TŪRANGA WAE WAE

Identity & Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand

Edited by Ella Kahu, Te Rā Moriarty,
Helen Dollery & Richard Shaw

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SECOND EDITION

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Contents

Kupu Māori / Glossary

WORD OR PHRASE	DESCRIPTION
ahikā	Continued occupation; describes the home people of marae/hapū/iwi
Aotearoa	The Māori name of New Zealand
aroha	Love
atua	Māori deities of the natural world
awa	Ancestral river; a river
hā	Breath; essence
hāora	Oxygen
hapū	Consists of a number of whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor; the primary political unit in traditional Māori society; to be pregnant; to be conceived
haukāinga	Local people of the marae; home
hauora	Health; vitality; wellbeing
Hawaiki	Distant homeland; an origin point
He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni	The Declaration of Independence
heke	To descend; to journey; painted panels in a wharenui representing an ancestor's ribs
hīkoi	To walk; also adopted for the act of protest marches
Hineahuone	The original human ancestor; the original female ancestor
Hine-te-Aparangi/Kura-mārō-tini	The names of the ancestors credited with naming Aotearoa
hui	To meet; to gather; a meeting or gathering
iwi	A large group of people sharing a common ancestry and associated with a distinct territory; bone
kai	Food; to eat; to consume
kaimoana	Food from the ocean
kāinga	Home; village; settlement

kaitaka	Traditional cloak adorned with tāniko patterns
kaitiakitanga/ kaitiekitanga	Guardianship; stewardship; the act and responsibility of looking after land; resources and people
karakia	Ritual chant; an incantation
kaupapa	Project; initiative; activity; theme
kawa	Marae protocol; customs of the marae
kāwanatanga	Governance
korowai	A cloak made from flax fibre and decorated with tassels
koru	Spiral motif integral in Māori art, based on the silver fern frond; symbolises creation and how life changes yet stays the same
kotahitanga	Unity
kōwhaiwhai	Painted scroll ornamentation, commonly used on meeting-house rafters
mana	Authority; control; influence; prestige; power; spiritual gift; spiritual authority and power
mana atua	Strength and prestige drawn from the deities and our responsibility to those connections
mana motuhake	Independence; self-determination
mana tangata	Strength and prestige of people alive today and our responsibilities to each other
mana tūpuna	Strength and prestige drawn from our ancestors and our responsibilities to them
mana whenua	Strength drawn from ancestral lands; our responsibility to protect those lands
manaaki/ manaakitanga	To look after; to care for; to be hospitable; to elevate the mana of another
manawa	Heart
mangōpare	A pattern representing the hammerhead shark seen in the painted panels inside of a wharenui
manuhiri/ manuwhiri	Guests; visitors
Māori/māori	Indigenous person to Aotearoa; normal; native flora and fauna
marae	Centre of a Māori community; the tūrangawaewae of a Māori person or people
Māui Pōtiki/Māui Tikitiki a Taranga	Ancestor
maunga	Ancestral mountain; a mountain
Maungapōhatu	A mountain in Te Urewera

mauri	Life principle; life force; the energy of life
mihimihi	A greeting which introduces the speaker and their connections to others
muka	Fine processed flax fibre used for making clothing
Mumuwhango	A female atua of the forest
Murirangawhenua	Ancestor; the kuia (grandmother) of Māui
Ngā Kete o Te Wānanga	Three baskets of knowledge, obtained by Tāne-mahuta (or Tāwhaki, depending on iwi narrative) for humankind to use
ngā matatini Māori	Māori diverse realities
oranga	Life; health; wellbeing; sustenance
pā	Village; fort; city
Pākehā	Originally used for people from Britain and Europe; a New Zealander with ancestry to those places
Papatūānuku	Female origin; Earth Mother
pepeha	A form of words linking a person ancestrally with the communities and physical features of a particular landscape (mountains, rivers and oceans)
pōhiri/pōwhiri	Ceremony of welcome; to welcome
poupou	An upright carving often depicting an ancestor
pūhoro	Tāmoko design on the legs
pūrākau	Ancient narrative; story
rāhui	Temporary ban or restriction on an area or resource
rangatira	Chief; leader
rangatiratanga	Chieftainship; authority; independence
Ranginui	Original male ancestor; Sky Father
rauponga	Carving pattern consisting of bold spiral
Rongo	Child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; the deity of peace and cultivation
rongoā	Medicine; remedy
roto	Inside of something; a lake
rūnanga	A high council or legislative assembly called to discuss matters of significant concern to an iwi or community
tāhuhu	Ridge pole of a wharenui representing an ancestor's spine
Takaparawhau/ Bastion Point	A marae site in Tāmaki Makaurau. It was marked for development, which led to a 506-day protest occupation that started in 1977
tāmoko	Māori tattooing

