

“Our Māori Connection”: The impact of colonisation on one Southland  
whānau

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## **Abstract**

This research includes an exploration of my whānau in Aotearoa reconnecting with their lost and regained whākapapa. The purpose of the study is an examination of the impact of colonisation on the cultural identity of members of a specific Māori whānau who have become disconnected from the tūrangawaewae of their ancestors, and their cultural roots.

This work examines the history of colonisation in the area of Ōraka-Aparima and the southern most part of Te Waipounamu. It employs the pūrākau method of research within kaupapa Māori research framework to gather stories from a Southland whānau. In keeping with the kaupapa of kaupapa Māori research, the pūrākau will be included in the body of the research, to ensure that the voices of the whānau members are heard. I wish to treat the pūrākau from my whānau with the deepest respect and for this reason, it is important that their voices and stories appear in the first part of this dissertation.

Many themes have emerged from the pūrākau of my whānau. The themes explored include grief and loss through death and separation as well as assimilatory processes that resulted in the loss of such things as te reo and tikanga Māori within this whānau. This work also examines the healing and strengthening of identity that has occurred for whānau members through the process of reconnecting with the indigenous parts of themselves.

Colonisation has both formed and devastated this Southland whānau in terms of cultural connection with their Māori identity. The assimilatory policies at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century prioritised European cultural practices over traditional tikanga Māori. In addition the lighter skin tone of many Ngāi Tahu Māori in the Southland area and a desire to conform to Pākehā society, led to a denial and disconnection with their Māoriness for many whānau members (Dacker, 1994; Anderson, 1998). In the later twentieth century my whānau have rediscovered their Māori ancestry and many members have taken steps towards reconnecting with their Māori identity. This process provides the clues towards greater integration and better outcomes for the individuals within whānau as well as whānau as a group. When the different parts of our identities can be celebrated and experienced

in a non-hierarchical way, it provides a way for those of mixed-descent within Aotearoa to honour their ancestors and themselves.

The experience of colonisation informs the identities of all people of Aotearoa. Our society includes many peoples of mixed-descent who have unique as well as shared experiences in relation to the process of colonisation. By exploring the experiences of one whānau and some of its members in particular, it is hoped that the complex, rich and personal stories of encounter between Māori and Pākehā can add to the perspectives of colonial experience in Aotearoa.

## Glossary of Māori Words and Terms

As I prepare this glossary of Māori words and terms, I have several reactions to the necessity of providing it. The process of engaging in the many aspects of this dissertation has been one of decolonization. By providing a glossary of Māori words, it again places Māori in the position of being the Other. I am aware that the English words provided do not adequately describe the Māori concepts and there exists within me a sense of anger, guilt and shame associated with this process which reflects much of the experiences of colonization outlined in this work.

However, I am also reminded of the compassion I feel for myself and my whānau members who have had te reo Māori removed from their understanding. Therefore, I provide this glossary with an invitation for readers to further explore and advance their understandings of te reo Māori.

aroha	love, compassion
harakeke	flax
iwi	tribal kin group, nation
kaik	village or small settlement (Kai Tahu dialect)
kānohi kit e kānohi	face to face
kapa haka	a group performing haka/waiata/poi
kaupapa	topic or guiding principle
kaupapa Māori	topic run by Māori for Māori
kōrero	speak, talk, discussion
korowai	traditional cloak
koru	spiral shape based on unfurling fern frond
mahi	work
noho marae	a stay at a marae
pepeha	the way you introduce yourself in Māori

piupiu	skirt made from flax
poutama	stepped pattern of tukutuku panels, representing genealogies and levels of learning, achievement.
pūrākau	traditional stories
Rakiura	Stewart Island
rangatira	hereditary leaders of hapū
tamariki	children
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people
tangi	funeral
Te ao	the world
Te Punga o Te Waka a Māui	original Māori name for Stewart Island, more literally the anchor stone of Māui's canoe
te reo Māori	the language of the Māori people
Te Waipounamu	the South Island, originally named Te Wāhi Pounamu (place of greenstone), which evolved to Te Waipounamu
tītī	muttonbird
tikanga	customs and practices
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work on inside walls of wharehau or meeting house
tūpuna	ancestors, ancestral
turangawaewae	a place to stand
wairua	spirit, soul
whakamā	shy, ashamed/shame

whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships, representing both this world and world our ancestors inhabit
whānau	family
whare	house
whenua	land, afterbirth

## 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: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Verity Armstrong

15 April 2016

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I feel deep gratitude to my aunt Esma Donovan, who followed her passion to learn about our whakapapa and sharing this within our whānau, inspiring many of her children, grandchildren, neices and nephews to follow her path.

I am also deeply grateful to Joan Hughes, for making her own journey and collaborating with Esma to bring our whānau these precious stories. I am grateful to you Joan for sharing your own story with me, and the generosity you have shown in allowing this to be such a significant part of my research.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Ko Aparima te Awa

Ko Takitimu mea Hananui te Mauka

Ko Takitimu te Waka

Ko Takutai O te Titi te Marae

Ko Katimamoe mea Ngāi Tahu te Iwi

Ko Verity Armstrong taku Ingoa

These are the stories that my mother has told me about my tipuna over the years. My tūpuna, Riria Te Auta was the daughter of the rangatira Te Auta of the Purakanui marae of inland Otago and Murihiku. As a young woman she met a European whaler and together they had a daughter named Kuini. In her early years Kuini somehow travelled away from this area and moved to Aparima, connecting with whānau at Takutai o te Titi marae at the southern most end of Te Waipounamu, looking out towards Te Punga o Te Waka a Māui. While there, living at the Aparima kaik, she met a Pākehā seaman. They had a daughter, Caroline who lived with Kuini at the kaik. This Pākehā man had another wife and he adopted Caroline, having her live with them. Caroline's father died after falling off his horse and his Pākehā wife soon returned Caroline back to the kaik, where she lived again with her mother.

My great-grandfather, a Scottish farmer and son of the local MP, met and fell in love with Caroline, much to the disapproval of his Pākehā family of aunts and parents. They sent him back to Melbourne where they were from, for three years, in an attempt to separate him from this Māori woman. However, after three years he returned and sought out Caroline. While visiting her, he met a three year old boy who was clearly his son. William insisted on marrying Caroline much against the wishes of his family. William and Caroline then had a large family of ten children, one of whom was my grandmother, Mabel. My great-Aunt, Mona, told my mother how they felt sorry for their mother, Caroline, because when their father's family came to visit, she would serve

them food but never ate with them. My grandmother never talked to my mother about her Māori mother and my mother's generation had no knowledge of their cultural background.

My mother grew up near her ancestral home in Invercargill until she was a teenager when she moved to Christchurch with her family. She met my father there, the son of recent immigrants from the North of England. Together they moved away from Christchurch, eventually moving to Auckland, where they both taught at secondary school.

I grew up in a Pākehā home in the 1970s in Auckland, where my mother's Māori ancestry was never mentioned. My exposure to Māori culture was through the school where my Pākehā father was the principal, Māngere College. I was interested in their kapa haka group and I treasured that piupiu and korowai that were made for me by staff members. However, I did not consciously identify with this culture and had no knowledge of my own whānau's cultural history.

I was a teenager in the 1980s in Aotearoa and the socio-political landscape was changing. In 1982 Māori activists began to vocalise their views about colonisation and aligned themselves with other indigenous peoples in the Pacific basin (Walker, 1984). At the same time as many people were protesting against colonialist practices, many iwi began to seek redress from the government for previous injustices and dishonouring of the Treaty of Waitangi (Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998). In 1984 the fourth Labour government came into power. They introduced important new legislation and policy, including The Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 that increased the power of the Waitangi Tribunal to examine claims dating back to 1840. This was a governmental acknowledgement of the injustices that had occurred (Palmer, 2013).

While this change was occurring in Aotearoa, my own family were beginning to question and explore our own history. My aunt became interested in our Māori background, something their own mother had never spoken to them about. Through their efforts we began to learn something of our whākapapa within my more immediate whānau. My mother's generation began to connect with their Ngāi Tahu iwi.

The opportunity to reconnect with our iwi was directly assisted by the Ngāi Tahu claim against the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1996 Ngāi Tahu signed a settlement document with the New Zealand Crown, acknowledging the breaches made to the Treaty of Waitangi in the Crown's dealings with the iwi since 1840. The settlement of the Ngāi Tahu claims can be seen as the government finally honouring the Treaty of Waitangi in practice as well as in spirit, a hugely significant step for Māori and Pākehā searching to rebuild relationships.

As an iwi, Ngāi Tahu were providing opportunities for whānau members to connect with the iwi and were also offering financial support to iwi members. My mother's generation registered themselves and their children as members of Ngāi Tahu. Looking back, this seems to have been a significant step in the process of decolonisation within my whānau. My mother talked about her own mother's unwillingness to be open about her Māori mother and grandmother. We were now feeling pride and a sense of connection with our Māori ancestry, rather than shame. This was assisted by the wider socio-political movements of the time; the anti-racist, feminist and Māori protest movements.

However, this reconnection still felt quite academic and removed from my felt sense of being Māori. As an adult, after working as a social worker and becoming a mother, I returned to study at AUT in the psychotherapy department. Part of the psychotherapy training involves an annual noho marae. My first noho marae deeply impacted me. I had stayed on marae two or three times previously and had always felt a stirring of discomfort and pain. I had not attempted to identify the cause of this pain previously. However, the psychotherapy training involved an examination of our feelings in relation to our marae experience. After sharing my pepeha at my first AUT noho marae, I had a strange and deeply moving spiritual experience. In an almost physical tangible way, I could feel my ancestors moving through my body like an aching and healing wind. I imagined that I could feel their longing, loss as well as their joy at being met and felt. This was also the first time someone had referred to me as Māori, something that had always been unthinkable for me.

Following my first AUT marae visit, I joined the roopu of Māori psychotherapy students. I also joined Waka Oranga, the National Collective of Māori psychotherapists.

I am studying te reo through Te Wananga o Aotearoa. I have visited my marae, Takutai o te Tītī on the southern most coast of Te Waipounamu. This was also a painful experience being greeted as part of a group of Pākehā visitors. My great great grandfather James MacKintosh, had been given a korowai, as a distinguished Pākehā settler and Member of Parliament in the area at the time. Years later my cousins returned the korowai to the marae and we were greeted as the ancestors of James MacKintosh. I was struck by how our Pākehā credentials were again acknowledged but not the connection with my Māori great grandmother Caroline Bennet. Yet again, the Pākehā male was prioritised over the Māori woman.

More recently at the beginning of 2016, I made another journey to my turangawaewae with my whānau. During this visit we stayed on our marae, helping with the harakeke there and exploring the nearby whenua. I experienced a huge range of feelings during this time. I felt a sense of gratitude to be able to stay at this beautiful place and to connect with my ancestors. I felt the pain of being a visitor and the impossibility of regaining what had been lost to my whānau. I felt anxious to be respectful of the marae and distressed about the lack of knowledge in my whānau about Māori protocol. I also felt hope and a desire to continue with my journey of reconnection, to support my marae and make further connections with my wider whānau.

My journey of rediscovery and decolonisation continues to involve feelings of loss, shame and grief, as well as joy, discovery and pride. I realise that this has been an important part of my journey as a beginning psychotherapist in Aotearoa. As painfully personal as my own journey has felt, I have also realised that all Māori in Aotearoa have been impacted in different and shared ways by colonisation. In Aotearoa, we face conflicting feelings in relation to our cultural identity. A growing number of Māori researchers are exploring the internal experiences of Māori in relation to their cultural expression and identity (Bishop, 1996; Dacker, 1994; Hall, 2015; Houkamau, 2011; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Te Rito, 2007; Wanhalla, 2009; Wirihana, 2012; Woodard, 2008).

Whenever we sit with clients in Aotearoa we sit with someone who has been impacted in some way by the colonisation of this country, Māori, Pākehā and Tauīwi. We are each unique in our own whānau's experience of this. This thesis is my attempt

to place myself within the cultural and psychological history of Aotearoa and to explore shared and different viewpoints within my own whānau.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### History

In order to contextualise this study, I would like to begin with a general overview of historical events in relation to the process of colonisation in Aotearoa. European colonisation has at its roots the policies of expansionism and imperialism in the 'Age of Discovery' of the 15th Century. During this time, Portuguese and Spanish explorers set out in an exploration of 'New Worlds'. In the following century Britain began its own exploration and colonisation of various 'nations', competing for resources with the Dutch. The accumulation of colonies by these European countries was generally followed by large settler populations intent on gaining access to land, or in the case of Christian missionaries, access to primitive peoples needing the cleansing of Christian faith; it was even argued in Spain that Indians did not possess souls (Castro, 2007).

The British also began to colonise Aotearoa, where early relationships with Māori were based on early trading and whaling settlements, at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century. This period of colonisation was later in time than much of the British colonisation of Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australia. Due to more humanistic views and a desire to control potential unhindered greed, the British colony of New Zealand was based on a Treaty. The impetus for the perception of a need for a Treaty by England was initiated by reports of anarchic behaviour of the small number of European settlers. Additionally, French and American interests in Aotearoa were growing in the areas of whaling and missionary work (Orange, 1987). There was also concern expressed for the depopulation of Māori, because of wars and infection (King, 2003). Māori rangatira were also becoming concerned about the impact of European settlement on their way of life. In 1840, representatives of the British Crown and 46 of New Zealand's Māori rangatira signed the Treaty of Waitangi. There was an English version and a Māori version, with most rangatira signing the Māori version. Immediately, there was confusion surrounding the Treaty, leading Governor Robert Fitzroy to say, "some persons still affect to deride it; some say it was a deception; and some would unhesitatingly set it aside; while others esteem it highly as a well-considered and judicious work, of the utmost importance" (Orange, 1987).

The history of Te Waipounamu begins with Māui, his waka and Rakiura, its anchor stone, Te Puka o te waka a Māui (Hiroa, 1949). Waitaha, the first people of Te Waipounamu, came on the Uruoa waka. Ngāti Mamoe and then Ngāi Tahu followed (Ngāi Tahu, 2016). Ngāi Tahu are descended from Tahu Pōtiki, with important ancestral connections to Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Ira (Anderson & Tau, 2008).

Ngāti Mamoe and Ngāi Tahu moved south and settled in the area of Murihiku, amongst them my ancestors. Being dependent on nature, they moved with the seasons, “planning their gathering at certain phases of the moon and navigating by the stars, recording in memory land marks, rivers, lakes and mountains, areas of mahika kai and manu for birding” (Davis, 2016). The harvest of the tītī was an important part of life at Murihiku before European settlement there, and it continues to be an important part of whānau life there now (Davis, 2016).

Te Rauparaha was a chief of the Ngāti Toa tribe, of the Kawhia district. Ngāti Toa was a small tribe related to the Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto tribes nearby. Te Rauparaha engaged in many battles with neighbouring and further afield iwi. In the 1820s, Waikato tribes decided to rid themselves of Te Rauparaha. In response he moved south, making attacks on other settlements and finding a stronghold on Kapiti Island. He then headed further south to raid important Ngāi Tahu settlements, looking to gain access to the pounamu that Te Waipounamu was famous for (Ngāti Toa, 2016). The southern part of Te Waipounamu became a destination for many refugees from these raids, with new settlements emerging. In addition, the population of Ngāi Tahu was reduced and weakened as a result of these attacks (Anderson, 1998).

Historians generally report that the European settlement of the Southern part of Te Waipounamu was relatively peaceful (Dacker, 1994), punctuated by periodic bloody episodes between Māori and European settlers.

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the policies of the New Zealand government in relation to Māori were based on the premise that it would be “better” for Māori if they could learn the ways of the European. This was evident in how English was encouraged in schools, especially via The Native Schools Act 1867 (Barrington, 2008). We return to this more specifically later in the chapter when discussing language.

During the late 1800s in Aotearoa, the population of Māori in the southern part of Te Waipounamu decreased. When Te Tiriti was signed in 1840 there were approximately 70,000 Māori in Aotearoa and about 2,000 permanent non-Māori residents. By 1896 the census figures showed the non-Māori population to be 703,000 and the Māori population was approximately 40,000 (New Zealand History, 2016). It is not clear within these figures where many mixed-descent people already living in Aotearoa would have been placed in terms of numbers. These figures perhaps already reflect the impact of assimilatory policies, encouraging children of Māori-Pākehā intermarriage to identify with their more Pākehā side and customs. The effect of exposure to Western disease had also taken its toll on the Māori population mixing regularly with the whaler/sealer immigrants.

The extent of loss that Māori suffered was extensive, including loss of language and cultural paradigms. It involved the loss of political and legal power as well as the structures fundamental to Māori life, that of whānau, hapū and iwi. The losses were also experienced in the loss of land, food security and the ongoing production of wealth. “By 1865, the Crown had acquired the South Island, Stewart Island, and much of the North Island either by purchase, confiscation or it had been claimed as ‘wasteland’” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007, p. 6) The events surrounding the settlement of Aotearoa by vast numbers of European settlers has “interrupted and disrupted the intergenerational transmission of tikanga (protocols), reo (language) and matauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)” (Pihama, et al., 2014, p. 249). Woodard (2008) also describes these losses as being linked with “the felt experience of psychological anguish and pain for Indigenous Peoples” (p. 20).

A Native American writer, Brave Heart, describes a key element of historical trauma as “disenfranchised grief”, grief that is unacknowledged and un-mourned (Brave Heart, 1999). This un-mourned grief can be carried through into further generations and has many social impacts.

### **Internal Experience of Colonisation**

Woodard (2008) writes about the racialisation of the ‘Other’ that occurs during the process of colonisation, and the psychological impact on the ‘Other’, creating a sense of “a divided self that is experienced as alienated and/or objectified” (p. 55). During

the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Aotearoa, Māori were subjected to a process of being seen as the ‘Other’, alien to the white settler, where “Indigenous Peoples are forced to choose and accept the distinctions between the civilised European and Indigenous primitive native” (Woodard, 2008, p. 45). Woodard examines the unique Māori expression of *whakamaa*, characterised as a withdrawal from others and a loss of *mana* in relation to others. He concludes that *whakamaa* is “the massive external cultural and social schism internalised within the psyche of Indigenous Peoples” and is an expression of societal dysfunction caused by colonisation (Woodard, 2008, p. 56).

