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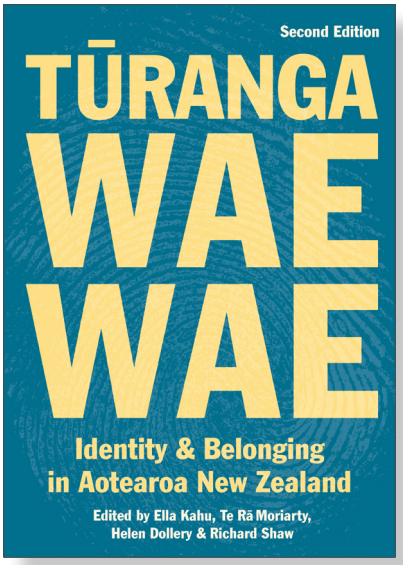
Tūrangawaewae

Identity and Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand — 2nd edition

EDITED BY ELLA KAHU, TE RĀ MORIARTY, HELEN DOLLERY AND RICHARD SHAW



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NEW EDITION OF AN IMPORTANT BOOK FOR PARTICIPANTS IN NEW ZEALAND AND GLOBAL SOCIETY

What is a New Zealander? What does it mean to be a citizen of or a resident in this country? How do we understand what makes Aotearoa New Zealand complex and unique? And what creates a sense of belonging and identity, both here and in the world? Now's a critical time to be thinking about these sorts of things. With the climate crisis, issues of decolonisation, racial violence and growing economic inequalities, easy slogans take the place of reasoning and reasonableness. Empathy is in retreat, and intolerance is on the march. History tells us that this is never a good mix.

In this engaging book, experts focus their analysis on these and other important issues. The 16 chapters dig deep and as often as possible cited print texts are reproduced in full, and links to audio and visual material are displayed at key places. He tirohanga Māori: A Māori perspective on the issue discussed introduces the main chapters. Relevant and enriching, *Tūrangawaewae* will appeal to anyone interested in where we have come from and where we are headed.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

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SALES POINTS

- New edition of an important and highly successful book
- Contemporary bold design makes the material accessible and appealing
- Each substantive chapter is introduced by He tirohanga Māori: A Māori perspective
- Rich and layered texts with links to poetry, video, film and music create exciting conversations around what it means to live in Aotearoa New Zealand

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are. The concept of privilege helps us to recognise that while racism, for example, has serious negative impacts on some people, it also advantages others. Note that I say *easier* to walk through the world, not *easy*. Being part of a privileged group does not necessarily mean life is easy — just that it is easier than for someone of a non-privileged group. Recognising privilege is also not about blaming or shaming people — rather it is about recognising the unearned advantages that the social power structures confer on some people, through the circumstances of their birth.

Many metaphors have been used to explain the concept of privilege, with Peggy McIntosh's (1989) article 'White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack' one of the best known. McIntosh observed how difficult people find it to accept or to even see that they have privilege, and so, to address this, she wrote a list of things in her life which she could count on but a woman of colour could not. Examples from the list include 'If a traffic cop pulls me over, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race' and 'I am never asked to speak for all people of my racial group' (p. 11). Other authors have followed, with checklists of the privileges associated with being male, able-bodied, straight and middle-classed.

Earlier, I explained that identities intersect and interact. This is particularly important to understand when thinking about issues of power and oppression. Intersectionality is an idea first developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), an American lawyer and scholar, in examining the experiences of black women. She highlighted that considering the experiences of just one marginalised identity, black, for example, ignores and distorts the experiences of those who are both black and female: 'the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism' (p. 140). And just as the disadvantages of oppression are compounding, so are the advantages of privilege.

There are two other ideas that link closely to citizenship and identity that need more exploration so we can understand why this all matters: participation, and in particular voice, and belonging. Participation refers to the actions we undertake as members of a community, as active citizens. For example, if the community is the local school your children attend, then your participation includes activities such as helping out at the school fair, attending parent–teacher interviews, and voting in the school's board of trustees elections. Participation encompasses the things we do that contribute to the smooth running of our communities, but it is also how we have a say in how our communities function. So an important part of participation is voice — and not just being able to have a say, but also having our voice listened to, being heard. As British political scientist Richard Bellamy (2008) puts it: 'Those who enjoy a certain status are entitled to participate on an equal basis with their fellow citizens in making the collective decisions that regulate social life' (p. 1).

