, in varying degrees, a sense of delegitimisation by other Māori for not being a real Māori. (p. 75)

In addition, the stereotypical attributes of the group, to which the individual is assigned membership, are then laid upon that individual arbitrarily.

Binary opposites of Māori Pākehā doesn't have room for me. I remember being told by a lecturer at Teachers college that I was not really Māori. She was Pākehā. At the end of a noho Marae she let me know that in her opinion I had lived up to being Māori enough because of how I had conducted myself in that context. (22/02/14)

To identify with more than one cultural group brings into question the legitimacy of belonging to either. Owning both (or more than one) cultural identity may be seen as a betrayal of the minority culture (Keddell, 2006). This is complicated further by ambiguous phenotype, distance from language and separation from traditional knowledge.

I put this in the area of "Staunch Māori". This is the fear I hold in relation to owning my hybridity. Also with a phenotype that is not "Māori" claiming Māori becomes more urgent, as that part of me is easily missed. (20/02/14)

In years to come numbers who identify as Māori are predicted to increase and these numbers are going to be bi/multiracial (Kukutai, 2007; Durie, 2011). In this context there will be many individuals who have hybrid cultural identity as outlined above. The classic Māori phenotype will become incrementally less accurate as a marker of cultural belonging or not. Ramsden (1998) comments on this phenomenon:

There are so many questions to be asked about growing up Māori. First we should ask them of ourselves. What will happen to the fair generations of our mokopuna, the wellspring of our people? When will we revalue those of us who carry the āhua of their tipuna inside them? When will whakapapa become more important then appearance or the possession of a Māori language often almost devoid of meaning because the old truths have been leached out of it and replaced with colonial constructs? How will our revamped identity affect those of the future? (p. 293)

What does that mean for how I am trying to push the high school in a Māori direction? Am I perhaps essentialising culture or am I (which I think is actually closer to the truth) trying to make things Māori normal in all curriculum areas to make being Māori as okay as being Pākehā. My question continues to be, 'what about the kids who identify (to whatever degree or exclusivity) as Māori, but that have no interest in swinging a poi? On a more personal level what about Ruby? She has no choice as to how she identifies by phenotype … and am I boxing her rather than liberating her with my drive to have her positively identify as Māori. (alongside that what about her Samoan birth father. That aspect of her has been well and truly relegated to the negative cultural object). With Mika I have more or less left him to negotiate his own cultural identification. This may be because, like me (more than me), he is able to merge into either as visually belonging. I don't know how he feels about that, I will ask. (21/02/14)

There are positive possibilities that arise by moving to the hybrid cultural identification construct, away from the binary positioning of Māori vs Pākehā. Belonging in both, although being something that is neither, multiplies opportunities and experience. Moeke-Maxwell (2005) expands on this:

The concept of hybridity is liberating because it opens up a space to think about the way New Zealand colonial culture creates unequal subjects. The concept is emancipatory in that its existence (construction and performance) liberates the subject from a sense of unbelonging, dislocation and alienation, and a partial participation and location within the culture(s) of origin. It provides an explanation for the bi/multiracial women's ability to straddle two different and opposing cultures, providing some understanding of the chameleon-like changes necessary for a hybrid. Without being too Utopian, she has an advantage integral to reading/making sense of her cultural differences and ambiguities within the post-colonial nation. The hybrid opens up a new category of cultural location which Bhabha (1994) claimed initiates new signs of identity, innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation. (p. 503)

This opening up the third space, a liberating space where individuals can be who they wish without having to fit into the essentialised cultural, object does in fact sound utopian. However the negotiation of hybridity is ongoing, daily and tiring. No matter how much the individual may experience themselves as hybrid and without need to choose to identify with only one culture, that individual is subjected to positioning by external pressures. To exclude ones self from binary positioning is itself a position which requires resistance to maintain. And in not choosing between one or the other position the individual may exist in a state of discomfort, essentially becoming *other* to both positions, "the newly excluded other, the bi/multiracial woman" (Moeke-Maxwell, 2008, p. 236).

> ***Two things happened yesterday that I feel sad/angry about, both connected. Mika needs a computer for school and I was looking up scholarships in the hope that one might cover it. We went on to the Māori Education trust site and signed up. Only one problem … the questions around language commitment were all in te reo. We were unable to understand them. We were therefore excluded on the grounds that we were not Māori enough under essentialised criteria. Whakapapa claim in this case was insufficient to apply. How many Māori kids are being excluded by both Pākehā and Māori? Made me really angry. Then Ruby asked me what we were doing, I told her looking for a scholarship for Mika. 'A Māori one?' yes was the reply. 'I thought that if you weren't brown you had to sign up to be Māori. Has Mika signed up?' (28/02/14)***

The hybrid position does create anxiety and a need for constant weaving of worlds (Webber, 2008; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, 2008; Greenwood & Wilson, 2006). This anxiety and tension although uncomfortable is catalyst for newness as described by Greenwood and Wilson (2006): "We use the term *third space* as a description of the opportunities and contestations that come into being as two cultures meet and interact" (p. 11).