### **Inter-marriage / Assimilation**

In the early 19th century, whaling was the most significant economic activity for Europeans living in Aotearoa. The oil of sperm whales, numerous in the seas around Aotearoa, was valued internationally because it was odourless and therefore able to be used inside dwellings. Many whaling stations were set up in the Otakau area and Aparima areas. During this time, many Māori women left their *kaik* to marry European men. In 1844 Tuckett estimated “that between Banks Peninsula and Riverton (Aparima), ‘two-thirds of the native women who are not aged, are living with Europeans’” (Anderson, 1998, p. 94).

The literature varies in its description of these marriages. More traditional approaches have described these Māori women as a trade item in the sex industry (Belich, 2007). More recently, feminist research has critiqued these assumptions. Wanhalla (2007), a Kāi Tahu historian, has described these marriages as “sites of resistance to colonial authority”, but also as an illustration of “the extent to which private life was structured by colonial policy” (p. 805). She points out that the early whalers needed protection, a patron and land, therefore marrying well was important. Wanhalla (2007) has invited further study in the area of the communities formed around mixed identity. “Family and community studies provide one way in which historians of Ngāi Tahu can marry the personal and intimate story of encounter with the structures of colonial power and authority” (p. 809).

According to Wanhalla (2009), Māori marriage protocol reflected the organisation of society, mainly revolving around chiefly authority. Intermarriage was “carried out in accordance with certain cultural and social protocols, and designed to

integrate newcomers into the tribal group” (p. 4). The inter-racial marriages were also seen as an “opportunity to regulate economic and social encounters with newcomers” (Wanhalla, 2009, p. 4). As Dacker (1994) points out, marrying into earlier tangata whenua lines by more recent arrivals has always occurred, “sometimes through political marriages between leading whānau, sometimes through conquest and sometimes a mixture of both” (p. 5).

Another important part of the context for Māori in the 1830-40s, was the devastation caused by introduced diseases. In 1835 when measles struck the indigenous people of Aotearoa it was described as “the enemy greater than Te Rauparaha” (Dacker, 1994, p. 10). It was recognised by elders and chiefs that bloodlines including European whākapapa had greater resistance to these diseases. This was another aspect in the decision of elders in arranging such marriages (Dacker, 1994).

Some scholarship provides clues to the experience of these early mixed-race families. Anderson points out that Christianity affected many areas of life, frowning upon many Māori practices. Other scholars explain why Christianity was easily grasped by Māori, with the familiar whākapapa bloodlines of the Old Testament and concepts of darkness and light, familiar to both spiritualities (Dacker, 1994). The written observations we have to assist our imaginings of the Māori experience come from missionaries:

John Howells, for example, forbade his half-caste wife Caroline, who initially spoke little English, from sitting about with Māori or attending Māori prayers, and Wohlers, who was visiting Howells, sought to reinforce this instruction by explaining to Caroline that she had a certain status as the wife of a gentleman (Anderson, 1998, p. 27).

We are left to imagine how Caroline felt and responded to these admonishments. It is significant that in these communities it was almost always marriages between Māori women and European men. During this period, these Māori women faced racial and gendered inequalities.

### **Mixed Descent Experience**

The children and descendants of these Māori women have had different experiences again as “half-caste” people. Feminist perspective describes these people of mixed descent as being viewed in contrary ways, “sometimes as lost and adrift,

belonging to neither settler nor indigenous worlds, and, at other times as ‘half-way’ to ‘civilised’ and eminently civilizable” (Bell, 2014, p. 63). It is important to remember that when we talk about inter-racial marriages, we are using a concept of race that is cultural in its roots. Race does not describe a physical reality but describes a cultural categorisation. As pointed out by Fish (2011):

”race” is a word, rather than a thing. It is a cultural concept, like ghost or unicorn – or, for more scientific examples, phlogiston or the ether – that does not refer to empirically observable phenomena. Those cultures that have the word, define it differently and use it differently” (p. 25).

However, the European culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century, prejudiced by social Darwinism, saw race in terms of a physical phenomena, in terms of the colour of people’s blood and skin tone. The inter-marriages described in the literature paint a strong picture of assimilation, both through the breeding out of the ‘colour’ and producing an institution for re-educating those Māori women as well as future generations (Anderson, 1998; Bell, 2014; Wanhalla, 2009). Historical documents paint heartbreaking pictures of the desire to assimilate:

Females in particular are most anxious to eradicate the traces of their rich, nut-brown blood, and I have heard it hinted that the puff-pot is resorted to. Early missionaryism set the example. They talked about ‘casting out the unclean’. I, for one, am sorry to say that they have succeeded in doing it with a vengeance (Otago Daily Times, 1904).

In the years between the first and second world wars, officials were concerned about the future of the white ‘race’. There was concern about the possibility of racial degeneration and the suite of solutions proposed had the broad goal of ‘race improvement’ (Wanhalla, 2007). Even earlier, a newspaper clipping describes how “in the younger generation [of the mixed-descent people] the anti-Māori movement is most pronounced. Their desire is to look European and their highest aim is to act the European” (Otago Daily Times, 1904). The process of colonisation and the impact on the psyche of Indigenous People can be seen within this description.

Inter-racial marriage between Ngāi Tahu women and European men, created physical transformations within the iwi. Physical ‘disappearance’, an outcome strongly associated with inter-racial marriage, was traced by state mechanisms such as the national census. From 1874, the census was informed by racial beliefs, which defined

racial categories and boundaries. Inter-racial marriage was regarded as a tool of assimilation by both Māori and Pākehā. Māori acceptance of 'mixed blood' whānau was more inclusive because of negligible eugenics beliefs relative to Europeans and whākapapa systems that contain multiple lineages with senior and junior lines (Woodard, 2016). In contrast European officials used the census to monitor and comment on the success of assimilation, with the decreasing numbers of people identifying as Māori or Ngāi Tahu (Wanhalla, 2009). However, Wanhalla (2009) documents the accommodation made by Ngāi Tahu of their mixed-descent peoples, e.g. Participation at Native Land Court hearings, and maintenance of customary activities such as muttonbirding (Wanhalla, 2009), as evidence of a different experience for whānau than that reported in the census figures. More recently a reversal of figures is occurring as many mixed-descent people from all over Aotearoa register their whākapapa back to Ngāi Tahu. My own whānau's desire and ability to connect with the Aparima Rūnaka and stay on our marae is another example of the way Ngāi Tahu is reversing the assimilation process.

During the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century, the movement of eugenics had taken hold in many countries, including Aotearoa. This involved "the study of agencies under social control that may improve the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally" (Wanhalla, 2007, p. 165). During this time, and especially between the two world wars when "officials were highly anxious about the future of the white 'race'" (Wanhalla, 2007, p. 166), various social engineering methods were used to try to maintain the 'health' of the white 'race', including sterilization, immigration restriction, segregation and restrictive marriage laws (Wanhalla, 2007).

Much of the historical documentation raises questions about what has been transmitted to the offspring of these early mixed-race marriages. It also raises questions about what the experience was for the women involved, how they felt and thought about their experiences. Where is the experience of loss and grief? Where are the expressions of protest and anger? Perhaps by tracing the experiences of ancestors, future generations can understand how such loss of culture has occurred. This 'coming to terms' process may elicit many responses – a sense of peace, a call for reconnection and action, lessening of shame and a feeling of compassion for those encountering the

initial phases of colonisation. It may also elicit feelings of anger and deep loss. Further investigation is needed in order to explain the internal experience of colonisation in Southland.

Many generations who have come from the mixed-ancestry peoples of Southland have found their mixed-ancestry to be a source of shame. This has been the case for my own whānau in past generations. The younger generations now feel a different source of shame, located closer to their “cultural poverty” and “the erosion of ties to a Ngāi Tahu identity, at both whānau and tribal level” (Wanhalla, 2009, p. 160).

Dacker writes of whānau in this area, describing an accurate match with my own whānau experience. “Those living in the Pākehā world were often not proud of their Māori whākapapa because of a widespread ambivalence towards half-castes” (Dacker, 1994, p. 85). There is also evidence of Māori ambivalence, for example giving land to Māori/Pākehā partners in land known as half-caste ground (Dacker, 1994). “Some families, as features paled with the passing of generations, either hid or denied their Māori connection. And some European families broke all contact with members of their family who married Māori” (Dacker, 1994, p. 85). This was the experience of my own whānau and illustrates the loss we have suffered. What seems lacking in the literature is more extensive explorations of those families who hid or denied their Māori connection. Wanhalla, Dacker and Anderson have written about those families who remain in the Southern region of Te Waipounamu. There has been less written about families who have dispersed into Pākehā society throughout Aotearoa.

Williams (2000) describes a model of Māori identity, which categorises Māori into four main types. Firstly, those with a traditional Māori core. Secondly, those who are primarily urban and bicultural. The third group he describes as “unconnected” – who are biologically Māori but know little of their Māori heritage and culture. The final group he describes as a large group of people who are socially and culturally indistinguishable from Pākehā. This final group could be used to describe my whānau whose previous generations saw themselves increasingly as belonging to the Pākehā world. There is less literature about these whānau and the experiences of those descendents who are journeying their way back to their Māori ancestry (Houkamau, 2011).

Moeke-Maxwell describes one of the dominant narratives available to Māori women as the assimilated identity. “An assimilated identity is also a colonized identity, but escapes being viewed as pathological because assimilated individuals are perceived to be privileged with Pākehā beliefs, values, practices, and norms and aligned with whiteness/racial superiority and privilege” (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 502). In addition, Bell describes those with mixed-descent backgrounds as potentially experiencing a reduction of “the individual to the sum of their parts and the hyphen [mixed-race] stands to represent a juncture; a chasm that cannot be united” (Bell, 2014, p. 75).

### **Hybrid Identity**

Postmodern thinking has allowed for the critique of previously held “essential” truths, thus freeing writers and thinkers from fixed beliefs. “Postcolonial refers to the practice of critique and redress which helps in examining the experience of “mixed race people” (Bolatagici, 2007). An important group of writers is now exploring the experiences of mixed race people, often referred to as possessing “hybrid identity” (Anderson, 1998; Bell, 2014; Dacker, 1994; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Sakamoto, 1996; Wanhalla, 2009; Bolatagici, 2007). Bolatagici claims that the experience of mixed race has been viewed historically as a clash between the cultures, embodied as an internal division. In contrast to this view, she quotes Sakamoto (1996), describing how “hybridity retains a sense of difference and tension between two cultures, but without assuming hierarchy” (pp. 115-116). There is an uncomfortable tension in this work. In Aotearoa there continues to be dominant cultural practices, favouring the Pākehā worldview. Are we truly a bicultural nation at this time? The struggle we have as a nation can often be reflected in the internal world and the identity of those of mixed race. Can we call ourselves non-hierarchical in our society? Perhaps the hybridity discourse seeks to enable biculturalism to emerge from the inside out. As a person of mixed-race I wonder whether my Pākehā side continues to colonise the Māori part of me.

Tess Moeke-Maxwell (2005) writes about the experience of Māori women with different cultural identities. She charts the call for Māori sovereignty in the 1970s, when Māori challenged the government to “reinvoke the Treaty of Waitangi as the nation’s founding document” (p. 499). It was an important part of this process that Māori

adopted an essentialist identity via whakapapa, whenua, te reo and wairutanga. Moeke-Maxwell (2005) goes onto explore the diverse experiences of Māori women:

Some, such as those adopted as infants into Pākehā families, live without whākapapa, while others are also estranged from their whānau, iwi, landscapes, with minimal cultural contact with Māori culture. Many have little Māori language. Yet, they claim Māori as a significant ethnic identity, even when this indentity sits uncomfortably alongside others (p. 501).

Writers who explore the regions of hybrid identity point to the celebration of mixed identities. Perhaps these writers can provide answers for those who have become disconnected with their Māori identity. Bell (2014) describes the historical view of those of mixed descent as being 'half-way' between the settler and indigenous worlds. "Their in-between position made individuals of mixed descent favoured targets of a number of assimilatory policies ..." (p. 63) where "... intermarriage was seen as a key route to 'breeding out the colour' and further the goal of assimilation" (p. 63). As a descendant of those targeted for this form of assimilation, I have grieved the loss of Māori identity both within my whānau and within myself. I have felt excluded from my own Māori history. Bell's "answer is to embrace and celebrate the hybrid nature of all identities" (Bell, 2014, p. 60). This celebration describes a different form of the decolonisation process. It has been an important part of decolonisation within Aotearoa to treasure those essential parts of te ao Māori, such as whākapapa, whenua, tikanga and Te Reo. It has also been a vital part of decolonisation to seek redress for the deep harms done to te ao Māori by colonisation. For those alienated from their Māori identity it is important to be able to reclaim and learn about what has been lost. Throughout Aotearoa, wananga are providing opportunities for Māori and others to learn Te Reo, karanga, rongoa and many other practices and learnings of te ao Māori. The celebration of our hybrid identities appears to be another gift in this learning.

Bell (2014) goes onto to highlight one of the concerns for hybrid identity:

Importantly, the choice to identify either way is restricted in many contexts to those with 'light-skinned privilege', those who can 'pass' as phenotypically white. Further, it is this choice reserved for the light-skinned that attracts the suspicion of some indigenous people, wary of anyone who might be able to claim the benefits of indigenous identity while avoiding the negative impacts of racism and poverty (p. 70).

This has certainly been the experience of this writer, as someone who has grown up with the privileges associated with being Pākehā in the 1970s in Aotearoa. A friend who is more noticeably Māori, described growing up feeling ashamed of being Māori and pretending to be of Pacifica descent instead (personal communication, 2015). The social history of Aotearoa and current statistics point to racist policies and actions that have disadvantaged Māori. However, there is something missing from this dialogue, which is the pain of the unrecognised Māori part of those who identify as Māori but who have light-skin. As someone going through a form of 'identity crisis' while exploring my own Māori roots, I have chosen to emphasise my Māori ancestors and my identity as Māori. This has felt uncomfortable at times and it often feels easy to fall back into my more obvious Pākehā identity. A strong desire remains, however to overcome my own sense of grief and loss of my Māori heritage.

Collins (1999) provides a beautiful re-interpretation of the ideas around people of mixed descent. She uses the term, *nga tangata awarua* to describe them, literally 'the people of two rivers'. "Awarua can mean either the flowing of two rivers, a corridor or passage. Hence it includes meanings of dual heritage, possibly discomfort/alienation of being in between, and the concept of transition" (p. 5).

### **Reconnection**

Te Huia (2014) writes about the need to create space for Māori cultural and linguistic development in a discriminatory post-colonial society. It is in this reconnection that I would like to focus on further in my study. How are members of Southern whānau/hapū finding ways back to their marae, to their reo and to their cultural practices?:

Many Māori have a desire to connect with their language and culture; however this desire could possibly remain a desire unfulfilled if the individual is not embedded within a set of culturally affirming relationships, or if the individual is not supported to create connections to their culture (p. 236).

How have individuals experienced support towards creating these connections. If your whānau have wandered from their cultural home, in what ways have members of the whānau been able to make their journey back towards their Māori cultural practice? It is this reconnection and the factors that support it which is less obvious in the literature around the whānau from the Southern regions of Te Waipounamu. When

those whānau members can identify what has supported them, it can then assist them in understanding what can be passed onto future generations.

### **Summary**

My exploration of the literature has first centred around the history of colonisation, specifically in the Southern part of Te Waipounamu. The early settlement by European sealers and whalers, mostly single men who married Māori women has characterised the experience of early colonial experiences in Southland. During the 19th century assimilatory policies were enforced within Aotearoa, and many of these policies were played out in the intimate family groups in Southland.

Today many mixed-descent people are exploring the complex issues of their cultural histories and identities. Much has been written about those who have a hybrid identity, drawing on the richness that their whānau histories provide them with. This can provide an environment of safety which enables those with Māori cultural backgrounds to take steps towards reconnecting with those Māori parts of themselves. Less has been written about the process that Southern whānau in Aotearoa are taking towards this reconnection. Many personal whānau stories can add to the richness of the literature, and potentially provide guidance of policy makers within Aotearoa.

## Chapter 3: Methodology and Method

### Methodology

The methodology proposed for this research is Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR). When thinking about possible methodological approaches for my research, I wanted to choose one that reflected the goals of my research. My methodological choice also reflects my experience of dislocation from my Māori heritage and the impact in my whānau of loss of language and connection to our Māori voices. Part of my reason for carrying out this research is to support my own reconnection process to te ao Māori. The research question that I have examined is:

What has the impact of colonisation been on the identity of a Southland whānau and how have different whānau members reconnected with their Māori identity?

As a process of decolonisation, this piece of research seems to fit comfortably within Kaupapa Māori Research.

When my Māori grandmothers adopted the myriad of cultural practices of their Pākehā husbands and fathers, they began to lose the practices that lived in them for centuries before European colonisation. My great-grandmother was a fluent te reo speaker and yet my mother was not even aware of her Māori heritage; only two generations and so much was lost. One goal of Kaupapa Māori Research is to assist people with the process of reclaiming their Māori-tanga; to respect indigenous voices and to allow those voices to help shape future decisions regarding our society.

Within this approach, I would like to acknowledge my position as researcher. I was raised in a Pākehā home in Aotearoa in the 1970s. I did not grow up in te ao Māori and have been learning te reo and other aspects of tikanga Māori as an adult. However, I grew up in the 1970s and 80s in a society where new thinking was emerging and I was exposed to many new movements, for example, as a child I was aware of the Springboks tour and the anti-racism movement opposed to the tour and the associated anti-colonialism movement of Māori. As a teenager I became interested in the feminist movement and supported the Homosexual Law Reform Bill in the 1980s. As a young woman, newly aware of her Māori ancestry in Aotearoa, I became further interested in

the political and personal aspects of my identity. From this position I believe that research about the impact of colonisation on my whānau would need to be examined from the viewpoint provided by Kaupapa Māori Research.

Kaupapa Māori is a term that has emerged over thousands of years through community processes (Pihama, 2001; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2001). More recently the term Kaupapa Māori began to appear in discussions in the 1980s when the Ministry of Education began to introduce taha Māori into the school curriculum (Smith G. , 1997). During this time, it was recognised that the Pākehā school system had failed many Māori children and Kaupapa Māori was introduced as an intervention to ensure the survival of Kaupapa Māori and Te Reo Māori (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2001). Smith's (1997) writings during this time were also a deliberate co-opting of the term theory to challenge "the narrow, Eurocentric interpretation of theory as it has been applied in New Zealand education" (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2001, p. 31). Kaupapa Māori theory has links with critical theory within a constructivist epistemology (Smith G. , 1997).