On a Plate

This comic strip by cartoonist Toby Morris was heralded by many as a brilliant explanation of how family background and economic privilege can determine one's opportunities in life. See the full cartoon here: https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/the-wireless/373065/the-pencilsword-on-a-plate.

Long march to recognition

In early 1975, the idea was raised of a 'Māori Land March' from Te Hāpua in the far North to Parliament to focus on landlessness and cultural loss. A meeting of tribal representatives was convened at Māngere marae by the founding president of the Māori Women's Welfare League, Whina Cooper. In her address to the hui, Cooper implied that she was operating under the mantle of great Māori leaders such as James Carroll, Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, all of whom she had known. She asserted customary Māori protocol through a 'Memorial of Right', thereby linking the march to a long tradition of earlier petitions to the Crown, especially those by Kings Tāwhiao and Te Rata in 1886 and 1914, respectively.

The Land March combined the forces of Ngā Tamatoa-type radicalism with the wishes and protocols of traditionalist elders, attracting the support of Māori from urban areas and rural marae throughout the country. When it first set off from Te Hāpua on 14 September, there were few on the road, but before long numbers swelled. Marchers sought respect for the communal ownership of tribal lands, believing that the Labour Government's reforms had fallen short. They demanded that 'not one more acre of Māori land' be alienated. As a leaflet entitled 'Why We Protest' explained: 'Land is the very soul of a tribal people . . . [We want] a just society allowing Māoris [sic] to preserve our own social and cultural identity in the last remnants of our tribal estate . . . The alternative is the creation of a landless brown proletariat with no dignity, no mana and no stake in society.'

Five thousand marchers converged on Parliament on 13 October, bearing a petition with 60,000 signatories. Government ministers felt chagrined that the government's extensive consultation procedures and 'progressive' Māori policies and legislation had been rebuked, but, in a sense, the march was not so much about specific land policies or, necessarily, even about land at all. It was a reassertion of autonomist Māori demands and aspirations at a time when the political and social climate was becoming more receptive to them. As one historian later noted, the march represented Māori, at an auspicious moment, 'symbolically reclaiming the tino Rangatiratanga promised by the Treaty of Waitangi'.

of energy, and resources to acquire the materials needed, such as large trees to build the homes and defences. The pā could then house one or many hapū, depending on the size of the area and its fortifications.

Related hapū then made up the iwi. Iwi means 'bone' (Williams, n.d., p. 80), and is the largest of the related kin groups after those who come from the same waka. The iwi inhabited a large area and had multiple pā occupied by the many hapū of the iwi. The iwi came together at times when a greater collective effort was required. For example, in times of large seasonal harvests of fish, a large seine net called a kaharoa was made by joining smaller nets, or sections, together. Each section was made by either whānau or hapū, and once connected created a large net that the iwi used to catch many fish (Pama, 1937). When celebrations occurred, such as a feast, an iwi could muster the huge quantities of food required, and the materials to build the food platforms of the large stage structure called a hākari, which is also the word for feast (Moorfield, 2021). Defensive and reactive warfare could be carried out on an iwi level or a hapū level, depending on the size of the foe. This was due to the communal strength that the iwi could afford in times of need.

Marae

Within te ao Māori the marae is the central location. It is the place that all of the whānau, hapū and iwi can go back to and call their own; it is the tūrangawaewae of a Māori community (Mead, 2016). It consists of a marae ātea, which is the open space of the marae; a wharenui, also called a whare tīpuna or a tīpuna whare; a wharekai; a wharepaku; and possibly other whare used for educational activities or extra sleeping quarters. The wharenui is often named after a prominent ancestor, but may be named after many things; for instance, a migration such as Te Hīeke Mai Rarotonga of the marae Hongoeka (Hongoeka Marae, 1997).

Many kaupapa take place on the marae, including pōwhiri, hui, celebrations, tangihanga and any activity the haukāinga, the local people, choose. Attention is always given to appropriate protocol, which is upheld as the kawa of the marae (Mead, 2016). The kawa is the way that practices are conducted on the marae, and is specific to region, iwi, hapū and whānau. Therefore, witnessing the kawa in action will look similar on many marae but may also differ.