Tāmaki Makaurau	Auckland
Tāne-mahuta	Child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; deity with authority over the forests and birds
tangata/tāngata	Person/people
tangata whenua	Indigenous people of the land
tangata tiriti	Non-Māori New Zealanders
tangihanga	Weeping; funeral; rites for the dead
tāniko	To finger weave; embroider; a patterned border for cloaks
taonga	A treasure; something cherished; something valued
tapu	Restriction; sacred; prohibited
tauā	War party, army
Tāwhirimātea	Child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; deity with authority over the winds, clouds, rain, snow and storms
te ao Māori	The Māori world including the Māori language, rituals, processes, practices, sites of importance, and ties to whānau, hapū and iwi
Te Ao Mārama	The world of light and understanding
Te Hiku o Te Ika	Northern regions of Te Ika a Māui
Te Ika a Māui	The fish of Māui; the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Kore	The time of great potential; the nothing; the void
Te Pō	The time of activation; the night; gestation period
Te Punga a Māui/ Rakiura	Stewart Island
Te Reinga	The northernmost tip of Te Ika a Māui
te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Taitokerau	The northern region of Te Ika a Māui
Te Tauihu o Te Waka a Māui	The northern region of the South Island of New Zealand
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Māori-language version, and most signed version, of the Treaty of Waitangi
Te Upoko o Te Ika a Māui	The southern region of the North Island of New Zealand
Te Waka a Māui	The vessel of Māui; the South Island of New Zealand
te whaiao	Birth canal; the world of light; entry point to Te Ao Mārama
tikanga	Protocol; practices; the appropriate way things are done
tino rangatiratanga	Absolute authority and independence; the right to self-determination

toa	Warrior; brave man
Tūmatauenga	Child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; deity of conflict, defence and humanity
tūpāpaku	The body of the deceased
tupua/tipua	Supernatural
tupuna/tūpuna	Ancestors
tukutuku	Lattice work decorating the inner walls of a wharenui
tūrangawaewae	Place of belonging where we draw our strength from; 'standing' place
urupā	Burial ground; cemetery
wāhi tapu	A sacred place or site; a place subject to restriction on access or use
waho	Outside of something
wai	Water
waimāori	Fresh water
waiora	Life-giving waters; health
wānanga	Place of higher learning; to discuss; to deliberate and consider
whakapapa	Ancestry; genealogy
whakatauākī	A proverbial expression where the author is known
whakataukī	A proverbial expression
whānau	Family; close kinship group; to be born
whanaunga	A relation
whanaungatanga	Relationships
whare	House; building; residence; habitation
wharekai	Dining hall
wharenui/whare tūpuna/tīpuna whare	Main house of the marae; ancestral house
whare wānanga	Place of higher learning
whenua	Land; soil; placenta
wiri	The shaking movement of hands during waiata to demonstrate an affinity with nature

Introduction

*Ella Kahu, Te Rā Moriarty,
Helen Dollery and Richard Shaw*

This book explores identity, belonging and citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the individual level it explores some of the threads that comprise our personal identities and the relationships we have with others which help shape a sense of self, while at the broader societal level it critically examines some of those things said to define New Zealand's national identity.

It was once suggested that the English spend little time reflecting on what it means to be English 'because it is so simply and obviously a fact' (Barker, 1948, p. 195). The same can be said of us here in Aotearoa New Zealand. Except that it isn't that simple, of course: what it means to be a New Zealander or to be in this place (and these are not necessarily the same things) may be quite different for different people. Understanding this, and the complexity of the social world and our place in it, requires reflection, a capacity to ask questions of things that are often taken for granted, and a willingness to be open to alternative ways of seeing things. These are what this book intends to do: to probe, prompt and encourage you to reflect on aspects of your own sense of self, and of the ways in which we collectively make sense of who we are, which might otherwise continue to enjoy the status of received wisdom.

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of understanding the diversity of people, and of appreciating others' ways of being and doing at this point in place and time. So many of the large challenges facing Aotearoa New Zealand and the world are grounded in issues of identity, such as the material consequences of political polarisation, the increasing divide between the haves and the have-nots, the nefarious effects of social media, and the myriad public health and other issues thrown up by the global Covid-19 pandemic.