Within the wider context of Kaupapa Māori, researchers also saw the need to apply the reclamation of language and culture to their own research work as a way for Māori to articulate their experience from their own worldview. Wirihana (2012) presents examples of this restoration:

This was demonstrated by Māori Marsden (2003) accounts in ngā whāre wānanga (traditional Māori learning environments), the research work by The Māori Women's Welfare League in Rapuora (Murdie, 1984) and Winiata's seminal doctoral research in 1967, which was based on his own experience as a Māori leader (p. 203).

Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) is well recognised both in the areas of education (Pihama, 2001; Smith G. , 1997), and health (Elder, 2008; Harwood, 2012; Kerr, Penney, Moewaka Barnes, & McCreanor, 2010).

Pihama (2001) and Smith (1997) have outlined the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory as:

- A. Control principle, that being Māori control and ownership.
- B. Challenge principle, to analyse the power relationships involved.
- C. Culture principle, including the survival and revival of Māori language and culture.

- D. Connection principle, referring to relationship based knowledge sharing.
- E. Change principle, which refers to transformative change for Māori.
- F. Credibility principle, which acknowledges the desire for the highest quality standards for Māori.

(Smith G. , 1997)

Linda Smith (2007) brings the description of the Other into her description of how research of Māori has occurred in the past. “The category of the native Other is one that Fanon (1961/63) and Memmi (1957/67) have argued is implicated in the same category as the settler and the colonizer” (p. 86). Research by non-Māori has been described as a desire to know and define the Other (Smith L. , 2007). This process began when Cook first arrived in Aotearoa:

With Banks and the ship’s artists, Cook began the process of documenting the language and material culture of Māori in the eighteenth century. The corpus of knowledge which he and his men assembled on all his visits to New Zealand would be a boon to scientists, historians and anthropologists for the next 200 years (King, 2003, p. 105).

Professor Ranganui Walker (1985) described this sort of research as a process where “Māori are in the subordinate position with little or no social power to keep out the prying Pākehā” (p. 231). While Māori were interested in learning about the Europeans, a strong call has come for the need to define themselves, described by Smith (2007) as “the desires by the native to be self-defining and self-naming [which] can be read as a desire to be free, to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human” (p. 349). This call for self-definition is shared with indigenous peoples around the world. In her book about indigenous research methodologies, Chilisa (2012) explains the importance of research as a decolonisation process. “Decolonization is a process of centring the concerns and worldviews of the colonized Other, so that they understand themselves through their own assumptions and perspectives” (p. 13).

Thus one of the important goals of Kaupapa Māori research is to promote tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of Māori, by devolving power in the process of research (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 2001; Hall A. , 2015; Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005; Pihama, 2001; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2001). In the case of this piece of this Kaupapa

Māori research, it was important to keep in mind who I was undertaking this research for and why. “Accountability for our research is primarily to our relationships and, as such, we engage in research that addresses real issues so as to inform and promote real solutions that will facilitate Māori wellness” (Pihama, 2001, p. 249). While working within the restraints of the tertiary institution to achieve my qualification, it is also necessary for me to keep these questions in mind: what are the goals of the project? Who set the goals? What benefits will there be? Who gets the benefits? What difference will this study make for Māori? How does this study support Māori cultural and language aspirations? Whose voice is heard? Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text? Who theorises the findings? (Bishop, 1996).

The goals of my project are to explore how colonisation has impacted on my whānau, and in what ways my Māori ancestors were impacted by the arrival of European settlers in the Southern most parts of Te Waipounamu in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Another goal is to explore how current whānau members view the assimilation into Pākehā culture that occurred and what is happening within my whānau to create reconnection to te ao Māori. Because of the requirement of AUT for the completion of a dissertation that has ultimately driven this piece of research, I have assumed a more prominent role in deciding on the goals of this research. “Māori researchers often grapple with this tension, the need to reach the people for whom the research is intended as well as those who will determine the ‘scholarly’ value of the work” (Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005, p. 6). However, it is clear that a lot of work has already been done by whānau members on gathering pūrākau and reconnecting with our Māori ancestry and letting others know about the history within our whānau. Whānau members have also articulated the need for others to continue this work of researching our whākapapa and any pūrākau related to this whākapapa. My whānau does not have strong methods of whānau wide consultation that may be more familiar to Māori whānau. This is another indicator of the impact on colonisation on my whānau and speaks again to the intersection of worlds that this research crosses.

As I have outlined in my application for ethics approval, He Ara Tika, I envisage that the benefits of this study will initially be felt by myself in completing the requirements of a Master’s degree. However, it is my hope that my whānau members will also benefit from this research. The Riverton Museum gathers local whānau

information which they hold for whānau members to read. The museum has expressed an interest in holding a copy of this dissertation as a resource for other local whānau. Those whānau members who have contributed pūrākau have received copies of their pūrākau and they have spoken of a desire to pass these stories onto future generations.

Many of the pūrākau in the dissertation are inspiring, providing stories of reconnection to whānau and to our marae. They also speak of reconnecting to Te Reo and tikanga Māori. It shows other whānau members the possibilities for reconnection that exist. The dissertation honours these forms of reconnection and in this way it promotes Māori cultural and language aspirations.

It was important for me to include the full pūrākau of my whānau members at the beginning of this dissertation. It is the voices of whānau who are heard in this research. The process of collecting the pūrākau is outlined below within the method section, including how they developed and defined the content of the pūrākau. In the data analysis section of the research there is a poutama that allows the researcher to add a layer of their own analysis. The theories informing this poutama include Kaupapa Māori and feminist theory.

Theorists such as Pihama and Walker placed a strong emphasis on the analysis of all power relationship in Kaupapa Māori research and on the resistance against dominance in its many forms (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2001). These theorists assert that under the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori have a right to challenge the power of the Crown where it infringes on their right to tino rangatiratanga (Kerr, 2012).

It has been my hope that I have been able to respect important Māori cultural values during the research undertaken with my whānau members. Smith (1999) outlined several important cultural values which have been translated into researcher guidelines by Cram (2001). They are outlined below:

Cultural Values (Smith, 1999)	Researcher Guidelines (Cram, 2001)
Aroha ki te tangata	Respect for people. Allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.
He kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face meeting

Titiro, whākarongo ... kōrero	Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking) to develop understandings
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous
Kia tapato	Be cautious and politically astute
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the mana or dignity of a person
Kaua e mahaki	Do not flaunt your knowledge. Sharing knowledge is about empowering a process, but the community has to empower itself

(Smith L. T., 1999; Cram, 2001)

### **Kaupapa Māori Research Methods**

In undertaking this research one of my goals is to explore how whānau members are choosing to reclaim their Māori ancestry, and language and cultural practices. Like Bishop (1996), I share a concern that “colonial suppression of our family history had removed from family members the opportunity to participate in Māori cultural experience and understandings” (p. 41). Inevitably my research has led to conversations within my whānau about our Māori ancestors. I have learnt more about my ancestors and it is my hope that these understandings can be shared within my whānau. It is my hope that by using the pūrākau method of representing the stories of my whānau I will be able to let the voices of my whānau members be heard. Jenny Lee refers to pūrākau as “stories, one form of Māori narrative that originate from our oral literature traditions” (Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005, p. 3). I believe that pūrākau offers the opportunity for this researcher to honour my ancestors and my whānau members who have shared their experiences of identity and growth.

### **Pūrākau: A Narrative Research Method**

Different scholars have described the meanings behind the word pūrākau. Jenny Lee explains that the word pūrākau, “literally refers to the roots or the base (pū) of the

tree (rākau)” and the significance of this being, “the imagery of trees often reflect our cultural understandings of social relationships, our inter-connectedness with each other and the natural environment” (Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005, p. 7). Rebecca Wirihana’s (2012) understandings of pūrākau come from her wānanga with a kaumatua about his understanding and interpretation of pūrākau. She describes the word as coming from its parts “pū (source), rā (light, day, sun), ka (past, present and future) and ū (from within)” (p. 212). Wirihana believes that the use of pūrākau aligns with the expectations of kaupapa Māori research in three ways. The use of an oratory method of story collection honours traditional Māori oratory methods of sharing knowledge. Secondly, the stories of participants are honoured by using their voices and words as much as possible. Thirdly, the use of pūrākau values the subjective interpretations of experience (Wirihana, 2012).

While pūrākau as a way of storytelling originating from Māori oral literature traditions is an ancient form of tikanga, the use of it in research is more recent. There is an emerging whākapapa in its use within the world of research. Lee (2006, 2009) wrote about pūrākau as a decolonising method and as a way forward for Māori cultural regeneration (Lee, 2009; Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005). Wirihana (2012) used pūrākau as a way of collecting and sharing the stories of Māori women leaders in New Zealand. Hall (2015) distinguishes further the different types of pūrākau, and I have chosen to employ the use of Kōrerō Pūrākau. “Kōrerō Pūrākau is a talking storytelling approach that is a distinctive form of mātauranga Māori” (pp. 156-7). Hall (2015) explains that Kōrerō Pūrākau is a particular method which allows the storyteller to reflect on present, past and future events and to examine interrelated relationships and how these have evolved to where the story teller is now.

In addition, Hall (2015) explains the importance of Kōrerō Pūrākau in understanding relationships and the social circumstances that influence emotional development. This is also pertinent to my research within the discipline of psychotherapy studies.

### **Pūrākau: A Data Collection Method**

As Lee (2009) points out, pūrākau “is already being used in therapeutic clinical settings when working with Māori tangata whāiora (mental health clients) and their whānau (p. 3). Psychotherapists and other therapists have valued the use of storytelling as a healing process (de Vries, 2015; McCabe, 2008; White & Epston, 1990). An important role of the therapist is to witness the experience of their client and support the sense-making by the client themselves. As a student completing a Master’s in Psychotherapy, ‘the talking cure’, pūrākau feels particularly appropriate.

I have written transcripts of the interviews and edited them into a narrative or pūrākau form. I then returned these pūrākau to my whānau members for them to check and change any of their stories that they would like, to better reflect their thoughts, feelings and subjective experience. It is my wish that by presenting these stories in my research that I will be able to represent the different truths that exist within my whānau. “Different stories give different versions of and approaches to truth. As a result, stories allow the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant version” (Bishop, 1996, p. 24). This returns to the desire that this research is part of a decolonising process in Aotearoa. Colonisation has tended to involve the capturing of indigenous stories, in an attempt to “understand the native”. In post-colonial Aotearoa, there are a complexity of lives and it is the desire of this researcher to represent this.

Bishop also describes how stories are a way for people to come to know each other and to admit others into their lives (Bishop, 1996). This connectivity is acknowledged within the world of Kaupapa Māori research and is seen as a way to create “a society where voices are not muffled by the dominant discourse” (Lee, Kozak, Nancoo, Chen, & Middendorf, 2013). Bishop (1996) also describes that there “is a wairua in story that binds the listener to the teller beyond any linkage created by the words on their own” (p. 25). By listening to the stories of my whānau members, not only about their life experiences, but their understandings and wonderings about our ancestors, this binds us together and binds us more strongly with our ancestors. Bishop uses the koru image to describe research as mutually evolving rather than a reality to be understood (Bishop, 1996)

### **Recruiting Whānau as Research Participants**

For this research I have approached my whānau to find members wanting to talk about their experiences growing up, their understandings of our Māori ancestry and their journey in reconnecting with their ancestry. Following a whānau hui in 2014 I sent an email to whānau member who attended this hui. I included an Information Sheet in this initial email, to ensure that my whānau members were fully informed about the purpose and potential experiences of being involved in the research process. “In all families there are people who are selected by the family members to be the recorders of whākapapa” (Bishop, 1998). In my whānau there are certain people who have researched our whākapapa and have developed their own pūrākau around our family history. Two of the whānau members who I have met with belong to this group of whākapapa gatherers. I have met with them kanohi-ki-te-kanohi to hear their stories. Alayne Hall (2015) describes an approach to assist in this process. “In the kanohi-ki-te-kanohi setting, a non-judgemental approach helps to facilitate a level of safety that enables the storyteller to korero unhindered” (p. 165).

In this study I offered my whānau members alternative places to meet but they all expressed a wish to meet in their homes, so I travelled to see them. Through this practice I hoped to respect the cultural values set out by Smith and the associated researcher guidelines written by Cram as an inherent part of Kaupapa Māori research (Smith L. T., 1999; Cram, 2001). Smith stresses the importance of “Aroha ki te tangata”, which Cram interprets as allowing people to define their own space and meet on their own terms (Smith L. T., 1999; Cram, 2001). In accordance with Cram’s guidelines, I met with my whānau members kānohi kit e kānohi (Cram, 2001). I had already sent them an outline of the sorts of things I was interested in talking about and had sent through a consent form which outlined how they were able to stop the interviews at any time during the process. During the interviews there existed a tension between my role as a researcher and my role as a whānau member mutually exploring our shared interest in our ancestry and listening to them as holders of our whakapapa.

The interviews took place in spoken English, with te reo phrases occurring throughout the conversations. Two of my whānau members spoke quite a bit about their journey learning te reo and these experiences formed an important part of their pūrākau. As Hall (2015) points out, in the absence of Te Reo Māori, it is important for the listener to “consider contemporary realities of Māori and the influencing historical

and socio-cultural context of the lived reality of the storyteller” (p. 157). This fits well with my research topic, exploring the impact of colonisation on my whānau, with Te Reo being spoken fluently by my great-grandmother, then lost to the next two generations and being reclaimed by future generations.

This research and conversation within my whānau has become a form of mutual exploration of our shared whākapapa, one of the most fundamental ways Māori think about and come to know the world. In his article about tracing his own whākapapa, Joseph Selwyn Te Rito (2007) describes the process in terms of his identity. “It connects me to my past and to my present. Such outcomes certainly confirm identity and a deep sense of ‘being’” (p. 9).

### **Te-āta-tu Pūrākau: A Pūrākau Analysis Method**

The use of pūrākau has evolved further, with Hall developing a data analysis method. Hall has chosen to use the term *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* to describe her Māori narrative analysis method (Hall, 2015). I have chosen to apply Hall’s (2015) method to the pūrākau developed with my whānau members.

Hall (2015) explains that:

*Te-āta-tu* refers to the dawning of a new day that always follows on from a period of darkness. Ata often referred to as early morning or the space between darkness and light; it is synonymous with human metabolism where the shift between sleep to awakening occurs. It encompasses an understanding that something new is about to take shape (p. 163).

I have employed Hall’s use of *Poutama* to explore and capture the different levels of analysis (Hall A. , 2015). Hall (2015) describes *Poutama* in the following way. “*Poutama* (levels, steps) is a familiar Māori term that describes more broadly a journeying process and often depicted in the tukutuku panels of the carved meeting house to resemble a stairway or steps” (p. 163). The steps developed by Hall (2015) are as follows:

*Poutama Tahī*: “...the linear level of the basic structure of the pūrākau”.

*Poutama Rua*: “... the relational level”, where relationship is revealed between the storytelling and other important people. It also includes the relationship with chronological events, historical, spatial and the world context.

*Poutama Toru*: "... the emotional level, which conveys the feelings ... and subjective feeling of the event as it has unfolded and been experienced by the storyteller".

*Poutama Whā*: "... the analytical level ... where the researcher adds a layer of meaning to the pūrākau".

*Poutama Rima*: "... acknowledges the wairua or spiritual level of engagement.

(pp. 164-5).

I have applied this form of analysis to the pūrākau of my family members to assist in revealing the central issues in my family history and new buds of growth and reconnection (Hall, 2015). Te-āta-tu Pūrākau also provides a way to allow further meaning to emerge from the pūrākau. As the dawn approaches, we are met with a chorus of bird song in Aotearoa. As with the loss of Te Reo following colonisation, our indigenous birds have been devastated and our forests are increasingly silent. Conservationists are working towards creating islands of sanctuary where these endangered populations can be nurtured back to strength. Perhaps these new forms of research can provide islands of safety for these pūrākau to be heard, honoured and revealed.

## **Summary**

This research follows a Kaupapa Māori research method, which provides a critical approach to the impact of colonisation within Aotearoa. It also works towards achieving tino rangatiratanga, by attempting to explore subjects that are of importance to, and provide opportunities for autonomy for Māori.

Kaupapa Māori has provided a lens for my research and the pūrākau method has provided a way in which to gather the stories held in my whānau. While pūrākau is a traditional way of story-telling, it is only relatively new to non-Māori.

Te-āta-tu pūrākau, a very recent addition to the growing body of Kaupapa Māori research methods, provides a way to explore in further detail themes within the pūrākau. The threads of Kaupapa Māori Research methodology and method have provided a way back in a process of decolonisation. Many iwi provide threads for their whānau to find their way back to their whākapapa and a sense of where they belong in the world. Kaupapa Māori research method, pūrākau and Te-āta-tu pūrākau have

provided threads for the researcher to find her way back to her own place of being in and seeing the world.

## Chapter 4: Pūrākau

### Our Māori Connection

Ngāi Tahu connections to Akaroa came after the settling of Kaiapoi Pa in North Canterbury. Akaroa Harbour was soon allocated to a number of chiefs by Turakautahi of Kaiapoi. One chief Te Ruahikihiki, settled at Whakamoia near the Akaroa Heads at the south east end of the harbour.

Te Ruahikihiki, the Ngāti Kuri Chief was the son of Manawaiwaho. His first wife was Hikaiti and they had a daughter Ritoka. His wife's sister, Te Ao Taurewa became a widow after the death of her husband Te Rakitaurewa. Te Ruahikihiki fell in love with his sister-in-law and he married her. It was customary at that time for chiefs to have several wives.

Hikaiti fell into a deep depression at losing the love of her husband and resolved to kill herself. She arose early in the morning, combed her hair and wrapped her cloak tightly around. She went to the edge of the cliff where she wept, greeted the land and the people of her tribe. With her acknowledgements made, she cast herself over the cliff where she was killed on the rocks. The body remained inside the cloak she had wrapped around her. This place became known as Te Tarere a Hikaiti (the place where Hikaiti leapt).

After a long period of lamentation, Te Ruahikihiki and his people moved to the south end of Banks Peninsula to Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Teone Tare Tikao relates in his book "Tikao Talks", that Te Ruahikiki asked for details of Waihora and on finding about the inaka (whitebait), pitaki (flounder) and tuna (eel) resources to be found there, said: Taku Kaika ko Orariki (Orariki my place).

Te Ruahikihiki established himself with his son-in-law Kaweriri at Taumutu on the lake. Today descendants of Te Ruahikihiki can be found at Taumutu and further south in Otago and Southland.