The opportunity for hybrid cultural identification to become normalised may happen as a result of anxiety and sense of emergency. As part of supervision around this work, my supervisor named that much of his experience of me is that I live at a slight crisis edge. I am aware of this, and wonder if and how that fits into my hybrid cultural mix. Bhabha (2008) comments on colonised people's state of emergency:

> Walter Benjamin suggests 'The state of emergency in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a concept of history that is in keeping with this insight.' And the state of emergency is also always a state of *emergence*. (p. 59, original emphasis)

So hybrid cultural identity provides both opportunity and anxiety. It is not stagnant and is continuously constructed by both external and internal pressures. It can be framed as 'the third', that emerges as a separate and different entity from the two (or more) entities that were its creator (Bhabha, 2008). Hybrid cultural identity can also be framed as two-ness, where there is an ongoing border crossing from one cultural identification to another (Lyall-Smith, 2008). One identification (and perhaps its attendant markers) is to the fore, and the other/s identification/s are subsumed, until their moment to be in front is appropriate to the situation (Keddell, 2006). Identifying with only one, or more than one culture, impacts on the experience an individual has of themselves and the way others construct the individual. Cultural identification cannot be without this tension, whether it is conscious or not.

Chapter 5 Next Steps

Dream
I was on a bus traveling to school. I had moved from being in primary school where I had to catch a certain bus and therefore had to be where I was expected to be, to secondary school where I could choose my own time to catch the bus and therefore had much more freedom. (Developmental journey of identity?) (23/02/14)

There is danger in separating out one person's cultural identity into being both Māori and Pākehā. The blood quantum has historically been used as a means of positioning the indigenous peoples of New Zealand in a space that is less than the position of the binary opposite: Pākehā. Compartmentalising who one is has the potential to fragment the self. Additionally, accepting that many who identify as Māori also identify as Pākehā potentially dilutes the political positioning required to make changes to the unequal status of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The danger in holding fast to the binary position is that those who have strong Māori markers or cultural connection are deemed to be Māori, and those who do not are not. To deny, or make invisible, the lived experience of those with hybrid cultural identification is to deny a lived reality for many. Having one's self identification subject to external denial may lead to negatively impacted mental and social health.

Perhaps an acknowledgment of the hybrid cultural object as an integrated third, where all aspects of the individual are accepted as contributing to the whole, constitutes the bravery required for kaupapa research theory, and the searching for "what is" that is a goal of heuristic method.

There is meeting of Te Ao Māori, heuristic method and the question itself which becomes evident throughout this work. It is the place of the "in between". The third, or the space between is acknowledged on Marae Atea (Durie, 2011) as the space between the manuhiri and tangata whenua where a new relationship or spirit becomes as a result of the two. Greenwood and Wilson (2006) state: "As we have explained earlier, in the Maori world, the marae is the place that records and reiterates identity." (p. 84). They go on to highlight the conflicted nature of two coming together in the same space, in their description of pakeaka:

> The term pakeaka relates to the threat of conflict. It refers to that stage of conflict when the two war parties have come together but then stop and take each other's measure before entering combat. They back off and re-assess each other's strength. This backing-off period is called pakeaka. It provides opportunity to decide whether to fight. The situation is still intrinsically confrontational: the opposition is there and has to be taken seriously. However, there is time, before taking action, to think again. There is the possibility of a completely different outcome. It is that little space of possibility that has been created that is called Pakeaka. (p. 5-6)

The "little space of possibility", symbolised by the little space between "Māori" and the hyphen and the hyphen and "Pākehā" in "Māori – Pākehā" could be framed as the third, the emergence of something different. There is danger present in this emergence, growth and change which can be painful. However, by not engaging in the process, the possibility of transformation diminishes.

There is a requirement of heuristic research for the researcher to occupy openness to tacit knowing. As Moustakas (1990) puts it: "Underlying all other concepts in heuristic research, at the base of all heuristic discovery, is the power of revelation in tacit knowing." (p. 20). He goes on to say: "The bridge between the explicit and the tacit is the realm of the between, or the intuitive." (p. 23)

Webber (2003), Bolatagici (2004), and Bhabha (2008) name the individual who identifies with more than one culture as being the third: not a blending of the two originals but a third that is created by the action of blending, that which is in-between.

Perhaps the in-between of spirit, culture and knowledge is the place of emergence and newness, and should be explicitly acknowledged as such. To acknowledge hybrid cultural experience in Aotearoa New Zealand as valuable and able to facilitate the emergence of something new is exciting. To be able to do this in a way that honours and is inclusive of those that have contributed to the creation of the third, denying neither, is also an exciting prospect.