Some of those challenges have very sharp edges indeed. Following the Christchurch mosque attacks in 2019, the New Zealand government set up a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate what happened, and, more importantly, to look at how such terrible events could be prevented in the future. A key finding was the need to improve social cohesion — defined by the Commission as that state of social affairs in which all people have a sense of belonging, social inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy (Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain on 15 March 2019, 2020). The Commission's definition reflects many of the key ideas of this book (as outlined in

Chapter 1). A better understanding of oneself, and from that a better understanding of what it means to be a citizen of this place, are both essential to the tasks ahead. To put this a little differently: it is hard to think of a time when the matters addressed in this book were more urgent and of greater importance than they are right now.

Structure of the book

Following the introduction, the book is arranged in four parts, each of which opens with a short discussion in which the central questions and issues pursued in the subsequent chapters — what we call a 'conceptual template' — are set out. The other core feature of the publication is that each substantive chapter is preceded by 'He tirohanga Māori: A Māori perspective', written by Te Rā Moriarty, and a whakataukī or whakatauākī, a relevant Māori proverb. What Te Rā gifts readers of the book through these reflections is a series of thoughtful, informative perspectives on the topics of the chapters themselves: put side by side, his words and those of the chapters' various authors comprise a nuanced, comprehensive appreciation of the matters that are at the heart of this book.

The chapters

Part 1, 'Faces of Aotearoa New Zealand', sets the scene by exploring both the rapidly changing demographic composition of our population, and several other ways in which the individual and the collective faces of New Zealand are altering. It examines some of the diverse identities that make up Aotearoa New Zealand. The central theme is that the use of the singular category 'citizen' masks what is, increasingly, a rich, messy and tremendously diverse national population.

Ella Kahu gets things started in Chapter 1, in which she introduces, defines and illustrates the core ideas running through the book. An awful lot has been written about the concepts of identity and citizenship, in particular, and the core purpose of Ella's chapter is to provide a clear explanation of the ways in which we work with those terms in this book.

In Chapter 2, Te Rā Moriarty offers a Māori perspective on notions of identity, belonging and citizenship. Drawing on sacred stories, and Māori experiences of colonisation, one of the important things Te Rā does is gently show us that the range of intellectual tools we can use to make sense of things such as identity, belonging and citizenship is probably greater than many of us are aware.

Trudie Cain and Tracey Nicholls explore the shifting face(s) of Aotearoa New Zealand through the lens of demography and identity, in Chapter 3. Inevitably,

they cannot cover each and every important dimension of these changes in full detail; what they do provide, though, is an intricate portrait of a country in which ethnicity, age, and sexuality and gender identity — and the intersections of these — all feature.

Part 2, 'Voices of Aotearoa New Zealand', explores some of the ways in which we give voice, individually or as part of a group, to our views, fears, hopes and aspirations. This section is explicitly about participation — how people express their points of view and seek to have them acknowledged as legitimate contributions to public debate; it has to do with how people's identities are expressed and heard. Richard Shaw, in Chapter 4, explores the ways in which people seek to express their voice through formal parliamentary politics, but he also suggests that choosing not to engage with politics is a legitimate expression of voice (albeit one with potentially disturbing consequences). In Chapter 5, Ella Kahu looks at participation outside of Parliament, exploring what motivates people to protest using two case studies to illustrate the impacts of voice on identity. In Chapter 6, Rand Hazou and Trudie Cain consider the role of the arts in both representing (including through protest) and constructing identity.

The penultimate section, Part 3, 'Places in Aotearoa New Zealand', explores the ways in which our identity is connected to places of significance to us, and examines how both tacit and explicit conventions, norms and rules structure relationships between people in these places. Beyond the level of the individual, our encounters with others in these contexts also have implications for notions of citizenship. Some places comprise environments in which the communities we belong to (or to which we aspire to belong) come together; others can provide a refuge and disengagement from such collective interactions. Trudie Cain and Juliana Mansvelt begin this section with a chapter in which they explore different understandings of home as a place of significance. In Chapter 8, Richard Shaw and Matt Russell examine the tacit and explicit 'rules of the game' that structure relationships within universities, while, in Chapter 9, Stella Pennell looks at the relationship between people's sense of self and their engagement with the digital world.

The chapters comprising Part 4, 'Stories of Aotearoa New Zealand', critically engage with three of the major narratives told in this country as a way of asserting national identity. The narratives we examine — which are about inequality, the environment and Anzac — are examples of the ways in which national narratives convey powerful messages about what it means to be in and of this country. In so doing, they can shape both our individual and collective (or national) senses of who we are. Clearly, each has elements of truth; equally, each tells only a partial

story, and masks both the lived experiences of some members of our society and competing accounts of the way things are.