Te Ao Taurewa's son by Te Ruahikihiki – Taoka, was a great fighting chief in his own right and had many adventures further south in Otakou in the Purakaunui area, in some of the final battles with Ngāti Mamoe. Taoka married Hine Kauae and settled in Purakanui. They then had a son called Te Auta, who appears in the next whānau pūrākau.

*Material researched and prepared by Esma (Hartley) Donovan and Joan Hughes*

The following is a version of the history of the Mackintosh family and their Māori connection as far as it can be recorded given the records that can be accessed this far back. This is a combined effort by Esma Donovan and Joan Hughes after much reading, study and research.

Te Auta was a Māori chief who lived at Purakanui, which is situated on the north coast of the Otago Peninsular. When he was around 20 years of age he and his wife, Rahera Natomina, had a daughter called Riria. When the 1849 Mantell census was taken Te Auta was 46 years of age and he listed three children, Korako, female aged 10, Tauarei, male aged 3 and Taumata, male aged 5. With the age difference between Riria and these children it looks as if they were probably born to another wife. Considering the life expectancy of Māori women at the time was 33 years this was probably the case.

Riria would have grown up at Purakanui but at some time she must have moved down to Riverton where there was quite an extensive village. It had become a shore whaling station established by Captain Howell. The custom at that time was for a whaler to set up home in a cottage or whare and to marry a Māori maiden to care for him, cook and clean. Riria married a whaler named Weevil and they had a son called James who was born in 1839. I will come back to him later.

We have no way of knowing what sort of marriage Riria had but it seems she met another whaler called John Hunt and two years after James had been born she became pregnant to Hunt. This would have been serious as married women didn't usually stray and if they did the aggrieved husband was quite within his rights to pursue the man, kill him and reclaim his wife. Therefore, it is probable that the couple ran away together. It would have to have been a fair distance and it seems it was Lyttleton (Caroline/Kuini was born here according to her death certificate). John Hunt may have had his own boat and probably worked for Johnny Jones or Captain Howell.

In Canterbury Hunt could have worked at the shore whaling station at Little Port Cooper which is the first bay on the left coming into Lyttleton Harbour, but there was also a big

village and shore whaling station at Port Levy. It is thought more likely to be the former. So Riria had a daughter called Kuini or Caroline born in 1841.

The next we hear of Kuini is listed in the Purakanui census in approximately 1849/50 then aged 7 years. Riria is not mentioned in the census so the conjecture is that she may have died of anything from childbirth, measles or consumption. A shore whaling station would not have been a very healthy place to live. If Hunt were then left with a young child, he would not have any option but to take her back to her whānau at Purakanui and continue with his whaling.

Kuini is mentioned in Mantells census 1848 to 1852 at the very end of Te Auta's hapu and not with his own children. This could well be because she was born out of wedlock and he did not recognize her as his own. My family story recalls her as 'being brought up by and working for a French family by the name of Longuet'. The Otago shipping lists record a family of this name landing in Otago in 1849. Louis Longuet was listed in the Dunedin Electoral Roll for 1855, address Purakanui, Western Suburban District. It would appear that the family moved to Invercargill and took Kuini with them. Louis Longuet featured in the discovery of gold on Stewart Island in 1882.

Kuini met a man named Joseph Bennett at the Longuet's home and unfortunately became pregnant. We are not sure what Joseph did for a living. A relative told me he was a Remittance Man not a Sea Captain as we had been led to believe and as is recorded on Caroline Bennett's death certificate. His death records state he was a laborer. Kuini probably went back to the Māori kaik at Purakanui to have her child as this was home to her and she would have the support of the women there. Caroline was born on 6 June 1862. Her mother Kuini would have been about 20 years of age. She would have had a difficult time caring for a baby on her own and must have gone back to Riverton and come to some arrangement with Joseph Bennett. He was already married and living on Stewart Island with his wife, also Caroline. It seems it was a popular name at the time (Captain Howells wife, a half caste Māori was also Caroline. It appears that Bennett and his wife took baby Caroline either because Kuini was finding it difficult on her own or that was a condition of marrying Charlie Goodwillie whom she married three months after the birth, on 30 August 1862. The following year on May 10, 1863 Caroline Elizabeth daughter of Joseph and Caroline Bennett is baptized at St Mary's Anglican Church in Riverton. On 15 February 1873 Joseph drowned himself during temporary

insanity according to the Invercargill death records. He was 28 years old and either lived at Bluff Road or the drowning occurred there. It could be that following Joseph's death Caroline was adopted into the Goodwillie family at this time. James Weevil's life is a bit of a mystery and it is hard to know what happened to him. There is a belief that he was brought up with Kuini in Lyttleton. This could well be and he was brought to Purakanui with Kuini when Riria died. He was living in Purakanui in 1853 according to the Appendices of the House of Representatives, 1876, G-9. This would make him 14 years old. He was later recorded to be in Riverton in 1874. He married twice and lived to be a good old age, dying in 1918 aged 79. There was a story that he was taken to sea by his father when he was about 7 years old. The question is, did Riria take him with her when she fled to Lyttleton with Hunt or did she leave him with his father, Weevil? If she left him in Riverton, it could be that his father having lost his wife and the whaling coming to an end, Weevil could have decided to seek the bright lights of Melbourne or Sydney. If this was the case, he may have sailed away with James leaving him at Purakanui on the way. We will never know exactly what happened.

When Kuini appeared in Invercargill with the Longuet family there would have been much discussion among the Māori community at Riverton as they would have thought she was Riria Weevil's daughter, hence her being called Kuini Weevil. She was adamant that she was Hunt, knowing her father was John Hunt. There would not have been a marriage between Hunt and Riria as she was still married to Weevil and there was no such thing as divorce in those days. A couple was considered married if the bridegroom gave a present to the woman's parents. On Kuini's marriage certificate to Charlie Goodwillie she called herself Hunt and her father as a seaman. Her death certificate states Caroline Goodwillie nee Hunt. She died of Bright's disease on Christmas day 1907 aged 66 years.

Caroline Elizabeth lived at Riverton and eventually met William Mackintosh to whom she became pregnant. On hearing about this Kuini sent her off to Purakanui to have the child. When William Mackintosh returned from a trip to Australia and found out what had happened he went to Purakanui to bring her back to Southland to make her his wife. This was the beginning of the William and Caroline Mackintosh line.

## Alan's pūrākau



Alan was born in Waipawa, in Central Hawke's Bay and then grew up on a farm near the small village of Pukehou, about thirty kilometres south of Hastings. Alan attended a small 4 teacher primary school where up to half of the children attending were Māori. Despite Alan assuming he was fully Pākehā, he developed an affinity with things Māori and enjoyed playing with his Māori friends at school.

By chance, Alan's family lived close to Te Aute College, a prestigious Māori boy's secondary school. Alan was given the opportunity to attend Te Aute College from the fifth form. Unfortunately, because he had previously studied French, he studied that in

his School Certificate year, rather than Māori at Te Aute. He feels that he very likely would have been a fluent Māori speaker by now if he had taken it as a subject at school. However, he was exposed to the rhythms and pronunciation of Māori at school. With the other boys there, Alan occasionally spoke a form of "pigeon Māori" which included slang words and Māori terms. Alan developed an ear for the language during that time at Te Aute. He went away to university and studied first horticulture (at Massey University) and then landscape architecture (at Lincoln). Whilst at Lincoln, the first moves aimed at encouraging people to learn Te Reo Māori were happening and Alan resolved to try to learn Te Reo at the end of his university studies. It has proved to be an elusive ambition, and forty years later Alan is still not fully fluent! After he finished at university he studied Te Reo at night classes in Palmerston North. He was fortunate to receive tuition from John Taiapa (of Tuhoe).

Three years after graduating Alan and his wife returned to his small home village of Pukehou, to live and establish his own practice and to provide support for his by then aging parents. Alan and his family lived three doors down from the local Pukehou marae. A kaumatua (elder) on the marae committee (himself a Te Aute Old Boy) said to Alan, "you're a Te Aute old boy, you should be down here learning how to handle yourself on the marae!". This mentor for Alan encouraged him to sit on the paepae and assist with whāikorero at tangi and other events at the marae. So Alan did this as he took this invitation as a compliment and a real opportunity to strengthen his reo. He also attended another night class in order to further develop his grasp of Te Reo and also to gain a better understanding of the rituals of pōwhiri (welcome) and poroporoaki (farewell).

It was at about this time that Alan discovered that he has Māori ancestry which he found interesting as he had already become quite involved in his local marae, mainly through being a Te Aute Old Boy, rather than through any perception that he was Māori. Alan became aware of his Māori ancestry through a cousin, Bill Mc Gavock, who had been given a copy of some whakapapa research done by Elizabeth Mae (Hartley) Warburton and Esma (Hartley) Donovan entitled "Some Mackintoshes - A Short Sketch of the Mackintoshes of Greenlea, Southland, New Zealand". Even though (as Alan discovered later) his father was aware of his Māori ancestry it was not talked about in Alan's family while he was growing up. Alan thinks that it may have been a source of embarrassment

in his family that there was a “Māori in the closet”. Alan thinks as though there was a collective position on the part of his father's generation of “let’s not go there” when it came to matters concerning their Māori ancestry.

But at least some of Alan’s generation took a very different view of their Māori ancestry. Alan, for one, found it interesting and wanted to make connection with the other side of his family. Alan used to correspond with a cousin, Cheryl, who lived in Australia. He mentioned in passing to her about their Māori ancestry, which she had been unaware of. When she returned home for Christmas one year, the first thing she asked her mother when she walked in the door was about her Māori ancestry. Her mother, Alan’s aunt, later reprimanded him, telling him that he had “spoilt” her Christmas. Alan responded to her “I’m sorry to hear that Aunty but I don’t think it’s something to be ashamed of anyway”. Alan told his Aunt that it was quite the opposite feeling for him, that it was something to be enjoyed and celebrated. Alan assumes that the paradigm in New Zealand at that time would still have been prejudiced in some ways and saw his family’s denial as a form of passive prejudice, albeit an understandable one for the time.

In Alan’s professional life he also began to gather expertise in the area of landscape design incorporating aspects of te ao Māori. In 1987 the NZILA, (the New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects) of which Alan was a member, organised a hui (conference) with the theme E Rua Nga Iwi, Kotahi Ano te Whenua (Two Cultures, One Landscape) at his old school, Te Aute College. Alan was heavily involved in the organisation of this hui when the profession of landscape architecture in Aotearoa / New Zealand first started looking at te ao Māori views of landscape compared to the Western world view.

This has continued to be an interest in Alan’s own professional work. Until relatively recently he has been one of the few people in NZILA who have had expertise in the area of te ao Māori landscape architecture. As time has gone on more and more Māori landscape architects have been trained although Māori are still under-represented as a percentage of the number of practising landscape architects in New Zealand.

Around 2007, Alan assisted with the formation of, and became a founding member of, Ngā Aho, a collective of Māori landscape design professionals including (but not restricted to) architects, engineers, planners, landscape architects, artists, graphic

designers and carvers. Their mandate is to promote the recognition and incorporation of Māori values and protocols in the practice of their respective professions, to provide opportunities for Māori in their respective professions and to work collectively to see more things Māori in public places in particular.

In 2009, Alan received a *tono* (invitation) from Ngā Aho to set up a collective of Māori landscape architects. This he instigated resulting in the formation of Te Tau-a-Nuku, which now has a mailing list of nearly 40 landscape architects. Te Tau-a-Nuku sits under the *korowai* of Ngā Aho and enjoys a close and production working relationship with the NZILA. Alan, together with two of his Te Tau-a-Nuku colleagues recently conducted a series of *wānanga* in various locations around Aotearoa, aimed at strengthening the understanding among the landscape architecture profession of Te Ao Māori and the need for inclusion of Māori elements and values in the practice of landscape architecture in this country.

Alan views this as part of a growth of appreciation of indigenous values around the world. People are now beginning to realise that Māori have a great deal to offer. Alan has recently been invited to be a keynote speaker at a symposium to be held in Melbourne, Australia when for the first time the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects, as a professional group, will explore Australian indigenous values and what needs to be done to better recognise their rich and unique association with the Australian landscape.

Alan and his wife recently travelled for four and a half months through the Americas and wherever they went Alan was interested in making contact with indigenous groups to see what they were doing in different places. Alan felt that there were some interesting hot spots where things were happening but in a lot of ways Māori were better placed because of the unique set of circumstances in Aotearoa, especially in the context of what have come to be referred to as The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Alan's professional passions coincided with learning about his own family's Māori ancestry. Around 2010, Joan Hughes, a cousin of Alan's, visited him at his home in Havelock North and brought with her a newspaper clipping concerning a *korowai* (cloak) that had been in the family for several generations and which, in recent years, had just sat in a cupboard and was never seen. So Joan and her sister decided the right thing to

do was to give the korowai back to the people of the nearest marae, to the place from where it originated. Alan read this article and found it very interesting.

Some years later, in 2013, there was an International Conference of Landscape Architects in Auckland, of the International Federation of Landscape Architects. This was to be their World Congress and Alan was given the role of welcoming the visitors to Auckland on behalf of the NZILA at the formal pōwhiri. Alan thought that it would be good to wear the korowai at that occasion as he felt that the korowai represented the mana of his ancestors and that wearing it on this occasion would add to that mana. He contacted the people at Takutai o te Titi marae and asked if he could borrow it for this occasion. They were very open to this request and confirmed that it had been worn by members of Alan's whānauka (extended family) before on a number of other special occasions such as university graduations, and duly couriered it to Alan.

Alan wore the korowai on that occasion and found it both an emboldening and calming experience. He felt that the wearing of the korowai took him into another zone of being. The words of his whāikorero flowed as never before or since. It was a truly unforgettable experience. At the end of the pōwhiri, Alan returned the fragile taonga (treasure) to its protective wrapping and assumed his normal persona.

He felt a desire to return the korowai in person and so travelled to Takutai o te Titi marae (near Riverton on the south coast of Te Waipounamu) to return the korowai and meet his cousins at the marae. This too, was a wonderful experience to go to the marae and see where his ancestors had come from. He met the people there who were hugely hospitable. Alan had been invited to coincide his visit with an end of year celebration and he recalls eating more crayfish than he had ever had before!

When Alan learnt about his Māori ancestry, a Kāi Tahu friend who lived nearby encouraged him to get onto the Kāi Tahu roll. However, he felt a little reluctant as Kāi Tahu had received their Treaty settlement and he was concerned that his registering might be seen as a way of staking a "Johnny-come-lately" claim for a share of the putea (funds). However, his friend insisted that wouldn't be the case. Kāi Tahu told him that "if you whakapapa back to Kāi Tahu you're one of us and that is that". Encouraged by this Alan did sign up. His whakapapa was approved and recognised and so his children

and grandchildren can do the same. Alan feels pleased about registering with Kāi Tahu and he wants to learn more about his iwi now that he is semi-retired and has more time.

Alan has an ambition to visit all 19 marae in the Kāi Tahu rohe (territory). If possible, Alan would also like to offer his skills in landscape architecture to Kāi Tahu. In addition, he would love to make the same trip as his ancestors once did to the Titi (muttonbird) Islands.

Because he grew up in, and has lived most of his life in, Hawke's Bay, Alan's connection with things Māori has been more strongly with Ngāti Kahungunu and through that with Te Whatu-i-Apiti, a sub tribe based near Pukehou. A lot of Alan's understandings come from Kahungunutanga and although he doesn't have blood linkages, he knows that at least they both whakapapa to (are descendants of) the Takitimu waka.

Alan brought his children up encouraging them to embrace their Māori side and to get involved in the Māori cultural side of things, especially at primary school. His children's school had a Māori cultural group and his wife, Heather, who was teaching at the school, helped with the organisation of that. Alan also used to help with this group and his son, Harley, showed some interest in developing his skills in kapahaka.

Alan's older daughter, Jessie, has some conversancy in Te Reo. She learnt some reo at high school and subsequently studied Law receiving a Māori scholarship.

His younger daughter, Julia, also played an active part in kapahaka at school and has some understanding of, and affinity with, Te Reo.

Alan and his wife have now moved to Auckland and one of the reasons for this is to be able to spend time with their children and mokopuna (grandchildren). Alan is keen to pass his knowledge of Te Reo on to the next generation.

Alan says that he doesn't feel exclusively Māori, although he doesn't think that it is about percentages. There are parts of him that strongly empathise with his Māori side and he finds it interesting how that has got stronger the older he has got. A lot of the happiest and most satisfying times Alan remembers have been in Māori settings – somehow it makes him feel complete.

But having said that Alan also finds his non-Māori side to be an important part of him as well. So Alan thinks of himself as a New Zealander of Māori descent, and also of Scottish and English descent. But he certainly doesn't put his Māori part of himself to one side and think that it's not to be mentioned. Alan is proud of all the cultures that he is descended from and has also made a point of finding out about his English and Scottish ancestors as well. He also feels lucky to have grown up and be living in Aotearoa.

## Joan Hughes' Pūrākau

*Richard.*

# Cloak gift returning to Aparima

By AMANDA WATSON

A PIECE of history returns to Aparima Maori tomorrow when a gift from them comes back more than 100 years on.

The descendants of James Mackintosh will hand back a korowai (cloak) given to him in recognition of support he gave Maori in Western Southland.

Mr Mackintosh was the first Member of the House of Representatives for Wallace, from 1899 to 1936.

Born in Scotland in 1827, Mr Mackintosh moved to Australia in 1853, where he bred Clydesdale horses at Moonee Ponds.

In 1866 he moved to Southland, farming in the Otoutau area. He served on the Aparima Road Board, the Southland Education Board, as chairman of the first Wallace County Council and was a proponent of Southland Frozen Meat.

In Parliament, his support of state advances for settlers earned him the nickname "Cheap Money Jimmy".

When ill health forced him off the land, he moved to Invercargill, focusing on issues including the town water supply and the water tower.

Following his death in May 1897, a The Southland Times obituary described him as "enterprising and shrewd."

A man of modern mind, he was a supporter of giving women the vote and just as vocal in his support of the Aparima Maori Community, especially after his oldest son, William, married a Ngai Tahu woman.

Before Mr Mackintosh's term ended, the Aparima Runanga gave him the cloak as a tangible thanks for his help.

The cloak became a heirloom, passed from eldest son to eldest son, eventually reaching his great-great-granddaughter Robin Mackintosh, who has decided it is time to return the favour.

"We all feel quite strongly that it should be back where it belongs and be appreciated by other people," she said yesterday.