One of the most widely seen events on a marae is the pōwhiri. A pōwhiri is the traditional practice of welcoming people onto the marae, and follows a sequence of events facilitated by the tangata whenua. They have the authority to run the pōwhiri as they choose, and the kawa of it will be aligned to their area and the whakapapa affiliations that the local people share with other marae.

He tirohanga Māori: A Māori perspective

Te Rā Moriarty

Māori communities have valued mana motuhake, independence and self-determination, since time immemorial. Although iwi have, and do, work together, iwi have always valued their independence. This is evident in the regions where individual iwi have mana whenua status, in the protection of iwi resources, in the localised customs that are practised, in the stories that are told, and in the many dialects of te reo Māori that are upheld in modern times. However, inclusivity is a fundamental moral of te ao Māori which is at the roots of Māori culture and ways of being, and which influences our shared responsibilities to each other as citizens.

This is reflected in core Māori values: manaakitanga is an integral tikanga that means to care for, look after and to treat people hospitably; whanaungatanga is a word used for the connections between people — while originally based on whakapapa this can also extend to friends; kotahitanga means to be together in unity. These values can be seen in one of the most visual and distinct Māori customs, the pōwhiri. The pōwhiri is the act of the haukāinga, or tangata whenua, welcoming manuwhiri (guests) onto their marae. Welcoming people, hosting people, and making connections to work together are tightly woven into Māori ways of being.

This was evident when early Pākehā sealers, whalers, traders and missionaries arrived in Aotearoa, and Māori were keen to learn about new beliefs, to adopt reading, writing, new tools and clothing. This was while still being Māori, speaking te reo Māori, practising tikanga Māori and living by Māori values. They were interested in and inquisitive about new technologies and incorporated these into their life as Māori.

Today, even though a person is Māori because they have Māori whakapapa, they may also have whakapapa from other parts of the world, such as the rest of the Pacific, Australia, Britain, Ireland, the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and so on. This will influence the social and cultural experiences that many Māori have, which then influences their identity as a Māori individual within their collective communities. As I explained in Chapter 2, Māori live realities that are diverse. However, they are still Māori. They can still positively contribute and maintain their social and cultural worlds as Māori by participating in, and supporting, their whānau, hapū and iwi.

Introduction

In the first chapter of the book, Ella discussed the multiple threads of self that weave together to create an individual and a collective sense of identity. This chapter extends that introductory work by considering how some very specific and significant identity threads — ethnicity, sexuality and age — influence our individual and collective sense of self, including how these aspects of identity shape the encounters we have with others. Importantly, each can provide both opportunities and challenges for fully participating in society and securing a sense of belonging and inclusion. The chapter also explores how changing patterns of ethnicity and age, and changing understandings of sexual orientation and gender identity, have altered the demographic face and complexion of Aotearoa New Zealand. Population change has social, cultural, economic and political implications, each of which impacts on the lives of those who live here in Aotearoa New Zealand. What we hope will also become clear is the extent to which rapidly changing populations create new contexts in which diverse identities might emerge.

Ethnicity and identity

Ethnicity is a particularly significant identity thread for many New Zealanders. The concept 'ethnicity' may be taken for granted in some contexts, but in Aotearoa New Zealand it is strongly contested. Stats NZ (2005) defines 'ethnicity' as 'the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can affiliate with more than one ethnic group' (p. 1).

This definition highlights a number of important points. First, although ancestry (biological and social roots) continues to perform an important role in ethnic identification, it provides only part of the story. Indeed, official classifications of ethnicity in the five-yearly New Zealand census are regularly updated to reflect the fluidity and multiplicity of ethnic identity, moving away in recent years from an emphasis on biological criteria and descent.

More important are the subjective understandings and perceptions that individuals might have of a given ethnicity, what it means to them, and the extent to which they feel they belong or not. Ethnic identity is fluid and dynamic, and can change over the course of one's life. Perhaps related to this, many New Zealanders (especially younger New Zealanders) identify with more than one ethnic group (Boven et al., 2020). Ethnic identification is both profoundly personal and a

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