David Littlewood begins this process in Chapter 10 by examining the origins, evolution and accuracy of the idea that New Zealand is a society where everyone is treated equally. In doing so, he highlights the complex links between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome. In the following chapter, Juliana Mansvelt examines another story we like to tell — that New Zealand is clean and green. After tracing the history of the story, including its links to the '100% Pure' sloganeering of Brand New Zealand, Juliana puts our environment under the microscope to reveal a very different image of New Zealand. In Chapter 12, Helen Dollery and Carl Bradley turn our attention to the Anzac story, which talks of New Zealand's national identity being founded on the shores of Gallipoli. They explore the origins of the narrative, and then broaden the lens to focus on different views of war, and to highlight some of the groups in our society whose experiences of war are missing from the Anzac story.

In the concluding piece, Richard Shaw offers some final thoughts on the issues and debates raised throughout the book. Stepping back from the detail of earlier chapters, he reflects on the magnitude of what is presently happening in Aotearoa New Zealand, on the long-term challenges and opportunities these trends present, and on how we might as a national community react to the sorts of changes discussed in this book.

The choice of topics

Finally, a word or two on our choice of topics. Deciding what we were going to focus on was no easy matter. For every choice we made, others were forgone. Given the amount of time many of us spend in sports clubs, charitable organisations or churches, for example, Part 3 could happily have included chapters on each of these places. And in Part 4 we might well have chosen other narratives — that this is a great place to raise kids, perhaps, or that farming is the backbone of the nation, or that New Zealand is now a bicultural nation — each of which contains elements of truth while also obscuring inconvenient facts. In the end, we stand by our choices, but in future editions of the book we may well take the opportunity to explore these alternatives.

Several reasons lie behind our decision to dedicate a chapter to Māori ethnicity and to incorporate Te Rā's 'He tirohanga Māori'. First, Chapter 2 serves as a specific study of how and why ethnicity is important to all of us; Te Rā introduces us to terms and concepts in the context of tangata whenua, but many of these have analogues in other ethnic contexts. That said, the voice of Māori — which, as

Mason Durie (2003) has shown us, is not one but a chorus of voices — is still, even in these purportedly post-Treaty settlement times, often silenced.

Māori imagery and symbolism are important elements in our collective identity, and central to the way we represent — and overtly market — ourselves as a nation to others. Indeed, we have used a Māori term in the title of this publication (one which was gifted to the course of university study to which this publication is attached by Massey University's Māori Language Advisory Group), and for many it would be inconceivable that an All Black test could start without a haka. Yet Māori views on, and understandings of, citizenship are not as widely understood as they should be. Our choices, therefore, are explicitly intended to showcase Māori — although this is not to deny other ethnicities, including Pākehā; indeed, the entire book comprises an extended invitation not only to learn about others' ways of doing and being, but also to reflect on the ethnic and other bases of your own sense of self.

We are mindful that our decision may trigger calls for a different sort of coverage. For instance, some might argue that a chapter on Māori should be complemented with one on Pākehā (or, depending on your linguistic preferences, European New Zealanders). As editors, that is not a view we share. Rather, our position is that — with the exception of Chapter 2 and the 'He tirohanga Māori' — the bulk of this book is framed by a Pākehā/European New Zealander lens. It may not be obvious at first sight because — to reiterate the point made by Barker (1948) at the beginning of this introduction — for many of us this is what is natural and therefore taken for granted, but both the content of each other chapter, and the cultural frameworks within which those chapters' authors work, are predominantly non-Māori. Seen in this way, a single chapter on te ao Māori in a book numbering 12 substantive chapters seems, if anything, insufficient rather than overly generous.

How to use this book

At several points in each chapter, you will find a QR code and URL that will take you to a video or a piece of text that offers further information. As well as these links there will be a further QR code and URL at the very end of each chapter. Scan the code or insert the URL into your browser, whereupon you will be taken to an interview with someone who knows a good deal about the topic, as well as a series of suggestions about other online resources. Taking time to browse through these links will help you make sense of the material covered in the chapter. Here is a complete list of all the chapter webpages:

Visit the Tūrangawaewae website for more online resources:
http://turangawaewae.massey.ac.nz/index_ed2.html

You will also see that every chapter concludes with an extensive list of references. Of course this is an academic convention, and we wouldn't expect you to go to all of them. But among these titles there are some that we do urge you to read as they will deepen your knowledge and thinking. Each chapter, therefore, also ends with a 'further reading' list.

Chapter 1

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

Chapter 4

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Chapter 8

Chapter 9	Chapter 10
Chapter 11	Chapter 12

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PART ONE:
FACES OF AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Faces
Introduction

Richard Shaw

Welcome to the first of the four parts — faces, voices, places and stories — comprising this book. Each begins with one of these brief discussions, the purpose of which is to introduce the conceptual template that gives shape to the individual chapters within it. Think of this short piece, then, as a sort of map designed to guide both the structure of each subsequent chapter and your engagement with it.