"I have got it carefully rolled in a sheet and it just sort of goes wherever it fits. It is not being looked at or appreciated."

Ms Mackintosh presumes the cloak was made after European came to New Zealand.

Oraka-Aparima Runanga secretary Muriel Johnstone said they were delighted by the family's offer and planned to have the korowai on permanent display at Riverton.

Made of muka (woven dressed flax) with post-European decorations, the korowai was unique in Southland.

"It is unusual because of its design."

**JAMES MACKINTOSH**

Sisters Joan Hughes (left) and Robin Mackintosh take a last look at the cloak Aparima Maori gave their great-great-grandfather James Mackintosh in the 18th century.

*Picture JOHN HARRISON*

*\* Caroline Bennett, married William Mackintosh. She was Nanny Titchener's mother, our great-grandmother!! (So you are part Ngai Tahu eh bro!!)*

Joan was born and grew up in Invercargill, much closer to her where her ancestors had lived. She is the daughter of William James Mackintosh and Hazel. William was the eldest son of the eldest son of Caroline.

Joan's father would often refer to their Māori ancestry while she was growing up. He would often talk about there being Māori in the family but he didn't mention the details. However in 1998 Joan began to get really interested in her family history. Her youngest child was eight or nine, so Joan was getting more time to herself and started to look into the family history. Joan's father had started to explore the family history in his retirement but he became stalled in places where things had been covered up. For example there was an aunt who had become pregnant before getting married which was disgraceful in those days and so she lied about the birth date of her child. Her father's research happened before the internet and so he was relying on word of mouth. He was visiting relatives around Invercargill and writing it all down. But he eventually became frustrated and gave up. However he had written a few things down and this is what got Joan started. Also, some other family aunties had written an article about the family history which Joan had found fascinating. And the work of these people spurred Joan on. Joan found a computer programme which enabled people to research their

family trees. She also found stumbling blocks with family members who did not like learning about the Māori ancestry.

Joan treaded carefully with those family members but continued on finding about their Māori connection. One day Joan was talking to her sister Robin who said “oh I’ve got a Māori cloak in a plastic bag up in my wardrobe”. It had been passed down through the eldest boy in the family and onto Joan’s twin brother. He hadn’t been interested in keeping it and when they were cleaning the house out after Joan’s father died Robin had ended up with the cloak. Joan had tried to look into the cloak and why the family had it. Joan could remember her father talking about it but her aunt denied knowing anything about it. Joan found that the cloak had been given to her uncle because he had married a Māori woman from Ngāi Tahu and when he had died she had returned it to the family. Joan also remembered her father saying “we used to play Māori wars when we were kids. We’d put it on and run around the lawns playing Māori wars”.

Joan learnt that her ancestor, James Mackintosh, who was a member of the house of representatives, had been given the cloak by Māori from the Aparima area. Joan thinks that he supported them in different ways and as a thank you they gave him the cloak. Joan also thinks that because James had a daughter-in-law who was Māori, he would then have supported Māori from her local area. Joan said that this is all presumption but she can’t think of another reason for his support.

Joan then wanted to organise passing the cloak back to the local marae. She found an email address for the runaka in Riverton. She sent them an email explaining who she was and what the story was. Joan heard later that there were two or three women in the office and the email had arrived towards the end of the day. When the email came through they were dancing around the office, so excited about it.

Joan said that she was going to return the cloak and would be coming down to do that at the marae. Joan got as many family members as possible to come out one evening and the marae had people there and it was very moving, very lovely. There were a lot of tears from the Māori women just examining it and lots of lovely photos. Joan’s daughter Anna was at university at the time and she had very basic Māori so she did the response. Apparently it wasn’t as well as they would have done it but she made the

effort and they appreciated that. So it was very special. And other family members have used it since then on special occasions.

From then on Joan learnt more about the Māori connection in her family. She met with a cousin Esma and they exchanged notes, trying to see where everything fit in. There seemed to be a connection for an ancestor Kuini at Akaroa with a French family, Longuet, who she had worked for. Joan tried to find out about this family through a family friend, a professor who had researched into the French families at Akaroa. He told her there were no Longuet family in Akaroa. Joan then searched Dunedin shipping lines and found a Longuet family coming into Dunedin. So Joan thinks that Kuini was connected with them when she was living at the marae at Purakanui. She worked for them, and when they moved to Stewart Island, this is what brought Kuini to the Riverton area.

Joan found the family history research a fascinating thing to do if you have time and resources. She also found that you get burnt out after a period of time. Another cousin, Alan has also found this the case. He has done the Scottish, the Māori and the Australian history and he and Joan are thinking that a younger cousin, Kerry could take it up now to look into the local Southland history.

Joan now finds it hard to remember whether stories she knows were told to her as a child growing up or whether she's heard them as part of her research. She remembers a story about her great grandmother Caroline being picked out at her little school in Riverton because she was quite fair compared to her classmates. There was a visiting government official who said "oh you have to look after that one" because she was a bit whiter than the other Māori children.

Joan has also met family members who are ashamed of their Māori ancestry which she does not understand. These family members do not talk about their Māori ancestor, or if they do, they say that she was a princess.

A story that Joan finds heartbreaking was about when her great grandparents William, who was Pākehā, and Caroline, who was Māori first got married. When they had their first two or three children, they would drive around to the homestead to see William's mother and sisters. When they pulled up outside his mother and sisters would come

out to see who it was and then disappear inside. They didn't invite the children in and Joan imagines that it must have been really hard.

Joan feels proud of her Māori ancestry. She looked into registering with Ngāi Tahu. Joan's Māori aunt had looked into the history and found the family link back to the chief Te Auta. Joan's aunt did the preliminary investigation and just scribbled it on a piece of paper. So Joan wrote to Ngāi Tahu explaining this and she got a letter back saying "we know exactly who you are" which Joan thought was great. But still she felt a real dilemma about registering. For a long time Joan had a feeling of not warranting it. Joan felt that she hadn't been brought up Māori and therefore felt she couldn't register as Ngāi Tahu. But as she worked through the whole process with her family history she felt that she was as entitled as anyone. And now she feels pleased she's done it and her grandchildren are now linked in as well. She likes to see how the younger generations approach it with no stigma or embarrassment.

Joan's daughter Anna has reconnected to the marae through Joan. Joan gave her all the information and Anna has made the effort to go along to the marae. They knew who she is and they welcomed her with open arms. Anna has been to a lot of events and special days at the marae. Anna was also into wearing her babies and Joan thinks she went and did a little workshop at the marae about that. Anna is also picking up things in Te Reo to be able to use in her conversations. Anna and her husband spent a year as the caretakers of Quarantine Island in the Dunedin harbour. It is where all the soldiers were put in quarantine when they returned from the war. It was a challenging year for them but they were glad to have done it. There is a trust involved with keeping this island and one of the trustees had a connection with a Goodwillie women, a Māori relation. So there were further connections for Anna there. Joan also remembers going to school with a Goodwillie who she now realises will have been connected to her as well.

One thing that Joan is proud of is how her great grandfather, William was honourable and did the right thing. He helped his father when he went bankrupt. When William went to get money from the bank to help his father because he was bankrupt, they told him, "you're doing exactly the right thing" which Joan likes to hear. Joan also remembers hearing that in his later years William was taking laudanum. Caroline didn't

like it and would hide it from him, and eventually got rid of it. This would have been hard for him and he eventually gave up.

Joan talks openly about her Māori blood now as she is proud of it. People often comment on her skin colour which is quite brown. She tells them that will be because of her Māori blood. But none of her siblings have the darker colouring. Joan says that she was the luckiest and she presumes that's where it has come from. But Joan doesn't have a strong urge now to look into the culture or learn the language. Maybe if she had been younger.

But her children are more interested, especially Anna. And now Joan has some beautiful grandchildren growing up and who knows who will continue her work.

## Robbie's Pūrākau



Robbie was born in Palmerston North and grew up in Johnsonville, Wellington.

Robbie didn't grow up aware of his Māori ancestry. His father was aware of his Māori ancestry, but Robbie doesn't remember learning about it while growing up. He also thinks he was too young to appreciate it then, but today it is an important part of who he is. His first realisations about his Māori connections were at his grandmother's tangi. Robbie's grandmother, Mothy to her family (short for Grandmother), was a teacher in the Hawke's Bay working in Māori communities for most of her life. So when she died she was given the honour of a tangi as well as a Pākehā funeral. Robbie doesn't remember anything about her church funeral, but the tangi is very strong in his mind.

Robbie remembers going onto the local marae near Pukehou. As children they were running around and this struck Robbie as different from other formal occasions he'd attended. He expected to be told off but the children weren't. The key thing that Robbie remembers is hearing his aunt Heather speaking Māori at the tangi. This ignited in Robbie a passion to learn te reo and to know about tikanga Māori and his own Māori ancestry. This was a key moment for Robbie when he was eight years old.

Around this time, Robbie first started to learn te reo at school. Robbie had always had a passion for history, but now his own family history became interesting to him and how his Māori and Pākehā ancestors had met.

At home Robbie started to become more aware through his father about the history of his family. When he was eleven Robbie went on a family trip to Te Waipounamu and during this visit he met aunts with a lot of family history. Since then Robbie has been doing a lot of his own research into his family history and their Māori connection.

When Robbie went onto secondary school and university he continued to study te reo and tikanga Māori. Robbie says that he would love to be fluent but he isn't. But he has learnt a lot about tikanga and has had more experiences in te ao Māori.

Robbie describes himself as a fifth generation kiwi on both sides of his family. All of Robbie's British ancestry is pre-1900s and his Māori ancestry is a very important part of who Robbie is.

Robbie believes that his family history is quite a humble one despite claims that his ancestor Riria was a princess. However, he sees his family history is all a part of who he is. He understands that for Māori with whakapapa it is all about our ancestors coming down to make us who we are. He thinks that for English family trees it seems more like a pile of names. For Māori, their whakapapa is important, where they come from; their iwi, their whenua. The whole introduction in Māori explains what your waka, your mountain and river is, all part of making you who you are. It is because of this Robbie thinks that this makes him more of a New Zealander.

Robbie visited his mare Te Takutai o te Tiitii last year. Before then he had introduced himself identifying with maunga and awa based in Johnsonville where he had grown up. Robbie likes that he now has a specific maunga, awa and marae that he can say this is where my Māori ancestors come from. Robbie still has a very strong connection to Johnsonville and still thinks of it as his turangawaewae, his place of belonging. But he now has a connection to where his ancestors have come from.

Robbie works as a tour guide in Wellington. He starts his tour with a brief Māori introduction. Robbie does mention his Māori ancestry, pointing out that while he may look white he has Māori ancestry. This is important for him and is essentially a

connection to the land and this country. If people ask about his ancestry Robbie is always prepared to talk to them about it.

Recently Robbie was lucky enough to get a couple of tickets to the 100th anniversary Gallipoli commemorations. Robbie did a lot of research into the family history of young men who went to World War 1 at Gallipoli and other battle areas. Within Robbie's extended whānau in Southland, there was a family who sent five sons to the war. Four of them were killed, two at Gallipoli and two in France. Robbie managed to visit two of their graves in Gallipoli and one in France. Robbie found it a privilege to be at Gallipoli but it was very busy and he felt a desire to be more quiet visiting his ancestors at their graves and memorial sites. Robbie had found as many photos of his ancestors as he could and put them on their graves and memorial site names. It was very important to Robbie to put faces to their names. Robbie learnt that in World War 1 many of the Māori soldiers were used to build the trenches instead of fighting. Apparently there was concern that if the Māori soldiers started to fight against white enemies they might start to fight the white man at home!

Robbie isn't sure how important their Māori ancestry is to his siblings, although he is aware that it is an important part of his sister's identity.

Robbie doesn't have children but if he did, their Māori ancestry would be an important part of their upbringing. According to Robbie he would probably give them a Māori name so that they had a Māori identity and it was evident who they were. Robbie's sister has just had a baby and he thinks that their Māori ancestry and culture will be a big part of his upbringing. Robbie connects his sister's interest in nature and the environment with Māori cultural practices. Robbie wants to believe that the future generations will keep the stories alive. That is one of the reasons why Robbie is motivated to research soldiers within the whānau and to pass his findings on to his cousins.

Robbie thinks that his own passion for his Māori ancestry has been ignited by his own experiences with his whānau in the Hawkes Bay and the closer connection to another Māori community. However, he thinks that perhaps in other parts of the family, who haven't had the opportunity to learn from Māori, there is less desire to learn about their Māori ancestry. Robbie wonders what it was like for his Māori ancestors. He

understands that in parts of New Zealand at certain times Māori were treated as second class citizens. He wonders if his ancestors wanted to identify as Māori or whether they wanted to be white. He would love to be able to go back and ask his ancestors questions about their experience. In the past Robbie thinks that the Māori ancestry was either glamourised (eg. By making his ancestor a Māori princess) or it was ignored. And now it depends on the way you were brought up; which school you went to, were there Māori kids there, what was the focus of the schools, did they teach Te Reo, what sort of New Zealand history did they teach, was it Māori history or British colonial history. Robbie feels lucky with his upbringing and he feels that it has come together to reaffirm for him how important his Māori ancestry is to him. Sometimes it comes down to your family and sometimes to your surroundings, your upbringing, and he has had his fire stoked throughout his life.

Robbie mainly identifies himself as a New Zealander, a Kiwi, Pākehā with Māori ancestry. Robbie doesn't feel fully Māori. Robbie feels that he was brought up white; white skin, white schools. Robbie is very proud of his Māori ancestry but he doesn't feel qualified enough to be Māori. For example on the electoral rolls Robbie puts himself down as having Māori ancestry, but he doesn't feel he knows the issues enough that affect Māori to be on the Māori electoral roll. Robbie also feels that he doesn't know te reo enough. He feels that he would love to classify himself as Māori but he still classifies himself as Pākehā with important Māori ancestry.

## Mihi

Tēnā koutou i o tātou tini mate	Greetings to our many dead
Koutou kua wheturangitia	You who have been adorned as stars
Ki te korowai o Ranginui	In the heavens
Koutou kua wehe atu ki te pō	You who have departed to the night
Ki te tua o Te Arai	To beyond Te Arai
Ki te okiokinga	To the resting place
I o tatou tupuna	Of our ancestors
Haere, haere, haere.	Farewell, farewell, farewell.

I would also like to acknowledge my whānau who have shared their pūrākau here. Many whānau members have spent much time gathering histories and stories about our ancestors and their experiences. My whānau members have shared these stories and have added to their wealth with their own life experiences. I appreciate their generosity and the way they have been mindful of our tupuna, our whānau, and those who are to come in the future.

## Chapter 5: Data Analysis – Te-āta-tu Pūrākau

The pūrākau you have just read come from the whānau descended from Riria Te Auta, daughter of Te Auta from Purakanui, son of Taoke and grandson of Te Ruahikihiki of Whākamoā and Taumutu. Some of the pūrākau already existed, gathered in response to a call to find out about what had been hidden from view within our whānau. The other pūrākau have emerged from this research process, looking back across generations and speaking of present reconnection and future dreams.

It was important that the pūrākau appeared in full in the body of this research for several reasons. Firstly, it was important that the stories of my ancestors, and of my whānau members be respected and heard in full. I believe that I hold a great responsibility to treat these whānau stories with respect and honour. As with people we would like to honour, it is important to bring them towards the front and allow them space to express their thoughts and feelings. Throughout the data analysis and discussion sections of my research, I am making choices about what is represented from the pūrākau. It is my belief that before this occurs the stories themselves are the most important pieces to emerge from this research. It was also important that my whānau members be involved in editing the pūrākau and deciding what was represented, what was left out and the words that were used to tell their stories.

This practice also forms part of the framework of kaupapa Māori and is my second reason for retaining the pūrākau in full. This is an attempt to “privilege indigenous knowledges, voices, experiences, reflections, and analyses of their social, material, and spiritual conditions” (Rigney, 1999, p. 117). The attempt is made with the knowledge that the pūrākau reflect the impact of colonisation in their words, the experiences described and the stories themselves. The title given to the first pūrākau is “Our Māori Connection”, which suggests a picture of returning to this connection from the outside, rather than from a place of belonging. The word “Connection” describes both disconnection and reconnection. It speaks of tenuous connections that reach through generations, like a thread leading back to whānau, hapu and iwi.

Now comes the time to weave my own meaning around the words of my whānau’s pūrākau, as a researcher and as a whānau member. For this work, I am using the method developed by Hall (2015) for her doctoral thesis. Hall (2015) describes *Ata* as the early morning or the space between darkness and light. “It encompasses an understanding that something new is about to take shape” (p. 163). As suggested by Hall (2015) in her descriptions of the development of *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau*, I have immersed myself in the pūrākau of my whānau. Some of these pūrākau are new to me and some exist in my cellular memory, shared with my ancestors. As I have read and re-read them, different possible associations have emerged. Hall (2015) described the use of poutama as a “journeying process and often depicted in the tukutuku panels of the carved meeting house to resemble a stairway or steps” (p. 163). The next step in the process was to choose the excerpts with the subject of my dissertation in mind. I have taken parts of the pūrākau which represent the experience of this whānau, especially in terms of colonisation in Aotearoa. The different poutama have then provided further layers of analysis.

I have noticed that many of the pūrākau portray deeply moving events, but are often told without lingering on the emotional experiences of those portrayed. For poutama toru, I have chosen excerpts that describe emotions felt by the story teller. In cases when this is not clear from the story, I have chosen excerpts that elicit an emotional response from myself as I read them.