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, the hybrid cultural identification of being Māori and "another" is set to become our reality. Durie (2011) states:

> Further, although accounting for some 15 percent of the total New Zealand population in 2006, by 2051 the Māori ethnic population will almost double in size to close to a million, or 22 percent of the total New Zealand population. Even more dramatic, by 2051 of all children in the country 33 percent will be Māori, and the percentage of the population over the age of sixty-five will steadily rise from 3 percent (1996) to 13 percent (2051) as life expectancy increases. (p. 32)

Durie is naming those who have Māori ancestry as Māori only. However, as each person will have other cultural identifications as well as Māori, I would – and do – argue that the "third" recognises that they will negotiate their own identification with an integration of internal cultural diversity – and identity, or, more accurately, identities. To be Māori – Pākehā, where neither is made invisible, or less than, is only possible in a social and political environment that acknowledges the hybrid cultural being exists. Additionally, given the projected population demographic, the impact of hybrid identification on social and mental wellbeing must be researched further.

Moustakas (1990) states "The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social – and perhaps universal – significance." (p. 15). This "social" and "universal" significance is evident in the meaning that has been uncovered in this piece of work.

There is a legitimate expectation that Māori, as partners in the Treaty of Waitangi, are recognised and met in dealings with government departments. Cultural competency training is requisite, with a particular emphasis on meeting the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. This cultural framework extends to systems and workplaces that wish to be supportive of Aotearoa New Zealand as a bicultural nation. Teaching non-Māori an opening karakia in order that they may make their Māori clients more at ease, is common training.

My experience as a clinician is that although a client may present with Māori phenotype, they are not necessarily comforted by karakia (and other "culturally appropriate" actions). In fact they often experience this attempt at cultural competence, as shaming and inappropriate to their experience of their cultural identification. Similarly, a client who presents with a Pākehā phenotype, may be well connected to their Māori cultural identification and feel invisible when the karakia is not presented as an option to them.

The question that arises when we recognise hybrid cultural identification is "Are Māori – Pākeha individuals met by being identified as Māori only (with the attendant cultural expectation), or do they become invisible?". Further "Do we need to recognise

hybrid cultural identification as 'the norm' and begin to research best practice in that context?"

By way of ending (though not concluding) I offer two examples of the impact and potential importance of this dissertation and further research into being Māori – Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand

I had given a copy of the final draft of this dissertation to my parents to read. They left it at their house and family friends came and stayed while they were away. One of these people read this work and later approached me about it. She wanted to know if I would be okay with her sharing my dissertation with friends of hers. They are a family where the father identifies as Māori and the mother as Pākehā. She stated that the family is experiencing tension as the two daughters struggle with where they fit as people with more than one cultural identification … hybrid cultural identity. Our family friend was encouraged that this dissertation may give the family another perspective from which to negotiate cultural identity.

My son's father has Māori phenotype. His father was Welsh and his mother was Māori. We were discussing my dissertation and he became very keen to read it. He named his own difficulty with who and how he is perceived to be because of phenotype. He also indicated his resonance with wanting to be known by both cultural identifications and the struggle he and others had in allowing that to be. (30/04/14)

These examples have come from the very small number of people who have read my dissertation – to date, five. Although anecdotal, this feedback confirms my own conclusions which are that this subject resonates with many and has potential to facilitate positive change in clinical work and social policy.

When thinking about identity and therefore the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā or in fact being the third … the process is never ending, it is developmental and even in the final stage of development, is changing, until I am no longer … (24/03/14)

Nelson Agee and Culbertson (2013) discuss the developmental nature of identity construction: "A developmental process seems to be influential, involving both external influences and an increasing capacity for internalised reflection and reflexivity." (p. 72)

Any shift in behaviour or thinking takes time and practice. To allow myself to sit securely, in my moving identity construct as a Māori – Pākehā hybrid individual, requires ongoing noticing of integration versus denial of experience that is painful. Greenwood and Wilson (2006) state: "The bicultural part of our experience deals with the way we relate to the constant need to weave the different worlds in which we live into one." (p. 15). My experience of weaving is that initially I feel very awkward, I am aware of every strand and movement of my hands. Over time, with much practice, I am able to weave without constant or conscious thought.

> Cultural identity…is a matter of "becoming" as well as "being". It belongs to the future as much as the past. It is not something that already exists, transcending place, time history and culture…far from being grounded in a mere "recovery" of the past which is waiting to be found and which, when found, will secure or sense of ourselves into eternity. (Hall, 1996, p. 225)

Heuristic method has at its end an uncovering of meaning, not a conclusion. Illumination and uncovering meaning, facilitating discourse and emergence of something new, is the intended outcome of heuristic research (Moustakas, 1990). It is for this reason the final chapter is titled "Next Steps" rather than "Conclusion". The creative synthesis is an ongoing lifelong process, continuing to emerge and come to light as I and others negotiate being Māori – Pākehā, and the implications of that identification, in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

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