About Part 1

Let me borrow (and in so doing possibly butcher) a metaphor from art to explain the specifics of Part 1 and its three constituent chapters. The diversity that now characterises this country — ethnic, linguistic, religious, familial and so on — is so pronounced that we need many colours to paint its portrait. In this context, the fundamental purposes of Part 1 are (a) to define, in Chapter 1, the core terms and concepts we will be using throughout the book, and (b) to provide a sense — through Chapters 2 and 3 — of the breadth, depth and richness of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand, by examining some of the different demographic characteristics of those who live here. Starting with the first peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, we then look at the changing ethnic composition of the population, and, consistent with the points Ella makes in Chapter 1, we will also acknowledge other identities, such as age, gender and sexuality. Put these and other identity threads together — as occurs in Chapters 2 and 3 — and you will begin to develop a sharper sense of the ways in which the collective face of Aotearoa New Zealand is changing.

Chapter 1 is something of a scene-setting chapter, and its primary job is to clarify the meanings of a series of terms that you will encounter throughout the rest of the book. However, the conceptual template for the two other chapters in Part 1 has four elements:

1. We examine the shifting patterns of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand in the twenty-first century, and take a close look at the ways in which the profile of the population is evolving.
2. We also explore some of the ways in which our identity threads intersect with wider social, political and other forces to continuously shape and reshape our personal sense of self and our understandings of national identity.
3. We assess some of the ways in which identity is expressed (through, for instance, rituals, symbols and art).
4. Finally, we consider some of the present and future consequences and challenges of the changing face of Aotearoa New Zealand. We analyse what the demographic and other trends explored in Part 1 mean to different groups, and look at some of the reactions to those developments.

Overview of chapters

Ella Kahu begins Chapter 1 with a deceptively simple question: Who are you? It's a question that is harder to answer than you might initially think, partly because our sense of self comprises many different aspects, changes over time, and is shaped by the different contexts through which we move in the course of our lives. Nonetheless, in a publication about identity and belonging we need a common language: the purpose of Ella's chapter, therefore, is to introduce, define and illustrate the core ideas that form the foundation of this book. In it she introduces the notion of identity threads (the different strands that make up our identity), and explains the interaction between these and the various contexts in which we live. Ella also explores some of the competing understandings of the term 'citizenship', and illustrates how citizenship status can work to either include or exclude people from their communities.

In Chapter 2, Te Rā Moriarty introduces historical and contemporary understandings of identity, belonging and citizenship that are particular to Māori. The chapter is a detailed exploration of the ways in which these conceptions are shaped by the contextually specific experiences of a particular ethnic group (albeit one containing, as he points out, diverse realities). Among other things, Te Rā provides insights into notions of identity, belonging and citizenship that are indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so, he reminds us of the dissonant chord that can be struck when Māori understandings of such notions are placed alongside those that emerge from different cultural contexts. Neither is more nor

less correct: the point to be made is that what makes sense (and is perhaps taken for granted) by some is far from obvious for others.

In the third chapter of Part 1, 'Aotearoa New Zealand's ever-changing face', Trudie Cain and Tracey Nicholls explore the contested, shifting and changing face of citizenship in this country. Focusing on broad demographic developments, Chapter 3 explores how three significant identity threads — ethnicity, sexuality and age — influence our sense of self and shape our interactions with others. The chapter highlights how context is dynamic, insofar as the changing patterns of age and ethnicity in New Zealand, along with evolving understandings of sexuality and gender identities, affect all those who live here. Trudie and Tracey work through some of the consequences these seismic shifts are having for what counts as identity and citizenship at the individual and societal levels. What they offer is a portrait of a country that is quite different from that which existed only a few short decades ago.

Conclusion

Part 1 provides a context for the rest of the book. As such, its most important jobs are to provide you with some definitional certainty and to sketch, albeit at a necessarily broad level, the rich and varied nature of the individual and collective identities that comprise Aotearoa New Zealand. A third and somewhat less overt aim is to invite you to begin (or perhaps to continue) the process of challenging or reappraising your own assumptions about what it means to be in and of this country.

A fourth objective is to encourage you to think about what the term 'citizen' means in the context of the country that begins to emerge from the following three chapters. 'Citizen' is a unitary category (in formal terms, at least — you either are one or you are not), but the word masks a wide range of different identities: what it means to be a New Zealander will differ, and often quite significantly, from one person to another. There is no one template for being a citizen of — or indeed a visitor to, or a migrant or refugee in — this place. The face of Aotearoa New Zealand is far more colourful and diverse than it was not so terribly long ago. These developments, and the profound consequences they are having for the ways in which we make sense of who we are as people and as a nation, are the focus of the chapters you are about to read. And, indeed, this colourful picture provides the backdrop to the rest of the book.