Following are the representation of the excerpts chosen using the *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* data analysis:

### **Te-āta-tu Analysis – General Structure**

<b>Excerpt</b>	
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	Represents the linear level of the basic structure of the story
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	The relational level, revealing relationships within the story
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	The emotional level, which conveys the feelings and subjective understanding of events. These can include feelings of

	coldness, alienation, acceptance and rejection.
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	The analytical level, where the researcher adds a layer of meaning to the story
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tahī</b>	<b>Loss</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>We have no way of knowing what sort of marriage Riria had but it seems she met another whaler called John Hunt and two years after James had been born she became pregnant to Hunt.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>This would have been serious as married women didn't usually stray and if they did the aggrieved husband was quite within his rights to pursue the man, kill him and reclaim his wife. Therefore, it is probable that the couple ran away together.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Riria is not mentioned in the census so the conjecture is that she may have died of anything from childbirth, measles or consumption. A shore whaling station would not have been a very healthy place to live. If Hunt were then left with a young child, he would not have any option but to take her back to her whānau at Purakanui and continue with his whaling.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Although it is not explicitly described, this pūrākau contains many experiences of grief. It describes John Hunt losing his wife, not long after they had run away together and had a child together. It also describes Kuini losing her mother at a young age and then losing her father as he leaves her with her whānau and returns to

	<p>work in the whaling station on the Banks Peninsula, a long way from her whānau home in Otakou.</p> <p>It also describes some of the Māori customs that were still being observed during this time of close connection between the new European arrivals in the Southern part of Te Wai Pounamu. John Hunt knew to return Kuini to her whānau, the most culturally appropriate action so far as her Māori whānau were concerned. This pūrākau also refers to one of the devastating impacts of colonisation for Ngāi Tahu during the nineteenth century. While it is not clear exactly how Riria died, it was possibly a contagious disease introduced to the Māori population and causing a huge number of deaths among Ngāi Tahu. In the time this happened to Riria, in the 1840s, death resulting from child birth and contagious disease would have been common (Dacker, 1994). I am struck by the simple and unemotional way that this pūrākau has been told by two of Ryrie’s ancestors. This lack of emotion in the writing could be explained by inter-generational transmission of grief and some of the symptoms of that, such as a dissociation from the horror and grief of loss at the time. I also wonder about the inter-generational transmission of qualities such as deep resilience and a survival instinct.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

<b>Excerpt Rua</b>	<b>Māori-Pākehā Relationships</b>
<b>Poutama Tahi</b>	<p><i>Kuini met a man named Joseph Bennett at the Longuet’s home and unfortunately became pregnant. Kuini probably went back to the Māori kaik at Purakanui to have her child as this was home to her and she would have the support of the women there. Caroline was born in 6 June 1862.</i></p>

<p><b>Poutama Rua</b></p>	<p><i>Her mother Kuini would have been about 20 years of age. She would have had a difficult time caring for a baby on her own and must have gone back to Riverton and come to some arrangement with Joseph Bennett. He was already married and living on Stewart Island with his wife, also Caroline. It appears that Bennett and his wife took baby Caroline either because Kuini was finding it difficult on her own or that was a condition of marrying Charlie Goodwillie whom she married three months after the birth, on 30 August 1862.</i></p>
<p><b>Poutama Toru</b></p>	<p><i>On 15 February 1873 Joseph drowned himself during temporary insanity according to the Invercargill death records. It could be that following Joseph's death Caroline was adopted into the Goodwillie family at this time.</i></p>
<p><b>Poutama Whā</b></p>	<p>We hear about of some of the informal arrangements that occurred within families at this time through this pūrākau. It also provides a picture of how assimilation into European culture occurred within my particular whānau. Caroline, the first child of Kuini to a Pākehā man, was adopted by him and his Pākehā wife at birth. She would have grown up in a Pākehā home, where her ancestors' customs and language were not observed. It is known that Caroline returned to the care of her mother when she was 11 and her father had passed away. It is also known that Caroline was a fluent Te Reo speaker so there must have remained possibilities for her to retain her language.</p> <p>Again this pūrākau speaks of grief within my whānau, impacting my ancestors when they were girls, losing parents, and moving to live with new whānau configurations. I wonder about the experience of being the Other and not belonging, and whether this sense has been transmitted inter-generationally.</p>

<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.
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<b>Excerpt Toru</b>	
<b>“A Māori cloak”</b>	
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>In 1998 Joan began to get really interested in her family history ... She also found stumbling blocks with family members who did not like learning about the Māori ancestry.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Joan treaded carefully with those family members but continued on finding about their Māori connection. One day Joan was talking to her sister Robin who said “oh I’ve got a Māori cloak in a plastic bag up in my wardrobe”. It had been passed down through the eldest boy in the family and onto Joan’s twin brother.  Joan wanted to organise passing the cloak back to the local marae.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>She found an email address for the runaka in Riverton. She sent them an email explaining who she was and what the story was. Joan heard later that there were two or three women in the office and the email had arrived towards the end of the day. When the email came through they were dancing around the office, so excited about it.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	The process of assimilation is evident in the shame experienced by certain whānau members within this pūrākau, about their Māori ancestry. Why was it so important to them to deny their cultural heritage? I have not been able to interview any whānau members who feel this sense of embarrassment or shame. Another whānau pūrākau describes how Caroline Bennet, whose skin was paler than her classmates, was pointed out by a visiting government education official, saying to the teacher to “look after that one”, because of her pale skin. The privileging of white skin is

	<p>part of the story that explains how some whānau members continue to feel the embarrassment in connection with their Māoriness.</p> <p>The story also speaks of the joy of return and reconnection that has occurred and a treasuring of what was previously ignored or misused. This precious korowai, which was once used by whānau members as children to dress up in and play “Māori wars”, is now in pride of place at Takutai o te Titi marae, to be treasured by the greater rūnaka.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

<b>Excerpt Whā</b>	<b>Returning the korowai</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Joan said that she was going to return the cloak and would be coming down to do that at the marae.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Joan got as many family members as possible to come out one evening and the marae had people there ...</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>... and it was very moving, very lovely. There were a lot of tears from the Māori women just examining it and lots of lovely photos. Joan’s daughter Anna was at university at the time and she had very basic Māori so she did the response. Apparently it wasn’t as well as they would have done it but she made the effort and they appreciated that. So it was very special.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>This small section of pūrākau is rich with experience for those involved. It speaks of Joan’s intuitive sense that it was important for herself and possibly her ancestors, to deliver the korowai to the marae in person, kanohi ki te kanohi. Even though the whānau have strongly assimilated into Pākehā culture, they retain an understanding of the importance of cultural practice. It is also possible that te ao Māori is now</p>

	<p>more accessible within Pākehā culture and these cultural practices are becoming part of the way Pākehā live their lives. The story of Anna not speaking Te Reo as well as the people from the marae, illustrates the grief of loss and disconnection to language, something that has been shared by many Māori due to colonisation.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

<b>Excerpt Rima</b>	<b>Heartbreak and shame</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<p><i>A story that Joan finds heart breaking was about when her great grandparents William, who was Pākehā, and Caroline, who was Māori first got married. When they had their first two or three children, they would drive around to the homestead to see William’s mother and sisters.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<p><i>When they pulled up outside his mother and sisters would come out to see who it was and then disappear inside.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<p><i>They didn’t invite the children in and Joan imagines that it must have been really hard.</i></p> <p><i>Joan has also met family members who are ashamed of their Māori ancestry which she does not understand. These family members do not talk about their Māori ancestor, of if they do, they say that she was a princess.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>The pūrākau illustrates how the colonial attitude towards the “natives” had its openly racist aspects. The shame of being denigrated for your race and culture explains some of the desire to assimilate, to be like the settler. For my whānau, it resulted in a disavowal of their Māori heritage. When a complete disavowal did not occur, their Māori “princess” was given a higher status in order to make it more palatable. Not only was the ability to express their culture in terms of</p>

	language and practices suppressed, but the knowledge of it even existing was suppressed.
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Ono</b>	<b>Cultural dilemma</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>She looked into registering with Ngāi Tahu. Joan's aunt did a preliminary investigation and just scribbled it on a piece of paper. So Joan wrote to Ngāi Tahu explaining this and she got a letter back saying "we know exactly who you are" which Joan thought was great.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>And now she feels pleased she's done it and her grandchildren are now linked in as well. She likes to see how the younger generations approach it with no stigma or embarrassment.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>But still she felt a real dilemma about registering. For a long time, Joan had a feeling of not warranting it. Joan felt that she hadn't been brought up Māori and therefore felt she couldn't register as Ngāi Tahu. But as she worked through the whole process with her family history she felt that she was as entitled as anyone.  Joan talks openly about her Māori blood now as she is proud of it.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	We can read here the pain of disconnection faced by many mixed descent people in Aotearoa. There is a sense of somehow not being entitled to call yourself Māori or Ngāi Tahu. There is a sense that the shame felt about being too Māori during the time of assimilatory policies has been reversed and is now experienced as not being Māori enough. This shame can become a barrier to reconnecting with Māori ancestry and it feels positive for this whānau member that she has been able to work through this internal process to gain a

	sense of her own entitlement to call herself Ngāi Tahu. It seems that researching her own whānau history has helped with this internal process of cultural identification.
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Whitu</b> “... welcomed her with open arms ...”	
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Joan’s daughter Anna has reconnected to the marae through Joan. Joan gave her all the information and Anna has made the effort to go along to the marae.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>They knew who she was and they welcomed her with open arms. Anna is also picking up things in te reo to be able to use in her conversations. ... There is a trust involved with keeping this island and one of the trustees had a connection with a Goodwillie woman, a Māori relation. So there were further connections for Anna there.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>There is a hopeful feeling with a yet younger generation within my whānau of the desire and ability to reconnect with whānau and runaka connections in a very real way. Rather than it being an academic process, this young woman is starting to have the lived experience of connecting with the marae.</p> <p>Many mixed descent Māori in Aotearoa are doing this in different ways. With the diaspora of Māori from their turangawaewae, often in urban drift within Aotearoa, many mixed descent people have become disconnected from their marae. With reconnection comes the pain of coming face to face with the loss that has gone before.</p>

<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.
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<b>Excerpt Waru</b>	<b>Te Reo</b>
<b>Poutama Tahi</b>	<i>By chance, Alan’s family lived close to Te Aute College, a prestigious Māori boy’s secondary school. Alan was given the opportunity to attend Te Aute College from the fifth form.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>... he was exposed to the rhythms and pronunciation of Māori at school. With the other boys there, Alan occasionally spoke a form of “pigeon Māori” which included slang words and Māori terms. Alan developed an ear for the language during that time at Te Aute ... he was fortunate to receive tuition from John Taiapa (of Tuhoe).</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Unfortunately, because he had previously studied French, he studied that in his School Certificate year, rather than Māori at Te Aute. He feels that he very likely would have been a fluent Māori speaker by now if he had taken it as a subject at school. ... It has proved to be an elusive ambition, and forty years later Alan is still not fully fluent!</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>This pūrākau reminds me of the importance of te reo to a culture. A deeper examination of this subject matter is missing from my literature review but was a large part of the pūrākau of two of my whānau members. Reconnecting with the ancestry and developing a passion for te reo were closely linked for two of my whānau members. It cannot be underestimated how important te reo is to the process of decolonisation.</p> <p>There is suggestion of some of the difficulties Māori face in attempts to regain their language. Crisp (2005) describes one of the barriers of Māori parents to learning Te Reo is their unrealistic expectations on themselves. “I am Māori so I</p>

	<p>should know this” (Chrisp, 2005). I also wonder whether some mixed descent people can experience the shame of not being fully Māori, which may also be a barrier to them learning te reo. In my own te reo lessons I am often referred to as Pākehā by my Māori classmates and my sense of being an outsider impacts on my learning.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

<b>Excerpt Iwa</b>	<b>Opportunity for connection and learning</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<p><i>Alan and his family lived three doors down from the local Pukehou marae.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<p><i>A kaumatua (elder) on the marae committee (himself a Te Aute Old Boy) said to Alan, “you’re a Te Aute old boy, you should be down here learning how to handle yourself on the marae!” This mentor for Alan encouraged him to sit on the paepae and assist with whāikorero at tangi and other events at the marae.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<p><i>So Alan did this as he took this invitation as a compliment and a real opportunity to strengthen his reo.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>This is a heart warming story of how a mentor can provide the invitation to reconnection for someone. Here the opportunity for Alan has also led to wider repercussions for his whānau. Alan has been able to learn from his mentor and then pass his knowledge onto his tamariki and mokopuna. This opportunity brought Alan out from his classroom experience of learning te reo and gave him a lived experience of using it on the marae in real occasions of tangi and other events. Perhaps these experiences have also given Alan a greater sense of his own identity as Māori.</p>

<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.
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<b>Excerpt Tekau</b>	
<b>“... source of embarrassment”</b>	
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Even though (as Alan discovered later) his father was aware of his Māori ancestry it was not talked about in Alan’s family while he was growing up.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Alan thinks that it may have been a source of embarrassment in his family that there was a “Māori in the closet”. Alan thinks there was a collective position on the part of his father’s generation of “let’s not go there” when it came to matters concerns their Māori ancestry.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Her mother, Alan’s aunt, later reprimanded him telling him that he had “spoilt” her Christmas [by telling his cousin about her Māori ancestry]. Alan responded to her “I’m sorry to hear that Auntie but I don’t think it’s something to be ashamed of anyway”. Alan told his aunt that it was quite the opposite feeling for him, that it was something to be enjoyed and celebrated. Alan assumes that the paradigm in New Zealand at that time would still have been prejudiced in some ways and saw his family’s denial as a form of passive prejudice, albeit an understandable one for the time.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Alan has explored some of the prejudice faced in his own family and understands this as a symptom of the socio-cultural situation in Aotearoa earlier in the 20th century. The different experiences and feelings of whānau members are a good metaphor of what happens within the individual psyche when we think of hybrid or mixed race identities in Aotearoa. The coloniser and colonised can both exist within the individual. It is easier to hide those parts of ourselves away, rather than face the complex richness of hybrid

	identities. I believe that Alan has been able to achieve a sense of celebration of those different parts of his hybrid identity, as suggested by Bell (2014).
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma tahi</b>	<b>Professional Identity</b>
<b>Poutama Tahi</b>	<i>Around 2007, Alan assisted with the formation of, and became a founding member of, Nga Aho, a collective of Māori landscape design professionals including (but not restricted to) architects, engineers, planners, landscape architects, artists, graphic designers and carvers.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Their mandate is to promote the recognition and incorporation of Māori values and protocols in the practice of their respective professions, to provide opportunities for Māori in their respective professions and to work collectively to see more things Māori in public places in particular. Alan and his wife recently travelled for four and a half months through the Americas and wherever they went Alan was interested in making contact with indigenous groups to see what they were doing in different places.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Alan's professional passions coincided with learning about his own family's Māori ancestry.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Again, Alan's sense of identity with his Māori ancestry has enabled him to develop an integrated approach towards te ao Māori within his working career. Even though as a child Alan was not fully aware of his own whānau history and Māori ancestry, he was exposed to many aspects of te ao Māori. This has provided him with the ability to live in a more integrated way.

	Often those from mixed descent whānau have been described in terms of a clash of those cultures, even embodied as internal divisions (Bolatagici, 2007). However, it seems that Alan’s early life experiences have provided the opportunities for internal integration, which has manifested itself with his lifelong interest in indigenous ways of living.
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma rua</b>	<b>Korowai</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>In 2013 there was an International Conference of Landscape Architects in Auckland, of the International Federation of Landscape Architects. This was to be their World Congress and Alan was given the role of welcoming the visitors to Auckland on behalf of the NZILA at the formal pōwhiri.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Alan thought that it would be good to wear the korowai at that occasion as he felt that the korowai represented the mana of his ancestors and that wearing it on this occasion would add to that mana.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Alan wore the korowai on that occasion and found it both an emboldening and calming experience. He felt that the wearing of the korowai took him into another zone of being. The words of his whāikorero flowed as never before or since. It was a truly unforgettable experience. At the end of the pōwhiri, Alan returned the fragile taonga (treasure) to its protective wrapping and assumed his normal persona.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Alan’s description of his experience while wearing the korowai of his ancestors speaks of the mana and wairua held within this taonga. Alan was able to gain a felt sense of his ancestors as they surrounded him in his role at the pōwhiri.

	When the existence of Alan’s ancestors was denied it created a psychic and spiritual rupture within this whānau. With the korowai having been found hidden away in a cupboard, then returned to its turangawaewae and treasured by whānau and runaka members, its mana has been strengthened. Alan was able to feel this mana wrapped around him in his role at the conference, both in physical and spiritual form, which elevated his own mana.
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma toru “... you’re one of us...”</b>	
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>When Alan learnt about his Māori ancestry, a Kai Tahu friend who lived nearby encouraged him to get onto the Kai Tahu roll. However, he felt a little reluctant as Kai Tahu had received their Treaty settlement and he was concerned that his registering might be seen as a way of staking a “Johnny-come-lately” claim for a share of the putea (funds).</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Kai Tahu told him that “if you whākapapa back to Kai Tahu you’re one of us and that is that”.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Alan feels pleased about registering with Kai Tahu and he wants to learn more about his iwi now that he is semi-retired and has more time. Alan has an ambition to visit all 19 marae in the Kai Tahu rohe. If possible, Alan would also like to offer his skills in landscape architecture to Kai Tahu.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Here an experience is shared by whānau members. Both Joan and Alan question their entitlement to claim their identity as Ngāi Tahu and worry about how their intentions might be viewed by both Maori and Pākehā. They both experienced a joy at being welcomed by Ngāi Tahu as if this

	<p>welcoming has further affirmed their cultural identity. To be seen by others as you cautiously view yourself can be a deeply affirming experience. This is especially poignant for mixed descent people in Aotearoa who have lighter skin tones.</p> <p>One of the concerns related to hybrid identity is the possibility that stereotypically white skinned mixed descent people may enjoy the spoils of indigenous identity without experiencing the more negative experiences of poverty and racism (Bell, 2014). This is an uncomfortable duality of experience for many white skinned mixed descent people in Aotearoa. They may experience the privileges awarded to Pākehā within mainstream society, but also a longing and grief about their own ancestry and the losses that have occurred in their own whānau.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma whā</b>	<b>Hybrid Identity</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<p><i>Alan says that he doesn't feel exclusively Māori, although he doesn't think that it is about percentages. So Alan thinks of himself as a New Zealander of Māori descent, and also of Scottish and English descent.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<p><i>There are parts of him that strongly empathise with his Māori Whakapapa and he finds it interesting how that has got stronger the older he has got. Many of his happiest and most satisfying times Alan recalls as having been in Māori settings – somehow it makes him feel complete.</i></p>

	<i>... he certainly doesn't put his Māori part of himself to one side and think that it's not to be mentioned. Alan is proud of all the cultures that he is descended from ...</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>This pūrākau describes an integration process that continues to occur for Alan. Alan has grown up in a strong Māori community, albeit seen as Pākehā. He attended a Māori college where he became familiar with the rhythms of te reo. He sought out te reo further in his life, both through lessons and at his local marae. He learnt about this Māori ancestry, visiting his marae and meeting wider whānau members to learn about the history of his ancestors. Alan also integrated his passion for things indigenous to his working life, developing practices based on te ao Māori and helping to support other Māori practitioners and artists. Alan continues to support his tamariki and mokopuna to learn Te Reo and Māori tikanga practices.</p> <p>These life experiences all support his sense of integration and peace with his identity. It seems that since Alan's Māori Whakapapa feels more integrated, he can also feel pride in the other cultures that he comes from, such as his Scottish and English heritage.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma rima</b>	<b>Igniting a passion for Te Reo</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Robbie didn't grow up aware of his Māori ancestry. His first realisations about the Māori connections were at his grandmother's tangi.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Robbie's grandmother, Mothy to her family (short for Grandmother), was a teacher in the Hawke's Bay working in</i>