01.
Identity and citizenship
Laying the foundations

Ella Kahu

Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa.
Let us keep close together, not far apart.

Introduction

The purpose of this first chapter is to introduce, define and illustrate the core ideas that form the foundation of this book. Much has been written and there are many debates around the concepts of identity and citizenship, so it is essential that we start with a clear explanation of the meanings we have chosen to work with. Many (but by no means all) of the key ideas are encapsulated in Figure 1 (overleaf), which depicts the self as an individual to the left, and the self as a citizen, a member of a community, to the right.
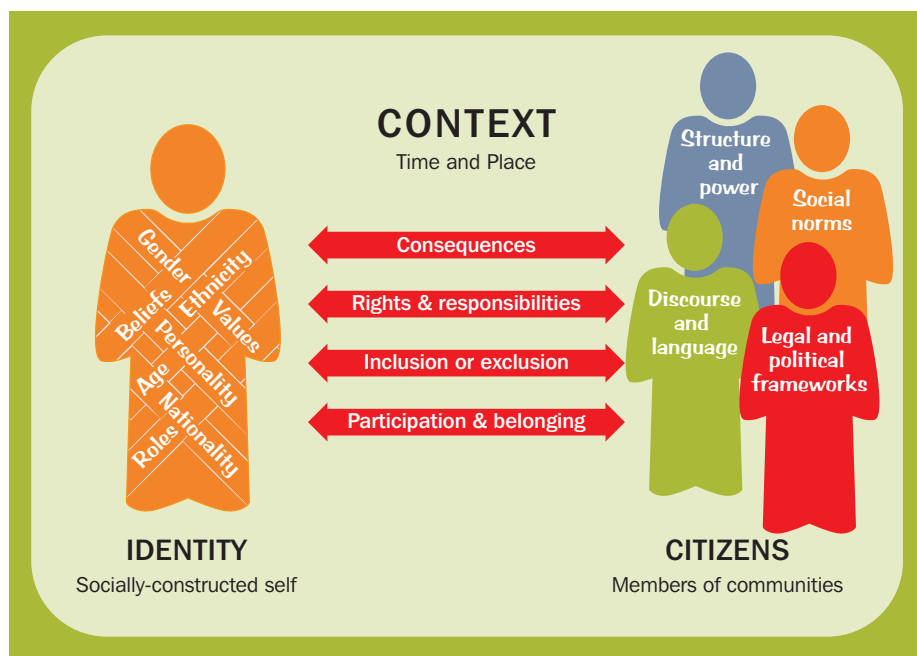
Figure 1. Identity and citizenship

Identity

Who are you? How would you answer that question? You might talk about your personality and say 'I am shy', meaning this is how I usually behave in certain situations. Or you might talk about a biological attribute and say 'I am 58'. Or you might talk about a role you have, 'I am a student', or even a belief, such as 'I am an atheist'. These answers all reflect different aspects of your identity that together form your sense of self. As social science theorist Vivien Burr (2015) explains:

> A person's identity is achieved by a subtle interweaving of many different threads. There is a thread for age, for example they may be a child, a young adult or very old; that of class, depending on their occupation, income and level of education; ethnicity; gender; sexual orientation and so on. All of these, and many more, are woven together to produce the fabric of a person's identity. (pp. 123–124)

In the *Tūrangawaewae* core concepts graphic shown in Figure 1, this idea of identity threads, or multiple identities, is illustrated by the figure of the self on the left. The threads metaphor is useful because it highlights that the whole is more

than the sum of the parts, and that identities intersect and interact, as discussed later. Some social scientists distinguish between personal and social identities. Personal identities are those characteristics that make us unique, such as our personality traits, preferences and values, whereas social identities are those identities derived from memberships in broad social groups, such as gender or ethnic categories, and from social roles, such as being a lawyer or a grandparent (Snow & Corrigall-Brown, 2015). However, the distinction between the personal and the social is not clear-cut, and the categories overlap. For instance, someone who is gay may view that as a personal identity, but, in the context of a conversation on homosexual law reform, being gay may function as a social identity — derived from and marking membership of a social group.