	<i>Māori communities for most of her life. So when she died she was given the honour of a tangi as well as a Pākehā funeral. Robbie doesn't remember anything about her church funeral, but the tangi is very strong in his mind.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>The key thing that Robbie remembers is hearing his aunt Heather speaking Māori at the tangi. This ignited in Robbie a passion to learn Te Reo and to know tikanga Māori and his own Māori ancestry. This was a key moment for Robbie when he was eight years old.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>Robbie's memory of experiencing the tangi, in other words, being surrounded by te ao Māori and hearing a whānau member speaking te reo, kindled an interest for Robbie. In whākapapa terms it is understandable that Robbie's ancestors live in him and the exposure to this world has possibly evoked an awakening in Robbie that was lying dormant, waiting to be activated.</p> <p>Again, it is interesting that Robbie's way of expressing this passion is a desire to learn Te Reo. Language is a way of inhabiting a landscape more fully and there is an unconscious realisation that the key to a reconnection with what has been lost will require a new/old language to be learnt.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma ono</b>	<b>Reconnection to his marae</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Robbie visited his marae Te Takutai o te Tiitii last year.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Before then he had been introducing himself with his maunga and awa based in Johnsonville where he had grown up. But he likes that he now has a specific maunga, awa and marae that he can say this is where my Māori ancestors came from.</i>

<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Robbie still has a very strong connection to Johnsonville and still thinks of it as his turangawaewae, his place of belonging. But he now has a connection to where his ancestors have come from.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>In this story we hear of another fundamental aspect of life in te ao Māori, that of whenua or land. While Robbie feels a special connection to where he has grown up, he now has deeper understanding a pull towards the place where his ancestors are from.</p> <p>When we think of colonisation in Aotearoa, two of the griefs experienced that come to mind are the loss of land and of language. Many Māori have become disconnected from their ancestral homes and marae. Through being able to visit his marae Robbie has been able to begin the process of integration, giving himself a more felt experience of his whākapapa.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

Excerpt Tekau ma whitu	Ancestors
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Robbie did a lot of research into the family history of young men who went to World War 1 at Gallipoli and other battle areas.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<p><i>Within Robbie's extended whānau in Southland there was a family who sent five sons to the war, and four of them were killed, two at Gallipoli and two in France. Robbie had found as many photos of his ancestors as he could and put them on their graves and memorial site names. It was very important to Robbie to put faces to their names.</i></p>

<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Robbie found it a privilege to be at Gallipoli but it was very busy and he felt a desire to be more quiet visiting his ancestors at their graves and memorial sites.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>I think that this pūrākau shows how Robbie intuitively carries out tikanga Māori, with his wish to pay his respect and to identify his ancestors who were killed during World War 1. Robbie’s practice here reminds me of photos of ancestors being placed on the walls of the whāre tupuna on many marae throughout Aotearoa.</p> <p>The story also describes Robbie’s wish to be quiet while visiting his ancestors, and this again brings forth the sense of connection that Robbie feels. Māori have been described as moving into their future with their back to the front while facing the past. Robbie’s pūrākau evokes this image and suggests his Māori way of being in an instinctual way.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma waru</b>	<b>Future generations</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Robbie doesn’t have children but if he did, their Māori ancestry would be an important part of their upbringing.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<p><i>He would probably give them a Māori name so that they had a Māori identity and it was evident who they were. Robbie connects his sister’s interest in nature and the environment with Māori cultural practices.</i></p>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Robbie wants to believe that the future generations will keep the stories alive. That is one of the reasons why</i>

	<i>Robbie is doing the research in soldiers within the whānau; to pass it on to his cousins.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	<p>This pūrākau gives voice to issues of identity and describes different ways in which we claim our identity, through a name or interest and connection to the land. Another way that identity can be found is through stories. These stories or pūrākau can come to us from our ancestors and be kept alive within whānau. It is a way that people recognise themselves and make sense of their world.</p> <p>Robbie recognises the importance of his cultural identity and wishes to pass this onto those that follow him. It has resonance with one of the wishes that emerged from the remembrances after the two world wars. The whākatau, “Lest we Forget”, is a call to remember the soldiers who died as part of these wars. In the same way, it seems that there is work being done by whānau members to reconnect with their ancestors and their culture, and there this is a wish that this thread back to the ancestral home is not again lost.</p>
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Tekau ma iwa</b>	<b>Passion for his ancestry</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>In the past Robbie thinks that the Māori ancestry was either glamourized (e.g. By making his ancestor a Māori princess) or it was ignored. And now it depends on the way you were brought up; which school you went to, were there Māori kids there, what was the focus of the schools, did they teach Te Reo, what sort of New</i>

	<i>Zealand history did they teach, was it Māori history or British colonial history.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	<i>Robbie thinks that his own passion for his Māori ancestry has been ignited by his own experiences with his whānau in the Hawkes Bay and the closer connection to another Māori community. Robbie wonders what it was like for his Māori ancestors. He understands that in parts of New Zealand at certain times Māori were treated as second class citizens. So he wonders if his ancestors wanted to identify as Māori or whether they wanted to be white. He would love to be able to go back and ask his ancestors questions about their experience.</i>
<b>Poutama Toru</b>	<i>Robbie feels lucky with his upbringing and he feels that it has come together to reaffirm for him how important his Māori ancestry is to him. Sometimes it comes down to your family and sometimes to your surroundings, your upbringing, and he has had his fire stoked throughout his life.</i>
<b>Poutama Whā</b>	Like his uncle Alan, Robbie has been provided with a nurturing environment akin to the intention behind kohanga reo, to create nests of learning, enabling him to connect with his Māori self at school, in his studies, and within his whānau.
<b>Poutama Rima</b>	This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.

<b>Excerpt Rua tekau</b>	<b>Not “properly Māori”</b>
<b>Poutama Tahī</b>	<i>Robbie mainly identifies himself as a New Zealand, a Kiwi, Pākehā with Māori ancestry.</i>
<b>Poutama Rua</b>	

<p><b>Poutama Toru</b></p>	<p><i>Robbie doesn't feel properly Māori, fully Māori to all intents and purposes. Robbie feels that he was brought up white; white skin, white schools. Robbie is very proud of his Māori ancestry but he doesn't feel qualified enough to be Māori. ... Robbie also feels that he doesn't know Te Reo enough. He feels that he would love to classify himself as Māori but he still classifies himself as Pākehā with important Māori ancestry.</i></p>
<p><b>Poutama Whā</b></p>	<p>There is a sadness to this pūrākau, with Robbie's feeling of not being "properly" Māori. While Robbie is privileged in his ability to be able to identify as he himself wishes, there is still a sense of loss. In a way Robbie isn't able to identify as he fully wishes, by not feeling fully Māori because of his 'white skin'. This is a clash of identity which is shared by many Māori in Aotearoa and can be a source of shame or grief for many. It seems that the integration process that many of these pūrākau represent, is also a process of decolonisation. As whānau feel connection with their Pākehā/Tauīwi and Maori selves, the sense of alienation and disintegration lessens. As space within society in Aotearoa is claimed for te ao Māori, so this space can be claimed and nourished within the psyche of whānau.</p>
<p><b>Poutama Rima</b></p>	<p>This is a space left for the reader to reflect on their own experience with the pūrākau. It also acknowledges the connection we all experience through our wairua.</p>

## Summary

This chapter provided a description of the Te-āta-tu Pūrākau analysis process. It then presented the data, utilising the five different poutama of analysis. Twenty excerpts were chosen from the pūrākau, each representing particular aspects of how my whānau have been impacted by colonisation. The excerpts also illustrate the process of decolonisation occurring within my whānau.

## Chapter 6: Discussion

### He tītī me te waihoka pōhutukawa

Ka taki te tītī  
ka taki hoki ahau  
He tītīhākorekore ko roko nei  
He tohu, he tohu  
ko taki te pō  
He taki te taea te karo

He taki, he kupu  
Whākaahua i te ao ki tua  
I te kapika o karu  
He taki miri toka  
He oro papaki tai  
O wawata, o mahara, o manawa

Parea kā taero aukati tai  
kia waipuke ai a waikamo  
ki kā riu i whāoa, i whākairotia  
E tō rikawhero e  
He raki paruhi  
te mata whenua nei

Ko tō tō rā  
Ko tō tō rā  
Ehara tēnei i te rā haka noa  
Ko tōia iho rā  
Ki tōna rua whenua  
Te whiti mai anō

I te takiritaka o te ata  
waraki tou kā manu korihi  
he mōteatea, he maioha  
E taki ana te parakēki  
Mā wai rā e whākaō  
I ō puna ōhākī?

E te ōī, e te manutāikōo  
Whāia ō manutai e  
Hotu noa te moana,

### Mutton birds and red wine

The tītī cries  
and so do I  
I've heard the robin's call  
a sign, a sign  
the night has sung  
the call can't be ignored

a cry, a word  
that animates a world beyond  
the close of eye  
a cry that strokes rocks  
a sound that slaps tides  
of hopes, of thoughts, of desires

clear all that blocks the surging floods  
so the eyes' tears may overflow  
to the valleys chiselled and engraved  
at your chiefly hand  
and what a fine full face tattoo  
that now adorns our land

your sun has set  
your sun has set  
and this is no ordinary sun  
it has been dragged down  
to its earthly den  
and it will not shine again

yet when dawn breaks  
the morning birds still sing  
verse upon verse, affectionately cast  
the spirit's voice is calling  
but who is there to reply  
to your parting words?

oh black petrel, our sentinel bird  
follow your ocean flock  
the sea can but heave

Hotu noa te manawa i te mōteatea nei Waiho mā karu, mā rehu Tō roko e kawē nei	the heart can but sob as it sings its laments leave behind your waves and spray to carry forth your fame
Tukuna te waihoka o Pōhutukawa Ki ōna huanui kāika e Anō te reka, te hūnene Kai te kauae te hinu o tītī rau Mariki kau noa e Ki te au o mahara e	let flow the nectar of pōhutukawa on the roads it knows so well how sweet, how luscious is the taste the fat of a hundred tītī upon your chin drips effortlessly down to the waters of memory
Au moana, au kōrero Ehara i te haka he au noa Kai te kahuraki o Takaroa Kia au tō moeka roa Ki te poho o ō tūpuna Ko taki rā Ko taki rā Ko taki rā te pō	a sea current, a haze of words this is no ordinary tide oh noble jewel of Takaroa rest now in your endless sleep at the breast of your ancestors it has cried it has cried the night has sung its call.

Hana O'Regan (2007)

In this chapter the themes that have emerged from the pūrākau will be described and explored further. This passage of writing will also include conclusions from the research, the limitations of this research and recommendations for further research.

From the twenty excerpts chosen from the pūrākau as part of the analysis, several themes appeared in the different stories. These themes ran through the stories of our ancestors, and my whānau members. I have merged themes where repetition and similarities have occurred. I have chosen seven main tāhū (themes) from the data and have chosen to title them:

1. Te āta pō (The deep night) - Grief and Loss
2. Te wheiao (Liminal space) - Inter-marriage and Assimilation
3. Te āta kura (The red dawn) - Denial and Shame
4. Te āta tu (Day break) - Te Reo
5. Ka awatea (Daylight) - Reconnection
6. Ki te whaiao (Towards the light) - Future Generations

## 7. Te ao mārama (The world of light) - Hybrid Identity

### **Tāhū (Themes)**

#### **Te āta pō: Grief and Loss**

A recurrent motif that appears in this research is that of grief and loss. The pūrākau told within my whānau speak in a matter of fact way about deep loss; early childhood loss of the mother. This pragmatic approach may hide an intergenerational transmission of trauma, and a disassociation from the pain of this loss. This loss is paralleled with the loss of culture and language, the mother tongue. These actual losses have a devastating impact on the psyche of those experiencing them. It is a trauma, which carries through the generations. This trauma can manifest in different responses: carrying trauma, anger, impaired bonding, survivor guilt, and somatic symptoms (Pihama, et al., 2014).

I have noted a dissociation from the difficult feelings for my own whānau in the rupture that occurred when they lost their Māori connection. There are many possible impacts that further generations live with related to this rupture and the losses experienced. Woodard (2008) speaks of the alienation that occurs when the bond is disrupted between Indigenous Peoples and their land. “The alienation from the land and ecology which colonisation heralded also meant alienation for Indigenous Peoples from their indigenous self” (p. 21).

While this grief has not been fully acknowledged within this whānau, it appears within their stories. This alienation from their indigenous selves has been a devastating blow of colonisation for this whānau. The pain of it seems too difficult to be felt and the identification with their assimilated Pākehā selves is a strong protection against the pain of loss.

#### **Te wheiao: Inter-marriage and Assimilation**

The pūrākau of my whānau often returns to the marriages that have been such a defining aspect of its cultural history. It is the Māori women’s stories that have captured the imagination of many whānau members and have been gathered and held within my whānau, possibly handed down in a matrilineal line. The pūrākau within this whānau imagine their ancestor’s marriages. It is interesting to listen to these pūrākau

with the ears informed by current research about the process of colonisation for Māori at this time in southern Aotearoa. And while we do this it is also important to remember that these pūrākau have been written down in the last part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by whānau members who already identify as Pākehā within their whānau and are themselves discovering their “hidden” Māori ancestors.

The pūrākau describes the motivation for the whaler to set up home with a “Māori maiden”. It does not describe the motivation of the “Māori maiden” or her whānau. Dacker’s academic research suggests the possibility that Riria’s marriage may have been planned for by her whānau. The chiefs of her hapū may have arranged her marriage to Weevil in the hope of gaining greater resistance to the introduced diseases for her tamariki and to strengthen the health of her people (Dacker, 1994).

Many of the alliances and marriages of my Māori ancestors and the Pākehā men they met, suggest a certain sense of autonomy by the women involved. Riria appears to have made a decision regarding a new choice of partner. Kuini also takes a strong role with her daughter, returning her to stay with whānau during her pregnancy to William. This supports Wanhalla’s assertion that “... an examination of interracial marriage amongst Ngāi Tahu offers an opportunity to ‘acknowledge Māori women’s agency in cultural encounters’ and to explore the multiplicity of encounter narratives in southern New Zealand” (Wanhalla, 2007, p. 807).

It widens the texture of the stories told about assimilation during this period within Aotearoa. Much has been written about the assimilatory policies which took many forms – intermarriage, forced child removal the privatisation of indigenous lands, the inability to speak te reo at school and the later policy of urbanisation amongst other forms (Bell, 2014). These policies were enforced through the passing of such legislation as the Native Land Act 1862 and the Native Schools Act 1867.

This research continues to contribute to the richness of voices and experiences of this time. “Tracing intermarriage patterns in New Zealand is the first stage in developing literature that highlights the diversity of early communities in this country, while also pointing to the complex ways in which families were formed in our colonial past, that were not just European or Māori, but both” (Wanhalla, 2007, p. 808).

### **Te āta kura: Denial and Shame**

A strong theme that runs through the pūrākau of whānau members is the invisibility of their Māori ancestors until quite recently. There are also tales of whānau members who find the presence of Māori ancestors something to still be embarrassed or distressed about. There is a care shown for these whānau members and a desire to respect their distress. It seems that this is an area of pain for my whānau that is not yet able to be thought about fully.

There are painful stories told throughout the whānau of Caroline Bennet, being shunned by her mother and sisters-in-law because of her ethnicity. Aunts and uncles remember being teased at school about being Māori. It is hardly surprising that an association grew strongly in the minds of whānau members that it was preferable to be white and that their Māori parts were a source of shame. This shame seems to allow for a sort of cultural amnesia about their whakapapa within my whānau. Alan kindly describes this denial as:

*a form of passive prejudice, albeit an understandable one for the time*

This denial suggests attempts to create an external division between our Pākehā and Māori selves. In the case of some mixed-descent people in this whānau, this schism has resulted in a turning away from their Indigenous selves.

Now, there is a sense of another form of shame existing within whānau members, manifested as a hesitancy or inadequacy in claiming their Māori identity. It is not physically obvious to others that these whānau members are Māori. This requires a claiming of something, of their hybrid identity.

### **Te āta tu: Te Reo**

Two of the whānau members have spent much time in their lives learning te reo, something they have felt to be a vital part of reconnecting with the Māori part of themselves. This is an experience I share with these whānau members, as I have also taken several classes at different periods of my life to learn te reo. As with both of my whānau members, I acknowledge that I have not yet achieved my goal of becoming a fluent te reo speaker. Alan and Robbie both express regret at not being fluent speakers, while also acknowledging that te reo was something that sparked their passion and led

them back towards their own ancestry. It is perhaps through the re-learning of lost language that the process of decolonisation can occur. The struggle that many te reo learners face also reflects the barriers introduced by colonisation. As Bell (2014) notes, “we are all significantly the products of our cultural and political histories” (p. 5). These political steps taken generations ago, can ripple ahead in the internal world of those future generations.

My great-grandmother was a fluent te reo speaker, learnt from her mother. Conversely my mother grew up without any knowledge that she was Māori, which illustrates how quickly te reo was lost in my whānau, in a time when governmental assimilatory policies were at their strongest in Aotearoa. “In the early years of contact, European sealers, whalers and settlers had to speak te reo Māori for their survival, because they were totally dependent on trade with Māori. As the number of settlers increased, the balance of power changed and te reo Māori went into a sure but steady decline” (Tipa, 2007, p. 27). The power imbalance that occurred also resulted in damaging government policy, which caused further decline in Te Reo speaking. The Native Schools Act 1867 provided funding for primary schools in Māori communities. The Act required that all Māori children be taught in these schools only speaking English. The policy was seen as a way for English to take hold within Māori communities (The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2016).

Te reo is one of the ways that whānau members are presently finding their pathway back to te ao Māori.

### **Ka awatea: Reconnection**

While the sadness of loss can be felt in the pūrākau, there is also a sense of passion and gratitude for experiences of reconnection.