In many ways, all identities are social — identity is a way of marking out difference, delineating between 'us' and 'them' (Woodward, 2003). Identities are categories of people. It can even be argued that an identity exists only in comparison to others. For example, Liu et al. (2005) point out that, prior to European arrival, Māori were an iwi (tribal)-based people and the identity of 'Māori' did not yet exist: 'we have no sense of an ethnic self without a contrasting other' (p. 13). We learn about our identities through our encounters and interactions with other people — through personal relationships, through institutions such as schools, workplaces and universities (as Richard and Matt discuss in Chapter 8), and through the vast array of media that depict and construct our social world. We express and present our identities to others in a multitude of ways — through our appearance, through what we say, and through the things that we own and display, the art we create or buy (see Chapter 6 for more on this), the media we choose to consume. Identity is not just within us, it is all around us.

Identity is important. Our identities shape how we experience the world, how the world interacts with us, how we understand what we experience, and the opportunities and challenges we face through life. There are some identities that are particularly central to our sense of self, and to how we are perceived, and even judged, by others, including age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class (or socio-economic status) and ability. Within those categories, not all identities are equally valued, and so identity also determines the allocation of social, political and economic power in society, as we will explore when we look at citizenship shortly.

Gender and sexuality are important identity threads. If you'd like to learn more about our diverse rainbow communities, explore the Gender Minorities Aotearoa website: https://genderminorities.com

An important part of appreciating that identity is social — something that occurs between people rather than within people — is understanding that identities are socially constructed, fluid and dynamic. This means that how you experience being male, or Samoan, or 40, or a mother, or retired is dependent on your social context and on the interactions and encounters you have with others, and these are changing all the time.

To illustrate that idea with an example, consider age, an identity thread that on the surface is purely a matter of biology. A person between 13 and 19 years old is a teenager, although the word 'teenager' is a relatively new label. This identity label, this category, what it means to be a teenager, is socially constructed — it depends on when and where you are. Nothing specific happens the day you turn 13. In some societies there is no word or idea that represents adolescence — you are a child and then you are an adult. But in most contemporary Western societies there is a period in between, and this period of adolescence is constructed as one of being impulsive and rebellious, as a period of identity-seeking and developing independence. And that social view of adolescence shapes how the individual experiences being a teenager.

Context is a critical concept here — as shown in Figure 1, everything about identity and citizenship is embedded within the context. At one level, context refers to the immediate physical context — sometimes described as the micro context. This immediate context, such as one's family home (as Trudie and Juliana discuss in Chapter 7) or workplace, is important because different spaces are governed by different rules and norms (an idea we explore in more depth in Part 3 of this book). Those norms then shape how we express and enact our identity. Moreover, different threads of identity become more salient in different contexts — my mother identity is certainly less salient in my workplace than in my home! But context is more than just the physical place.

At another level, the macro context is the broader social, cultural and historical setting. As I alluded to earlier, being a teenager is different in different cultures and in different times. It is different in terms of the opportunities and barriers that exist, and it is different in terms of how one 'should' or 'should not' behave — the norms are different, which impacts on our choices. To give another example, my mother was a stay-at-home mother, and when I had my own children this is what I chose to do — my maternal identity was shaped in part by my encounters within my own childhood home and family. But my decision was not just informed by what I had learned from my mother. She had her children in the United Kingdom in the 1960s, whereas I had mine in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1990s. Our social, political, cultural and historical contexts were different. Therefore, what it meant

to be a mother and how we were supposed to do mothering was different, and this impacted on our individual experiences and identities as mothers — not just in terms of the choices we made, but also in terms of how we felt about those choices and ourselves.

In Figure 1 you will see 'language and discourse' as an influence on us as citizens within communities. Language is a critical part of our context, and shapes us both as citizens and as individuals. The phrase 'stay-at-home mother' did not exist in my mother's time because it was the norm — and it was therefore the easier choice. Now, 28 years after I had my children, that phrase can have a negative connotation, reflecting the shifting social views and norms about what being a mother means, and thereby impacting on the choices that mothers now make.

Another important contribution to the fluidity of our identity is that our identities are not separate and distinct. Coming back to Burr's (2015) metaphor of identity threads, those threads intersect and overlap as is discussed later, and in doing so each influences the others. So, being a mother and the way in which someone enacts their maternal identity will be shaped in part by their other identities, such as ethnicity, values and age. Some identity threads interact more easily than others (depending on the context). For example, in the current cultural context of Aotearoa New Zealand, teenage pregnancy is constructed as a social problem: 'teenager' and 'mother' is a socially undesirable combination of identities. As Wilson and Huntington (2006) point out, 'normative perceptions of motherhood have shifted over the past few decades to position teenage mothers as stigmatised and marginalised' (p. 59). There are other identities that do not easily align with 'mother' as well. In my own research on women's decision-making around family and paid work, first-time mothers talked about the challenge of weaving their existing identity as 'successful woman' in with this new identity of mother (Kahu & Morgan, 2007).

That is the self: a complex, fluid weaving of identities set within an equally complex and fluid context. But if the self is social, then to understand it fully we need to consider how we interact with each other within different communities. The word 'community' stems from the Latin bases of *communitas*, meaning 'the same', and *communis*, meaning 'shared by many'. So a community is a group of people with a common interest or a shared identity thread. Communities can be physical, a geographical area for instance; they can be digital, such as an online support group; and/or they can be social, based on relationships, such as a family. Communities can vary, too, in terms of size, from large, wide communities such as Aotearoa New Zealand, to small, specific communities such as the students in a particular class. Communities are powerful and important to our sense of self, as

Mayo (2008) explains: 'communities are the source of social attachments, create interdependencies, mediate between the individual and the larger society, and sustain the well being of members' (p. 147). So being a member of a community can give people a sense of belonging, an idea we will return to in a moment.

Citizenship

The meaning of the term 'citizenship' is regularly and vigorously debated. Probably the most common understanding of citizenship is as membership of a nation state — holding a passport for a particular country. This is certainly an important definition, not least because of the various rights and responsibilities that flow from citizenship of a nation state like Aotearoa New Zealand (some of which Richard explores in Chapter 4). However, the understanding of citizenship with which we operate in this book is nearer to Turner's (2017) notion of 'social citizenship', which is more closely associated with membership of civil society institutions than it is to either the state or markets.

The various understandings of citizenship are not exclusive, but the point I would like to make here is that when we talk about citizenship we are often talking about membership of (or exclusion from) communities of interest that operate at the sub-state level. Broadly, it can refer to membership of any community — your city, your workplace, your family even. Citizenship is important because it has consequences. It determines material benefits, it fosters a sense of belonging (or a sense of alienation), and it legitimises participation and voice.

Citizenship is about more than just membership of the community, though; it is about the rights and obligations that accompany that membership. The nature of citizenship in any particular community, like identity, is socially constructed, contextual and fluid. Who gets to be a member of a community, as well as the level of rights and obligations that members have, often depends on the identity threads a person has: 'Identity is a fundamental organising principle in the enactment of power, the mobilisation for and the allocation of resources, and a critical marker of inclusion and exclusion' (Liu et al., 2005, p. 15). It also depends on the context — who is a citizen and what that means are different in different communities, and change through time.

As mentioned, the term 'citizenship' is often used specifically in reference to membership of a nation state; nationality is an important thread to most people's identities. At the time of writing, with closed borders and limitations on international movement caused by Covid-19, this is particularly evident. While we are interested in how the individual functions in a range of communities, this

book is about identity and citizenship within Aotearoa New Zealand. It is useful, therefore, to use Aotearoa New Zealand as an example community to illustrate the links with identity. Note, however, that everyone who lives here is a member of this community, but not all have a New Zealand passport (they may be permanent residents, temporary visitors or even illegal residents), and therefore are not citizens in the substantive, legal definition of the word. However, in the broader understanding of citizenship as membership of a community, they are citizens, albeit with a different set of rights.

The nature of citizenship is influenced by a range of forces, such as political and legal frameworks, social norms, structures of power, and discourse and language, as shown in the illustration of the book's core concepts in Figure 1. The most tangible of these influences are the political and legal frameworks — the laws of the land. These laws establish, among other things, who counts as a citizen, and which of those citizens have what rights. There are four broad types of citizenship rights: legal rights, such as personal security and access to justice; political rights, such as the rights to vote, to protest and to access information; social rights, such as healthcare, education and welfare; and participatory rights, such as access to jobs and protection from discrimination (Janoski & Gran, 2002).

Not all citizens have access to the same rights, and in part that is determined by their identity. You do not have the right to vote in Aotearoa until you turn 18, for example. In another example, until relatively recently the right to marry was limited to couples of different genders, heterosexual couples — homosexual New Zealanders were denied that right on the basis of their identity. Critically, this type of legal exclusion sent a clear message that a homosexual identity thread was not as valued as a heterosexual identity thread.

Laws exert explicit influences on citizenship, but there are also other less tangible influences, such as social norms and language. For instance, there is a strong discourse (a way of talking about and understanding the world) in New Zealand and most of the Western world these days (i.e. in the current socio-historical context) that paid work is essential — for personal wellbeing and also as a contribution to society. Within this narrative, those who are not in paid work (including beneficiaries, retirees and stay-at-home parents) are seen as a burden — they are not doing their bit for the community. Labels like 'dole-bludger' make this clear. So, while in terms of legal frameworks a person on a benefit may have the same rights as everyone else, the social norms and the way we talk about the world position these identities as lesser citizens. As with the previous example, a significant thread in those people's identity is deemed less valuable, less desirable.