There is less in the literature about the joy of reconnection. This is a tenuous process when your whānau have disavowed their connection to their Māori ancestors, and perhaps for many whānau in Southern Aotearoa this process is happening in an organic way. Many mixed-descent people have registered as being of Ngāi Tahu descent and within the Ōraka-Aparima Runaka, many descendants of people from this runaka are registering and visiting the marae. The process can stir many of the feelings

associated with the loss of culture – shame, fear, and grief. In the process of reconnecting, whānau are confronted by their lack of understanding about how to reconnect, e.g. Pōwhiri protocol and language limitations.

As Hall (1990) points out, in the process of reconnecting, we find our identities in relation to ancestral experiences, and in this we can gain a felt understanding of colonisation. So decolonisation must in itself bring a greater understanding of the experience of being colonised:

Far from being grounded in a mere “recovery” of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to ‘the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past ... It is only from this ... position that we can properly understand the traumatic character of the “the colonial experience (p. 233).

### **Ki te whaiao: Future Generations**

It seems that many members of my whānau feel increasingly more connected with the Māori parts of themselves and with their Māori history and place in the world. There is a sense of the necessity to pass this sense on to future generations and for this mahi to continue.

Future generations of mixed-descent people living in Aotearoa continue to face different realities. There is a sense of optimism within my whānau’s stories about the future generations; a connection to Te Reo, to nature and the land. The use of pūrākau in this research has many goals, including the opportunity to pass these stories onto future generations, thus reconnecting with traditional reasons for pūrākau. “Pūrākau is a genre of Māori literature [in an oral tradition] that was a regular feature of daily life, closely connected with ako as a tool for teaching and learning” (Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005, p. 12).

### **Te Ao Mārama: Hybrid Identity**

There is no doubt that many whānau members of this Southland whānau are now very proud of the Māori part of themselves. It is also interesting how they choose to identify themselves. These voices add to the experiences described in much writing

about hybrid identity. This research has sought to move away from the position of ethnic categorisation, as Alan describes as “percentages”. Alan’s experiences are consistent with Moeke-Maxwell’s (2005) thinking with respect to assimilated identity and colonized identity. This research represents a different picture of mixed-descent people’s inner worlds and outer experience, that has moved forward from the colonial representation of mixed-descent people.

Both Alan and Robbie are clear that they are proud of their Māori ancestry and yet equally proud of their Scottish ancestry. This suggests that these whānau members have been able to celebrate the differences between the cultures that exist within them. As Moeke-Maxwell points out, the more inclusive idea of hybridity “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” (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 503).

The topic of identity poses many challenges and opportunities for healing in Aotearoa, especially with our history of colonisation. Colonisation has impacted Māori in many ways, including the identity of an indigenous self. The superimposition of Western notions of self over the indigenous ‘selves’ has had devastation impacts on Māori in Aotearoa (Woodard, 2008).

The Māori nationalist movement invoked specific essential elements of Māori identity “via whakapapa/genealogy, whenua/land, Te Reo Māori/Māori language, and wairuatanga/spirituality” and then “challenged the Government to reinvoke the Treaty of Waitangi as the nation’s founding document” (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005 , p. 500). This has been an important strategy for Māori in ensuring the survival of te ao Māori and to invoke tino rangatiratanga.

My Southland whānau’s experience of identity has been explored throughout the pūrākau told here. A common experience of difficulty in claiming our Māori identity runs through the experience of whānau members.

I have also struggled with my identity as a Māori woman in Aotearoa, and this struggle was a large part of my personal motivation for choosing this dissertation topic. As with many internal challenges, the very thing that has motivated my interest in this

subject has been the source of the majority of pain and barriers during the process of carrying out this research. There has been a great deal of writing about internal division experienced by mixed-descent peoples. Bolatagici (2007) writes about the negative perceptions of “mixed race” people as “the embodiment of an inherent internal division and has been perpetuated in literature and cinema through the stereotyped ‘tragic mulatto’ narrative” (p. 75).

Instead of this representation, we can view the hybrid identity as a new “third space”, in this case a new identity emerging from the Māori and Pākehā roots of this whānau. “The presence of the hybrid woman challenges the colonial agenda by consciously, and unconsciously blurring the Māori/Pākehā binary (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005 , p. 8). Those whānau members who have had the opportunity to feel more embedded in the Māori culture, through learning te reo, connecting with their whenua, whakapapa and making connections with whānau, hapū and iwi, appear to have a more integrated and stronger sense of the Māori parts of themselves.

## **Conclusions**

This study has provided an opportunity to explore some of the different voices within a Southland whānau, and to weave together pūrākau held within this whānau. The pūrākau especially looked at whakapapa, both loss and reconnection, Te Reo, assimilation through inter-marriage and loss of culture. They also explore identity and how this has changed and been re-imagined through different generations. The identities emerging from this whānau are being produced anew through the re-telling of the past. The pūrākau gathered contribute further to our understandings of how my whānau were, and continue to be impacted by colonisation. They also provide answers about how the process of decolonisation has started. Robbie and Alan have a strong sense that their childhood connection to te ao Māori and te reo assisted in their passion for, and pride in their Māori identities. Robbie, Alan and Joan all have a great interest in our whakapapa and how we are connected to our ancestors. The reconnection of my whānau members was also supported by the social policies which were fought for by strong iwi voices, resulting in the Ngāi Tahu Treaty Settlement. This resulted in a

reaching out to iwi members and the sense of welcome allowed my whānau members and myself to feel legitimate in our Ngāi Tahu identities.

Colonisation in Aotearoa has both formed and devastated the Southland whānau who have provided some of their pūrākau for this research. Our Māori ancestors lived in the southern part of Te Waipounamu during a social and political time of deliberate assimilatory policies within Aoteroa. The inter-marriage that characterised many of the relationships in Southern Te Waipounamu at the time formed my whānau's experience. Great loss was experienced, and as a result none of my whānau members speak fluent te reo. In addition, there is an enduring feeling of not being "properly Māori" within members of my whānau.

An important theme that runs through the pūrākau gathered for this study is the desire for and steps taken towards reconnecting with their Indigenous selves. There is a striving towards learning te reo by many whānau members and a desire to hand this onto mokopuna. This reconnection has also occurred as an internal process for many whānau members feeling able to claim their Māori identity. Many whānau members feel a strong pull towards their ancestral whenua and marae. The Ōraka-Aparima runaka continues to grow in members, with whānau linking back to their whenua and tupuna. This process within my whānau has occurred in a physical, emotional, social and spiritual way. This process of reconnection can be seen in terms of Mason Durie's whare tapa whā model of health and wellbeing as providing deep health to tinana, hinengaro, whānau and wairua (Durie, 1998).

These findings, especially concerning the hybrid identity and reconnection to our Indigenous selves have implications for social policy and clinical practice within Aotearoa, when working with peoples of mixed-descent. Social policies that can acknowledge the impact of colonisation and provide opportunities for treasuring te ao Māori can have profound impacts on many levels. When a space is provided for Māori to reconnect to their Indigenous selves, many possibilities exist. The grief experienced and transmitted throughout generations can be felt and acknowledged. Those excruciating feelings of alienation can be recognised and assist us in returning towards our ancestors. When this happens, the potential for celebration of our different selves exist.

This study has been a grounding and healing experience for myself as the collaborator and gatherer of pūrākau. As Joseph Selwyn Te Rito described his experience in tracing his whakapapa, “it has helped ground myself firmly in place and time. It connects me to my past and to my present. Such outcomes certainly confirm identity and a deep sense of “being”” (Te Rito, 2007, p. 9). In realising my own role in the production of my identity, I feel empowered to celebrate those different parts of myself.

Recently, absorbed in the process of reconnecting with my whakapapa, I had a dream. In my dream I was at Port Levy, a place of significance for my Pākehā partner’s family, who have farmed there for several generations. Port Levy or Koukourarata, was the largest Māori settlement in Canterbury in the 1800s. My great, great, great grandmother Riria travelled to Lyttleton during the 1800s, where her daughter, Kuini was born. Lyttleton is across the harbour from Koukourarata and it is possible that Riria and Kuini spent time there. Koukourarata is a bay, typical of contemporary Canterbury landscape, with rolling grass covered hills, dry and yellow in the summer months, with a large opening into the harbour. In my dream Koukourarata was very different and I left it by lifting a curtain of draping ferns and vines. I walked out of a landscape of waterfalls, and rocky crevices and into another world. This new world felt dusty and less lush. There were buildings and amidst a group of European style buildings, stood two small traditional looking whāre. I pointed this out to the woman beside me and she explained that they were two specimens of a past time used for the museum. I wanted to return to Koukourarata and she said that she would have to help me to return but that it wouldn’t be an easy undertaking. I think the dream was about my ancestral journey away from our cultural home and my strivings to return to this home again. This home has now changed and can never be the same again. There was a strong longing to return to that lush landscape of the past. It is not an easy process to reconnect with this home and the journey is filled with pain and uncertainty. There is no doubt though that it is a worthwhile journey and I believe that I am accompanied by my ancestors in this journey.

Many traditions have woven diverse narratives around dreams and their meanings. The psychoanalytic tradition explores the unconscious yearnings behind the content of dreams. From a te ao Māori perspective, I can understand that my dream was a way for my ancestors to visit me, to provide support and guidance on my way.

The loneliness associated with alienation can give way to a sense of warm union. Like the precious korowai that has featured in the pūrākau, I can feel wrapped in the past as I walk towards the future.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

A characteristic of this research has been the personal nature of the subject matter for myself the researcher. This presents many opportunities, strengths and challenges for this work; there is a special responsibility that I hold as a researcher when representing the pūrākau held in my whānau. Perhaps this is also a limitation of the study and may have resulted in an unconscious veiling over of some of the more difficult feelings experienced within this whānau. It has sometimes felt like a heavy burden and my anxiety about not honouring them has been present while writing.

A strength of this study can be approached through this proverb from Rumi, “The Universe is not outside of you. Look inside yourself; everything that you want, you already are”. While many studies provide insight into social change over time, using large participant groups in longitudinal studies, much can be learnt from the experiences of one person, or in this case, one whānau. As Bishop points out, “stories are a way of representing truth. Different stories give different versions of and approaches to truth. As a result, stories allow the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant version” (Bishop, 1996, p. 24). It is important that the experience of this whānau was represented by pūrākau from its members. Especially as falling outside of the traditionally located cultural groups that they represent, the voices of these whānau members are able to provide further colonial experiences within Aotearoa.

The study limitations are perhaps also represented by the small number of participants. Other opportunities for study could include a whānau led discussion of these subject matters. The ideas around inter-generational experience have not been fully explored within this study and would add to the richness of voices and experiences.

This research has focused on a Southland whānau. One of the limitations of the research is that it is not more specifically from a Ngāi Tahu perspective, with the iwi based nuances and wisdoms. This is a source of sadness and an indication of my level of connectedness with my iwi. It is reflective of where I am in my journey and spurs me

on towards a greater reaching out and learning about my iwi. It again points to further opportunities for decolonisation.

Karakia Whakamutuka

Kia tau kā manaakitaka o Te Mea Karo

ki ruka ki tēnā, ki tēnā o tātou.

Kia māhea te hua mākihikihi,

Kia toi te kupu, toi te mana,

toi te aroha, toi te reo Māori,

Kia tūturu,

Ka whakamaua,

Kia tina,

TINA!

Hui e,

TAIKI E!

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## Appendix A: Participant Consent Form

## Consent Form



**Project title:** The impact of colonisation on the cultural identity and engagement of one Southland whānau and members.

**Project Supervisor:** **Wiremu Woodard**

**Researcher:** **Verity Armstrong**

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 1/9/2015.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree to my name being published in the research project document.
- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes  No

Whānau/hapū member signature: .....

Whānau/hapū member name: .....

.....

Date :

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 October 2015.  
AUTEK Reference number 15/336**

## Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

# Information Sheet



## Date Information Sheet Produced:

1/9/2015

## Project Title

The impact of colonisation on the cultural identity and engagement of one Southland whānau and members.

## An Invitation

Kia ora whānau,

My name is Verity Armstrong and I am, like you, a descendant of Kuini Goodwillie. I am in the process of completing a Masters of Psychotherapy at AUT in Auckland. As part of this I am enrolled in a Dissertation paper, which involves the project titled above.

I would like to invite any whānau members who are interested in participating in my research. This participation is voluntary and you are able to withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection. There should be no sense of obligation to you as a whānau member, and whether you choose to participate or not will neither advantage nor disadvantage you.

## What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to assist with the completion of my Masters of Psychotherapy. I am hopeful that it will be another way for stories within our whānau to be collected and shared.

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

I am sending you the information sheet because you are part of the MacKintosh whānau and are descendants of Kuini Goodwillie. Your name and contact details were provided by ....., which evolved from the gathering in Invercargill in November 2014.

I am seeking whānau/hapū members who fit the following selection criteria most closely:

- Have identified an interest in their cultural identity.
- Have illustrated an existing exploration of their cultural identity and the impact of colonisation in Aotearoa.
- Have expressed an interest in whānau history and how this has impacted on their cultural identity.

I would like to interview whānau members who currently live in Aotearoa. I am happy to travel to different parts of Aotearoa for these interviews to take place.

## What will happen in this research?

I plan to carry out interviews with participants for this research and to gather together the stories of our whānau in relation to our Māori heritage. The information that I gather in the interviews will be recorded and kept as a resource for our whānau. I envisage that these stories will belong to our whānau for future generations to learn from. I plan to include the name of whānau in my research document.

## What are the discomforts and risks?

I have found the exploration of my own cultural identity to be both a thought provoking and sometimes painful process. Talking about the impact of colonisation on our own whānau may create some difficult feelings for you.

## What are the benefits?

It is hoped that this research will assist me in gaining a Masters of Psychotherapy. My wish is that this research may further enrich the story telling within our whānau.

## How will my privacy be protected?

I do not plan to keep the names of participants confidential and their stories/own words will appear in the dissertation. I foresee this research as a possible resource for our whānau, as it will include a wealth of experiences and historical information.

## What are the costs of participating in this research?

The interviews will take approximately 1 – 1 ½ hours. If there is information you would like to share in terms of whānau history, this may take further time, with emailing of stories and whakapapa information. In addition, it is envisaged that it will take a further 1 – 1 ½ hours for you to read the transcripts of the interview and to make any alterations you would like to. There is no anticipated financial cost to you.

## What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would like to begin interviews in November 2015 so would like to hear from interested participants by mid-October 2015. This will allow us to agree on a time and place for the interview to take place. I am willing to travel to the town/city/place where you live within Aotearoa for the interview to take place.

## How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to participate in this research, you can email or phone me and I will send you a consent form to be completed.

## Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Once this research has been marked it will be made available on-line. If you would like a hard copy of my dissertation, this can also be arranged.

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

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Wiremu Woodard, [wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz](mailto:wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz), Ph. 09-921-9999

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz), 921 9999 ext. 6038.

## Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Verity Armstrong, [verityarmstrong@gmail.com](mailto:verityarmstrong@gmail.com), Ph. 021-027-01644

### Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Wiremu Woodard, [wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz](mailto:wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz), Ph. 09-921-9999

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 28 September 2015. AUTEK Reference number 15/336.

## Appendix C: AUTEK Approval Letter



### AUTEK Secretariat

1 October 2015

Wiremu Woodard  
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear Wiremu

**Ethics Application:**                    **15/336 The impact of colonisation on the cultural identity and engagement of one Southland whānau and members.**

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. I am pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEK) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 28 September 2015, subject to the following conditions:

1. Provision of a reflective statement concerning the potential ethical issues of recruiting participants for research from one's own whānau, and how all of these potential risks are to be mitigated, particularly with respect to any potential threat to the voluntariness of participation. The committee suggests that the person who organised the hui might send out the Information Sheet to the members on the email list on behalf of the researcher, and interested participants could get in touch with the research directly;
2. Confirmation that a brief summary of the research in lay language will be sent to participants, rather than a link to the dissertation only;
3. Clarification of the response to G.3.1 of the application form of how will the capacity of elderly persons to provide consent will be assessed;
4. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:
  - a. Removal of the statement concerning counselling, or provision of contact numbers of appropriate services so that persons can access them themselves;
  - b. Careful review for spelling and grammatical errors.

Please provide me with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEK also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz).

I look forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K O'Connor', written in a cursive style.

Kate O'Connor  
Executive Secretary  
**Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee**

Cc: Verity Armstrong [verityarmstrong@gmail.com](mailto:verityarmstrong@gmail.com), Denise Wilson

## Appendix D: Letter to AUTECH Ethics Committee

11 October 2015

Tēnā koe Kate,

Thank you for your letter dated 1 October 2015 advising that my ethics application has been approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH). Please find below the response to conditions outlined in your letter:

1. By recruiting my own whānau/hapū members to be part of my dissertation research, I am aware that I am working with a group of people who have a different relationship to the researcher than strangers. These are a group of people who I have shared whākapapa with, and therefore a special relationship.

I have examined the following questions:

When my whānau/hapū members read the invitation to take part in this research and the related information sheet, will they feel a heavier obligation to respond to me, because of our family connection?

Will there be different expectations from them or from myself about their involvement in the research? Would these expectations be different if they were strangers to me?

Will any previous connection we have had, or our respective whānau members have had, impact on their ability to make a free choice about participating in my research?

I have contemplated these issues and have made the following provisions to minimise the risk related to working with my own whānau/hapū. I will send an invitation email and information sheet to my cousin, who organised a whānau/hapū hui in 2014. I will ask her to send my invitation email to all descendents of Kuini Goodwillie that she has contact details for. By asking my cousin to send the email for me it will decrease perceived obligation from the minds of those who receive the email.

Because I am using Kaupapa Māori research methods, it is my intention that this research be organised through Māori tikanga and aspirations (Bishop, Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative research stories, 1996). Bishop outlines three interconnected elements of the whākahānaungatanga strategy within Kaupapa Māori methodology.

- 1) That establishing whānau relationships is a fundamental, extensive and ongoing part of the research (whānaugatanga)
- 2) Participant driven research facilitates this relationship building and elevates the sharing of power and control over the research (self determination),

- 3) Researchers are somatically involved in the research process physically, morally, ethically and spiritually (Bishop, Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative research stories, 1996, wh. 216).

Because of these elements of whākawhānaungatanga, it is important that whānau members are provided with the opportunities to be consulted with as widely as possibly, within the limits of this dissertation.

2. I confirm that a brief summary of the research in lay language will be sent to participants.
3. This clause will be removed.
4. Please find attached the updated Information Sheet with the removal of the paragraph relating to the provision of counselling services. My Information Sheet has also been proof-read by someone independent of my studies, for spelling and grammar errors.

Na,

Verity Armstrong